

# THE OPEN COURT.

A WEEKLY JOURNAL

DEVOTED TO THE RELIGION OF SCIENCE.

No. 387. (VOL. IX.—4.)

CHICAGO, JANUARY 24, 1895.

One Dollar per Year.  
Single Copies, 5 Cents.

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## THE FIRST FRENCH SOCIALIST.

BY M. D. CONWAY.

THE College of France has a Professorship of the French Revolution: a Chair of the same kind, especially if it included the American Revolution, would be much more useful in this country than some that are super-endowed. In the countries called civilised, many of the finest young men and women, fresh from schools and colleges, are plunging into all manner of schemes for reforming the world, without utilising the experience of the world. They prepare for themselves sad disenchantments, ending in reactions and cynical pessimism. During the past six years, or from the centenary of the fall of the Bastille, there has hardly been a month that did not bring the hundredth anniversary of some event in France whose meaning and instruction are reserved for to-day, which little heeds them. For, as Goethe said, "the day cannot judge the day": it requires a century of events to carry the true search-light into the French Revolution.

This year, 1895, summons before the historic sense one of the most pathetic figures on that tragical stage,—namely, François Babeuf. This first Socialist, now almost forgotten by history, illustrated in his brief career the humane motives, the enthusiasms, and anarchical tendencies, so steadily revealed in the socialism of to-day, which is derived from him by apostolic succession. He was a native of St. Quentin, born 1764, an orphan at sixteen. In 1790 he was editing at Amiens the *Correspondant Picard*, therein writing fiery articles in favor of the Revolution. Such opinions were too advanced for that region, but it was not safe to punish them, and a charge of forgery was trumped up against him. He was acquitted, and in 1793, his radicalism becoming more popular, he was elected administrator of the Department of the Somme. But he was rather too independent in some of his criticisms of revolutionary leaders; the old charge was renewed, and he was sentenced to twenty years imprisonment. He escaped to Paris, and was made Secretary of the Relief Committee of Commerce. But he denounced the atrocities of the Committee of Public Safety, and therefor was of course imprisoned. On the wane of Robespierre's power, and shortly before his fall, Babeuf was released by the Committee, prob-

ably because they knew his abhorrence of Robespierre, and wanted his pen to aid in bringing that dictator to the guillotine. But the leading men on this Committee were quite as cruel as Robespierre, and much more tricky, and they had no intention that Robespierriism should end with their chief. They were disappointed by Babeuf, now widely known as "Gracchus Babeuf," as he had named himself; he started a *Journal de la Liberté de la Presse*, and severely assailed this Robespierrian party. But early in 1795 the Girondist party rose again, and the Robespierrians were dead, fled, or exiled. And now Babeuf began with his socialistic propaganda, which had for some time been the thing in his heart. The Girondists were republicans, and they were alarmed by this new party demanding the abolition of property. So they suspended Babeuf's journal, and he was for a short time imprisoned. Meantime the National Convention, which had been elected to form a Constitution, and for nearly three years had been preventing a Constitution, prepared one which, among other reactionary features, instituted a property qualification for suffrage. Thomas Paine, ill as he was after ten months' imprisonment, endangered his convalescence by going to the Convention and pleading against this property provision, warning them of the danger they were incurring. "If you subvert the basis of the Revolution, if you dispense with principles and substitute expedients, you will extinguish that enthusiasm which has hitherto been the life and soul of the Revolution; and you will substitute in its place nothing but a cold indifference and self-interest, which will again degenerate into intrigue, cunning, and effeminacy."

The "Babouvists," as Babeuf's adherents were called, had especially petitioned for the Constitution of 1793,—the Constitution framed mainly by Paine and Condorcet, perhaps the nearest thing to a purely republican Constitution ever written. The reactionary Constitution was nevertheless adopted, and a vast number of people felt it as an outrage. Of these Babeuf was the natural leader, and a very dangerous one. As he had taken the name of the Roman tribune who established agrarian law, he founded a new journal, *Tribun du Peuple*, which became the voice of the discontented. And now the old Robespierrians and the

Royalists, united in their hatred of the established government, made secret overtures to Babeuf, consented to all his millennial dreams, and with him organised a fraternity called "Equals." Although the covert Royalists and Robespierrians meant to use Babeuf as a tool, the movement became thoroughly "Babouvist" and socialist, and at the close of 1795 the "Equals" had in Paris as many as 17,000 members.

