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on the Egyptian Underworld and its inhabitants.

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ADOLF BASTIAN.

Frontispiece to The Open Court
ADOLF BASTIAN.

BY W. H. CARRUTH.*

The growth of the conception of a unitary Universe is illustrated nowhere more strikingly than in the rise and spread of the science variously called ethnography, ethnology, anthropology. Or perhaps it should be said rather that this science has strengthened and established the notion of a unitary Universe. It is unfortunate that the name anthropology should have been restricted, as it commonly is, to the study of man as an individual, for by its root meaning it represents the very broadest sense that can be attributed to this science or group of sciences, the science of mankind, of man the race. Thus it is really broader than ethnology and ethnography, both of which hint at the division of mankind into tribes and nationalities. Although the Germans favor somewhat the latter of the two terms and the English and Americans the former, ethnology seems to be gaining ground as the accepted name for the science. Among themselves the Germans have their expressive word *Völkerkunde* and the word *Mensch*, corresponding to Greek *ἀνθρώπος*, for man the species. These words make it easier to express oneself with simplicity and precision on the subject under consideration. The attempt to distinguish ethnography, as the more outward locating and delimiting and description of races, from ethnology, as the research into the nature and origin of races and race characteristics, seems more feasible to the German with his beautiful word *Völkerkunde* to include them both.

However, the really significant matter is the existence of this science, based like other sciences upon confidence in the universal

*From data furnished by Dr. Th. Achelis.*
reign of law, a law not imposed from without but working in and through the forms which manifest it—a science that has felt after and found the solidarity of the human race. It is noteworthy that the new science of biology, like the science of ethnology, was fostered by an exploring expedition around the world, and that the Origin of Species appeared in the same year with the first fruit of Adolph Bastian's researches into the natural history of primitive races and was followed the next year by the epoch-making Der Mensch in der Geschichte. It may almost be said that evolution and ethnology were born in the same year.

One of the most interesting figures among German scholars of to-day is Adolf Bastian, the pioneer of the science of ethnology, who is approaching his 78th birthday. He was born in Bremen, May 26, 1826. Turning from law to medicine, he took his doctor's degree in 1851 and promptly engaged himself as a ship's surgeon for a trip to Australia. The trip was extended into an eight-years' journey of exploration including in addition to Australia, Peru, the West Indies, Mexico, California, China, East India, Babylon, Nineveh, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, the Cape Country and the Guinea Coast. Upon this, as upon his many subsequent extensive travels, Bastian was a keen observer and a diligent collector. He was from the beginning a very different being from a mere curio-gatherer; he had early learned not to despise the seemingly meaningless and unimportant, and that no product of human activity was without significance in interpreting the nature of man. In his first extended work, Der Mensch in der Geschichte, published at the conclusion of this great journey, Bastian tells how the project matured in his own mind:

"Far from Europe and for a long time restricted in personal 'communication, these views matured gradually as a result of observation on the various conditions in which mankind lives on this 'earthly ball. In the silence of the deserts, upon solitary mountains, on trips across wide seas, in the sublime natural beauty of the tropics, they matured in the course of years and united into a single "harmonious conception." And at the same time was maturing in the soul of the explorer a firm confidence in his calling to develop a new science, which kept him true to his work through the many trials and dangers of his long life. Not only was the young explorer sailing an unknown scientific sea, but what had seemed to be fixed stars of faith and philosophy began to wander from their courses. "The spirit may long to return to the days when a fixed firmament "arched above our heads, where dwelt a loving Father; it may fin-
ger fondly over the dreaming dawn of its childhood, but would it
be content to become a child again? Will that man fulfill his des-
tiny, who, just as he is about to enter into the struggles of existence
which will call his capacities into action, would flee back to his
mother's lap to seek in her arms protection from the violence of the
storm? Into many a heart, indeed, there enters bitter grief, the
painful distress of despair, when it finds everything about it sud-
denly empty and desolate, when all the pleasant pictures of imagi-
nation, the friendly divinities upon whose lips he hung so trust-
ingly as a boy, the shining words which stirred his enthusiasm as
'a youth—when all these vanish into nothing and dissolve in mist.'
But these, Bastian says, are the lamentations of the weakling.
If our generation had been schooled in psychological principles we
should have been spared this period of sentimental woe over things
as they are. "True, we see about us the operations of laws which
'in their last analysis we do not understand, but we see them work-
ing in harmonious accord; we have, indeed, no fixed goal toward
'which we labor, but we have at least unmasked the lie that tried to
'deceive us with mirages; we no longer have to bear the tyrannical
'whims of a jealous God; if a powerful enemy expels our protector
'from Heaven, we no longer fear to fall with him into the abyss of
'annihilation; we no longer tremble at the dreadful spectacle of the
'almighty creator of the world compelled to give himself as a sac-
rifice to ward off impending dangers.  *  *  *  The yoke is
'broken and we are free.  *  *  And what is it that the human
'heart desires?  To know the whole, of which it is an integral part.
'And can it hope to know this in any other way than by coöperating
'in the common activity?  Can it find a surer and loftier consola-
tion than to know itself to be an atom in eternity and infinity, in-
finite and eternal with these?  *  *  *

