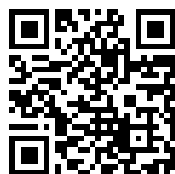

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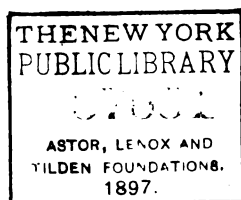
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ANCIENT CIVILIZATIONS.

BY GEORGE SHELLEY HUGHS.

DES MOINES, IOWA:
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INFANCY OF A CIVILIZATION.

1 A WRITER on ancient civilizations has a large and undefined field in which to work. He may begin wherever his fancy or predilection suggests and pass by what he does not want or need for his purposes. I shall rather make it my fault to venture too far than stop short of the leadings and probabilities; yet I shall be mindful of the force of judicious criticism and try to leave all of my sentences defensible in every particular. I shall make no effort to satisfy prejudices: if I can not cast them out I will at least not appeal to them. 775

2 The scientific theory is that the earth has grown or developed among the planets: that to a collection of nebulous matter other matter was attracted and in time there was a planet capable of sustaining very low orders of life; that from these low orders the next higher were successively developed until, a few thousand years ago, there was a primitive man, much inferior to the noble being as we know him, but possessing some of the attributes; that from this low order of mankind has been evolved the species as it is, and that evolution and refinement are inherent. 141

3 For thirty years I have earnestly tried to satisfy myself as to the facts beneath the prevalent theories and the numberless traditions. I can not conceive of a beginning of mankind, or of this earth; hence I assume that the earth has always existed in much like the present form and condition and has always been peopled. *"One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh, but the earth endureth in all time."* I believe, and shall try to prove, that there was a higher state of civilization in former times than has been attained in historic times; that at all times there have been civilized races and savages, with changes of status continually occurring, both of races separately and of the world generally. 46
49
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123
350
437
783
871

4 It is evident that if the world had a great civilization before
 55 historic times there was a retrogression to barbarism. There
 103 have been such backslidings in historic times, and I assume that
 139 they were produced, and by like causes, in prehistoric time; that
 230 races and peoples have struggled up and then selfishly and wan-
 242 tonly pulled each other down.

131 5 Civilization can not be satisfactorily defined. The superior
 864 races have always looked upon themselves as civilized and upon
 other races as barbarians or savages. Almost every race, and
 every branch of every race, has regarded itself as a superior race:
 27 the exceptions are a few instances of isolated tribes or bands that
 have degenerated from lack of communication with the moving
 world. The line between civilization and barbarism can not be
 drawn: the most highly civilized race has many serious defects
 729 in individuals and in the customs and laws that govern them,
 while the lowest forms of barbarism present some features that
 bring the blush to the civilized peoples when the respective insti-
 tutions of the two are compared. It must be admitted that if the
 767 races were called upon for a decision each would assume superi-
 ority. Each race is superior to others in some particulars, and it
 follows that superiority must be accorded in two ways: a race
 may be inferior in some elements and superior when all the ele-
 ments of its civilization are taken into account; another may be
 superior in some elements and lacking in so many as to be infe-
 215 rior. In each case the superiority or inferiority is comparative,
 764 and should be compared with other races at the same epoch of
 708 time, or at the same age from the date of origin.

6 I assume and believe, then, that the earth has always existed
 and has always had growing and decaying civilizations. The
 reader must bear this in mind throughout his reading of this
 work. In dealing with finite time and local history I must use
 language for the occasion. A continual repetition of the general
 theories would be tiresome. It is one thing to prove by a few
 40 striking facts that there was a higher state of civilization, with
 50 all that the term implies, 30,000 years ago than now, and quite
 236 another thing to prove that the world, or a part of it, was grow-
 ing better or worse at any epoch of historic time.

7 It is useless to undertake to say what were the religious
 notions of the world anterior to the time covered by history or
 246 well preserved tradition. Of course the religion or superstition

of the races in a state of barbarism has as great influence in forming and perpetuating ideas as in a civilized state, but it is hard enough to state the beliefs of a people we know: it is useless to attempt to imagine those of peoples that were extinct before the times reached by the oldest tradition.

8 I will first try to outline the slow steps from savagism to barbarism as I believe they have been taken in each instance of recovery after the world had got to the lowest depths, and have usually been continued in the process of building up a civilization in a land possessed by barbarians, when the pioneers of civilization reached it. This theory has no reference to time: I propose it for the future as well as for the past, and apply it to movements now going on in the world. 16 802

9 IN THE savage state there is no restraint but necessity and the limit to human ability. Men exercise their natural rights. It is the natural right of man to do as pleases him. Following their natural rights, men are as cruel toward each other and as regardless of each others' welfare as wild beasts could be: their reasoning faculties being blunt, serving to foster fear and jealousy rather than community of interest, they naturally seek to destroy and despoil each other. 529

10 If all men exercised their natural rights there could be no provision for future wants and needs. A man could not now, with all of our improvements and conveniences, provide for himself. While he was preparing a house or other domicile he could not, if he knew how, provide clothing and food. In the savage state man's lot is worse; for he must then protect his life against men, beasts and reptiles. Even beasts and birds of prey, though they may singly procure their food, often go in droves and flocks for protection and assistance. But men's wants are greater; and existence itself, except in a few favored spots in the temperate and torrid zones, depends upon coöperation. While man is endowed with reason and given the opportunity of development, he is also placed under the necessity of using his reason in cultivating friendly relations with fellow-beings in order to maintain himself. 80 97 544

11 The question with the savage is, how much of my natural freedom shall I surrender? That question has been asked by every man and woman in all time; for natural rights can not be

taken from mankind. It is man's natural right to do whatsoever
 109 he wills and is able to do. He must now, as always, take the
 chances on any act or failure to act. The law provides a penalty
 for theft, but every man has the natural right to take whatever he
 285 wants wherever he may find it, regardless of previous ownership.
 The law or society may punish one for exercising a natural right,
 but no law or human power can deprive a man of his natural
 rights. Writers in all ages have declared natural rights to be
 limited by lawful rights and the usages and customs of society,
 but they have confounded social rights with natural rights, as I
 think will appear from the distinction here drawn.

12 Society precedes government: the first government is pa-
 rental—the control of the parents over their children. The chil-
 dren, while submitting to the authority of their parents, have
 society among themselves, and form their own ideas of govern-
 ment while members of the family, and while under the govern-
 ment of their parents or elders. Thus has lawful government
 always been developed by the people in their capacity as mem-
 bers of society. Government by force—arbitrary and despotic—
 often happens when the families become too numerous for self-
 government or to be controlled by a patriarch. In such cases
 345 little progress is made toward civilization. A people can not
 348 develop normally when society does not consider and suggest
 866 reforms. The people must understand each other.

In the family or tribal state men do not get far away from the
 529 exercise of their natural rights. Jealousy and cupidity lead them
 567 to invade and rob each other. As society becomes repressive in
 its influence upon the members of the tribe, and government is
 strengthened through interest, there is some advancement, but
 the growth toward civilization is very slow. The first step from
 864 extermination of an enemy or a rival is subjecting him to a con-
 dition of slavery or vassalage; and this exercise of a natural
 right leads to the giving up of other natural rights and the fur-
 ther strengthening of society and government: the favored ones,
 with greater security of person and property, acquire new habits
 and become more dependent upon others.

13 Who is free? Can a man be free? Absolutely, he can not
 388 be; relatively, he may be. Man in the utterly savage state is as
 free as it is possible for him to be. There is nobody to say to
 391 him "Thou shalt not," nor even "Thou shouldst not." His

duties are all to himself. Yet he is in a most miserable plight. Paradoxical as it may seem, men become more free and independent by giving up of their rights and becoming dependent. 396 To have the benefits, advantages and protection of society, the 400 individuals that compose society must be amenable to certain 402 forms and usages. It is the natural right of man to slay a man, but in order to have society among men this right must be sur- 406 rendered. The individual may reclaim and resume the exercise of natural rights at any time, but when he does so he makes war upon society; not upon individuals, as he would in the wild state. It is then the duty of society to punish the rebellious member; for the life of society depends upon the safety it affords to its members. In the first instance, in the change from the lowest condition, the individuals have the choice of retaining their natural rights or of giving them up, but when society is organized, or grows among men, the individual becomes a part of a system and must move in harmony with other individuals. It is a question then whether he will be civil or go out of the social jurisdiction. In the savage state man has no choice but to protect himself: nobody recognizes his right to life or property. Each one is endowed with the unquestioned right to control his own acts, until he makes some compact that binds him to observe certain rights of others. All of men's natural rights have never been given up, though more have been given up in some states than in others. It is always a question with rulers, or the ruling classes, how much of their natural rights men will give up, and it is a weakness of human nature to try how far despotism may be 791 carried without causing open rebellion. On the other hand it is necessary to enforce as much law or suasion as will secure order and safety, since men are negligent of duty and prone to be self- 288 ish and shortsighted. The happy mean secures the best conditions for society, but this happy mean has been found in very few instances, if at all. Wise men turn away from the proponents of schemes and plans that are warranted to produce it, and those who look for "the millennium" are very skeptical of all other means of securing it except their own pet hobby, which is invariably indefinite and incomprehensible.

14 When men have laid down of their natural rights to an extent necessary to have society they acquire new rights and a new freedom. These are the rights and the freedom of society.

While the individual keeps the respect of his fellow-citizens, or a part of them, he will have opportunities to produce or earn the necessities of life, and will be assisted in case he is physically or
591 mentally unfitted to care for himself. If he is improvident or lazy, or covertly or openly violates the unwritten rules of society, he becomes a renegade and is liable to be cast out.

15 It has been said that "government is the badge of lost innocence." Society has no other means of enforcing its decrees than by "withdrawing from evil doers," withholding its respect and aid from those who exercise their natural rights; and when the existence of society is threatened, it becomes necessary to institute government—some definite, more repressive and regular manner of dealing with malefactors. Government being set up and recognized, there is a third kind of rights—legal rights. To have government and law it is necessary to give up to some extent both natural and social rights. Individuals surrender more of their freedom, yet men are freer, because of the greater protection and safety.

To have the greatest possible degree of freedom is the desire of all people. To have real freedom, the freedom of civilization, the freedom that will permit of the culture of the individual, there must be good government and intelligent, discriminating society. The natural and inalienable rights of men must be abridged only so far as necessary. Despotism and persecution evoke a disposition to resort to the exercise of natural rights, and work more
402 mischief than lax government: they cause men to lose respect for government and law.

16 As members of society men become more and more helpful to each other, and even in a low barbaric state the employments and cares are set apart to individuals, that the tribe may be provided with food, raiment and habitation. Where the family relation is maintained one family will have better success in getting or doing one thing, another family another thing, and gifts and exchanges will be made. In time the exchange of articles will become more general among the members of the tribe, and where two tribes become neighborly gifts and exchanges naturally follow, and, the benefits being mutual, both tribes are better supplied with necessities, comforts and luxuries. Among barbarians gifts are the rule rather than exchanges, but where gifts are made gifts or favors are expected, and the gifts are virtually

exchanges as civilized people understand them. Exchanges or gifts in any manner mark the difference between barbarians and savages. The freedom and extent of exchanges also mark the degree of barbarism or civilization to which a race or people has attained.

17 When exchanges begin to be made among tribes the benefits are apparent, and where they continue long enough for the people to adapt themselves to the comforts and conveniences each participant will try to obtain or produce the things desired by others. Thus the tribes, and afterward the nations, become dependent upon each other. It is found that every new thing calls for new material, and no locality can produce half the materials. Further and further they must go to make exchanges and get the materials and articles, until aggressive war or prejudice puts a stop to intercourse.

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18 When members of a tribe or citizens of a country go to trade in other jurisdictions they have not at first the protection of society or government at home, but must risk their lives and property. In time, after the sacrifice of many pioneer traders, there is an understanding that alien traders are to be respected under certain conditions and restrictions. It may be said that men under such agreements acquire a fourth kind of rights—inter-tribal or inter-national rights. To gain these rights and immunities, government, society and individuals must give up some of the rights previously held. In some instances the rulers of two countries establish trade relations and encourage the citizens to visit and trade with each other. This is after much progress has been made by the subjects in exchanging products and developing art, science and trade, as well as an acquaintance with each other. In most parts the more natural method of taking by force and destroying what is not wanted is employed; and even this is not always without benefit to succeeding generations; for new articles that are found to be useful or desirable become necessities and must be made at home or brought from abroad, in either case initiating new industries and widening the skill and intelligence of the people.

264

19 Duties go with all rights except natural rights. In the family the individual has assistance from his brethren and is in duty bound to reciprocate the benefits and cares. With government the duties are widened to correspond with the security and

opportunities. Selfish and despotic rulers and leaders have ever dwelt upon the duties of the citizen; demagogic agitators, on the other hand, have dwelt upon the rights of the citizen. It is difficult for society and government to control the passions of the people when demagogues are listened to; it is also difficult for society to persuade outraged and spirited citizens to submit when despotic government, or a despot in the name of government, oppresses them and shows no respect for the individual's natural and social rights which he has not surrendered. Lawlessness brings danger to all. It may be invited by any class of citizens,
 827 and is often brought out by those whose duty it is to suppress it,
 110 and by the very means they mistakenly or selfishly use to keep it down.

The place to teach the duties is in society. When government usurps this function, or when there is an alliance between government and some of the functions that properly belong to society, the citizens will not be treated impartially. One class will oppress another and expect the oppressed to be obedient. If the oppressed are passive the oppressors will make the yoke heavier and firmer, teaching their victims the while that obedience is patriotic. If society is distracted and unorganized the social duties will not be taught. In that case the government must be by force, and will be harsh.

20 Why does Providence so distribute the resources of the earth that the inhabitants must visit each other and make ex-
 304 changes in order to maintain existence? Why does a beneficent Providence so order the workings of nature that famine, convulsions and pestilence drive the denizens from one habitat to another? It is decreed that the various races and peoples shall
 152 commingle and be inter-dependent, and these are the primary means to force men to break down barriers and keep open the
 275 highways of traffic and travel. Ignorance, prejudice and selfishness say, "Keep what you have and take care of self; let others do as they can, but keep away from them and keep them away
 483 from you." Necessity says, "Exchange the things you have and can make for the things you have not and can not make; let others come to you, and you go to them, that you and they may know what each has for exchange; and if your present location will not afford a living go and find one that will, and occupy it, even if you have to take it by force." This taking by force is an

exercise of natural rights, but natural rights are to be exercised when occasion demands. Without the exercise of natural rights against narrow usages of society and obstructive laws of government there are frequent times when society and government would die with congestion or paralysis and the world illapse into barbarism, even savagery. When this obstruction occurs the only remedy is the exercise of natural rights. Migrations and settlements without the consent of the natives have taken place in all parts of the earth and in all ages.

21 When you sit at a table liberally supplied with the substantials and delicacies you do not inquire how large a part of the earth has contributed to the variety of eatables. Probably every continent and many islands of the sea have sent of their choicest products that you may have this bountiful repast. Is there any article that you would give up? If there was one you would not have bought it, for it has cost money. Now think what you would have in the low barbaric state. Only the things that are indigenous in your neighborhood, for most of the things grown and produced there now are not indigenous, but have been brought from all parts of the earth and acclimated. The barbarian knows only of the things that are indigenous in his locality, and is averse to going abroad to get new varieties or allowing 411 others to bring them. And not having had repeated object-lessons, he is fearful and jealous. Necessity, curiosity and love of adventure lead some tribes and races to visit distant parts and spread knowledge, but the conservative barbarian can see no good reason why others should not stay at home and mind their own business and let him alone; or why he should not kill them and take their effects.

22 The first people to go away from home to trade probably have little respect for others: they go for profit to themselves and take things of little value to trade for things of great value. But in time the people who are cheated retaliate in some manner and the traders learn that a reputation is worth much away from home. Each individual acquires a reputation, and all the traders of a tribe or country acquire a general reputation. This is a benefit that is not always accredited to commerce and navigation, yet it is an inestimable help in creating confidence and good will among men. To obtain the products of a foreign land the trader 757 must so comport himself as not to excite envy, jealousy or

fear, and, hard as the task is, he must restrain himself and allay the promptings of nature in his barbarian customers. This civility may at first be simulated, but, if so, it grows into habit and has the effect of making those who come in contact with it more civil. In natural sequence this improvement in outward forms works an improvement in the hearts of men. I say this kind of simulation works a change in the habits and thoughts, because it is connected with practical business and industry. It is not mere theory or profession, but daily practice, and becomes natural in the individual. At first the traders may care little for reputation; then they want a good reputation; then they work to improve their character.

23 Another view of the importance of traffic and travel in the civilizing of the peoples of the earth. Whether barbarian or civilized, a people must expect migrations or invasions from outside. Among the civilized nations wars have been frequent: in the barbaric state they are almost continual, though smaller numbers are usually engaged. Wars result from jealousy or desire for empty glory. The traders are peace-makers. They demonstrate that individuals in different nations can by exchange obtain all the commodities each can spare, without the loss of life and destruction of property entailed by war. In case of war the victors pay dearly for what they get, the vanquished lose all, and general demoralization ensues in most instances. Then it may occur to the more peaceable and enlightened that they must not only improve the ethics of their own race, but also of the people with whom they trade or who might invade them. Is there a tribe that thinks only of the club and the arrow? It must be taught, by pacific means if possible, by force if necessary, that there is a better way of maintaining existence. If the warring or seclusive tribe is too powerful for the peace-makers they do then what is too often done in civilized communities: they despoil and destroy the traders and delay civilization until some other people rise and again set in motion the caravans of trade. It is, then, the mission of trade and commerce to inaugurate the ways of peace; to lead men to work and think with all mankind instead of trying to exterminate their neighbors.

This is the work of society, so far as society can perform it. Such a work by society has a powerful and beneficial reflex influence upon the people who are intelligent and humane enough to

undertake it. It is a fact that a people may be controlled and governed to some extent by law, but the administrators of the law may themselves be no better than those who are controlled. The administrators are often superior to the law and not amenable to it. In such case when the law fails the natural instincts of men are left without restraint. When, however, men are won by ensample and suasion, the better part of religion, to have regard for the social and property rights of others, they are made permanently better: they themselves become an example to others and are enlisted in the cause of practical reformation. They establish and maintain confidence. Thus are formed the closest ties that ever bind together individuals, whether of one country or of different races or countries.

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Such missionary enterprises have been engaged in on a large scale in historic times: it is fair to suppose that prehistoric tribes and races did likewise; that it is a part of the divine plan. It is also certain that the successful missionaries in prehistoric times appealed to the self-interest and manhood of the people whom they would help. If they went to strangers and proclaimed that they were of a superior race and that all that was necessary for the welfare and happiness of the strangers was to do as they suggested, the heathen would be offended and would treat them with indignity; but if they met the strangers as men of equal understanding, whether they were or not, and exchanged articles and opinions fairly, they might gain their confidence and good will and both parties be benefited spiritually and temporally.