Of course, no such army as that, especially of visionaries, could gather without giving battle. Beside the Club, which met openly in the Pantheon, there was a secret society, where Babeuf and Lepelletier were appointed a "Directory of Public Safety." Convinced that their mission was to end poverty and misery, which were even worse than under the monarchy, by suppressing all inequality of possessions, this Directory of Public Safety resolved to supersede the authorised Directory and remove the Legislature. The day fixed for this socialist *coup d'état* was May 11, 1796. But the plot was betrayed May 10, Babeuf arrested, and his papers seized. Among these was a proclamation of the new socialistic régime, to be issued after the blow was struck. It declared:

"We want not only the equality of the 'Rights of Man'; we wish it in our midst, under the roof of our houses. We make any concessions in order to obtain it; for it we shall begin afresh. Perish, if need be, all the arts, provided that real equality is left us. Legislators and governors, rich and unfeeling proprietors, you try in vain to neutralise our holy undertaking. You say that we wish that agrarian law which has so often been asked from you. Be silent, ye slanderers! The agrarian law, or division of land, was the sudden desire of a few soldiers without principles, of a few country communities inspired by instinct and not by reason. We ask for something more sublime and more just,—the common good, or having in common. Where there is no individual property the land belongs to nobody, its fruits belong to all. You families in distress come and sit down at the common table, provided by Nature for all her children! People of France, open your eyes and heart to the full enjoyment of happiness, acknowledge and proclaim the Republic of Equal Citizens!"

Babeuf and his intimate disciple, Darthé, probably the best-hearted of all the conspirators, were alone sentenced to death. They stabbed themselves, or each other, in prison, but did not die, and after a night of anguish were carried to the guillotine. Such was the notable coincidence between the Roman and the French Gracchus. Nineteen hundred years before, the tribune Caius Gracchus, consecrated to the work of equalising rich and poor, escaped from the Senate and nobles to the Grove of the Furies with a single servant, who slew his master and then himself.

In the winter of 1795–1796 when "Gracchus" Babeuf was planning to take the kingdom of heaven by violence, not far from him sat "Common Sense" Thomas Paine, equally heavy-hearted at hearing the cry in the street, "Bread, and the Constitution of '93." In the house of the American Minister, Monroe, he wrote that winter his pamphlet "Agrarian Justice," in which he maintained that all human beings had a natural right in the bounties of the earth. But the land could not be divided between them, because only by culture could its resources be sufficiently increased to support mankind; and this culture had so combined the soil, in which all have some natural right, with the improvements belonging to individuals, that they cannot be separated without injury to both. Consequently the share of each in the earth should be compensated by an equivalent. All landed property, in passing to heirs, should be taxed, and a fund so provided for distribution. A hundred years ago Paine thus proposed in the interest of the people that inheritance duty which was last year adopted by the English Parliament. Amid the agitations attending the Babeuf conspiracy this pamphlet could not be prudently published. The Babouvist was soon followed by the royalist conspiracy, that of Pichegru, on whose broken back Napoleon mounted the steps that led to his throne. After socialism, royalism; after this, military despotism, which is the only realisable form of socialism. In publishing his pamphlet "Agrarian Justice," Paine addressed a letter to the Directory and the Legislature, which has never appeared in English, and may well be appended to the story of the first socialist:

"The plan contained in this work is not adapted for any particular country alone: the principle on which it is based is general. But as the rights of man form a new study in this world, and one needing protection from priestly impostures, and the insolence of oppressions too long established, I have thought it best to place this little work under your safeguard. When we reflect on the long and dense night in which France and all Europe have remained plunged by their governments and their priests, we must feel less surprised than grieved at the bewilderment caused by the first burst of light that dispels the darkness. The eye accustomed to darkness can hardly bear at first the broad daylight. It is by usage the eye learns to see, and it is the same in passing from any situation to its opposite.

"As we have not at one instant renounced all our errors, we cannot at one stroke acquire knowledge of all our rights. France has had the honor of adding to the word *Liberty* that of *Equality*; and this word signifies essentially a principle that admits of no gradation in the things to which it applies; but equality is often misunderstood, often misapplied, and often violated.

“*Liberty and Property* are words expressing all those of our possessions which are not of an intellectual nature. There are two kinds of property. Firstly, natural property, or that which comes to us from the Creator of the Universe,—such as the earth, air, water. Secondly, artificial or acquired property,—the invention of men. In the latter equality is impossible; for to distribute it equally it would be necessary that all should have contributed in the same proportion, which can never be the case; and this being the case, every individual would hold on to his own property as his right share. Equality of natural property is the subject of this little essay. Every individual in the world is born therein with legitimate claims on a certain kind of property, or its equivalent.