"Our eyes look out into infinity: why deny its existence?  Seek
'to be infinite yourself, if infinity surrounds you.  Soon you will feel
'your thoughts and ideas streaming out into the eternity of the
'Universe, you will feel them taking root everywhere in the laws
'of the harmonious cosmos, you will grow into it, unending, eternal,
'unceasing like it, and fulfill your law of life in conscious harmony.
'Not only every look that connects us with the stars and every
'breath that absorbs the ever renewed atmosphere, guarantee eter-
nally continued existence, but still more the divine ideas, free from
'all planetary and cosmic limitations, whereby we reproduce within
'ourselves the laws of the Universe."

Such were the reflections of the scholar of thirty-two arising
from the material of his first great work* and the experiences leading to it. It was evident to him already, not only that his researches would take him largely into the realm of religion historically considered, but also that they were destined to affect profoundly his own and others' views of religion in general. As religion deals with man's relations to the Unknown, it naturally occupies a larger part of the consciousness of the primitive man, since the field of the known is comparatively so much smaller as we go further back in the history of the race or of the individual. Thus it is but natural if Bastian's next great journey was prompted expressly by the desire to pursue one great religious problem—that of Buddhism—to its sources. This expedition occupied the years from 1861 to 1866, the greater part of the time being spent in Burmah and Siam, but included considerable periods in Japan, China, the Desert of Gobi, and the Ural region. The printed results of this journey were: Der Buddhismus in seiner Psychologie (not published until 1882), and Die Völker des östlichen Asiens, the latter in six large volumes.

On his return from this expedition Bastian located at the University of Berlin as Privatdocent and was soon appointed professor of ethnology and in 1868 Director of the Museum of Ethnology, which developed so nobly under his management that the splendid structure in the Königgrätzerstrasse was erected for its collections in 1886. But scarcely had he begun his activity as instructor when in 1873 he joined the African Congo expedition to establish a station at Chinchoxo, and in 1875 made an expedition of two years to South America. Again an interval of two years and the tireless traveler began another trip around the world, visiting Persia, India, Australasia, New Zealand, Oceanica, California, and Yucatan, reaching Germany again in 1880. The plans for the new museum and an enormous amount of publication prevented further travel for ten years. The publications of this period include fourteen titles and eighteen volumes, not reckoning serial contributions. Then again the "Wanderlust" came over the veteran and a previous expedition was traced nearly in reverse order: Caucasus, Turkistan, Armenia, Further India, Polynesia, Tasmania, and Australia, on a trip of three years' duration. Finally at the age of 70, Bastian undertook one more long journey to Indonesia, to escape, it is said, the embarrassing honors prepared for his Jubilee by his appreciative countrymen and fellow-scholars.

*The first publication preceding this, was, Ein Besuch in San Salvador, Hauptstadt des Königreichs Kongo: ein Beitrag zur Mythologie und Psychologie. Bremen, 1859.
In addition to these seven great expeditions, with the making and care of the attendant collections, to a list of forty-seven volumes of independent publications, not counting contributions to journals, to his work as an instructor and director of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Bastian has assisted in founding several learned societies, as the Gesellschaft für Erdkunde, the Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, the Africanische Gesellschaft, serving for considerable periods as president of the first two, and in founding and editing the Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.

Like most great scholars, Bastian is modest, almost shrinking, when his personal achievements and merits are involved. He is frank and straightforward, perfectly simple in habits and manners, and absolutely self-sacrificing when his science is to be served. It might be difficult to say whether his pronounced personal charm is innate or comes from his enthusiastic devotion to his subject and the vast interests of his experiences.

Bastian began by insisting on the accumulation and interpretation of facts, in contradistinction to the prevailing speculations regarding the childhood of mankind. He saw that the races which still preserve anything like primitive conditions are rapidly passing away, or that they lose their primitive character rapidly on coming into contact with more highly developed races. Hence his appeals to scholars to gather everything accessible that might throw light on these primitive conditions, and hence his own nervous haste to reach all the primitive races and to study them in their native environment before they had been modified by contact with a foreign world, before their spiritual identity had been attacked and undermined by the resulting self-consciousness and deliberate adaptation.