24 THE IDEA of social inter-dependence may be carried further, beyond the bounds of our earth. The universe is boundless. The planets are innumerable. They are inter-dependent, and we do not know to what extent we on this planet are dependent upon the other planets—upon the inhabitants of other planets. If spirit is eternal it is not probable that an individual spirit is confined to one planet, but very probable that it traverses the thoroughfares of the universe and visits, even inhabits, a great number of planets. If this is allowed, and each finite existence adds to or takes from the force, proclivities and idiosyncrasies of the individual spirit, it follows that the improvement or decadence of the inhabitants of each planet must have an effect upon the inhabitants on all the planets. This theory or idea pre-

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supposes that the planets are inhabited, but by no means makes it necessary to prove or believe that physical conditions are the same on the planets, or any two of them. The planets may be so different in composition and nature that an inhabitant of one could not, if transported bodily to another, endure the change, but birth could supply a body suitable to the better or worse conditions, and do this without impairing the character of the individual spirit. This is pure speculation, and must be taken as such. We know, however, that all the movements of our earth are in harmony with those of all the heavenly bodies, and that all science has resulted from study of the heavens. Then why not go further and enlarge the social view? If the study of the heavens gives scientific knowledge, enables navigators to sail the oceans and caravans to traverse the pathless deserts, why should not a study of planetary sociology lead us to a knowledge of the true social order? We are not without evidence that this is the key to the world-wide religion of the great civilization just previous to historic time. The names of the principal gods were the same as those of the planets in our solar system, while the Sun was the great god.

25 IT WAS Cowper, than who there has been no more divinely-inspired poet, that wrote :

“ The band of commerce was designed
To associate all the branches of mankind ;
And if a boundless plenty be the robe,
Trade is the golden girdle of the globe.
Wise to promote whatever end he means,
God opens fruitful Nature's various scenes;
Each climate needs what other climes produce,
And offers something to the general use ;
No land but listens to the common call,
And in return receives supply from all.
This genial intercourse, and mutual aid,
Cheers what were else a universal shade,
Calls Nature from her ivy-mantled den,
And softens human rock-work into men.”

THEORY AND TRADITION.

26 HAVING STARTED with the theory that American aborigines came from Asia through Bering's Strait or by slow stages by way of the Aleutian Islands, no other theory of the origin of the prehistoric Americans has been held by a considerable number of scholars. I am confident, however, that in time the theory here presented, not as entirely new, will be accepted. 37

27 As far back as tradition reaches there was a habit of some energetic branches of the human species to move westward. In times covered by history and the monuments of tradition the movement westward through Asia and Europe and across the Atlantic to America has been steady and continuous. I hope to give good reason for the theory that the course of migration has always been around the globe toward the west; that in every age of the world there has been a center of civilization; that this center has remained a certain time in one block of territory and then has been transferred to another locality; that the new seat has always been west of the old, the boundaries of the political systems joining where not separated by great bodies of water or stretches of desert waste. 45

28 No CONDITION is permanent, nothing is stationary, everything in the universe is undergoing change continually. The processes of nature may be slow, but they do not stop. Everything that is formed is composed of the remains of other bodies that have decayed. Nothing can grow but from matter that has resulted from decay or destruction of other things. Matter can not be destroyed, but it is ever changing. The grain of sand that comes from the bottom of a deep well may have been there thousands of years, or it may have been there only a short time. The water in the well changes every day, and as it soaks through

the ground it takes matter along with it. Thus the matter that is far beneath the surface is not permitted to be still. Some rocks grow as do plants and trees. They grow, die, and decay. While they are growing the matter forming them is absorbed and disposed of as in the growth of plants. Other rocks are the result of a hardening of clay or marl. In each kind the process of disintegration follows maturity.

If nothing else in this living world is permitted to remain in one location or condition, how can man hope to sit down and remain in one place? He can not do it. When his condition and circumstances are pleasant and comfortable he desires to be left alone, but he will not be for long. The forces of nature, as well as the envy and cupidity of fellow-man, will compel him to be alert, and though watchful and industrious he may be unfortunate and his possessions be destroyed or pass to others.

29 It is now admitted generally that all the land of the earth has been under the ocean bed and all the present ocean bed has been land. There are mountains and valleys and plains in the
55 ocean the same as on land surface.

30 When America and Africa were explored in modern times, and maps of them were made, a striking adaptation in the outlines was observed. The supposition that once the Western
58 Continent was a part of the Eastern Continent, and was separated and thrown off by a mighty convulsion, suggested itself. The two continents might now be reunited, or united, without leaving big gaps for seas.

No less remarkable is the relation between Africa and Europe. There may once have been ocean between them, and also between Europe and Asia. In fact there are five distinct continents—Asia, Africa, Europe, North America, South America—
33 to say nothing of Polynesia, which was once a vast continent, or of Australia, which is really a continent.

31 On the western coast of both Americas is a range of volcanoes. The highest volcano in the world is in Chile—Aconcagua, 23,944 feet. There are three distinct ranges in the Andes Mountains, with many cones from 17,000 to 20,000 feet. In Central America and Mexico there are some celebrated volcanoes; there are several in California; Mount Tacoma and Mount Baker, in Washington, have been volcanic and are believed to be yet, and all along the coast to and through Alaska cones are

found at intervals so short that everywhere one is in sight. Some of the Alaskan cones are very high, and have been seen in eruption.

Running from Alaska to Kamchatka is a volcanic range across the Pacific. This range turns southward near the Asiatic shore and runs through Jesso, Nippon, Loo-Choo and Formosa to the Philippine Islands and the Moluccas. Java is the most volcanic region of the earth, unless Iceland can compare with it. In all this volcanic region land may sink beneath the waves, or the sea bottom be thrust thousands of feet high, at any time. The Olympic Mountains, in Washington, rise to an enormous height abruptly out of the deep waters of the Pacific.

32 Wherever there are volcanoes there are earthquakes, or the statement might be reversed, for it is the earthquake that causes the volcano, or they both result from the same cause. If we assume that the matter at the center of the earth is molten we can understand how volcanoes and earthquakes are produced. Anything that causes a commotion will cause the liquid mass to flow and ebb. A hole burned in the crust between the ocean above and the molten mass beneath would produce steam and gas, and probably an explosion. The water continuing to pour in, the vent made by the explosion would continue to make an outlet for the molten matter. But before the lava found its way to the surface there would be earth and water to come out, and if there was an underground current the earth and water might form mud and the lava might find no outlet at all, but take the place of the earth ejected. And this happens. In 1797 an eruption of mud in Quito, in the Andes range, filled valleys a thousand feet wide to a depth of six hundred feet.

A slight cause of commotion might precipitate a much greater commotion in a distant place, wherever the pressure of the liquid mass found a weak spot in the crust. Suppose, for instance, a chunk of solid matter a mile square should sink at one place and increase the pressure from the center toward the surface. At another place, far away, there may be a spot too weak to resist the shock, and a rent occurs. If there is ocean above, or a current of water above or below land surface, the inflowing water will cause an explosion and a much greater shock than the first. This would revert to the first point and cause another shock there. Now Lima was destroyed by earthquake in 1746, and

the same night four new volcanoes burst out in the Andes. The great earthquake at Lisbon in 1755 destroyed 60,000 persons in about six minutes. The first intimation was the sinking of a new quay. Where it had stood the water was soon afterward 600 feet deep. Some of the most violent eruptions ever known followed; a great wave swept over the coasts of Spain, said to have been sixty feet high at Cadiz; at Funchal, in Madeira, the water rose fifteen feet. These phenomena show that the liquid mass in flowing and ebbing caused the crust above to rise and fall. At Tangier, in Africa, the ebb and flow occurred eighteen times.

30 33 There was once a great continent where now is Polynesia.
36 The numerous islands there now are of three kinds: those that were the mountain peaks of the continent and have not yet sunk beneath the waves; those raised by volcanic action; the coral islands built by marine insects on the peaks not sunk deeper than 150 feet, as deep as the coral can go. In many of the islands now high above tide-water are coral formations, showing that volcanic action threw them up after the coral had built them up to high-water mark; the coral being a minute insect incapable of living out of its element.

While the western coast of America has been rising, the eastern coast of Asia as well as Polynesia has been sinking, and is still sinking, so that in a few thousand years a large part of China and all the Pacific islands will be submerged, if the changes continue with the present trend.

34 A large or small tract of the earth's surface may rise or fall. Some parts show that while submerged the former crust was covered by washings of the ocean, and geologists distinguish several eras of formation, some of which occurred by shifting and washing while the surface was out of the water. Sometimes a stratum is carried away, leaving a gap in the strata. If the land remains a long time out of water the processes of nature change its make-up and appearance. In North America there are many geologic areas. In Nebraska and the Dakotas there are numerous remains of the ocean. Wherever a stream washes itself a bed below the last geologic deposit there are seen relics of sea life in good state of preservation. Only some fifty feet of soil now cover the old ocean bed. This matter came from other places: it was not spontaneously created or brought from other planets: strata in other places suffered. The Rocky Mountains

divide a new part from an older. The western part was raised long before or after the eastern part. Then Vancouver Island is different from the mainland, and the Olympic range differs from both. Another range, between the Rockies and Puget Sound and the Straits of Georgia—the Selkirk range—is different from all the others.

35 Geologists say these changes were once easier, more liable, but that as the world grows older and cools off they occur more rarely and sometime they will cease altogether. I deny these assumptions and shall try to prove what seems to me a more rational theory. 46

36 The inhabitants of Polynesia are of several distinct types. The Papuans resemble the Africans, and the Malays came from Asia. Australia is different from all the rest of the world in almost all particulars. These similarities and dissimilarities indicate changes in the land surface while present races have existed, not millions of years ago, when it is asserted the earth was only preparing to receive man and the highly developed animals. Though they might occur with the surface fixed and stationary, yet as we see there have been great changes we may reasonably assume that some parts now widely separated, since their inhabitants show close racial similarities, were once joined by land, or were much nearer each other; as, for instance, the Papuans and the South Africans, neither of whom have in historic times been wanderers. 33

37 Not more than a beginning has been made in archæologic research in America, but what has been done shows that there are remains of a civilization higher than any discovered by Columbus, and so ancient as to have no connection with anything on the surface and easily recognized. In a few years the remains of this ancient civilization will be subjected to as searching investigation as that now being prosecuted in Assyria and Egypt, and with as rich results. I anticipate that there will be convincing proof that the course of civilization was from America to Asia, if such proof is not already at hand; that there was a great civilization in America when Asia was barbarous. 26

38 THE EARTH is not regular or steady in its movements. It turns upon its axis in 23 hours, 56 minutes, 4 seconds, star time, or 24 hours of sun time. This motion makes day and night;

turns nearly all of the earth's surface to the sun's light every day; at the equinoxes all the earth receives sunshine for just 12 hours for one day. The only other well known motion is that around the sun in 365 days, 5 hours, 48 minutes, 46 seconds. How the earth got these motions is not known, but we know that it has them. Hard study, with consecutive observation for thousands of years, led some bold astronomers and geographers to the theory, and navigators proved that the earth was round, when the rest that we know was easily learned. Theorizing as to the cause or origin of the earth's movements has led to the discovery of useful knowledge, but dogmatic assertion in matters that can not be proven is provocative of harm. The attempt to prove an assumption may be suggestive of useful knowledge, but only Providence could tell us the facts of the origin of the earth's movements. I assume that there was no beginning or origin, simply because I can not imagine it.

39 If a man went around the earth just fast enough, going from west to east, to make the circuit in 365 days, he would be on the road 366 calendar days; that is, he could see the sun rise 366 times. If he went from east to west, in 365 calendar days he could see the sun rise 364 times only. Going west, his days would be as much longer as the time consumed by the sun in moving the distance of the day's journey, or an average of 3 minutes, 56 seconds. Going east, his day would be about so much shorter. Now if in making its voyage around the sun in a year the earth should turn round only once it would present only one side to the sun; or, stated the reverse way, if it should always present the same side to the sun it would turn round once; so that its revolution around the sun in a year is equal to one revolution on its axis. Astronomers know this because there is an entire change of stars overhead each six months, while the same stars are there on any given night in the year.

The day measured by the rising of the stars is 24 hours long. A clock-maker can set a clock to count 30 hours in a day, or any other number, and our clocks are set to run 24 hours in the day and night, to keep sun time and make a fraction over 365 days in a year. But sidereal time must be kept to regulate sun time, since the earth actually moves in its orbit and apparently turns on its axis faster in parts of the year than in other parts, the difference being as much as 16 minutes in the day, fast or

slow, from the normal or sidereal time, or 32 minutes in the extreme. Time pieces could not be set to keep time with the sun in this irregularity, hence the star time must be known and the sun time corrected by it. When all this was known and calculations were made it was found that there was a difference between sun and sidereal time in a year—but I reserve this irregularity to a more convenient occasion when it may be more profitably discussed. 231

40 The earth in going around the sun describes a path somewhat like the outline of a nearly round melon. Geologists try to explain this motion and orbit by assuming that when the accretions of matter which formed the inchoate earth had become bulky and ponderous the sun, being bigger and heavier, exerted a strong attraction, and the earth started toward the sun but missed it and went a like distance beyond it; then it started back toward the sun and missed it again, going on the other side; this driving at the sun and missing it became a regular pastime with the earth, hence its motion and orbit. Science had constructed a theory in which Providence had no part, and when it was discovered a few years ago that the earth was drawing its paths closer together in the center, so that on each voyage around the sun it was approaching nearer, they informed the world that the earth would eventually fall into the sun. The wise materialists were scared. They could calculate just how many millions of years would elapse before the final catastrophe, but long before that time the face of the earth would be scorched and all life destroyed. Before the unscientific world got scared the scientists announced that this was probably one of the ludicrous habits of the earth and somewhat regular; that the earth would go back to its wide path and not rush to destruction, and this idea is now accepted.

The civilized peoples wonder at and deplore the ignorant fears of barbarians, and the educated in civilized countries deride the superstitions of the unlearned, but when it comes to placing an age upon the earth or predicting its ruin or annihilation as a planet the highest science is on a level with the savage. Science laughs at the predictions of ignorant religious enthusiasts who announce the end of the earth, but scientists err when they predict, and deserve no more charity than is accorded to others. The earth changes its path, but it knows what it is doing and will take care of itself. 121
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41 The earth is not exactly round. The distance through it is greater at the equator, east and west, than it is from pole to pole. If you put mud on a shaft and turn it around as fast as it will go without flying off it will have a tendency to accumulate at the center, or at what might be called its equator. This, astronomers and geologists say, is what happened on this earth when it was new and soft. The matter piled up and formed a ring around the center, at the equator. The matter at the poles was drawn inward and that part of the globe flattened by the revolving motion. If the mud on the shaft was revolved a long time, and remained soft, it would continue to be drawn to the center until it would assume somewhat the shape of a grindstone. This, too, would have happened this earth if it had not hardened at the surface. I do not accept the theory that the earth was once soft, or other than it is now, practically, so I must account for the bulge in some other way.

42 Six months the sun is north of the equator and six months south of it, in round numbers. But in fact the sun stays in the northern hemisphere 7 days and 16 hours longer than in the southern. This makes a greater average annual amount of heat in the northern hemisphere than in the southern. It is true that the summer time comes to the southern hemisphere when the earth is nearest the sun, and it is thought that this brings greater heat for a time in the southern than in the northern, but there are no data to show that this is a fact. It is admitted that the summer temperature averages higher at the same degree of latitude in the northern than in the southern hemisphere. The great difference in extent of land and water in the two hemispheres has much to do with difference in temperature.

43 In the earth's present shape and make-up there is much more land in the northern hemisphere than in the southern. If the reverse had been the case the importance that has attached to the northern hemisphere and pole would have attached to the southern. There is no understood difference between the two except in the surface. If the course of civilization during historic time had been in the southern hemisphere the investigators would have taken the south pole for a basis. If the earth had been found in the heavens with the parts that are the poles in the place where now is the equator the investigations and calculations would have been about as they have been, as also the find-

ings as to the poles and the equator. There would be a different placement of land and water, with probably a small amount of land at the equator. So far as man knows, the plans of Providence do not require that this sphere shall be fixed. Indeed, the all-pervading order of change would indicate the intention of Providence to manage this earth in such manner that all parts of it shall at times be presented to the gaze of the sun. "The hidden things shall be brought to light, and those that are in the light shall find darkness."

44 I once heard a series of lectures on "The Earth" by a man who had had a scientific education, though he was then working at some novel theories. I do not recall the name of the lecturer, but I remember the outlines of the lectures. Some of the points were that the northern hemisphere is warmer than the southern; that ice is accumulating at the south pole and disappearing at the north pole; that the ocean currents are toward the north; that the water flows into the earth at the north pole and out at the south pole; that the sun always shines into the earth at the north pole and never at the south pole, etc. Some of the deductions were that there was eternal sunshine inside of the earth; that the climate there was very pleasant and even; that by reason of the top-heavy accumulation at the south pole there occurred once in about ten thousand years a change of position, when the poles exchanged places, and the course was gone through again; that when this change occurred there was a new placement of land and water, with consequent destruction of living beings; that at this time communication between the inside of the earth and the outside was open for a time, by way of the old north pole, until the ocean currents found a way through the ice at the new north pole, when communication ceased, or did cease soon after the last change of the poles. The lecturer believed it was feasible now for a fast-sailing vessel to go into the earth at the north pole and return. In this way the lecturer would also account for the appearance and disappearance of the behemoth and other species of animals of a former time.

This theory would not allow for any change in the polarity of the earth. The north pole would become the south pole, but the equator would always remain on that part of the planet where it now is. The tropic of Cancer would become the tropic of Capricorn, but the land along the line of the present tropics would

still be the line between the tropics and the temperate zones. This would not allow the parts of the earth to occupy the different positions and suffer all the extremes. It might account for the greater amount of water surface and smaller amount of land surface in the southern hemisphere than in the northern, and the changing of land and water might account for many of the phenomena of geology, but it would not account for extreme heat at some time in the present lands of the far north and south nor for extreme cold in the present equatorial belt. All the phenomena of geology and astronomy can be accounted for by the theory that the earth has always existed, and has always been inhabited by people about like those of historic time.