“The right of voting for persons charged with execution of the laws that govern society is inherent in the word liberty, and constitutes the equality of personal rights. But even if that right of voting were inherent in property, which I deny, the right of suffrage would still belong to all equally, because, as I have said, all individuals have legitimate birthrights in a certain species of property. I have always considered the present Constitution of the French Republic as the *best organised system* the human mind has yet produced. But I hope my former colleagues will not be offended if I warn them of an error which has slipped into its principle. Equality of the right of suffrage is not maintained. This right is in it connected with a condition on which it ought not to depend; that is with the proportion of a certain tax called ‘direct.’ The dignity of suffrage is thus lowered; and, in placing it in the scale with an inferior thing, the enthusiasm that right is capable of inspiring is diminished. It is impossible to find any equivalent counterpoise for the right of suffrage, because it is alone worthy to be its own basis, and cannot thrive as a graft, or an appendage.

“Since the Constitution was established we have seen two conspiracies stranded,—that of Babeuf, and that of some obscure personages who decorate themselves with the despicable name of ‘royalists.’ The defect in principle of the Constitution was the origin of Babeuf’s conspiracy. He availed himself of the resentment excited by this flaw; and instead of seeking a remedy by legitimate and constitutional means, or proposing some measure useful to society, the conspirators did their best to renew disorder and confusion, and constituted themselves personally into a ‘Directory,’ which is formally destructive of election and representation. They were, in fine, extravagant enough to suppose that society, occupied with its domestic affairs, would blindly yield to them a directorship usurped by violence.

“The conspiracy of Babeuf was followed in a few

months by that of the royalists, who foolishly flattered themselves with the notion of doing great things by feeble or foul means. They counted on all the discontented, from whatever cause, and tried to rouse, in their turn, the class of people who had been following the others. But these new chiefs acted as if they thought society had nothing more at heart than to maintain courtiers, pensioners, and all their train, under the contemptible title of royalty. My little essay will disabuse them, by showing that society is aiming at a very different end—maintaining itself.

“We all know, or should know, that the time during which a revolution is proceeding is not the time when its resulting advantages can be enjoyed. But had Babeuf and his accomplices taken into consideration the condition of France under this constitution, and compared it with what it was under the tragical revolutionary government, and during the execrable Reign of Terror, the rapidity of the alteration must have appeared to them very striking and astonishing. Famine has been replaced by abundance, and by the well-founded hope of a near and increasing prosperity.

“As for the defect in the Constitution, I am fully convinced that it will be rectified constitutionally, and that this step is indispensable; for so long as it continues it will inspire the hopes and furnish the means of conspirators; and for the rest, it is regrettable that a Constitution so wisely organised should err so much in its principle. This fault exposes it to other dangers which will make themselves felt. Intriguing candidates will go about among those who have not the means to pay the direct tax and pay it for them, on condition of receiving their votes. Let us maintain inviolably equality in the sacred right of suffrage; public security can never have a basis more solid. *Salut et Fraternité.* Your former colleague,

THOMAS PAINE.”

Even while Paine wrote the dangers were thickening. Seventeen thousand heads in Paris, which had shared Babeuf’s hatred of a Constitution disfranchising the poor, were not cut off with the head of their leader; they remained to welcome any leader able to behead the Directory in its turn. The Corsican saw this; he said “The people do not care for liberty, they want equality,” and equalised them by turning them into an army.

#### PROFESSOR HAECKEL’S NEW PHYLOGENY.<sup>1</sup>

BY THOMAS J. M’CORMACK.

PROF. ERNST HAECKEL writes in a letter to the editor of *The Open Court*, accompanying an advance copy of his *Systematische Phylogenie*: “This work embodies

<sup>1</sup> *Systematische Phylogenie der Protisten und Pflanzen*. Von Ernst Haeckel, Jena. Erster Theil des Entwurfs einer systematischen Phylogenie. Berlin George Reimer. 1894. Pages, 400; Price, 10 M.

in compendious form the results of thirty years of study and research"; and we propose to present here in a few serial articles, after a short prefatory account of the work as a whole, translations of a few selections treating important general questions.