In view of the recent discussions of the effect of the contact of inferior with superior races, Bastian's utterances on the subject twenty-five years ago are interesting, made as they were from the historian's point of view and not at all from the statesman's: "From the moment when primitive peoples make our acquaintance the "breath of the death-angel is upon them; stricken by him they bear "within themselves thenceforth the germs of dissolution." In the case of weaker peoples this is actual physical destruction, but even in the case of more vigorous races there is psychic extinction: the race may be improved, but it loses its race individuality.

Bastian early observed that it was necessary to break utterly with the psychology of his day, which was largely evolved from the inner consciousness. His travels and observations had taught him the immense import of the fact that man is a social animal. Both
history and psychology had too largely ignored this fact or failed to understand it. Man cannot be studied and understood in his isolation. "Mankind, a conception than which there is no loftier, is to 'be taken as the initial point, as the harmonious whole, within 'which the individual figures only as an integral fraction. * * "History has given hitherto the development of individual races in- stead of that of mankind; the glaring light that issued from the "social summits threw into the shade the broad foundations of the "great masses, and yet it is in them alone that creative forces spring "and the lifeblood circulates."

Thus Bastian demanded a new psychology, a social psychol- ogy, which should comprehend the fact that we do not even think "unto ourselves alone," but rather, as he put it, "that it thinks in us." And with this thought was given the watchword for a group of new sciences, or for re-construction of old sciences which made them practically new: Social science, social ethics, social psychology, social pathology, social everything pertaining to man; comparative law, comparative religion, comparative everything pertaining to the social animal man. Comparative philology had, indeed, antici- pated Bastian's labors, but the impetus proceeding from him may even have broadened the spirit of philology.

Bastian originated the expression "race thought" (Völkerge- danken). He observed that there is an extraordinary similarity and uniformity of conceptions among all the races of the earth, beneath all the seeming diversity, and that these conceptions are developed according to uniform laws. Similar conditions produce similar thoughts. And so, while within differing geographical horizons there are certain modifications in the form of these thoughts, on the whole they manifest the unity and the uniform development of mankind. "To get at these fundamental uniform "conceptions, and to establish them in their elements together with "the law of their development, in religion as well as in law and "esthetics, in a word, the investigation of the laws of growth of the "human mind as manifested in social collective thoughts—this is "the function of ethnology, its contribution to the establishment of "a science of mankind." And in this spirit Bastian calls his own work "Thought-statistics comprising a survey of what has been "thought on this earth always and everywhere about religion and "philosophy."

Applying the general principles already outlined, Bastian at- tempts in each field of human interest: law, religion, ethics, etc., to ascertain first the universal human elements and the laws therein
manifested, and then to ascertain the modifying power of environment in the various great "geographical provinces." Only in the second of these spheres does Bastian concede the place and function of history and chronology. History has always erred in constituting an hypothetical primitive man out of the writers' own consciousness.

"Das ist im Grund der Herren eigner Geist,
In dem die Zeiten sich bespiegeln."

"There is no need of this, for primitive man is still to be found and studied on the earth. After ethnology has established his universal characteristics and the laws of his development, then chronology may assist in ascertaining the order of the development of the various geographical deviations from the type.

The matter of primary interest is the primitive man's conception of the universe, and here we find the critical fact to lie in the difference between the known and the unknown, and especially in the envisagement of the latter. The primitive man's analytical power is slight; and as soon as it relaxes and he recognizes the Unknown as an entity, gives it a place in the category of his conceptions and gives it a name, he has deliberately set up a despot whom he will have to serve humbly and slavishly until the developed intellect of a later time shall dissolve this Unknown into its elements and master them. Man lives within the horizon of his own views. He is constantly dominated by the conceptions that for the moment have the upper hand within him, whether in the higher stage of humanity's intellectual flower or in the cryptogamic stage of savagery.

With the recognition of the Unknown the savage has admitted an indefinite quantity into his scheme of thought, an of undefined and undefinable value, which will yet be the determining factor in all his mental calculations to which it is added. Every object of nature partakes of this feature of the Unknown, so that the savage dares not even pluck the plant he needs for his food without ceremonies to appease the Unknown. Only his fellow-man seems to him a known quantity, and so long as distinctions of rank have not crept in, no ceremonies are employed in the approaches of man to man. Yet, if the man be a stranger with perhaps extraordinary powers of harming or curing, he may, until he becomes commonplace, receive some of the deference paid to the Unknown. But when Death lays his hand upon a fellow-man, the sense of identity with himself is broken for the savage, and the cold and rigid body partakes with all outward nature of the mysterious qualities of the
Unknown. So he pays his homage to the dead with trembling until a growing enlightenment changes the ghostly spooks of the departed into kindly guardian heroes.