- 45 I am not writing a work on astronomy or geology: I am
27 trying to account for the westward movement of man, and I must make astronomic and geologic facts and deductions aid me in doing it. I assume that the earth is for habitation and use, and always has been. The geologists, leaving out spirit and studying only matter, have arrived at a theory that many millions of years ago this earth was not in existence. First, there was a collection
2 of gases, which, increasing in volume and taking on a whirling motion, became red with heat, as our sun now is, though the gas was not consumed; masses and particles of matter continued to be attracted by the ball of revolving, flaming gas, and, being incorporated with the gas, became molten, or rather were resolved into the gaseous state; after millions of years of this growth and motion the mass became so bulky as to lose some of its velocity, and began to cool; after other millions of years there formed a crust on the outside; then this crust was broken in places and molten matter issued forth and formed mountains, the intervals becoming water beds, which were filled with water as soon as cool enough to cause its condensation and separation from the gas or nebulous mass; that from this state of intense heat the mass has always been cooling, and will continue to cool until the temperature falls several hundred degrees below zero, when it will sometime break up and its elements be scattered in space again, as they were before being attracted hither.

This part of geology is all theory, the worst kind of theory, because it allows of no spiritual power or influence. As the mind of man has power over matter, so has the spirit world, or Providence, or God, power over matter in a relatively greater

degree. We do not always see the relation of spirit to matter, but we see it so often that the fact of superhuman providence is palpable.

46 The movements and changes of the earth are to maintain its usefulness. Why should Providence be careful in adjusting the movements of the earth for its preservation while allowing it to remain in a useless state for millions of years before it matured into a habitation for vegetable and animal life, and then after a few thousand years, or millions even, allow it to illapse into a useless state again? When men build up a world-theory on materialism they are confounded. The geologists have been led by a study of matter, insensate matter, to assert that during the æons of time when the earth was cooling there was an æon of cold so intense that the oceans were frozen solid; that when heat began to return there was a struggle between heat and cold for millions of years; that the waters caught up mountains of ice containing huge rocks that had been broken off in thawing, and that from their scouring and erosion resulted the sand and soil. The two statements—of heat and cold—are directly contradictory of each other, and ridiculous.

47 Now the study of geology has brought great benefit to the world. The mining and many other industries would be in their infancy now but for the geologists. Geology consists in two parts, practical and speculative. The first is all useful, but the second is doubtful. Geology has also been divided into theoretic and speculative. The theories of geology are usually along practical lines; in fact theory usually must precede knowledge. But speculation should not be allowed to crystallize into dogmatic assumption.

The spirit of investigation has led physicists to weigh the sun and the planets: it has led them to ascertain where the sun gets its fuel, and the quantity: it has led them to calculate the exact amount of heat emitted by the sun, the amount absorbed by the planets, and the amount of waste: it has led them to ascertain the amount utilized and wasted by each planet. Thus far it is reasonable: it is a matter of calculation upon a basis of close observation, and has led to important discoveries. But it has led some scientists to declare that there is a gradual net loss of fuel, and that consequently in time our solar system will die of lack of heat. This is materialistic speculation. Another generation will

see the fallacy of such speculation, as happened a few thousand years ago, and there will be another retrogression from material to spiritual dogmatism. Then what is now called science will, except some of the salient features that accord with spiritual ideas, be forgotten. In the meantime there will intervene a cycle of rational thought and investigation, when all that is known may be reconciled with the eternal ways of Providence.

48 It may be clearly seen that there can be no loss or destruction of matter or spirit; that what seems to be destruction is only change; that while all matter is capable of being converted into gas, yet only a certain small part of the matter in our solar system can be converted into gas at one time or in one place. The rays of the sun are material: they are emitted from the central storehouse and laboratory to all parts of the system, to give light and heat, and are emitted in great excess of daily need, that they may be stored in various ways for use on the planets when the sun's heat is weak or almost shut off. Without the rays of the sun there can be no vegetable growth: all vegetable growth is in effect an imprisonment or storing of the material rays of the sun. Corn grows at night, apparently: it stretches out and draws in moisture and a very small quantity of earthy matter with which to form cells to catch and hold the rays of the sun. If the rays do not come, the stalk is watery and weak, though it may appear strong and healthy. If the stalk receives the rays so fast or so constantly that it can not form the cells or comb, or if the moisture is scant, it must stop growing. Fire is a process of freeing these rays: when the latent heat becomes active the apparent substance is mostly consumed. But there is no destruction. What was earthy, including the water, remains on earth, but the sun's part returns to the sun to be revived. There is, then, a current of returning as well as of outgoing rays, and the sun is eternally replenished with fuel.

49 A movement of the axis would account for the phenomena which have led geologists and astronomers to believe that the earth, all parts at one time, was successively molten and frozen, before being set off into frigid, temperate and torrid zones. What the earth is in the center we do not know: it may be molten; certainly the molten matter thrown out of volcanoes would indicate that it is. If the phenomena attributed to intense heat be thus explained all the other phenomena of geology can be recon-

ciled to the theories that the world has always existed, that it was never new and never will be old.

If the heat at the center, or somewhere beneath the crust, is so intense as to melt all matter coming there, and if there is a disposition of matter to seek the center and displace matter already there, as there is a disposition of cold air and water to go to the equator and of the warm to the poles, tending to equalize the temperatures, we need not be dependent upon the speculations of materialists for a cosmogony, but may trust that there is a Providence that preserves the universe, and will not allow the planets to be idle and useless for millions of years at a time. Let the speculators stop their expansion of world-building long enough, at least, to demonstrate that there could have been a beginning of life of any kind on this planet, or of any finite existence. The origin of species is a puzzle to them; the origin of the first germ is beyond human comprehension. 3

50 We see, then, that the earth is continuously suffering changes in its relations to the sun, and these changes produce great changes in its physical condition and surface. Everything tends to change, yet the earth remains in its entirety as a sphere without material change. The geologic strata in places may withstand the forces of nature for a million years, as geologists say, but, if so, other strata now forming will be here to excite study a million years hence.

51 One of the unsolved problems of this age is the magnet. It was at one time supposed to point to the exact north, but it does not. It varies in different localities, and even in a given locality it varies for different hours of day and night. It shows that there are changes in the center of attraction, and these changes indicate motions not yet understood. Is there an ebb and flow of the matter within the crust of the earth? It seems that there is, and this may some time help to explain some of the phenomena not now understood. 272

52 The change of axis may be so slow as to be imperceptible, yet so regular as to cause changes in the earth's surface and force men and the animals to move from one habitat to another. In the course of the changes some of the surface covered by water may be left dry land and some dry land become ocean bottom: the parts reaching the equator would bulge, or water would be collected there, while at the poles a flattening would occur.

Gradual as might be these changes of axis, there would be times when great commotions would occur; as when the water in a pond starts an outlet and the stream, small at first, wears away the embankment and makes an exit that will permit the flow of the whole body in a great and onbearing stream. There are in the world to-day great bodies of water far above the level of the sea. When the earth changes a little further they will find a weak or low spot, their waters will go into the great body of the oceans, and the present beds will be dry land. On the other hand, lakes and seas will be made: necks and arms of the ocean will be shut in, or depressions of land will be filled by streams or springs.

53 We do not indeed have to believe that changes are always slow. We know that all the water currents of the world, from the smallest to the greatest, are continually changing the location of matter. Even the winds carry immense quantities of matter from place to place. The coral reefs are continually growing. But while these gradual changes are going on there may sometimes be great changes. The mountain chains were thrown up from a greater depth than man has been able to reach. These mountains are being leveled by natural causes and scientists can calculate how long a time may elapse before the eminences may be lowered and the earth's surface be almost level. If these changes should occur the surface would be covered with water, since there is enough water to cover the level earth at least fifty feet deep. I assume that what has happened will happen. These mountains were cast up by internal forces, and the same forces will cast up other mountains and continents, while those that we know will sink into the center of the earth to be resolved and reformed. A series of changes may also leave man on the surface with other metals: iron may be scarce and gold plentiful.

54 The most constant natural incentive or constraint upon man to move westward is the course of the prevailing winds and tides at and near the equator. For thirty degrees each side of the equator, or a distance of some 4,000 miles, the winds and ocean currents are nearly everywhere to the west, and in most localities almost due west. Further north the winds in the northern hemisphere are either from N. E. to S. W. or variable. The same is true of the southern hemisphere south of the thirtieth degree except that the regular winds are from S. E. to N. W.

Then if a boatman starts out for discovery, or is driven from land, he is likely to drift westwardly. Nature or Providence intended that migrations should occur, and made the conditions such that men can not resist the impulse or necessity. It is not enough that men should move: they must have a general direction: they must go from the rising toward the setting sun. 152

55 NOW LET US suppose that some thousands of years ago there was world-wide civilization; that all the parts of the earth had been explored and the peoples of the several continents were informed of the location of all other parts. We may suppose that in the conservatism of the time there would be no precaution against impending rupture from natural causes; or, if there was, that the convulsions were so violent as to destroy great tracts of territory, probably a continent, and in other places cast up barren wastes of ocean bed. This might happen in one part of the earth without seriously affecting other parts. The parts approaching the poles, if the convulsions were caused by change of polarity, would become uninhabitable, while the parts receding from the poles would become habitable again, and other parts would pass from one zone to another. If the convulsions were caused by volcanic action, accompanied by earthquake, the climates would be affected though the lines of latitude remained the same. In any such catastrophe the lines of communication would be broken and the isolated peoples would slowly return to barbarism. 225 29

56 There will be no attempt to prove or disprove Genesis, but to interpret it. All ancient scripture is valuable: none that has come down to us can be spared. Passages that were unintelligible a century ago are now satisfactorily explained by means of the monuments and relics that have been discovered, together with a key to the archaic characters of the inscriptions. A fear that their theories and systems would be overturned has led professors of religion to oppose investigation, and the hope of accomplishing that end has led skeptics to push on the investigation, but the effect has been to bring proponents and opponents closer together and take away prejudice, leaving all parties freer to exercise their minds.

57 My theories do not admit of creation, so the first thing to do is to interpret Genesis, since I do not reject any ancient writing that is capable of interpretation: of course if it can not be interpreted or understood it is useless.

30 58 The earth was in chaos, and darkness rested upon it; that is, that part under discussion; the writers of Genesis knew of a very small part of the earth. There had been a cataclysm, or severe earthquakes, or other great change and disaster, and the earth was beclouded. When the convulsions ceased and the sun shone again upon the disturbed land all life was wanting in a large district. Then the waters became normally calm in their new beds with new boundaries. In a short time grass and trees spread over the new ground; what had been, in part at least, ocean bed. It is surprising how quickly new ground will be grassed when the conditions are favorable. In a desert where grass was never known to grow it will spring up as soon as there is moisture to sustain it. On the prairie where only one kind of grass has grown for centuries other kinds will spring up as soon as the ground is plowed to make the conditions suitable for the more tender varieties; and weeds also. The same apparent spontaneity is true of fishes and reptiles: it is almost impossible to keep them out of living water in the temperate and torrid zones: but it is not necessary to suppose that the inhabitants of the waters were destroyed. When the grasses and trees had spread over the new land the wild beasts came, and brought forth after their kind and filled the land. What kind or manner? Why, the nature of the beasts was the same as it had always been. If they had just been created, the first of their species, this language would not have been used. After their kind: the kind they had always been. Bears were still lovers of honey, and wolves were fond of lambs.

59 Gen. i. 14: "And the gods said, Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven, to divide the day from the night; and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and for years." The very ancients were Sabians; they practiced astrology. What is now astronomy was then astrology. The heavens were divided into signs and closely watched and studied. Records were kept to indicate which signs and conjunctions were lucky, which unlucky. At every birth the horoscope was cast to determine what would be the characteristics and fate of the child. When we read that the names given to children at birth indicated character and fortune we are to understand that the priests gave these names in accordance with their interpretation of the signs at the minute of birth. For instance, Moses means

one rescued from water, because the position of the stars, the signs, indicated that he would be placed in water, but would be rescued; Noah means a comforter, one who shall restore the gifts of the soil, or increase productiveness.

60 Gen. i. 28: "And the gods said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth." Gen. ix. 1: "And the gods blessed Noah and his sons, and said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth." Now, here is one word which tells us that this scripture was not at first mysterious. The word replenish means just the same in one place as in the other. Replenish, the reader knows, means to fill again: the Hebrew word is *umillu*, in both places, and is properly translated, or the scholarship of the world would have set it right twenty centuries ago. The male and female said to have been "created" are no more said to have been the first man and woman on this earth than are Noah and his family. The word create does not mean to produce something from nothing, nor to originate a species. There is not in any known language a word with such a signification, and if there was it would be incomprehensible. I therefore assume that the word has been misunderstood. Adam as well as Noah was to fill the earth again with men. Eva's father, being king and priest, and desirous that his family should be perpetuated, blessed his promising children.

61 The reader will want to know why I say the gods, and not God, as in the "authorized Bible." The original, the Hebrew or Aramaic, has *elohim*, which is the plural form of *eloah*. *El* was a word for god in all the ancient languages. It was varied a little, but is easily distinguished. It did not mean any particular god, but just god, a god, one of the race of gods. In some passages of the Old Testament the singular form is used, but here and in most places the plural form, *elohim'*, is used, and admits of no other proper translation than the gods. There is another name, *El Shaddai*, which is found in Genesis, and rendered Almighty God, but *elohim* was used by the Hebrew writers as other words for the gods were used in other tongues. The name *Yaveh*, rendered Jehovah in the English version, was not used by the Israelites before the time of Moses. In the first chapter of Genesis, then, we should read the gods, and not God. The translators mixed their numbers somewhat in verse 26, "And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness: and let

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them have dominion." If they understood *elohim* to be singular they should also have understood the pronoun to be singular. By rendering the pronoun in the plural they spoiled the sense. In verse 29 the singular pronoun *I* is used. They should have kept their numbers in mind.

62 What gods? This is not clear. There are many ways to account for the plural term and its meaning. It is known that all Asians were polytheists, believed in many gods. If this writing had come to us through any people but the Jews there would have been no thought of translating *elohim* in the singular number, and the Jews undoubtedly understood it in the plural number during all the time of their national existence. If it was borrowed from the Babylonians, the Egyptians or some other people with whom the Jews came in contact, it means the gods of the people who had the tradition. Many traditions were preserved, but there is no record of one that recognized one god only: all the Asiatics were polytheists.

362 63 Modern scholars have discovered that Genesis was written by two if not three different writers and in times wide apart. The first chapter and the first three verses of the second chapter have *elohim*, while the rest of the second chapter has *Jehovah*, or *Jehovah elohim*. Then follow sections by the *elohist* and the *Jehovist* writer, alternately, with some that seem to be composed by a third author who combines the names, as in the second chapter. The earliest writer used no names for the gods, the next exalted *Jehovah* to the position of chief of the gods, and the third, who probably combined the traditions of the first two into one story, added some other traditions and used both terms, or *Jehovah elohim*, meaning the god of gods, rendered in the English version the Lord God. Thus while the Jews regarded *Jehovah* as their national god, and superior to other gods, they never regarded him as the only god. Their conceit led them to believe that their god was superior to other gods, or that he was their peculiar god, the one from whom they must expect blessings. In this conceit they were not alone: all the peoples they knew had the same idea of their gods.

64 That the parts containing *Jehovah elohim* were the last to be written is betrayed by the name of Assyria. The garden of Eden is located east of Assyria; that is, in India, or north of India, in what is now Persia. This establishes the date of this

writing after the rise of the Assyrian empire. It is very probably of Persian origin. It is what we might expect from a Persian who had followed Cyrus or Dari'us into Assyria, but who had not forgotten the quieter and more enjoyable life in the land of his youth, before his people had been fired with military ambition. It was probably a very old tradition. In traditionary times, Aryan as well as Semitic, all heroes were deified. Any man or woman who established a colony, was a great sovereign, or became celebrated for virtue or knowledge, was placed in the calendar of the gods. Any king being a god, a king who conquered other kings and made them vassals was a great king or god, a king of kings and god of gods. Jehovah was probably used as the Semitic form of the name in the Aryan or Scythic tradition. 88. 246.

65 The god of gods, then, being a great king, of a superior or energetic race, Adam may be taken for a subject-king, a vassal. If a part of the story is still left uninterpreted by this theory I have the satisfaction of knowing that it can not be better understood in any other light; that this theory makes the outlines plain, while no other that I have seen or heard of does even that. I reconcile the story with itself and with the traditions of all the probable originators of it. Adam had strict orders to do certain things and not to do other things; but some minister or official, the Serpent, persuaded his wife, Eva, probably a daughter of the great king, that the great king would not know it if he should disobey orders, or that by making an effort he might become independent. Thus Eva persuaded Adam to become a rebel, they were discovered and banished, and the government was intrusted to another.

66 Adam's first wife was named Lilith or Lilis. For some reason or whim he divorced her and took Eva. He probably took Lilis when he was in poor fortune and cast her off that he might take Eva, the daughter of the king. After the discovery of his treachery the king probably took Eva from him, when Adam took a third wife, whose name I have not found. Lilis was a woman of spirit and swore vengeance upon the male issue of Eva. To save his boy babies from the wrath of Lilis, Adam, on the advice of the astrologers, submitted them to the rite of circumcision, with the customary forms of exorcism. Jewish tradition gives this as the origin of circumcision. The more ex- 518.

tended belief was that Lilith became a fallen angel or demon-goddess who sought to destroy all male children, agreeing in her malign character with Pando'ra of Grecian mythology. As Adam was the father of thirty-three sons and twenty-three daughters he must have had other wives—a harem, in fact.

67 Genesis and Josephus are silent as to daughters of Adam. Genesis, in the English version, says that Cain went into the land of Nod and took unto himself a wife, while Josephus says that he took his wife and went into a distant land and built a city which he called Nod. Josephus enlarges upon the history of the Cainites. Cain lived in luxury and splendor by means of robberies committed upon his neighbors. He also introduced a change in that way of simplicity wherein men lived before, and was the author of weights and measures. And whereas they had lived innocently and generously while they knew nothing of such arts, he changed the world (his neighborhood) into cunning craftiness. He first of all set boundaries about lands; he built a city, and fortified it with walls, and compelled his family to come together within it. Now the fact is, the writer of the tradition is not attempting to tell of the beginning of the human species, but of a race of superior men who by energy, bravery and cunning should subdue and control (enslave) the races then living in that part of the earth. Adam after his banishment was the first of a line of kings in a new land, beyond the reach of his former sovereign. Cain and Abel were heirs to the kingdom of their father, and Cain slew his brother that he might possess the kingdom alone. When the people would not submit to be governed by the fratricide, because they had liked Abel better, Cain was banished, sent out to find a people over whom he could rule. Cain was afraid
409 to go, saying that all men would want to take vengeance upon him, because, in the simplicity that prevailed while there was no organized government, murder was almost unknown and was universally detested and punished by society. But Cain had to go, and went far enough away to escape the notoriety of his crime, and built a city. He did not go into a barren wilderness, but into a prosperous, well settled land. He did not go into the
75 new west as a pioneer, but to the eastward where the country was developed. He was cunning: though he gained slowly he kept an object in view, and when he got the means and authority he built a walled city.