The word "phylogeny" means the ancestral history of the *race*, as distinguished from *ontogeny*, the life-history of the *individual*. Professor Haeckel's *Phylogeny* is the first attempt at a broad reconstruction of the historical development of the organic world on the basis of the data lately furnished by Palæontology, Ontogeny, and Morphology. The idea of the *Phylogeny* was first broached in a general way in the author's *General Morphology* (1866) and afterwards expounded in popular form in his widely known *Natural History of Creation*. The complaint was made, and justly, says Professor Haeckel, that the phylogenetic hypotheses there advanced lacked the necessary scientific demonstration. To furnish that demonstration is the purpose of the present work, a task rendered possible by the recent tremendous accumulation of zoological and botanical material.

The philosophical and historical point of view of the author has not changed since 1866, being the same as that adopted in the *General Morphology*. It is his effort to reach a rigorous and scientific knowledge of organic forms, and of the causes that produced them, by the study of the intimate causal relations obtaining between phylogeny and ontogeny. Adhering to the fundamental biogenetic law, which he first promulgated, he enters the lists as an outspoken antagonist of that newest movement in embryology, which, as evolutionary mechanics, seeks to explain the facts of ontogeny physically and directly, without reference to the history of the race. In the struggle now raging against the theory of heredity, Professor Haeckel's position is thus clearly determined. Weismann's molecular theory of the continuity of the germ-plasm he rejects *in toto*, as unsubstantiated by facts and philosophically unsound. In contradistinction to that theory, he upholds the doctrine of progressive heredity, citing countless examples to demonstrate the heredity of acquired characters. A good *résumé* of his views on this point was published some time ago in *The Open Court*, No. 338.

The present work is not a text book, but presupposes a good preparatory knowledge of natural history and biology. We translate only the passages of general interest. The volume before us, which is the first part of the work, treats of protists<sup>1</sup> and plants, and

<sup>1</sup>Protists, or *Protista*, one of the kingdoms of animated nature, which Haeckel proposed in 1866 as embracing all those lower forms of life which can be regarded neither as true plants nor as true animals. It includes only *unicellular* organisms as distinguished from the second organic kingdom, or *Histiotes*, which comprises all multicellular organisms. This division of animated nature rests upon morphological distinctions; the ordinary division into plants and animals rests upon physiological differences.

will be followed before the close of 1895 by two other parts, on Vertebrate and Invertebrate Animals.

#### ON THE METHODS OF PHYLOGENY.

As is the case in all true sciences, two different methods must be employed for the solution of the problems of Phylogeny—the empirical method and the philosophical method. First, by the empirical method we must acquire as extensive a knowledge as possible of the phylogenetic *facts*; then, on the basis of the facts obtained we must proceed, by the philosophical method, to a knowledge of the phylogenetic *causes*. Neither method, however, can be used alone; on the contrary, *both* must be kept steadily before the mind. For acquiring really valuable results, observation and reflexion must go constantly hand in hand. Only by noting this precept is the high scientific import of ancestral history to be appreciated. If our mind discovers in the observation of the marvellous facts of phylogeny an inexhaustible source of highest pleasure and most varied inspiration, on the other hand, it derives from a knowledge of the productive causes the highest satisfaction for its intellectual needs.

#### EMPIRICAL PHYLOGENY.

It is the purpose of empirical phylogeny to acquire as comprehensive a knowledge as possible of the facts furnished in such inexhaustible abundance by the three great archives of the ancestral history of the race—by Palæontology, Ontogeny, and Morphology. The more numerous the sound observations in these three provinces are, the deeper the analysis of them is pushed, the more distinct and less equivocal the establishment of all details is, the more valuable will be the experimental results reached. By the great progress made in recent years in the collection of materials and in the perfection of technical methods of investigation our empirical horizon has been extraordinarily widened. On the other hand, we have been made to feel the more vividly by this extension that our empirical knowledge of this limitless domain will forever bear a fragmentary character and exhibit deplorable gaps. Collect in the future as many fossils as we will, learn the ontogenetic histories of as many embryos, the complicated physical structure of as many species of animals and plants as we may, still these "phylogenetic facts of the present" will always bear a ridiculously small proportion to the countless forms, now absolutely vanished, which the historical development of the organic terrestrial world of forms has called into existence in the millions of years that are past. Hence, for timid and illiberal naturalists to proclaim it unpermissible, to venture upon the enunciation of phylogenetic hypotheses and theories before all the facts bearing upon the question are sufficiently known, is to give up definitively all research whatever of a phylo-

genetic character. Happily, our phylogenetic records speak for every thoughtful and penetrating inquirer a more eloquent language than is suspected by their opponents. Profounder reflexion and a critical comparison of the empirical materials alone are required for reaching a highly satisfactory knowledge of the phylogenetic processes.