Not understanding death as a natural process, the savage regards as equally mysterious its forerunner, disease. Each disease becomes a hostile demon. And if the savage speaks of a demon who falls upon him out of the trees of the jungle and shakes him in the grasp of a fever-chill, while the civilized man looks wise as he discourses of the effluvia arising from the decay of vegetation, the difference between them is after all not so great—a difference chiefly in point of view, for neither knows the nature of the miasma. The savage finds more meaning in the conception of a demon, for he has not as great powers of abstract thought as his civilized brother. And so he sees in every outward object some portion of the mysterious Unknown, while he represents the powers which he can recognize under the forms of beasts or of grotesque distortions of them. Mr. Ingersoll’s witty perversion of Pope’s aphorism: “An honest God’s the noblest work of man” was but another form of the more scientific proposition, “Man is reflected in his Gods.” While the nature of the personification under which the unknown powers are represented grows nobler and higher as man’s intellectual horizon widens, yet the same instinct underlies all religion, and survivals of fetishism may be detected in even the loftiest religion of the world, Christianity. To the understanding eye all attempts to grasp and realize the Unknown are but reflections of the known, are based upon the earth; the supernatural and the transcendental are but the natural in another light and from a different point of view.

Comparative law, guided by the researches of ethnology, has reversed old notions of private property, of marriage and of the position of woman. We now know that there is no universal law and absolute code at the foundation of all laws. Private property is not primitive and universal, but a comparatively late development of civilization. With the early exception of tools and weapons and of the immediate results of the chase, property rights inhered in the commune or clan. So, too, the primitiveness of the authority and power of the father as head of the family was overthrown by the revelations of the conditions known as the matriarchate, showing that the woman was the natural center of those close primitive organizations known as clans. In fact, the natural history of marriage has been revolutionized.

The dispersion of the idyllic dream of primitive innocence and
purity cherished by the Eighteenth century was succeeded by a tendency to paint the savage as malicious, steeped in the most abominable vices and reveling in revolting spiritual grossness. The one conception is scarcely less one-sided than the other, though it rightly emphasizes the vast difference between our civilization and the earlier stages of life. But more important is the recognition of the law demonstrated by ethnology, that the moral sense depends immediately upon social conditions. There are no universal and absolute moral ideals save such as are based on the social structure and the common character of mankind. The sole arbiter of the permissible, the proper, and the essential is not the subjective fancy of the individual, but the entire structure of the social organism in which these terms are to be applied. In a word, the standard of ethics is not absolute, but relative.

"A striking instance of the onesidedness of our view of the "world is the stubbornness with which we insist that our principles, "our sacred truths must prevail among men everywhere and are in "the very nature of man as such. An arrogant and egotistic pride "has long misled the European into regarding himself as the ideal "of humanity, and into looking down upon all other times and con- "demning every race that ventured to derive other views from its "social experience. He does not think of the broad continents which "cover the rest of the globe, where unnumbered nations have de- "veloped their independent civilizations; he does not recall the many "brilliant epochs of history that rose and passed away before ever a "ray of the light of civilization had pierced the barbarism of his "forests. The majority of educated people do not look beyond their "own horizon."

But he who respects the facts will hesitate to regard the moral- ity which prevails among us as the only natural system and to try to force it upon other nations. Although the moral system of Europe, on account of the activity of her political life, has reached an incomparably high degree of perfection and development, we hesitate for this very reason to apply this perfection attained through exceptional circumstances to all other nations. "If we expect to "find among all nations the principles which are indissolubly con- "nected with European civilization and fail to find them there, an "explanation blinded by prejudice will naturally lead to those ab- "struse hypotheses regarding the origin and permissibility of evil "which have confused some of the greatest intellects."

Such are some of the thoughts and conclusions arrived at by Bastian or through the science which he represents to-day as veteran
and past master. The aim of all science is truth, but one-sided truth is almost as bad as absolute error. The aim of true philosophy is to get a grasp of the universe and some notion of the true proportion of things. Toward this end ethnology makes one of the most valuable contributions, and it is evident that such a study lifts and inspires by widening immensely the horizon of human thought.

Bastian and those who have labored with him may regard with just satisfaction, if not with pride, the effect of their thought and their conclusions upon the collective sciences of mankind.*