68 And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, that the sons of the gods saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all that they chose. At first the superior race, the migratory race, held aloof from the natives and treated them as animals, but when they had become familiar with them, and the natives had learned some of the customs of their new neighbors, the sons of the gods (the self-styled superior race) married the nicer-looking maidens of the merely human natives. There is nothing surprising in this. The sons and grandsons of Adam kept harems, the older having the choice and as many women as they desired, so the younger gods must take the native women or have none.

69 The children from the cross between the two races became mighty men, who were of old men of renown. And the gods saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually. This was natural and is easily understood. A pure race, a race that keeps to itself and neither mixes with nor associates with others, may become soft and gentle. Though covetous and conscienceless, it will be cowardly. It will not strive after new things or undertake great things. When such a race mixes with another race, though the other be equally conservative, the offspring will be more energetic and less conscientious. The mixed race will be active; it will let consequences take care of themselves and undertake great things, constructive or destructive. This is a characteristic in nature. Two soils, as clay and sand, which in their pure state will not support vegetation, will when mixed form a rich and productive soil. The washings of rivers make the most productive soils: there occurs the greatest mixture. The writers of Genesis described these natural conditions. 86

70 "And the gods saw that the earth was corrupt; for all flesh had corrupted its way upon the earth. And the gods said to Noah, The end of all flesh is come: we will destroy them with the earth." This may be interpreted in several ways. The pure Adamic race was jealous of the half-breeds and plotted to destroy or enslave them. Following my theories, I might plausibly say that the scene previous to the flood was laid in America or Polynesia, in India or Siberia, and that Noah and his sons and their 75

wives were pioneers of a new civilization in western Asia. Or it might be supposed that Eden was in eastern Asia and the ark was a big boat chartered to take the emigrants westward by way of the Northern Ocean into northwestern Asia. In the latter part of the Nineteenth Century some Russians explored the lands of icy wilderness in northeastern Asia and found fabulous quantities of ivory, the remains of elephants and other animals that must have inhabited those lands when they were not bleak and cheerless, but in the temperate or torrid zone. Then why may not Noah have sailed west and come into western Asia in prehistoric times, and these be the brief and tortured annals as preserved by tradition? The present physical surface is not in the way of the belief. There have been great changes. There is reason to believe that the Black Sea was formerly connected with the Northern Ocean.

71 As to the relations of Noah with the gods we may suppose that he got a hint from some friends who were in good standing with the aristocracy, the divine race. He may then have whispered his information to some others of the mixed race and been told that he was unduly excited; that the aristocracy would not attempt such a thing, and could not execute it if they did. But the flood may have happened. There were traditions of a flood of rain or a tidal wave among all the early peoples of Asia. In such case, to understand the text literally we must suppose there was a communication from the spirit world and that Noah thus had warning to prepare to migrate. Two things are certain, the migration was westward, and in a very big boat.

72 Josephus says that Shem, Japhet and Ham lived a time upon the high ground, in fear of another flood, and then moved down into the plain, and persuaded others to do likewise. Who were the others? Why, the natives, of course. The floods had driven them from the low lands. The gods also commanded them to send colonies abroad, for the thorough peopling of the earth—that they might not quarrel among themselves. That is, they were to possess the various parts of the country and make themselves rulers over the plastic and unorganized natives. The race of Noah were now the divine race, and practiced in turn the exclusive policy from which they had escaped. But they would not separate, fearing that if they did they would be overcome by the natives and oppressed. They built the city and tower of

Babylon and determined to remain a separate and strong people, 147
but an immigration of other races confounded their language and
made their plans for exclusiveness impracticable.

73 Gen. i. 29: "And God said, Behold, I have given you
every herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of all the earth,
and every tree, in which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed; to
you it shall be for food." Gen. ix. 3: "Every moving thing
that liveth shall be food for you; even as the green herb have I
given you all things." It is plain that the religious notions and
practices in Noah's colony underwent a radical change. There
have always been vegetarians and meateaters, and people have 334
changed from one habit to the other, sometimes from choice and
sometimes from necessity. When a colony moves into a new
land it misses many old articles and finds many new ones. Still,
if Noah was a descendant of Adam this was a very great change
in his diet.

EASTERN ASIA.

74 JAVA is now in the torrid zone, south of the equator. In its high mountains are plants that do not belong in that latitude, but in the frigid zones. The same species are found in northern European and other cold regions. Around Java for thousands of miles they are seldom found, and only on very high mountain peaks where arctic cold is maintained in spite of the heat of the torrid zone. Scientists account for these phenomena by assuming that there was once a glacial period during which, for millions of years, all the earth was in the tight clasp of oceans of ice, when the plants of the temperate zones were exterminated everywhere except in the tropics, but spread north and south again as fast as warmth returned. Of course, they say, on the return of warmth the arctic flora could not survive in the warm valleys, since they are adapted to a very cold temperature, but would remain in the mountains of the tropics after spreading to the frigid zone as the cold receded. Scientists are correct in their findings as to a glacial period. Every part of the earth has been subject to arctic cold. The surprising part of their reasoning is that they have thought that all parts of the earth have at the same time been subject to arctic cold. They have not seen that if the cold was so intense as to force the arctic flora to the torrid zone it would have caused the extinction of all other plant life. Those parts of the earth now at the poles are subject to intense cold, but the torrid zone is subject to intense heat. The same was evidently true at any past time. Java has had its glacial period: it was then in the antarctic circle, and eastern Siberia was then the native haunt of the elephant, the rhinoceros, the lion and other tropical animals. As Java moved northward it entered the temperate zone, and the arctic flora died out except in the mountains where arctic cold was maintained. These

mountain peaks, then, are not by accident, but a provision of Providence for the preservation of the flora that will be needed to sustain arctic animal life when Java, for instance, reaches the arctic regions again. 46

75 Java affords other evidences of having been in the temperate zone. It will be conceded that a people in the torrid zone are too lazy and self-satisfied to build grand temples and excel in architecture and art. The climate makes them indolent: makes hard work dangerous. There may be constant immigration from the temperate zones, but the new comers soon succumb to the climate. But Java is a vast scene of former splendor and magnificence. There are temples by the thousand, and one explorer says that Egypt and Central America, Rome and Nineveh, are not to be compared with these ruins of prehistoric time. Brick and stone were used, and massive walls are now in good state of preservation. Tropical plants and trees have overrun the sites of cities laid out with artistic taste. The old streets and roads were paved with brick which time has not injured. The temples were adorned with statuary that would compare favorably with that of almost any country of Europe. The statues were carved singly and in groups: they were carved in the walls of temples and other buildings, and set up in public places, along the roads and in public squares. So numerous were they that houses in later times have been built of them by the natives, too lazy to appreciate them or prepare other building material. Besides these remains of art there are evidences of scientific agriculture and everything to denote a very high state of civilization, a civilization not possible in the tropics. Was it a real civilization, or only an outward show of magnificence by a despotic government? We can never know. 67 16 104

76 CHINA, or that part which was early developed by the races that still possess it, was very productive. The soil was rich and easily cultivated, and there was great variety in climate. Everything was favorable to the maintenance of a numerous population.

77 Contentment is a strong characteristic of the human mind. Few men will stir until forced by necessity or excited to emulation. In a state of seclusion a people will settle down to the production of bare necessities. There can be nothing to suggest

invention or improvement. But when the energetic immigrants and the "aborigines" become competitors there is a scramble for the best-paying lands and occupations and the rivalry forces both
 224 races to greater energy, hence the improved conditions, the
 249 greater intelligence, skill and enterprise.
 175

78 According to good and accepted records the regular written history began to be preserved in China in 2357 B.C., and before that time there were schools, improved agriculture, clocks, medical science, vehicles, boats, musical instruments, weights and measures and coins. This history was written on paper or
 108 parchment with stick and ink. The Chinese do not know how long they have had paper. They were writers as far back as their history goes, and they have made few improvements. As they were when migration ceased they have remained.

79 In 2159 or 2128 B.C. an eclipse of the sun was visible in China and cost two astronomers their lives. For many ages astronomic observations had been taken: parties had been sent to various parts of the earth to make contemporaneous observations, that distances and angles might be known and eclipses and other phenomena understood. The emperor, it seems, took these precautions for politic reasons. Eclipses in all ages have brought terror to the ignorant, but when they have been known beforehand and the priests have made prescribed sacrifices and prayers the terror has been mitigated. When one eclipse has been predicted and the gods propitiated and another eclipse has escaped the astronomers the terror has been heightened, the people believing that the gods were specially angered. Hi and Ho were executed for neglecting their duties and allowing consternation to seize the subjects of the emperor.

80 In the works of Confucius is a significant bit of history. After reading page on page of tiresome moral platitudes in which there is scarcely a tinge of action, the author striving to make the pupil contemplative, not energetic, you may stumble upon this terse statement of condition at that time: "Tsze-loo asked about energy. The Master said, 'Do you mean the energy of the South, the energy of the North, or the energy which you should cultivate yourself? To show forbearance and gentleness in teaching others, and not to revenge unreasonable conduct, this is the energy of Southern regions, and the good man makes it his study. To lie under arms, and meet death without regret,

this is the energy of Northern regions, and the forceful make it their study. The superior man cultivates harmony without being weak. How firm is he in his energy! He stands erect in the middle, without inclining to either side.' The men of the North, the Tatars, had energy. They pushed across the whole extent of Asia and almost to the Atlantic. 10

81 Again his sleepy habit is broken. "The duke Gae inquired of Yew Jo, saying, 'The year is one of scarcity, and the revenues are not sufficient; what is to be done?' Yew Jo replied, 'Why not simply tithe the people?' 'With two-tenths,' said the duke, 'I find them insufficient: how could I do with that system of one-tenth?' Yew Jo answered, 'If the people have plenty, their prince will not be left in want alone: if the people are in want, their prince can not enjoy plenty alone.'"

Then the writer returns to the relation of duties, virtues, faithfulness, sincerity, delusions, right, wrong, love, mercy, wishing, consistency, resignation, fortitude and all the other abstract terms that mean nothing when not applied, and which the philosopher does not connect with action.

82 Here are some of the most striking sayings of Confucius: Tsze-loo said, "What I do not wish men to do to me, I also wish not to do to them." The Master said, "Tsze, you have not attained to that." 126

83 "In procuring fire by friction we go through all the changes of wood." 48

84 The Master being very sick, Tsze-loo asked leave to pray for him. He said, "May such a thing be done?" Tsze-loo replied, "It may. In the Prayers it is said, 'Prayer has been made to the spirits in the upper and lower worlds.'" The Master said, "My praying has been for a long time."

Ke Loo asked about death. The Master answered, "While you do not know about life how can you know about death?"

85 Tsze-chang asked, "What must the officer be, who may be said to be distinguished?" The Master said, "What is it you call being distinguished?" Tsze-chang replied, "It is to be heard of through the state, to be heard of through the family." The Master said, "That is notoriety, not distinction. The man of distinction is solid and straightforward, and loves righteousness. He examines people's words, and looks at their countenances. He is anxious to humble himself to others. As to the 127

man of notoriety, he assumes the appearance of a virtue, but his actions are opposed to it."

69 86 The Master said: "Anciently men had three failings, which now perhaps are not to be found. The highmindedness of antiquity showed itself in disregard of small things; the highmindedness of the present day shows itself in wild license. The stern dignity of antiquity showed itself in grave reserve; the stern dignity of the present day shows itself in quarrelsome perverseness. The stupidity of antiquity showed itself in straightforwardness; the stupidity of the present day shows itself in sheer deceit."

87 All the writings of the time of Confucius show that the Chinese were then an old people. There are a few changes in the manner of allotting the land and in the manner of collecting revenue or exacting general coöperation in working the lands reserved for the maintenance of the emperor and the princes and their officials, called by Confucius "the superior people." There seem to have been families and individuals set apart to be aristocrats and to share the products of the public fields and the revenues. The superior people were connoisseurs of etiquette and an example to rustics and mechanics. If they eat pie with a chopstick all loyal subjects would do likewise.

88 What were the religious ideas then? They can soon be stated. Religion meant etiquette, and does to this day. Beginning with the child of three years, when it was first recognized as a human being, each male must obey and imitate his elder brother or relative. The people were all graded according to age. The blackhaired (young) served and revered the white-haired (aged). At death the reverent went to the upper world and the irreverent to the under world. Those who had been reverent, had observed all the proprieties of etiquette, went up and were revered; those who had refused to revere the aged living or the reverend dead were unworthy of reverence and could not dwell with the reverend, but went to a place where they could not receive reverence. The spirits of the departed, the reverend, were always present and ready to assist the reverent living. Sacrifices were offered to them; that is, they were regularly fed and cared for after death in much the same manner as were the whitehaired while living. The spirits were still partly human and must be nourished. The Chinese had absolutely no idea of God. They

had a word which may be rendered god or the gods, but their ancestors were their gods. Form and ceremony took the place of honesty and sincerity. A man was judged by his proficiency in etiquette and language; faultless dress and speech and the regular obeisance made one distinguished. Angels and demons were unknown: the Chinese did not allow their ancestors to change their nature at death, and they knew of no heavenly beings: the irreverent could not return.

89 With all of the apparently local characteristics of the Chinese worship there are yet many passages that seem to connect names and sacrifices with the world-wide customs and mysteries.

90 The Master said: "I am able to describe the ceremonies of the Hea dynasty, but Ke can not sufficiently attest my words. 157 I am able to describe the ceremonies of the Yin dynasty, but Sung can not sufficiently attest my words. They can not do so because of the insufficiency of their records and wise men. If those were complete I could adduce them in support of my words. At the great sacrifice, after the pouring out of the libation, I have no wish to look on."

Some one asked the meaning of the great sacrifice. The Master said: "I do not know. He who knew its meaning would find it as easy to govern the empire as to turn over his hand." 539 The historian says that Confucius "sacrificed to the dead as if they were present. He sacrificed to the spirits as if they were present." The Master said, "I consider my not being present at the sacrifice as if I did not sacrifice at all."

91 They did not know why they sacrificed to Yaou. The Master said: "Great indeed was Yaou as a sovereign! How majestic was he! It is only Heaven that is grand, and only Yaou corresponded to it. How vast was his virtue (strength)! The people could find no name for it. How majestic was he in the works which he accomplished! How glorious in the elegant regulations which he instituted!" Was Yaou the same individual as Yaveh, Jove, Jehovah, all being forms of the name Jupiter, known to all ancients? Confucius avoided mention of spiritual beings and names; he taught particularly letters, ethics, devotion of soul, truthfulness. I suspect that in very ancient times, in times really ancient to Confucius, the various divinities were known to the Chinese, probably as mortal heroes, and when the Chinese were left behind the center of progress to crystallize into

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conservatism, after the energetic elements had migrated westward, they began to forget, and to try to forget, everything that related to the times of energy and change. Confucius certainly took this for a cue in his teachings, and his posterity have continued the habit.

92 Confucius was born in 551 B.C. Mencius, one of his successors, was born in 371 B.C. His works are a slight improvement in the matter of vain repetition and contain more active history. (I quote from a translation by James Legge, of the London Missionary Society.)

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605 Mencius says: "Of old time the market dealers exchanged the articles which they had for others which they had not, and simply had certain officers to keep order among them. It happened that there was a mean fellow who made it a point to look out for a conspicuous mound, and get upon it. Thence he looked right and left, to catch in his net the whole gain of the market. The people all thought his conduct mean, and therefore they laid a tax upon his wares. The taxing of traders took its rise from this mean fellow."

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866 93 When Mencius left Ts'e, Ch'ung Yu questioned him upon the way, saying: "Master, you look like one who carries an air of dissatisfaction in his countenance. But formerly I heard you say, 'The superior man does not murmur against men.'" Mencius said: "That was one time, and this is another. It is a rule that a true imperial sovereign should arise in the course of five hundred years, and that during that time there should be men illustrious in their generation. From the commencement of the Chow dynasty till now, more than seven hundred years have elapsed. But Heaven does not yet wish that the empire should enjoy tranquillity and good order. If it wished this, who is there but me to bring it about? How should I be otherwise than dissatisfied?"

94 Mencius said: "The sovereign of the Hea dynasty enacted the fifty mow allotment, and the payment of a tax. The founder of the Yin dynasty enacted the seventy mow allotment, and the system of mutual aid. The founder of the Chow dynasty enacted the hundred mow allotment, and the share system. In reality what was paid in all these was a tithe. The share system means mutual division; the aid system means mutual dependence."

95 Lung said: "For regulating the lands there is no better system than that of mutual aid, and none which is worse than that of taxing. By the tax system the regular amount was fixed by taking the average of several years. In good times, when the grain lies about in abundance, much might be taken without being oppressive, and the actual exaction would be small. But in bad years, the produce not being sufficient to repay the manuring of the fields, this system still requires the taking of the full amount. When the parent of the people causes the people to wear looks of distress, and after the whole year's toil yet not be able to nourish their parents, so that they resort to borrowing to make out their means, till the old people and the infants are found lying in the ditches and streams—where then is his parental relation to his people?"

"As to the system of hereditary salaries, that is already observed in T'ang.

"Should a real sovereign arise, he will come and take an example from you; and thus you will be the teacher of the true sovereign."

It seems that Lung was trying to persuade the duke to adopt the reforms in his province in the hope that the new dynasty, now confidently anticipated, would adopt them for the whole empire.

96 The duke sent Pei Chen to consult Mencius about the nine squares system of dividing the land.

Mencius said to Pei Chen: "Since your prince, wishing to put in practice a benevolent government, has made choice of you and put you into this employment, you must first lay down the boundaries. If the boundaries be not defined correctly the division of the land into squares will not be equal, and the produce available for salaries will not be evenly distributed. On this account oppressive rulers and corrupt ministers are sure to neglect this defining of the boundaries. When the boundaries have been defined correctly the division of the fields and the regulation of allowances may be determined by you, sitting at your ease.

"Although the territory of T'ang is narrow and small, yet there must be in it men of a superior grade, and there must be in it rustics. If there were not men of a superior grade there would be none to rule the rustics. If there were not rustics there would be none to support the men of superior grade.

"I would ask you, in the remoter districts, observing the nine squares division, to reserve one division to be cultivated on the system of mutual aid, and in the more central parts of the kingdom to make the people pay for themselves a tenth part of their produce.