#### PHILOSOPHICAL PHYLOGENY.

On philosophical phylogeny or speculative ancestral history falls, accordingly, the task of erecting, on the basis of the knowledge thus empirically won, a towering fabric of hypotheses, of bringing into causal relationship the isolated facts, and of proceeding from a knowledge of productive causes to the construction of a comprehensive *theory* of ancestral development. The general principles which it applies in this task are the same as those employed in all other true sciences. First, by extensive critical comparison and combination of related experiences it must gain an *inductive* knowledge of the province in question. Since, however, owing to the incompleteness of the empirical material, such knowledge must ever be limited in extent, it must also employ unstintedly the *deductive* method. In keeping thus constantly before it the full, broad extent of its task, by connecting together into a natural whole through appropriate synthesis the individual details analytically reached, its efforts for obtaining a satisfactory glimpse into the great natural laws of the origin and disappearance of organic forms, are rewarded.

It would be absurd, of course, to require of philosophical phylogeny the credentials of an "exact" science, for she is and must remain in the very nature of the case an "historical" science. Nevertheless, whosoever possesses the least appreciation for the value of historical research generally, whosoever lets that pass as scientific knowledge, such a person cannot fail, on careful study, also to be convinced of the high scientific importance of philosophical phylogeny. It will suffice to refer to the most important of all our phylogenetically acquired results, to the answer to that question of all questions, the question of "man's place in nature," and of his origin. We have reached by induction a settled conviction of the unity of the vertebrate type; by deduction we infer from this, with the same certainty, that man also, being a true vertebrate animal, is derived from the same type.

#### MONISTIC PRINCIPLES OF PHYLOGENY.

The main fundamental principles controlling our analysis of the phenomena and our knowledge of their causes are the same in phylogeny as in the other natural sciences, and special reference to their monistic character here will no doubt seem supererogatory. But it is essential, nevertheless, because with respect

to a part of the phenomena to be here investigated, dogmatic and dualistic prejudices and even mystical views are largely upheld. For example, this is true of the problem of archigony,<sup>1</sup> or the original spontaneous generation of life, of the origin of adaptive organisations, of the origin of the psychical life, of the creation of man, etc. Many naturalists still regard these and similar difficult questions of phylogeny as insoluble, or they assume for their explanation supernatural and dualistic dogmas which are totally incompatible with true monistic principle. Especially does that old *teleological* view of the world count to-day numerous adherents which seeks to explain the procedure of phylogenesis from a premeditated "tendency to an end," or by a "plan of adaptive creation," or "phylogenetic vital force," and the like. All these dualistic and vitalistic theories logically lead either to totally obscure mystical dogmas or to the anthropomorphic conception of a personal creator—of a demiurge who sketches, in the manner of a clever architect, "building plans" for his organic creations and afterwards executes them in the style of the different "species." By their very nature these teleological dogmas are utterly incompatible with the accepted mechanical principles of a sound natural science. More than that, they have been rendered entirely superfluous and completely overthrown by the theory of natural selection, which has definitively solved the great riddle of how the adaptive arrangements of organised life could be produced by non-purposefully acting natural mechanical processes. Teleological mechanics has here demonstrated the fact of incessant self-regulation in the historical development of every single organism as also of all organic nature. This purely monistic principle is the philosophical load-star of our phylogeny.

#### CAUSES OF PHYLOGENESIS.

The import of the stupendous progress which has been made in our comprehension of nature through the establishment of the mechanico-monistic and the refutation of the teleologico-mystical principles, is nowhere more forcibly revealed than in our knowledge of the phylogenetic causes. As such, are recognised to-day only real mechanical, or efficient, causes; all so called teleological or final causes are rejected. Before the discovery of the principle of selection, philosophers fancied they could not get along without final causes; to-day these appear to us not only as useless and uncalled for but as downright misleading. Just as the unbiased investigation of the facts of ethnology has compelled us to give up the paramount idea of a "moral world-order" dominant in history, so the unprejudiced study of phylogeny has forced us to aban-

<sup>1</sup>*Archigony*, from two Greek words meaning "primordial origin," here referring to the first spontaneous generation of life as due to natural mechanical causes, and not in the old sense of *generatio equivoca*.

don the idea of a "wise plan of creation" in the organic world. The theory of natural selection has proved that the "struggle for life" is the great unconsciously acting regulator of the evolution of the race, and that in a twofold way: first, as a competitive struggle for the necessities of life; and secondly, as a struggle for existence against foes and dangers of all kinds.

Natural selection exhibits its creative activity in the struggle for existence by means of two physiological functions of organisms—*heredity* (as a constituent aspect of propagation) and *adaptation* (as a change in metabolism and in nutrition). These two "formative functions" (each operating with numerous modifications of activity) are everywhere found acting upon one another—heredity as a conservative, adaptation as a progressive factor. As the most important outcome of that reciprocal action we regard *progressive heredity*, or the "heredity of acquired characters." Use and disuse of organs, change of relation to the external organic world, direct influence of inorganic environments, crossing in sexual propagation, and other mechanical causes, operate incessantly in this process of selection.

#### CONTINUITY OF PHYLOGENESIS.

Like the historical development of the inorganic earth, so that of the inorganic world of forms is an uninterrupted uniform process. The method of this process is a purely mechanical one, free from all conscious teleological influences, and the mechanical causes of this continuous process have been at all times the same as to-day; only the conditions and relations in which these causes have operated together are subject to a slow and constant change, and this change itself is a consequence of the mechanical cosmogenesis, of the great unconscious developmental process of the All. And these grand monistic principles of continuity and of actualism, of mechanical causality and natural unity, hold just as good for phylogeny as for geology.

In apparent contradiction to these "eternal, rigid, and glorious laws" both the geological process in the order of the sedimentary strata of the earth's crust, and the simultaneous phylogenetic process in the order of the species of its organic inhabitants, show numerous gaps, breaks, and interruptions. Nevertheless, here as there this apparent discontinuity of the historical transmutations rests either upon the incompleteness of our empirical knowledge or upon secondary modifications which have destroyed or obscured the primary conditions.

#### RELIGION IN JAPAN.

BY C. PFOUNDERS.

JAPAN'S indigenous cultus, known to Occidentals as Shintoism, is a compound of ancestral and hero worship, in which the worthies of myth and legend find a place amongst historical personages. The forefathers

of the imperial family, and not a few of the one hundred and twenty-three Mikados, from Jin-mu to the present, in unbroken line for more than twenty-five and a half centuries, are included. The writer has recently visited the burial place of Jin-mu Ten O and many others.

There are shrines in numerous places throughout the empire, where divine honors are paid to the principal deities of this class by a constant stream of pilgrims.

With the introduction of Chinese literature, came many modifications in Japanese ideas, religion, and politics, as also in their moral philosophy and the art of government; this was no mere servile copying and was effected several centuries before Buddhism gained a footing in the land.

The imperial prince Sho-toku Tai-shi (A. D. 582–621) was a zealous promotor of Buddhism; he originated a movement for the thorough examination and reorganisation of Shintoism, and materially aided in its amalgamation with Buddhism.

*Shin* may be translated divine spirit, and *to* as path or way.

As the various schools of Buddhist teaching became established in Japan, Aryan ideas on morals, philosophy, metaphysics, etc., percolated through the Turanian strata of the old system, and permeating the life of the people, became closely identified with it.

The philosophy of Lao-tze, and of its later students, the Taoists, crossed to Japan, bringing with it some more recent, and less admirable traits.

With the advent of Europeans in Japan, three centuries ago, another phase was entered on; and notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of the defunct Shogunate, the Tokugana regime, to obliterate Christianity, there remained permanent traces of the infiltration, especially of the efforts of the Roman Catholic, chiefly Jesuit, priests, who had been, for a brief period so successful in proselytising.

During the period in which the country was closed to the outer world, a period of more than two centuries, ingress and egress were equally impossible; the Hollanders were the only medium, and that through official channels.

With the opening of certain ports to foreign trade, which was brought about by Commodore Perry's expedition, commenced a struggle between the people and the officials, between the popular craving for knowledge of the outer world and the official anxiety to check, or at least control and direct all communication between foreigners and natives.

With the collapse of the Shogunate ended this struggle, so far as it was official, and the old prejudices slowly faded away.

Then everything foreign became the fashion ; for a time imitation of the foreigner was the craze.

The abolition of the Buddhist religion, at least in its outward form, as also the destruction of the temples, was seriously contemplated. Buddhism was found, however, to be too firmly rooted in the life of the people, to be thus flippantly dealt with. The instigators were a small percentage of inexperienced schoolmen and students with the merest smattering of Western knowledge, and only very superficially educated even according to native ideas in the literature, history, and religion of their country; they were mostly provincial young clansmen.