"From the highest officers down to the lowest, each one must have his holy field of fifty mow. Let the supernumerary males have their twenty-five mow.

"On occasions of death, or moving from one dwelling to another, there will be no quitting the district. In the fields of a district, those who belong to the same nine squares render all friendly offices to one another, aid one another in keeping watch and ward, and sustain one another in sickness. Thus the people are brought together to live in affection and harmony.

"A square le covers nine squares of land, which nine squares contain nine hundred mow. The central square is the public field, and eight families, each having its private hundred mow, cultivate in common the public field. And not till the public work is finished may they presume to attend to their private affairs. This is the way by which the rustics are distinguished.

"These are the great outlines of the system. Happily to modify and adapt it depends on the prince and you."

97 There came from Ts'oo to T'ang one Heu Hing, who wanted to join the subjects of the righteous prince who returned to the ancient usages. His disciples, amounting to several tens, wore clothes of haircloth, and made sandals of hemp and wove mats for a living. The duke (Wan) received them. Ch'in Seang, a disciple of Ch'in Leang, and his younger brother Sin, with their plow handles and shares on their backs, came and joined the reformers.

Ch'in Seang and Heu Hing became close friends and shared the same sentiments. They were pleased with the antique model of the system of the prince of T'ang, but thought that there was yet something lacking. In the ancient times the prince cultivated his own plot of ground, made his own clothes and prepared his own food the same as the common people. To be a worthy prince he should do this. So Ch'in Seang said to Mencius, as though the suggestion came from Heu Hing.

Mencius said: "I suppose Heu Hing sows grain and eats the produce. Is it not so?" "It is so," was the answer. "I sup-

pose he weaves cloth and wears his own manufacture. Is it not so?" "No. Heu wears clothes of haircloth." "Does he wear a cap?" "He wears a cap." "What kind of a cap?" "A plain cap." "Is it woven by himself?" "No. He gets it in exchange for grain." "Why does Heu not weave it himself?" "That would injure his husbandry." "Does Heu cook his food in boilers and earthenware pans, and does he plow with an iron share?" "He does." "Does he make those articles himself?" "No. He gets them in exchange for grain."

Mencius then said: "Getting those various articles in exchange for grain is not oppressive to the potter and the founder, and the potter and the founder in their turn, in exchanging their various articles for grain, are not oppressive to the husbandman. Why does not Heu act the potter and the founder and supply himself with the articles which he uses solely from his own establishment? Why does he go confusedly dealing and exchanging with the handicraftsmen? Why does he not spare himself so much trouble?" 182

Ch'in Seang replied, "The business of the handicraftsman can by no means be carried on along with the business of husbandry."

Mencius resumed: "Then is it the government of the empire alone which can be carried on along with the practice of husbandry? Great men have their proper business, and little men have their proper business. Hence there is the saying, 'Some labor with their minds, and some labor with their strength. Those who are governed by others support them; those who govern others are supported by them.' This is a principle universally recognized."

98 Ch'in Seang tried to persuade Mencius to another delusive idea, saying that there should be one established price for each article, so that even a child could go to market and buy and sell without being cheated. But Mencius reminded the shallow reasoner that by nature things were of unequal quality. One lot of grain or one pair of shoes was more valuable than another, and location and other conditions and contingencies affected values.

Mencius was a political economist of rare abilities and information. If he had lived in a state that had international trade facilities and opportunities he would have distinguished himself as a statesman. As it was he gave the best advice possible. 112

99 Tae Ying-che said to Mencius: "I am not able at present

and immediately to do with the revenue of a tithe only and abolish the duties charged at customhouses and in the markets. With your leave, however, I will lighten both the tax and the duties, until next year, and will then make an end of them. What do you think of such a course?"

Mencius said: "Here is a man who every day appropriates some of his neighbor's strayed fowls. Some one says to him, 'Such is not the way of the good man,' and he replies, 'With your leave I will diminish my appropriations, and will take only one fowl a month, until next year, when I will make an end of the practice!' If you know that the thing is unrighteous, then use all dispatch in putting an end to it. Why wait a year?"

100 What was Mencius, that he should presume to speak thus to his prince? He was a scholar, one of a class who were provided for by the State, and whose duty it was to teach the
 87 people, from emperor to plowman. The adviser of the prince was an important person. The prince usually followed the advice, which was seldom given without being asked. Such a class or body of men could scarcely exist without an organization and
 332 some mode of initiation. There is much to show that there was a well developed order on the plan of the modern Masonic fratern-
 320 nity. Citizens in all conditions and avocations were eligible, if their abilities were eminent.

101 Mencius said: "If a prince give honor to men of talents and virtue and employ the able, so that offices shall all be filled by individuals of distinction and merit, then all the scholars will be pleased, and wish to stand in his court. If in the market place he levy a ground rent on the shops but do not tax the goods, or enforce the proper regulations without levying a ground rent, then all the traders of the empire will be pleased, and wish to store their goods in the market place. If at his frontier passes there be an inspection of persons, but no taxes charged on goods or merchandise, then all the travelers of the empire will be pleased, and wish to make their tours on his roads. If he require that the farmers give their share of work on the public field, and exact no taxes from them, then all the farmers will be pleased and willing to plow in his field. If from the occupiers of the shops in his market place he do not exact the mulct of the individual idler, or of the hamlet's quota of cloth, then all the people of the empire will be pleased, and wish to come and be of his

people. If a ruler can truly practice these five things, then the people in the neighboring kingdoms will look up to him as a parent. Never has there been such a ruler that did not attain to the imperial dignity."

102 In the book of Mencius we may read: "A man of Ts'e had a wife and a concubine, and lived together with them in his house. When he went out he would get himself well filled with wine and flesh, and on his wife's asking him with whom he had eaten and drunk he was sure to say they were all wealthy and honorable people. The wife wondered that no wealthy and honorable folk ever called on them. So it was determined by the two women that the wife should follow him and see where he went. She got up early in the morning and played her part successfully. Through the city the husband went, but no one spoke with him. At last he came to those who were sacrificing among the tombs beyond the outer walls on the east, and begged what they had over. Not being satisfied, he looked about and went to another party. This was where he had got his good cheer. The wife returned and informed the concubine, saying, 'It was to our husband that we looked up in hopeful contemplation, with whom our lot is cast for life—and now these are his ways!' On this they reviled their husband, and wept together in the middle hall. In the meantime the husband, knowing 213 nothing of all this, came in with a jaunty air, carrying himself proudly to his wife and concubine." Here the story ends.

103 Of a deluge Mencius says: "In the time of Yaou, when 61 the earth had not yet been perfectly reduced to order, the vast 71 waters, flowing out of their channels, made a universal inunda- 121 tion. Vegetation was luxuriant, and birds and beasts swarmed. 147 The various kinds of grain could not be grown. The birds and beasts pressed upon men. The paths marked by the feet of beasts and print of birds crossed one another throughout the Middle kingdom. Yaou raised Shun to office, and measures to regulate the disorder were taken. Shun committed to Yih the direction of the fire to be employed, and Yih set fire to and consumed everything in the mountains and marshes, so that the birds and the beasts fled away. Yu separated the nine streams, 157 cleared the courses of the Tse and the T'ah, and led them to the sea. He opened a vent also for the Joo and the Han, and regulated the course of the Hwa and the Sze, so that they all flowed into the Kiang."

4 Again Mencius says: "A long time has elapsed since this world received its being, and there has been alternately good order and confusion. In the time of Yaou the waters, flowing out of their channels, inundated the Middle kingdom. Snakes and dragons occupied it, and the people had no place where they could settle. In the low grounds they made nests for themselves, and in the high grounds they made caves. It is said in the Book of History, 'The waters in their wild course warned me.' Those 'waters in their wild course' were the waters of the great inundation. Shun employed Yu to reduce the waters to order. Yu dug open their obstructed channels and conducted them to the sea. He drove away the snakes and dragons, and forced them into the grassy marshes. Then the waters pursued their course, the birds and beasts which had injured the people disappeared, and men occupied the plains." This is what we might expect when a part of the earth is moved from the tropics to the temperate zone. Yaou the pioneer deepened the channels of the rivers and drained the swamps. This was a great undertaking. The rivers are yet among the great ones of the earth, and must have been bigger in the days of Yaou. When we know what such a feat of engineering would require to-day, the resources of the richest civil government, we may well ask how Yaou and Shun accomplished it. The mention of fire leads me to the belief that they used powerful explosives, at least as potent as dynamite or nitro-glycerine. The government that could do these things was probably on the continent of Polynesia, and the civilization contemporary with that of prehistoric Java.

104 "After the death of Yaou and Shun, the principles that mark sages fell into decay. Oppressive sovereigns arose one after another, who pulled down houses to make ponds and lakes, so that the people had no place where they could rest in quiet. The sovereigns also threw fields out of cultivation to form gardens and parks, so that the people could not get food and clothes." Observe how modern the language is. It speaks of the people as though they were civil, rational, industrious and obedient to authority. The despotic oppression and consequent evils lasted until Chow-kung and king Woo united and destroyed Chow and his dynasty. The new dynasty in time became corrupt and was destroyed, and so on. With no immigration or influence from the outside there was nothing from which to draw

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models to conform with new conditions, the old models would not answer, and there was nothing to stay crystallization and decline.

105 Here are some of the remarkable passages of Mencius:

"Benevolence is man's mind, and righteousness is man's path. How lamentable is it to neglect the path and not pursue it, to lose this mind and not know how to seek it again! When men lose their fowls and dogs they know to seek for them again; but they lose their mind, and do not know to seek for it. The great end of learning is nothing else but to seek for the lost mind."

"A man who only eats and drinks is counted mean by others—because he nourishes what is little to the neglect of what is great."

"Those who follow the part of themselves which is great are great men; those who follow the part which is little are little men."

"To desire to be honored is the common mind of men. And all men have in themselves that which is honorable—only they do not think of it."

106 A master workman, in teaching others, uses the compass 320 and the square, and his pupils do the same."

107 "Men for the most part err, and are afterward able to reform. They are distressed in mind and perplexed in their thoughts, and then they arise to vigorous reformation."

108 "Heaven is high; the stars are distant. If we have inves- 79 tigated their phenomena, we may, while sitting in contemplation, go back to the solstice of a thousand years ago."

109 "I know the heavy consequences of killing a man's near 67 relatives. When a man kills another's father, that other will kill his father; when a man kills another's elder brother, that other will kill his elder brother. So he does not himself do the act, 11 but there is only an interval between his act and its consequence." This has always been the law of retaliation among the American Indians. Among the most peaceable, on the Pacific coast and in Alaska, two lives are accounted due, and the family that suffered the loss hold a council to determine what persons in the murderer's tribe will satisfy them, and then they send and despatch the victims wherever found. Resistance is seldom offered, and here the feud ends. The hardest part of the custom is in the fact that the retaliation is exacted where death was accidental, as where a canoe overturns and one occupant swims a-shore and one drowns.

110 "Anciently the establishment of the frontier gates (be- 19

tween provinces) was to guard against violence. Nowadays it is to exercise violence." Trade among the provinces was almost inhibited. Good sovereigns had stopped marauding parties from making incursions into other provinces, and bad sovereigns had
 171 followed the example to the extent of prohibiting trade except in cases of great distress. When a drouth occurred in a province a large part of the people, sometimes nearly all of them, died before a dispensation could be obtained from the emperor.

111 "From Yaou and Shin down to T'ang were 500 years and more. From T'ang to king Wan were 500 years and more. From king Wan to Confucius were 500 years and more. From Confucius until now are 100 years and more."

98 112 "The superior man seeks simply to bring back the unchanging standard, and that being rectified, the masses are roused to virtue." I have given space to Mencius because I found his book bristling with the best ideas of political and domestic economy. This one sentence, however, has done more harm to the Chinese than all of his wisdom and integrity have done good. It had already been 1,600 years since the Chinese became seclusive and set in their ways, and so must it be forever. No merchants or missionaries to come in and none to go out.

113 In A.D. 1895 the Japanese overran a part of China and treated the Chinese multitudes in somewhat the manner we may imagine, to have been enacted thousands of years ago. The Chinese submitted to the trouncing by their fewer but more energetic eastern neighbors: their walls and defenses were the remains of an old civilization, while the Japanese had the new inventions. An intelligent Chinaman in Paris is reported to have expressed the sentiments of his countrymen in this language, which is both childish and senile: "You wish to know the opinion of our philosophers and sages in regard to the effect of the war upon the condition of the Chinese. Well, I will give it to you. I put aside all the humiliations of defeat and place myself upon more solid ground. The war has robbed us forever of our tranquillity and our happiness. We were happy and led simple lives; but, by bringing to us what you may call the benefits of civilization, the Japanese will destroy our traditions and our hereditary virtue, confuse our customs and our mode of living, and make us like themselves, ambitious, restless and eager for conquests. And what shall we gain by that? You may fancy

that the Chinese are ignorant, poor and wretched, but you must remember that happiness exists in the idea you form of it. In other words a man is happy when he believes himself happy, when he confines his desires to the few joys which are within his reach. The peasant who eats his rice at the close of his day's work is satisfied with his fate, provided he keeps his eyes away from the riches of others and closes his heart against covetousness. The evil sentiments of envy, jealousy and social hatred have never yet penetrated our population. I assure you that you wrong the poor Chinese. They are gentle, mild, good humored, honest, scrupulous, loyal, sympathetic and charitable." There is much feeling in this observation, whether true or not, but it seems, in the light of history, that when the time comes the progressive races will find a way to open avenues around the earth and force the seclusive to become a part of common humanity. The Chinese should hunt out their oldest traditions, study them, study modern conditions, and then save themselves, if they can.

Taking Japan as the most western outpost of the current civilization, and China as the oldest stronghold of the decayed civilization, we may take a cursory glance across Asia and Europe and see the successive stages of condition from the lowest to the highest manhood. China to-day presents the lowest state of man. Bayard Taylor says of the Chinese: "It is my deliberate opinion that the Chinese are, morally, the most debased people on the face of the earth. Forms of vice which in other countries are barely named are in China so common that they excite no comment among the natives. There was enough in the things which I could not avoid seeing and hearing—which are brought almost daily to the notice of every foreign resident—to inspire me with a powerful aversion to the Chinese race. Their touch is pollution, and, harsh as the opinion may seem, justice to our own race demands that they should not be allowed to settle on our soil. Science may have lost something, but mankind has gained, by the exclusive policy which has governed China during the past centuries." Their exclusive policy has brought them to this condition. They were not always so debased. Confucius and Mencius knew a better generation of Chinese. They saw that the race was degenerating, but prescribed palliatives instead of heroic remedies that would kill or cure. The Chinese can not reform themselves in China. Other races must do it. Civiliza-

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tion has suffered, and must suffer until this race is reformed, scattered or blotted out.

114 FOR NEARLY two thousand years the Greek has been the classic language. Latin has held a secondary place, and all other tongues, living and dead, have bowed to the fashion. For fifteen centuries or more all the history, religion and science of the world was supposed to be contained in Latin and Greek works. In one generation this has been changed. The Sanscrit is older and purer, richer and more natural, and the world will now look to it as a storehouse of past history, so far as a language can hold it. The Sanscrit is the oldest form of Aryan speech. It is not the parent language: another just back of it was the parent of most of the languages spoken in western Asia and in Europe for some centuries before the Christian Era and by nearly all of them since. Languages which were thought to be entirely distinct from each other are seen to be closely related through the Sanscrit. Notwithstanding the great age of Sanscrit the name means perfected, finished, polished, and Sanscrit scholars say it is properly applied. The Sanscrit would be valuable to historians if it contained no reading of itself worthy of study: a comparison of other Aryan languages with it shows whether they originated with it or independently of it; their relative age; the probable course their speakers took, and the other languages with which they came in contact. These things are indicated by the borrowed words and the changes from original forms.

115 The latest date for the composition of the oldest of the Vedic hymns in India is put at 1500 B.C., and scholars think
 78 this may be 1,000 or 2,000 years too late; that it may be that
 145 3500 B.C. would be nearer the fact. Yet these Aryans had been a long time in India when the hymns were composed: the idiom, which was formed after the Aryans came into the country, was already reduced to its permanent state. If we add only 1,000 years for this period of amalgamation of the races and the production of a finished and general language we are carried back to 2500 B.C. as the latest date of the Aryan immigration, and there is good reason to believe that it was as early as 5000 B.C. Aryan tradition says they came from the north into India.

116 Some investigators think that the Aryans originated in north-central Europe, but their predecessors from whom they

received their traditions and characteristics, as well as their language, were a sea-faring people. This is shown by the many ideas connected with the ocean. These traditions, or myths, are as old as the Vedic literature, and could not have been acquired in the Punjab, where the Aryans were a long way from the ocean and probably seldom or never saw it. An inland people do not say much about the ocean.

One of the puzzles to ethnologists is that some of the most pronounced types of the Aryan family in India are black, as black as the full-blooded African Negro. 144

117 Before the ancestors of these Hindoo Aryans began to move out of Siberia, Mongolia or Tataria there were several eruptions of Scythians from that quarter to the west. Between the eruptions of Scythians and those of the Aryans there came into Babylonia several immigrations or invasions of Shemites. The Aryan migration was continued into the Christian Era, and then from the same quarter there poured into Asia and Europe for some centuries other races, of inferior character. For some 10,000 years, then, and probably 15,000 years, Mongolia or some other Pacific coast territory was a place of gathering of successive hordes that overran Asia and Europe. India was out of the beaten road from east to west, so that the one Aryan population that turned south into that country was allowed to possess the land and work out its destiny. It was not disturbed by outside invasion until 500 B.C., when Buddhism was introduced and antagonized Brahmanism. 80
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118 The India here meant, the India in which the Vedic religion and literature were developed, is the upper valleys of the River Indus and its five tributaries. The Punjab is the common name of most of this territory and means "the five rivers." The Punjab is west of the center of Asia, and at first sight on the map one would think it was on the route from east to west; but it is protected on the north by the Himmaleh Mountains, on the west by desert and the River Indus, on the south by desert and the sea, and on the east by the River Ganges and its tributaries and jungles. While the Ganges and its tributaries were, however, barriers from the east, the Aryan Hindoos knew nothing definite of them: they did not try to extend their borders in that direction: even the country south of them, now Deccan, was not colonized. They did not want to go back east or further south, and

the west was barred unless they made a jump to the fertile regions on the Persian Gulf and in the Mesopotamia.