This was the foreign Christian missionaries' opportunity. A few who had, from a long residence, learned the vernacular, and gained some influence, strove hard to have Christianity officially recognised; and large numbers of missionaries flocked to Japan from Europe and from America.

As residence in the interior was restricted by treaty, the increasing number of missionaries at the treaty ports became a difficulty; and in order to gain access to the interior they offered to teach in the schools, for very little salary, or none at all. The article "foreign teacher" became cheap, and has been, since, a "drug on the market."

Schools were built with the money subscribed in Europe and America; but it is a well-known fact that only a small percentage of the pupils become really converted to Christianity, or rather to one or other of the numerous creeds of the many sects represented; the most zealous natives being those actually in receipt of a salary, or other inducement, or who hope to receive some ultimate material benefit.

A notable result of the activity of, and the competition amongst, the foreign Christian missionaries, was the awakening of the Buddhists from their indifference. A strong outward pressure is now arousing the Buddhist priesthood from their old apathy.

Efforts are being made to increase the number of the preparatory seminaries of the various sects, where the acolytes are trained and drafted for the theological colleges at the chief centres of the sects. As means and circumstances permit, the course of study is being widened and improved in spite of the opposition of the more narrow-minded and bigoted, and in the face of the indifference of those who do not see beyond their own narrow sphere, and whose energy is exhausted in the perfunctory routine service of their own small circle.

Anything like co-operation is at present very difficult, not only between the several sects, but even amongst the sub-sects that are distinguished only by details of church government and minor routine.

Since the writer's arrival in Japan eighteen months

ago, he has been moving about, visiting the principal towns and centres of population, lecturing to the natives in the Buddhist temples, speaking the vernacular, which he learned when visiting the country formerly—viz., in 1863-1865, 1866-1868, 1873-1876. Lecturing and lodging in the temples of the different sects, opportunity has been afforded him of meeting and conversing with the priests and the principal members of their congregations throughout the whole country.

Notwithstanding the national characteristic suspicion and dislike of foreigners by the old people, and the envious and jealous feeling prompting a hostile and discourteous attitude of the younger men, yet in spite of my being an alien there has been, on the whole, much kindly feeling and hospitality shown to me. The criticisms that it is incumbent upon a conscientious lecturer to offer have been received in good part, and my sympathy with the national aspirations has been enthusiastically reciprocated.

The exceptional experience thus gained, has been altogether independent of the medium of an interpreter or go-between.

The writer is of opinion that Buddhism has too firm a grip on the Japanese, as well as other Asiatic peoples, to be lightly set aside; it has entered too completely into their daily home life. In every house there is the family-altar in the principal living-room, whereon are the memorial tablets of forebears and departed relatives. The emotional needs, the sentiments, hopes, and fears, of the present, and of the future, all centre round the Buddhist cult.

In the *Jo-do*—and its offshoot the *Shin-shiu*—the name of the *Amitabha Buddha* is continually invoked; faith in the saving help and power of this personification of the ideal of the illimitable life (immortality) and boundless intellectual illumination (all-permeating, ever-enduring mental light); and hope of re-birth in that purer, happier hereafter over which this Buddha is believed to preside.

The term *Jo-do* is the *Sukhavati* of the Sanskrit, *Shin-shiu* may be translated as *new* sect, but by its followers a character that means "true" is used.

In the Zen (from the Sanskrit *Dhyana*) sect the *Shakya Buddha* is mostly revered, and the principle is "abstract and profound meditation," in fact, "thinking out" the great problem for one's self.

The *Ten-dai* so called from Mount *Tien-tae*, in China, where the chief monastery is situated, teaches from the *Saddharma-pundarika Sutra*, known to Occidentals as "the Lotus of the good Law; and the *Nichiren*, an offshoot, called after its founder, repeats the title of the sutra, in Chino-Japanese, as an invocation. Mysticism enters somewhat into this sect. The *Shin-gon* (in Sanskrit, *Mantra*, or "true words") sect, partakes largely of post-Buddhistic Indian observances

received through China. There is considerable activity now amongst its leaders, and a desire to place it in the van, educationally and otherwise.

There are several other schools, not forming influential separate sects, whose teachings, however, enter, more or less, into all, e. g. the Discipline of the Vinaya division of the canon, and others that take special sutra, such as the Kegon, or Aralam saka sutra, the garland of flowers of the Buddha Shakyamuni's teaching; also several sastra, or later scriptures, discourses, commentaries, and controversies, as between the *Mahayana*, or Major Vehicle, and the *Hinayana* or Minor Vehicle, as well as three of the intermediate or moderate schools.