119 There were three or four thousand distinct divinities in the Vedic mind. Heaven, Earth, Air, Water, Winds, Streams, Fire, Sun, Moon, Stars, were all understood to be divine manifestations. In addition to the divine honors and sacrifices paid to these ideals there were prayers and sacrifices to departed kindred. The first year after departure from this life the spirit was thought to remain on earth, near the scenes of its lifetime. The second year it ascended into air or ether. During these two years it must be sustained by the sacrifices of kindred. The third year it ascended into heaven and the sacrifices were not a daily necessity to it. The living must sacrifice to afford sustenance to the spirits, and their own standing after death depended upon their ministrations to the spirits and gods who would be their advocates and judges. The pious man would never eat or drink until he had first devoted a share of his food or wine to the gods and spirits. The Brahmans tried to keep the gods and spirits separated in their minds, but the inevitable changes of time supplanted the less popular divinities with new ones from the list of popular heroes.

120 These Aryans recognized as many evil divinities and spirits as good ones. No god was all powerful, but each one had powers greater than others in some matters and at some times. By ascetic practices a man could acquire superhuman power which he could use at will, even against the wishes and purposes of the gods. A man could, for instance, by asceticism, acquire the strength to use a sword a hundred feet long and heavy in proportion, and it is often related of men that they annihilated great armies of enemies, and restored to life their own army after the enemy had annihilated it, or called into existence a city, or walls to surround a city, or transported themselves great distances. The gods, too, increased their power by asceticism: they stored up power as we now store up force in powder, dynamite and electricity, for future use and for concentration at one time and place. When they had spent their store of latent power they were impotent until they again performed the ascetic penance. Nothing was gained by work, but everything might be gained by abstinence, by self-denial.

121 The beginning of mankind on this earth is related in the

Vedas. This Vedic tradition was old before the ancestors of Abraham moved into Mesopotamia. Adima was the first man. Brahma called him into existence, placed him in a beautiful forest abounding in plenty; then to make Adima complete Heva was given to him for a companion. Adima was cautioned that when he or his posterity left the sacred grove they could not return, but would be subject to vicissitudes with trials and many sorrows. Adima was contented for a while, but when the novelty wore off he sighed for new scenes and for fruits of a new flavor. Heva was fearful but went with her stronger companion from a sense of duty. They wandered a long time and came to the boundary of their land. Heva did not wish to venture out, but Adima persuaded her that it would be safe to go over into the beautiful grove in plain sight. They went, and found that the picture which they had seen was only a mirage of their own happy land. Then they could not return: they were out in the world as it is in nature. Brahma appeared to them and said that for the woman's sake, since she could not live alone, he would spare Adima. But through their disobedience sin had entered the world: devils, demons and spirits of evil had triumphed over Adima, and Brahma could not restore him to perfect happiness: henceforth there must be a constant struggle between good and evil, conservatism and progress, old and new systems. To comfort man in his earthly career, however, there was a promise that one of the divine trinity should be born into mortal life to teach and inspire him. The trinity are Brahma and his consort, Siva, and their son, Vishnu. Each has special attributes. It is the part of Vishnu to be born into the world at long intervals of time when necessary to save mankind from destruction from natural causes, from the wrath of minor gods, or from the wickedness or sloth of men.

Vishnu's first incarnation was just before the deluge, so many thousand years ago that the figures are beyond our comprehension. He then appeared as a fish, to save one righteous man, Manu, and seven patriarchs, by means of a big boat which he bade them to build. The last incarnation, the ninth, is now allowed to have been that of Buddha, though for centuries the true Brahmans would not accept Buddha as a manifestation of Vishnu. There is due one more incarnation, when Vishnu, or the triune Brahma, will establish his dominion on earth. All

evil will then be crushed out or metamorphosed into good, and
 13 the righteous will live together in peace and unity forevermore.
 40 No date is set for this event, but it is to be when all men become
 corrupt and threaten complete destruction of civilization.

122 Some of the remarkable sayings in the Vedas and the
 Laws, as translated by Max Müller:

“Family, wife, children, our very body and our wealth—all
 544 pass away. They do not belong to us. What then is ours?
 Our good and evil deeds.”

“When thou goest from here no one will follow thee. Only
 thy good and thy evil deeds will follow thee wherever thou goest.”

647 “Whatever act, good or bad, a man performs, of that by neces-
 sity he receives the recompense.”

123 “As a man puts on new garments in this world, throwing
 24 aside those which he formerly wore, even so the Self of man
 puts on new bodies which are in accordance with his acts.”

“No weapons will hurt the Self of man, no fire will burn it
 no water will moisten it, no wind will dry it up. It is not to be
 3 hurt, nor burnt, nor drowned, nor dried up. *It is imperishable,*
 329 *unchanging, immovable, without beginning.* If you know the Self
 of man to be all this, grieve not.”

124 “As all have to sleep together laid low in the earth, why
 276 do foolish people wish to injure one another?”
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125 “A man seeking for eternal happiness might obtain it by
 164 a hundredth part of the sufferings which a foolish man endures
 281 in the pursuit of riches.”

126 “It is not our heritage, still less the color of our skin,
 that produces virtue: virtue must be practiced. Therefore let no
 82 one do to others what he would not have others do unto him.”

127 “Evil doers think that no one sees them; but the gods
 85 (spirits) see them, and the old man within.”

“Self is the witness of Self: Self is the refuge of Self. Do not
 despise (neglect) thy own Self, the highest witness of men.”

128 To me in working out my theories of successive migra-
 tions and civilizations the most important thing in the Vedic
 literature are the memories enshrined with the earliest ideas of
 Yama. While the gods and happy spirits are said to reside in
 heaven and to be watchful over their dutiful children on earth,
 there is yet a promise that one day the living and the departed
 may be reunited in the land of the setting sun. The bright

spirits or gods and their forefathers came from the east and were going to the west, and if the devout Aryans would keep up with the procession they must go west. This was a well developed belief and tradition which pervaded the early Vedic literature. It did not originate in the Punjab: it was brought from the east: it was the attraction, the pillar of fire (and this was the language 363 applied to the sun) which led the Aryan races to the west. It was undoubtedly also a religious tenet among the Scythic and Semitic races. The Sun was their principal god, the Moon his consort, and their path was the path of righteousness.

In all languages and in all times, among all peoples not sequestered from the progressive races, the drapery and imagery of poesy and religion have been highly tinged with this idea that in the west, toward the setting sun, is the goal of human desires. The poets have observed certain proprieties in dwelling upon the splendors of the rising and the setting sun, and though the imagery has varied with the ethereal thoughts of the writers, there has been ever present some undefined belief that the west is attractive; that it will repay the ambitious or devout pioneer who will follow the sun. In the morning man looks forward to the evening, and begins the work he has set for himself for that day: his blood is distributed through his body. As the day advances the blood rises and becomes warmer. In the evening the brain is active and more imaginative. Thought may be cooler and more rational in the morning, but it is more imaginative and reaches further in the evening. Then the sun inspires one kind of thought in the morning and another in the evening.

Some instances can be found of peoples that looked to the south or east, but they are rare and usually owing to local geographic causes, as when migration has been around a mountain chain or body of water. The prehistoric races of North America were strongly imbued with the traditional idea that their happy hunting grounds were in the west. When communication with the other side of the earth had been severed the course of migration was stopped at the Pacific shores and the races were forced to move around in eddies or become stagnant. Even then most of them preserved the normal traditions, and do to this day.

129 A GENERATION ago the monuments of prehistoric peoples had excited little investigation, but the present generation has

persistently and systematically sought for them and arranged them so that comparison may be made. The migrations of the races around the earth during the Stone age are now fairly traced out. It is said by some who have given their life to discovery and arrangement of the relics—the pottery, stone tools and implements, flint arrowheads, ornaments, etc.—that the general direction of the migrants was from the southeast to the northwest. From eastern Siberia the direction was through Mesopotamia, around the southeastern corner of the Mediterranean, and thence through the Sahara Deserts to the Atlantic. What
 217 is now desert was then fertile plains. In the most inhospitable parts of the great deserts of Africa are remains of a high state of civilization in the Stone age.

130 But northern Siberia is in the frigid zone. How then could emigration be from that quarter northwest through the
 740 deserts of western Africa? Siberia was not then in the frigid zone. Not only are found there the bones of animals that can live in the torrid zone only, but the trees and plants of the torrid zone. In Vranglé Land, the most northerly land reached in Asia in modern times, where few people can live, and they most wretchedly, in the perpetual ice and snow, are found the trunks
 70 of trees that could not have grown there. These are not logs that could have drifted from a southern clime, but the trunks yet in the position in which they grew, with their roots in the frozen earth. More remarkable yet: there are berry trees and bushes, with the berries in all stages of growth and maturity, as they were when the change came and Siberia was suddenly shifted from the tropics to the frigid zone. In the Stone age, then, Siberia received the sunshine now bestowed upon China or Siam, the West Indies were at the north pole, and Java was at the south pole.

131 It is supposed by some that the Bronze age succeeded the Stone age, though others incline to the belief that iron preceded bronze. Bronze will endure longer than iron. Iron may
 149 have been in use during the latter part of the Stone age, and the relics have rusted away, while the bronze have not. So far as the remains indicate, bronze was used before iron, though after
 5 the Stone civilization had made the circuit of the earth.

Assuming, then, that bronze followed stone, it is important to know what country shows most distinctly the transition from

stone to bronze. This distinction seems to belong to Siberia. Here, along with the best specimens of stone implements, are found bronze bridle bits, hatchets and knives. Siberia shows a high state of industry and art, and was probably the center of a long series of civilizations such as occurred later in the Punjab, the Mesopotamia and the land of the Nile. This Siberian center of life was the starting place of successive emigrations, as well as the stopping place of migration from lands east of it. It was not the continuous residence of one race: no land has been or can be.

132 From the frozen regions of the poles to the equator on all the continents and in all lands are almost the same kinds of relics. There were travel and commerce by land and by water in every part of the globe. If there were oceans and deserts then as now they were not disposed as they are now. We know the climates were different; the relics do not indicate extreme heat or cold, but so far as may be judged were left by people at different times and in practically the same climatic conditions, indicating that in the changes of habitat the peoples and tribes sought congenial climate, yet in their peregrinations occupied all the parts of the earth. Rivers, lakes and oceans were navigated: the civilization we now enjoy has not reached the stage of universality reached in the Stone age.

133 In the Stone age there were mines from which stone and flint were taken, and centers of industry and trade. There was agriculture: raw materials for cloths were cultivated, and grain was ground into meal and flour. Articles were carried by land and water, and between points at antipodes to each other. In any recent work on the prehistoric world may be found instances of relics that must have been carried from one continent to another: shells, chalks, paints and coloring matters, as well as pottery and other articles of manufacture, are found where they were not native, and never could have been: the place from which they came is usually known. Everything needed to prove that successive migrations went from east to west around the earth for thousands of years before the earliest historic date is now at hand, making the dates of the Vedas appear probable.

134 There being world-wide industry and commerce, what was the money, or medium of exchange? There is good reason to believe there was coin. Great quantities of flints made in very precise shape and size have been found, and the same kinds

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were scattered all over the earth. These flints are not arrow-heads: some of them are very small and not useful in any way so far as can be judged now. The flint for these small specimens was carried great distances from the mines where it was obtained. There were workshops where the flints were made in great quantities. Were there mints, under the charge of government officials? Did the governments monopolize the coinage? Or were these coins made by commercial firms or associations, or by bankers? Of course they may not have been coins to circulate as money, but it is very probable that they were. In early traditional times shells were used as money, and may have been in the Stone age, but flint coins seem to have been in use, and bone also.

135 Society, religion, government, and all they imply, were enjoyed or suffered by the peoples of the Stone age. The skulls found show horrible wounds which had healed years before the death of the man or woman. Some of the specimens show that the surgeons who treated the patients understood their business and had sharp tools to work with, as well as ointments and appliances to assist in the process of healing. Caves in the earth and in the sides of mountains show that sometimes the people were hunted by desperate enemies, and fortifications show a marked degree of skill in the art of war. But these evidences of war and violence do not make the chances of death and destruction greater in the Stone age than in historic time, while the evidences of industry and commerce indicate long periods of quiet. There were industrious peoples and warring peoples: those who were willing to give value for value and those who thought it beneath their dignity to dicker for exchange but took what they wanted, when they could, by force. Humanity was then what it had been and what it is—various in its ideas and methods.

136 WHAT HAS this knowledge of the Stone age to do with the Sanscrit language and the Aryan race? The investigators can not yet say how far the Sanscrit traditions may be identified with the prehistoric conditions, but some remarkable agreements have already been observed. The swastika was the sacred symbol of the Aryan race; not alone of that branch which settled in the Punjab, but of all branches of the race. Wherever the Aryans located the swastika is found. It is a Maltese cross with the

four ends of the bars turned in the direction of the sun's course as it seems to move around the earth. The cross is usually surrounded by a circle, making a wheel with four spokes, each of the four spaces containing a design resembling a cross. These designs are sometimes found without the cross or wheel, but in a way to be taken for the complete swastika. In the Vedas the word *swasi* means happiness or good fortune; hence the symbol to encourage the faithful in their religious duties and the hope of reward from the gods or their ancestors. This symbol was connected with astrology and represented the "four houses," sometimes further divided to make "twelve houses" of the heavens. At first a cross may not have been intended, but it became the common symbol.

137 No religion of historic time has spread over a half of the earth, yet this Aryan symbol has been found almost everywhere. The ornaments and divine images resurrected at Troy have the complete swastika engraved or cast on them. The earliest colonists in Asia Minor and Italy brought it with them, and the Etruscans and all the later peoples of Europe adopted it. At some prehistoric time it spread throughout Asia. It has been found on the walls of the catacombs at Rome, on the chair of St. Ambrose, in the most ancient relics in Ireland. In Ashantee and Guinea, in southern Africa, it has been found. It has been found on the walls of the temples of Yucatan, temples built by a people who were forgotten by the natives before the Spanish conquest; on a stone hatchet found in New Jersey; on vases found in a Peruvian sepulcher, and on vessels in Mexico. It has been found on rude pottery of the Stone age and on metallic articles of the Bronze age and the Iron age. 37

138 SUPPOSE SOME barbarian of these modern times, some benighted chief of a tribe that had not heard of modern inventions, should be inveigled into a great city and led around to see the sights, but not allowed to ascend in an elevator, ride on an electric car or railroad train or steamboat or cross a suspension bridge, and be told that the fine-looking people whom he saw doing these things were gods: suppose this barbarian should return to his people and relate his wondrous visions in fairy land: then suppose these barbarians should remain in their isolated state for a few generations, retaining the stories of the traveled

chief as tradition: what would then be the version of these stories if perchance one of the tribe should compose them in verse and make them a part of the permanent traditions of the tribe? Would that tradition be different from the stories of the Vedas? It would be in some respects different, yet strikingly similar. But while it would be childish in fancy it would have a very material basis. The remarkable thing about it is that those who knew of the basis of fact would look upon it as wild fancy, while those who knew nothing of the basis would believe the whole recital, and it would become a part of their religion.

139 Thus it is possible that the stories in the Vedas of gods and heroes doing things that are impossible or highly improbable, and now regarded as childish and meaningless, had a material basis. It is possible, even probable, that there was rapid transit in prehistoric time, either by railroad of some kind or by navigation, or both. It is very probable that there was a system of telegraphy. New inventions are now rapidly supplanting old ones which a few years ago were believed to be the end of human ingenuity. Electricity is only beginning to be used. In a few centuries the world may discard the bulk of the present machinery and produce its supplies almost without physical labor.

764 Then with its refined methods and appliances a short interval of apathy or general disorder would cause the world to lose the

17 skill to reproduce the complicated inventions, and without the patience and ingenuity to replace them, or operate them, with the nations separated by war or prejudice, so that raw materials could not be obtained, they might be forgotten. Then the recol-

4 lection of them would be preserved in the folk lore of each tribe

20 or race, as we find them in the Vedas and the later work, the Arabian Nights Entertainments.

140 Since the earliest historic location and recognition of Aryans the races that have been called Aryan have been as diverse in characteristics as could be imagined, yet they have been the bright and energetic races. From the dawn of history to the fall of the Roman empire the same general religious ideas were prevalent among all of them: since the advent of Christianity they all accept the same basis for their religions, at least from the place of its origin to the west as far as Aryans have since gone. I therefore conclude that there was once a universal religion: not a universal race, but one religion pervading all the

races, and that this will occur again. The cross will again become universal, then there will be another dispensation, and a new Genesis will grow into favor, denying all that precedes it, and what we now call history and science will be lost or forgotten. There will be another Stone age, after which the reviving civilization will collect the relics of prehistoric man and the conservatives of that day will be asked to extend their dates backward to take in our time. History will be repeated.

141 If it was a choice between holding to old things forever, 112
 never learning new ways or changing habitation, and giving up
 all old things for new, with progress, even though much that 523
 was given up would not be replaced by other things as good, I
 would choose the part of change and freshness; but I do not
 think it is necessary to efface and deny all the past and strive to
 begin entirely new history once in three or four thousand years,
 and always deny that the human species on this earth is older.
 The world can have plenty of room to work out new history
 without forgetting former civilizations. The idea that the earth
 and humanity are new and to be short lived dwarfs the mind and
 narrows the policies of men and nations: there is encouragement
 with breadth of vision in the well founded belief that there was
 once a higher state of civilization than we know of; that the
 world may be brought back to it, and we may assist in the good
 work. There is admonition that if the races of men do not pro- 846
 vide for world-wide peace and security to commerce and indus- 857
 try, but proceed on narrow policies of seclusion and exclusion, 872
 there will come another blighting time, and, if ignorance and
 prejudice obtain, another Stone age will ensue.

There are wise and liberal men who can not believe there was
 a world-wide Stone age. Some of them deny the whole fabric of
 the story, while others think it is true of a part of the world in all
 ages and in our own time. It would be as easy for me to adopt
 one view as another: any one of the views can be reconciled with
 my theories. I have closely read the Stone age facts and deduc-
 tions and found them well sustained. It seems plain that there
 was a time when all the world was in a Stone age: had no met-
 als. Yet there is a doubt. Somewhere there may have remained
 knowledge of the metals through all of the dark time, but as the
 energetic races moved on into a land where ores could not be
 obtained they may have forgotten them and used stone imple-

ments until the process of smelting was again discovered when ores were come upon again, or when communication with iron-makers was restored. If communication among the nations should cease now at least half of the world would go into the Stone age in twenty years, and the iron-producing countries would be paralyzed and soon give up the industry. After a time the metals would come into use again, but it would be a long time.

212 142 THE BRAHMAN faith and practice could not forever hold a
place in the world: changes that were scarcely perceptible under-
645 mined the religion and the language of the Rig-Veda and the
350 Laws. Dialects supplanted the pure Sanscrit and the old ideas
crystallized into monuments, while a tithe of the former creative
genius remained with the people. Buddhism rose on the forms
and memories of Brahmanism during the Fifth Century B.C.
The same land could not successively grow two crops of religion
or literature, however, and Buddhism has never made its impress
upon the civilizations west of it as did the Aryan Brahmanism.
It spread eastward and became a competitor with Brahmanism as
far as Japan and the Polynesian islands. The two systems are
nearly blended into one.

143 From the First Century before to the Third Century of
our era there is a break in the history of the Punjab. During
these three or four centuries there were successive invasions and
occupations by Scythians from the north, northeast or east.
These invaders have not been satisfactorily placed, but as they
are mentioned in the Chinese annals it is fair to suppose that they
came from the old mustering place, Tataria. They were undoubt-
edly of the rude races or tribes that pushed on into Europe and
323 destroyed the Roman empire, and whose descendants are to-day
mixed in the populations of Europe and America.

WESTERN ASIA.

144 SOME ETHNOLOGISTS divide humanity into many races. I find only three grand divisions, which I may as well call by the names in Genesis—Japhet for the Scythians or northern peoples, Shem for the inhabitants of the temperate zone, and Ham for the tropical races. These distinctions are arbitrary. There is a 259 great difference between the inhabitants of the torrid zone and those of the temperate zone, and also between the latter and the Scythians. These distinctions have always been marked. Yet in all ages there have been migrations both of individuals and of tribes from one zone to another, and the attempt to classify the races has been unsatisfactory. When Scythians move down into the temperate zone they become more energetic than the people 155 they displace or take up with, and likewise when the Shemites move down into the tropics they are for a while more energetic 248 than the Hamites. When Hamites and Shemites move north- 254 ward they not only improve themselves but stir up their new neighbors to greater energy by adding to the common stock of ideas. There never was a beginning of these migrations, or one that can be imagined even, though in each locality there may have been long periods of seclusiveness, and any attempt to sort out the great varieties and their modifications must result in failure. Even China proper has at least two distinct races. The Scythians will be very energetic for a few generations in the temperate zone before they become habituated to the warmer climate, and then they practically become Shemites, though they may retain some former peculiarities. The Shemites will try to pursue their old ways when they move to Scythia, but must succumb to necessity. Color, shape of skull, the hair—all these and many other peculiarities will change when people move from 116 one zone to another, or to a different climate in the same zone,

130 whether there is a mixing of races or not. The tropical sun will
 518 scorch the skin of the Scyth and make it thick as well as dark:
 the cold of the frigid zone will bleach the black skin and make it
 soft and white. The fairest races, however, are not found in the
 frigid zone: the extreme cold forces the Esquimaus to live in
 close quarters and the smoke and artificial light make their com-
 plexion dull and sallow.

145 ALL THE VERY ancient history preserved in its original
 form so that it can now be read as written is found in four small
 115 territories—China, the Punjab, the Mesopotamia and Egypt.
 There were civil and progressive races in other localities, but
 only in these four places were the annals preserved for posterity.
 Of these four places only two were continuous seats of civiliza-
 tion during long ages, some archæologists placing the dates as
 217 far back as 40,000 years. The written history of course could
 329 not survive this inconceivable length of time with sufficient accu-
 racy and intrinsic probability to command the respect of the
 world of letters, but the indestructible monuments and the graven
 245 inscriptions of the Babylonians and the Egyptians appeal strongly
 to our credulity. These inscriptions are monuments to the sys-
 tem and literary exactness of the Stone age: they were begun in
 the Stone age and continued until the arrival of races that had
 acquired more convenient but less durable materials, and even
 212 Darius would not trust his scriptures to paper, but had them
 cut on the most solid and least effaceable stone.

The Mesopotamia, as I use the term, includes all the land be-
 tween the Tigris and the Euphrates. The word means “between
 the rivers, the land between the two rivers.” The rivers made
 the land productive.

146 Since we can never verify or understand the Babylonian
 3 record of past time it means nothing to us, but it is interesting to
 121 know that this tradition covered 432,000 years, divided into
 twelve cycles of 36,000 years each. The priesthood that pre-
 served this tradition or record of observations were versed in
 astronomy or astrology. The translations represent them as say-
 ing that during these 432,000 years there were only ten kings,
 but by kings they evidently meant dynasties or dispensations.

71 147 The story of the deluge was preserved by them. This
 121 event happened just one cycle (saros) of 36,000 years before the
 325

accession of the Persian dynasty under Cyrus. Far back as this event was, the account gives particular attention to the preservation of the books of history. The people in a large district (of course the writer says of all the earth) were destroyed by the waters. The books were the first objects of solicitude with the divine oracle that warned Xisuthros and his family to save themselves in an ark. The books were carefully buried and after the deluge were found and the history was preserved. This tradition contains an account of the building of the tower of Bâbylon of brick and the confounding of language by the god Bel, and also mentions an immigration from the east, which accounts for the confusion of language.

148 There were several tribes or peoples in Mesopotamia and around the Persian Gulf, with agriculture, industries and commerce, some 10,000 years ago. Then there came a numerous migration from the northeast. These people moved across northern Asia, north of the Altai Mountains, until they struck the Ural Mountains, when they turned south, went around the Caspian Sea, and found the garden spot of Asia. Here they stopped, or some of them, north of Babylonia, and began a new civilization. There is no account of government or wars in this northern settlement, and we may believe that there was a healthy state of society, with patriarchal government only. 217

149 The oldest history of the Babylonians represents them as having a fair degree of skill in working metals, weaving cloth, building stone and brick houses and walls, and digging canals for irrigation and navigation.

The remains found in the buried cities are in various states of preservation. Iron which is known to have been buried only about 2,500 years is usually rotten, though in some instances where it has been dry or covered by bronze it will take a polish. Wood has lasted as well as iron. Bronze has lasted better than iron or wood, but sometimes it is rotten. Glass, which would be expected to outlast everything else, has suffered from time: some specimens are too rotten to bear handling. The bricks have lasted better than anything else. They are mostly as good as when moulded by the early and the later Babylonians. 139

150 There were several arrivals of wandering tribes from the northeast, or immigration had been continuous from this source, when there came a new kind of people, now from the east or

southeast. The Shemites, the Semitic race, had probably first turned south and worked their way west through India, or there had been another ingress into Asia by a southerly route, or the inhabitants of southeastern or southern Asia had begun to migrate. Whatever their origin, the Shemites began to appear in
372 and around Babylonia between 4000 and 3000 B.C., and long after the several immigrations already mentioned. There seems to have been little opposition at first and the Shemites scattered throughout Mesopotamia and engaged in trade and commerce. There was a long era of comparative peace, and with new industries and extension of commerce there was great progress in
16 civilization. This Semitic race grew stronger in the north (Assyria) than in Babylonia. The greater freedom, with no organized government, allowed them to prosecute their trade. The Assyrians became a Semitic race with a liberal mixture, while the Babylonians were a former race with only a tinge of Semitic.

151 Four thousand years before our era there were public
223 libraries in many cities in both Babylonia and Assyria. These libraries were stocked with books on all lines of history and science, from astronomy to gardening, and from the antediluvian beginning of history to current events. There were two kinds of books. The more common and durable were those on bricks. The brick was moulded in the ordinary manner and the scribe made the characters with a metal stylus in the soft surface, after which the brick was dried in the sun or burned in a kiln. These bricks are being gathered now, most of them in good state of keeping. They were marked seriatim as sheets of writing on paper now are and placed on inclined shelves where they could be read continuously. There was also papyrus, which was light and handy, but costly and not durable. But for the brick and monumental inscriptions the history of those times would now be lost.

152 This state of civilization had not been wrought out or maintained by one people: it had been taken up successively by different peoples as they arrived from the east. These peoples, whether coming a few at a time or in force, had added their ideas and industry to the old stock. While freedom remained there was no overcrowding: there was emigration as well as immigration. At times, however, immigration was slow, or the Mesopotamian despots endeavored to keep out intruders, and the habits

of the people became set: the wealthy and powerful oppressed the poor and weak, the masses, and while there was more display of wealth and greatness the lot of the common people grew less hopeful. Then when the lines of oppression were drawn tight around the "vested rights" an immigrant except as a slave was in fact an intruder: there was no place for him. But the races would go westward, and they must go through Mesopotamia. They became congested on the northeast and east and necessity forced them to move. 54
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153 LIKE A TIDAL WAVE was the feeling of discontent and unrest which once in three or five hundred years possessed the peoples of Asia and Europe from the dawn of history, we might say of tradition. Wars and treaties and other causes operated to change the geography of the world all the time, but once in several centuries there came a time when all the peoples wanted a change. The communities seemed to weary of their situation and long for new territory. Each people or tribe in this crisis had to defend its possessions or give them up: if a people gave up to a stronger, and was not destroyed or enslaved, it was not slow in seeking other land: in the event of failing to hold territory in the favored regions it was forced to move northward into Scythia or westward into the land held by the slothful races. 93
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866

154 When peace was restored after one of these commotions a new race, the Chaldæans, supposed to have been Scythians, were located on the Persian Gulf. They were energetic and for a time aggressive, extending their authority over Babylon and some distance west of the Euphrates. The Persian Gulf then extended much further north than now. The Tigris and the Euphrates did not join, but both emptied into the gulf, each having its delta and swampy land. There is much uncertainty as to the time of the arrival of the Chaldæans, but it was long after the influx of the Semitics. When they became powerful in the plains of the southern country the Semitics of the mountains (Assyria) coalesced into a strong government, and contests of military strength began.

These new Babylonians became a remarkable people. They had probably lived long enough in Scythia to forget the slavish and wicked ways of the southrons. In the mild climates the kings might rule despotically; and their favorites, or those who 786

- were fortunate enough to get the honors and the control of the natural opportunities, the aristocracy, be even more tyrannic over the common people. In the cheerless northern clime it was different. There the people could not exist without a large scope of freedom: the habitations must be prepared and supplied: the people could not be employed in building palaces and beautifying grounds for the king and priest: they could not toil all day and every day for their master and sleep on the ground at night. It was a wise design of Providence that in some parts of the earth it should be absolutely necessary that men should be independent in order to maintain existence. It was also a wise provision that left nations indefensible, that left the Scythians free to march down and dispossess their southern neighbors, else there might never have been a change from despotism and slavery. The common people were helpless: the lords of the earth could manage them as the shepherd manages his flocks. But when a race of despots and slaves were driven to Scythia, or to the wild west,
- 5 where they were banished from what they had called civilization, they were forced to change their relations. The king might for a while exercise his old authority, but the necessities of his people would force them to assume a larger individuality. There might still be a king, but he would be more useful, less like a god.
- 592 155 In more democratic governments the same is characteristic of the Scythians, when they move southward, singly or in groups, without making disturbance. The native in the mild climate will fall into the paths of his father, or will not have force of character to raise him above his station. The Scyth, however, will strive for position, honor or wealth: he has no respect for the pretensions of the aristocracy, or will assume them for himself, as circumstances suggest, and will not without a struggle accept the lot of the class he associated with in the north, or the
- 144 one in which he would seem to belong in his new country. He helps the common people by his energy, but instead of learning from his example they often ascribe their shortcomings to his success and try to lessen his opportunities. The energy wears out in a few generations.
- 367 156 The Chaldæans had from eight to sixteen principal gods and goddesses and minor ones innumerable. Every city had its
- 777 particular deity, and each family had not only its preferences among the general gods, but its private divinity. Their worship

was not new, but fixed and established: they inherited it from ancestors many centuries earlier and far from Babylonia. They also brought with them a system of astronomy or astrology. There was already a system in use in Babylonia, and there does not appear to have resulted any confusion. In later times the Chaldæans seem to have been a class or brotherhood of priests and astronomers.

157 ASSYRIA was colonized under the patronage of the Babylonians. The religion and customs of the two sections were for a long time identical, but with a mild and varied climate and successive immigrations the Assyrians lost their early habits and became extremely national and overbearing. It was common among their neighbors, especially the Egyptians, to regard the king as the incarnation of the national god, but the Assyrians carried this vain worship further than any others, or permitted their kings to do so. It was a common belief that every man and every god had a double. Thus while Ra of Egypt was in heaven his double or second self resided in the person of the king, and the double of the king was with Ra in heaven. Assur and the king of Assyria maintained a like intimacy. Hence the word of the king was divine law, and to oppose the king was to oppose heaven. 121

Assurbanipal names the principal divinities of the Assyrians. First he claims to be the progeny of Assur and Beltis, king and queen of heaven, but names Essarhaddon as his father. Then he says that Assur and Sin the lord of crowns raised him to the kingdom. Shamas, Vul and Ishtar commanded the making of the kingdom. "In the month of Iyyar the month of Hea, lord of mankind, in the performance of the important message which Assur, Beltis, Sin, Shamas, Vul, Bel, Nebo, Ishtar of Nineveh, Sarrat-Kitmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip, Nergal and Nusku had spoken, he (Assurbanipal) gathered the people of Assyria, small and great, and of the upper and lower sea. Vul poured down his rain and Hea feasted the people." These divinities had been brought in by various peoples. When the tribes were forced into the empire their gods were added to the list. 103
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158 The Assyrian monarchy, after becoming separate and firmly established, lasted about seven centuries, from about 1300 to 625 B.C. During most of this time it was almost a supreme military power in western Asia.

While the king of Assyria was sovereign of all the conquered
 285 states, the governments were at first left almost as they were in
 their independent condition. Their kings reigned as before and
 their worship and customs were seldom interfered with while
 they were obedient. It was necessary for the sake of peace that
 they should pay such tribute as the great king demanded of them.

The reports of the marauding excursions of the kings contain
 many statements like this: "Akhuni with his gods, his chariots,
 his horses, his sons, his daughters to my city of Assur I brought."
 After detailing several raids Shalmanezar II. says: "I marched
 421 to the source of the Tigris, the place from whence the waters
 gush forth. There I purified the arms of Assur; I sacrificed vic-
 80 tims to my gods; a feast of rejoicing I made. I erected a great
 493 inage of my royal majesty. The glory of Assur my lord, the
 exploits of my valor, and all that I had done in these countries, I
 inscribed upon it." Assurbanipal reports: "In my fifth expe-
 dition to Elam I directed the march. I overwhelmed Elam
 through its extent. I cut off the head of Teumman their wicked
 king, who devised evil. Beyond number I slew his soldiers.
 Their wives, like bows and arrows, filled the vicinity of Shushun.
 Their corpses I threw into the Ulai River." Again: "His
 gods, his goddesses, his people small and great, I carried off to
 Nineveh. They were all spoils to me."

597 Law is "a definite commandment laid down by any recognized
 authority." The gods in heaven were the authority recognized
 523 by all people in western Asia of that day, and the king was the
 national god in the flesh. Then the word of the king was law.
 525 When an Assyrian king made demand upon a people they had
 two alternatives: to resist and be exterminated or carried off as
 slaves, or to submit and allow the Assyrian armies to loot their
 cities and farms. There was not much choice: they might as
 well be killed or taken into slavery as to be bereft of all their
 374 wealth and produce and left to starve. It was hard, but it was
 according to divine law. So long as the king was successful it
 779 was evident that he was in the favor of the gods and had author-
 ity to make any demand.

159 Nineveh, the capital city, is supposed to date back to
 4000 B.C. The city in its best days was nearly nineteen miles
 in length, more than eleven in breadth, and sixty miles in cir-
 cumference. It was inclosed by a wall one hundred feet high

and so thick that three chariots might stand abreast in the road on top. On these walls were fifteen hundred towers two hundred feet high, making the towers three hundred feet high. Straight and broad streets intersected the city both ways at regular intervals, making large blocks, which were covered with buildings and gardens which would in modern times be the wonder of the world. The excavations in the Nineteenth Century have enabled architects and artists to restore the plans of the gigantic structures, with the artistic ornaments and sculptures.

160 The question is pertinent, how could the Assyrian kings secure the talent and skill to produce these wonders in art and architecture at that time, if the world was in infancy? The men before the deluge are represented in Genesis as childish and wicked, good at nothing, and the deluge is said to have left not a vestige of former accomplishments: only eight persons survived to begin life on an utterly desolate earth. Science has done even less for the Babylonians. Scientists have promulgated a theory of primitive man, at that time just emerging from a larval state. Neither of these assumptions can account for this high state of civilization. Yet it was there in evidence and asserts its history through its remains. It was not new 1000 B.C.: it did not leap 75 into perfection. I would rather accept the Babylonian records with their great cycles and believe that there was a great civilization 40,000 years ago; that there was a center of learning and literature at a city called Booktown, and that when it was made known to Xisuthros by the spirit world that a cataclysm was to occur he buried such books of history and science as would be useful to the new people, and thus the history and science were preserved. The people who believed this story were not satisfied with papyrus documents, but laboriously committed their annals to indestructible brick. The modern world is exhuming and 284 restoring this knowledge, to the consternation of those who have 312 accepted the narrow and conceited Greek classics.

161 Aside from its origin and progress, how were the skill and art fostered and developed? We know that money can not create genius and skill. We know that political power can not order genius. These accomplishments must be developed, and developed in freedom. There must be provision and encouragement in addition to freedom. The development and growth were in the early days when society was healthier and stronger and 12

government weaker. There must have been orders or associations of artists and mechanics. Society, independent of higher authority, worked out these achievements. The bricks and stones in the structures bear private marks of contractors or builders. Nineveh had a population of about 2,000,000. This great number of people were supported at first by industry and trade, but later from tribute and spoils of war. What happened in later empires happened at Nineveh. When the king learned to exact tribute and spend it in building and beautifying his city there was profitable employment and genius and industry were required. When the city had been completed, so that nothing new could be undertaken without destroying noble works already finished, there was no employment, the tribute was needed only for the gratification of a lascivious court and a slavish populace, the industry and sobriety of the people were changed to insolent laziness and destructive plotting. The later Assyrian civilization, when the aristocracy became esthetic, though it reached a great height in the way of magnificent architecture and military glory, was woefully lacking in the elements that secure distribution through productive industry, and with it real prosperity. It was lacking in that it had no thought of giving value for value, made the king's edict law, made his judges its administrators, and left the common people out of the benefits after the city was built and the aristocracy provided for.

162 Tiglath-Pileser II. usurped the Assyrian crown about 745 B.C., when the condition of the kingdom was deplorable. His predecessors had carried on war on the highway robber's plan of attacking suddenly and running away with the booty. They had overcome neighbors west and south of them at different times, taken everything in sight, laid the conquered under tribute, and left. When they returned for tribute they expected to fight for it again. There was no organization or system in their style of conquest: it was for present spoils. Tiglath improved upon this loose and uncertain way of earning all the tribute. He organized the conquered peoples under satraps and judges of his own appointment and kept armies stationed at convenient places to support them, and also to give employment to the hordes of Assyrians who had no means of earning a living in any proper way, since they had become too respectable to work or engage in traffic, and their places in the industries had been taken by the slaves they had made.