Thus whilst faith in an exterior saving power largely prevails, the Mahayana, with its salvation open to all, the doctrine of discipline, good works, and even ascetic practice, also enters into Japanese religious theory, though in practice to a limited extent.

The native mind, with a few notable exceptions, is too prone to take the world easily, to enjoy life, and get out of it as much pleasure as is attainable with the least expenditure of physical or mental energy.

The Japanese, as a people, are not at all inclined to take life over seriously, like the sour and prim round-head of old; more of the spirit of the curly-pated rollicking cavalier is in them; and the most popular preacher is he who can enliven a dull subject by a joke, or witicism, and illustrate a difficult question by a humorous story.

One touch of nature makes the whole world kin, here as elsewhere; and the moral lecturer is most effective, if he draws upon the daily life of his audience for his parable's material.

The results of the efforts of the foreign missionaries, are for the most part destructive, rather than constructive; to tell these natives, "that they live in a fool's paradise," is worse than unkindness, unless a more solid structure can be offered, and in such a form that it will be accepted as a full equivalent, as an ample substitute for that swept away. Sympathy for, not hostility to, a creed is the better way to get at it, if we wish to make it better; especially such a creed as Buddhism, with its long history of peaceful conquest, non-oppressive and kindly propaganda, its message of sympathy and hope, which has been the refuge of a large portion of the world's people, in one or another form, and which, if not the oldest, is yet founded upon the most ancient doctrine, and far outnumbers the votaries of any other form of religion.

Has Buddhism a future in Japan and elsewhere?

#### NOTES.

Mr. C. Pfoundes, the author of the article "Religion in Japan," lectured in the United States, 1876-1877, at Bowdoin, Yale, Boston Art Club, etc., on Japanese affairs, and in London and

Provinces 1879 et seq.; he was elected Fellow of the following and other Societies: Royal Geographical Society, Royal Asiatic Society, Royal Society of Literature, Royal Historical Society, Royal Colonial Institute, and member of Anthropological Society, Society of Arts, Society of Economy and Fine Arts; and also by right of his service as a naval officer to the Royal United Service Institute. Since his arrival in Japan he has been initiated by special ceremony, the first foreigner thus admitted, to the Ten-dai, the Jo-do, and the Shin-gon sects, and to the esoteric arena of the latter, and authorised to wear the insignia of a Buddhist preacher. He also has been presented with medals by a number of Japanese Buddhist societies. About the ceremonies he writes as follows:

1. Ten-dai sect. On Mount Hiye, overlooking Lake Biwa on one side and the city of Kioto on the other, there are numerous temples, and near the summit the Terrace of obligations (Sanskrit, *Sila*) of the *Mahayana*, the major vehicle, the only one in Japan. (There were three of the *Hina* or minor, one remains at Nara.) Here priests of Ten-dai are inducted by special ceremony.

2. *Shin-gon* (Sanskrit, Mantra) or true words. On Mount Koya to the eastward of Nara, are groups of temples of this sect, and the head centre. The second grade, "sprinkling," (Sanskrit, *Abhisheka*) or baptism, called in Japanese *Ji mio kwan jo*, a mystic (esoteric) rite, for preachers and apostles, or missionaries, the grade alone being exclusively for aged bonzes of the sect.

3. The Hi-mitsu basalzu-kai of the Shin-gon. Admission to the Bodhisattva of the esoteric doctrine.

4. The Obligation of the *Jo-do* (pure land). The undefiled paradise presided over by the Amitabha Buddha, whose aid is invoked by the followers of this doctrine of Buddhism.

N. B. Japanese sects and sub-sects may be classified as follows:

1. Zen, from Sanskrit Dhyana, the Contemplative sect.
2. Shin-gon, Mantra, true words.
3. Ten-dai and its offspring, the Nichiren.
4. Jo-do and its offshoot, the *Shin*.

The other schools are of minor importance and their teaching common to all, and do not form separate church-organisations. There are numbers of independent and small groups, but all come under the doctrines of the above named.

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## THE OPEN COURT

"THE MONON," 324 DEARBORN STREET.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, Post Office Drawer F.

E. C. HEGELER, PUBLISHER.

DR. PAUL CARUS, EDITOR.

TERMS THROUGHOUT THE POSTAL UNION:

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