163 The Semitics and some others in all the countries of western Asia had been in the habit of trading wherever they found profit. Each country had cities where merchants congregated and caravans and vessels came to market. Pileser did not know why this commerce should not be turned into a few cities in Assyria proper and made to yield a profit to his favorites and tribute to himself. If Babylon and Damascus and the cities of Phœnicia were allowed to carry on their commerce his own markets must suffer. Then rivals must be suppressed and all the traffic of the world be diverted to his favorite city. All caravan routes must be to Carchemish, the most convenient point for surveillance and control.

164 Talk of religious persecution causing wars! It is not to be compared with commercial persecution. Most of the wars ascribed to religious frenzy are more properly chargeable to interference with trade. From the day when Tiglath-Pileser inaugurated this piracy on a legal basis there was no peace until Assyria was destroyed. Following him, Sargon overran nearly all of western Asia and Egypt and made the grandest empire ever known in the Mesopotamia. Little commerce that did not go to Carchemish was allowed. If two persons swapped caps note must be made of the transaction and the king or his favorite be paid a tribute. To trade without permission, unless one party was a royal favorite, was a crime against the state: it was anarchy. Legitimate trade was such as the king allowed his favorites to conduct. Revolt was inevitable, and revolts were continuous until the Assyrian power was obliterated. Commercial congestion makes all people poor. It destroys civilization by preventing exchanges and paralyzing the energies of the people, not only of those against whom it is directed, but of those for whom it is ostensibly provided. It prevents coöperation and reduces civilized man to the helplessness of the savage. But Assyria was glorious while the kings could maintain this policy.

165 About the year 632 B.C. the Medes, who had been partially but never wholly subdued by the Assyrians, but had grown to be a military power in their mountainous country, invaded Assyria. Before any fighting of consequence occurred the Medes were called home. The time had come for a periodic irruption of the Scythians, who poured down in a seemingly endless stream. Media was overrun but not conquered. The Scyths

295 moved on through Assyria, Babylonia and the other countries to the Mediterranean and into Egypt, almost obliterating the communities and their improvements. When the Barbarians had wreaked vengeance and spent their force they seemed to disappear as suddenly as they had appeared: they scattered among the peoples and took the places of those they had destroyed, or went west, or returned to their northern haunts. Media, first to receive them, was also first to recover, and made good use of the advantage.

166 After a long series of contests Babylonia had been taken and destroyed, about 690 B.C., by Sennacherib. Ten years later Esarhaddon rebuilt the city, with a palace for himself, and lived alternately at Babylon and at Nineveh. Babylonia had been absorbed, and the Assyrian arms were successful everywhere.

In 625 B.C., eventful year, Nabopolassar was made governor of Babylon at a time when the Babylonians and the Susianians, their neighbors to the east, were rising in revolt. Nabopolassar saw the advantage of his position. Cyaxeres, king of Media, was then contemplating an invasion into Assyria, and with him Nabopolassar entered into an alliance of mutual aid and assistance. Nabopolassar became the leader of the rebellion, was declared king of Babylon, married his son Nebuchadrezzar to the daughter of Cyaxeres, the two powers destroyed the Assyrian power, and divided between them the possessions of the Assyrian king. Babylonia thus secured Syria, including Palestine, while Media obtained Assyria proper and some lands to the west and north-west. This was largely brought about and made possible by the Scythian invasion, but all of the dependencies of Assyria had wanted only an opportunity.

790 Assyria was destroyed. This haughty power was obliterated. Semitics, Barbarians and Aryans on all sides sought revenge. The bloody gods and the bloodier kings, the rapacious aristocracy and the slavish herd—all were swept away. There was left nothing to bear the Assyrian name. The tenantless lands were colonized by Aryans and Scyths.

167 THE MEDES AND PERSIANS (Aryans) came from the same quarter, supposed to have been India. The Medes settled further north than the Persians, and among Scythians, while the Persians were somewhat sprinkled with Semitic neighbors. It is probable

that the Scythians were stronger than the Aryans in Media, as the kings to the last are said to have been Scyths. When these people came into the territories east of Babylonia and Assyria they found no government: the Assyrian armies had destroyed everything: peoples that had a name in antiquity had fallen a prey to Assyrian rapacity. These new comers had about two centuries in which to move in and organize. The Assyrians took some territory in Media about 710 B.C. and settled the captive tribes of Israel there. In 671 B.C. the conquest was pushed further eastward, but soon after this time the Medes rallied for defense. In 634 operations of an aggressive character began, with the result already given.

168 WHAT A MEDLEY of parts was Nebuchadrezzar! That he was a man of great ability and energy can not be gainsaid. He made aggressive war upon the Jews, the Phœnicians and the Egyptians and reduced them to the condition of vassals and tributaries. While doing incalculable injury to the Egyptian agriculturists, he improved his own immediate country by digging canals and making artificial lakes or reservoirs to provide water for irrigation. While almost destroying for the time the commerce of Phœnicia he encouraged and protected trade between the east and the west with Babylon as the metropolis. While interfering with the industries of the other countries under his dominion he encouraged his own people to develop all kinds of industries, and the woolen and cotton fabrics of Babylon excelled those of other countries of the time. But Nebuchadrezzar did not pursue this policy out of intelligent regard for his people: he was subject to whims and undertook great exploits and built up or destroyed simply as a pastime or to gratify his personal pride or to humor his queen, who was probably Nito'cris, mentioned by Herodotos. He elevated Daniel, the Jewish prophet, to the position of chief priest, and sometimes worshiped his own gods and sometimes followed the forms and observed the rites of the Jews, and his people were constrained to follow the example of their king in his moods. The glory of this later Babylon was splendid, but it was short lived.

169 Herod'otos describes the boats and manner of navigation on the Euphrates. These boats were used in bringing articles to market or tithes to the king from the upper provinces. The

frame was made of willows from Armenia and covered with skins and hides. In addition to the cargo a mule was taken along, and when the cargo was unloaded the boat was taken to pieces; the framework was sold for use in other purposes in Babylon, and the covering loaded on the mule and carried back for use again. This was necessary because the current was so swift that with their motive power they could make no head against it.

170 The records preserved in brick contain many interesting facts pertaining to the business of the Babylonians. The accompanying business card is partly copied and partly supplied, but all true to the history as found in the exhumed city. Egibi transacted business for the governments and made loans.

THE EGIBI BANKING HOUSE

In the brick building with stone foundation
and metal doors

SOUTH NAHAN STREET

BABYLON

Government loans a specialty

Transacts all business pertaining to property
and finance

Titles examined and deeds recorded

A complete set of abstracts of title of all realty
in the empire

171 THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF SILK will serve to show when and how communication between the east and the west ceased.

201 The Aryans first introduced silk into western Asia and Greece.
304 Afterward the Phœnicians pushed their trade into the far east, to China, and obtained raw silk, which they made into cloth, and had a good trade in silks, though they had no knowledge of the production of raw silk. The Phœnicians also imported woven
522 silks, and supplied a large part of those used by Greeks and Romans. When Tyre was crippled by Greek and Roman wars, and could not maintain her trade with the east, the Persians were able to supply the demand in part. They or some of their eastern allies went by a difficult route through Turkestan to Chinese Tatar, and thence into China. The Roman emperor Marcus Antoninus, about 166 A.D., sent an embassy to China to secure a commercial treaty and obtain silk direct; but the Chinese gov-
110 ernment did not want the outlandish westerners in the east. A second attempt, in 284 A.D., met no more favor. About 550 A.D. the Persians had control of the trade and would not allow Europeans to go through their territory to the east or spy out the intermediates who brought the silk to western Asia. The government at Constantinople then prohibited trade between Persians and Romans, and the latter applied to the Arabians and

the Abyssinians, wishing them to obtain silk from China, but they could not or would not, and the Romans were left to use cotton instead. Thus the world east of Persia was lost from Greek and Roman knowledge while the west was being subdued.

172 AFTER THE DIVISION of the Assyrian territories between the Medes and the Babylonians the Assyrian dependencies in western Asia thought it a good time to throw off their bondage, but the Median authority was asserted as far west as the Halys, now Kitzil Ermak River, leaving out what was afterward called Asia Minor, in which was the important commercial kingdom of Lydia. A peace of fifty years followed.

173 The Medes and the Babylonians both lived riotously on the spoils of their victories and conquests, and the ruling classes, thinking themselves secure in their power, relaxed the military discipline. The Persians were few in number, comparatively, and had been known to the Medes as a weak tributary. The Persian king had been required to send his son and heir to the Median court as a pledge of loyalty. About sixty years after the establishment of the Median monarchy the princely hostage from Persia was Cyrus. He observed that the Medes had degenerated and were not capable of fighting as formerly, while his countrymen were hardy, rugged, unused to luxury, every way better for soldiers. By artifice he obtained leave of absence from the royal court, made haste to regain his own country, and raised the standard of revolt. The Median army was scattered and Media submitted to Persian dominion in 558 B.C. The Aryan Persians and the Aryan Medes were now united under an Aryan king. Aryans in Media helped the Persians.

The Persians and the Babylonians were of about equal strength and both looking for conquests, though in different directions, and let each other alone for a while. When central and south-western Asia had been worked and exhausted the next move was westward.

174 ASIA MINOR, though overrun by Egyptians, Hittites, Syrians and others, had grown into flourishing kingdoms. The political divisions were Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Mysia, Lydia, Caria, Lycia, Pisidia, Cilicia, Cappadocia, Galatia and Phrygia. Near the coast were the islands of Lesbos, Chios,

Samos, Rhodes and many smaller ones. The oldest settlers in Asia Minor were probably the Phrygians. They were of the first run of the Aryans, had come around the Caspian Sea on the north side, were little different from Barbarians, and mixed with the natives they found. At an early day they possessed nearly the whole of the peninsula, but restricted themselves to grazing and rude agriculture. As others came the Phrygians gave up territory and were finally subjugated by the Lydians, who controlled all of Asia Minor except Cilicia, Lycia and Cappadocia.

175 The Lydians were an Aryan-Greek people. Their soil was very fertile, and the River Pactolus brought from Mount Tmolus rich washings of gold which was gathered in Sardis, the capital. Not only did the Lydians have natural advantages, but they early engaged in commerce, at first and for a long time by land only, but later by water. Their trade brought them wealth and they became celebrated for politeness and learning. They also had numerous industries. Ointments and carpets were their principal manufactures. Their workmen were in demand in the Greek colonies. It is said that the Lydians were the first to coin money. Since they had great quantities of gold which they took from the Pactolus, and obtained it also in trade, it is probable that they were the first to stamp the coin, though this is doubtful: the fact is that coined money is older than history. The Lydians probably first made coins in their neighborhood.

176 Guges murdered Candaules the king about 687 B.C. Lydia was already prosperous and wealthy, but Guges brought several of the other Asiatic Greek states under his control and his wealth was fabulous. About 662 B.C. there was an irruption from Scythia, not the same as that which overran the Mesopotamia, but from the region west of the Caspian Sea. The Kimmerians swept over Asia Minor. The Lydians were almost overrun. Guges was slain and Sardis destroyed, except the citadel. But the Lydians were first to recover, and drove the Barbarians out, about fifty years afterward. Aluattes was king 603 B.C. He extended his authority over the districts which had suffered.

177 About 615 B.C. Media and Babylon undertook to extend their boundaries to the Ægean Sea. After five years of war the king of Babylonia, jealous of the Medes, secured peace for Lydia and she was for a time relieved from fear of the east. Aluattes then began an aggressive war against the independent Asiatic

Greeks. He made some progress, and his son Crœsus, on coming to the throne, finished the subjugation of Asia Minor, except Lycia, Cappadocia and Cilicia.

178 These wars changed the character of the people. Crœsus was proud and boastful, inordinately fond of pomp and honor, but otherwise a fair sort of monarch, as monarchs go. Forgetful of the means to prosperity and riches, though still possessed of the advantages of his fathers, he did not plan for the good of his people, but for the injury of others. He may have had just cause for fear from Cyrus, but prudence would have led him to avoid war if possible. Instead of which he sent to Sparta and Athens to solicit aid in an aggressive war against Persia. Sparta promised to assist, but Athens was then in a state of revolution and could not be enlisted. Crœsus was preparing for a raid of the Greeks into Persia, but was too confident. He began the attack and was defeated. Then while he sent for the Greek allies to come in five months to engage in the conquest of Persia, Cyrus at once began the conquest of Lydia, about 546 B.C., and had finished the task before any help came to Crœsus. 598 627

179 Now when Guges had killed Candaules at the instigation of the queen, who declared that he should be king, the Lydians sent to consult the oracle at Delphi to know the will of the god (Apollo). The answer was that Guges should be king, but retribution would be taken on the fifth descendant. No heed was taken of the prediction and it was forgotten for the time, though recorded. When Crœsus contemplated war upon Cyrus he sent to the Delphic oracle to know the probabilities of the undertaking, and was told that if he did so a great kingdom would be subverted. Crœsus took this as favorable to himself and made a war which subverted his own kingdom. When he had fallen into the hands of Cyrus, been placed upon the funeral pile alive and the fire started, he won the favor of Cyrus, who ordered the fire extinguished; but those about the pile could not do it. Crœsus prayed to Apollo, and rain fell and put out the fire. Then Cyrus, interested in the case of Crœsus, joined him in sending to the Delphic oracle to know why this deception was practiced. The answer of the oracle was very pointed. "The god himself can not avoid the decrees of fate. Crœsus has atoned the crime of his ancestor in the fifth generation [the succession had been Guges, Ardus, Saduattes, Aluattes, Crœsus]. But though Apollo 606

was desirous that the fall of Sardis might happen in the time of the sons of Cræsus, and not during his reign, yet it was not in
369 his power to avert the fates. Let Cræsus know, indeed, that he was taken prisoner three years later than the fates had decreed; and in the next place the god came to his relief when he was on the point of being burned. As to the prediction of the oracle, Cræsus has no right to complain; for Apollo foretold him that if he made war on the Persians a great empire would be overturned; and had he desired to be truly informed, he should have sent again to inquire, whether his own or that of Cyrus was meant." Cræsus acknowledged the fault to be his. It will here-
697 after be shown that the gods meant that the aggressor, in the wars of Persians and Greeks, should be defeated.

180 When Cyrus was meditating the subjugation of the Asiatic Greek states not included in the Lydian kingdom the Ionians and the Æolians sent to Sparta and the other Greek states for help. Sparta did not respond, but sent one vessel with judicious men to watch the course of events. These men thought it advisable to send a delegation to Cyrus and acquaint him with the intention of the Greeks to stand by their fellow-Greeks. Cyrus wanted to know who these Spartans were that they presumed to offer suggestions. When informed, he said to the delegates, "I have never yet been afraid of those who in the midst of their city
92 have a place set apart in which they congregate and cheat one another; and if I continue in health, not the calamities of the Ionians shall be talked about, but their own." This was notice to the Greeks that he intended to subjugate all of Greece. It also showed that he had intentions against the Phœnicians who held several islands on the coast of Asia Minor. Yet the Greeks did not unite to support each other, nor propose an alliance with the Phœnicians. The Phœnicians were first subjugated, and used against the Greeks. The Aryan Medes and Persians had been prejudiced against traders by the treatment they had received from the Semitic Assyrians while "protecting" their own commerce and injuring that of others. The sins of the Assyrians were superstitiously or at least ignorantly connected with trade and believed to be the sins of trade when they were sins against trade.

181 This incident leads me to two other important facts of history. The peoples before the Greeks and the later Phœnicians

had no market houses or retail dealers. The merchants had no place of business, but went from place to place with their goods packed. They stopped with the rich only, and bartered on a wholesale scale. Coin was not necessary, since their sales were few and large, and gold and silver were taken at bullion value. The retail dealers were put to for a medium of exchange in small transactions, hence the need for coin.

182 The other important fact is that Cyrus in this short speech unwittingly became the originator of the notion, heard yet in most countries that pretend to intelligence, that there can be no profit in trade without cheating. It was agreeable with the character and prejudices of Cyrus to speak thus, but how can modern economists reconcile this old idea with reason? Cyrus wanted to protect the Persians and his other subjects from the Phœnicians and Greeks who gained profit from trade: he thought his people were not bright enough to make bargains. To save his people he would employ them at something they were fitted for: they could fight, and in this way get wealth. One people going wrong leads others to a worse policy. Cyrus was supported by an aristocracy that must be cared for: retail trade would afford to the masses an opportunity to be independent of aristocracy: hence they must be suppressed, ostensibly for the safety of the common people, but really to perpetuate the control of the aristocracy.

183 Afterward, when the Lydians were led into revolt, while Cyrus was engaged in teaching his ideas of government to the neighboring Asiatics and the Egyptians, he was about to give orders to enslave the Lydians and other Asiatic Greeks, but first submitted the propriety of the course to Crœsus, whom he kept with him. Crœsus was anxious to save his former subjects, and knew the foibles and prejudices of Cyrus, so he suggested: "Sire, you have but too much reason for what you say; yet do not give full vent to your anger, nor utterly destroy an ancient city. Pardon the Lydians, and put upon them these regulations, that they may never again revolt, nor be troublesome to you: Order them to keep no weapons of war in their possession; to wear shirts under their cloaks and buskins on their feet; require them to teach their sons to make music (on the cithara and the guitar), and to sell by retail. Then you will soon see them becoming women instead of men, so that they will never give you

any apprehension about revolting." Cræsus in captivity did his people a greater service than he had ever done as their king, for Cyrus followed the suggestion.

184 IN ALL TIMES there has been variety of belief and rites in what, for want of a nicer term, is in the Latin languages called
 779 religion. No race during all its days has followed one form of worship; in fact it seems that each race is destined to run the gamut of possible changes. The basic differences were exemplified in the Medes and Persians. First there was one national god, the ruler of the universe; afterward a second national deity
 538 was admitted, when one was the author of good and the other of evil. This change was not the result of evolution within themselves, but the innovation came from without; was suffered to gain a residence, as it were, from a foreign soil. When the Medes became powerful and courtly it was discovered that their simple notions and worship were not compatible with a superior race: were not impressive, had not dignity, lacked in ceremony and mystery. Hence it was that Magism with all its forms and ceremonies was allowed to supplant the pioneer cult.

185 If there is a Ruler of the universe, with all power, it is not only proper but natural that men should desire to know and
 283 do his will in the earth. If there are two Superior Beings, one good and the other evil, neither strong enough or desirous to
 445 destroy the other, it is natural that men should sue for help from one or the other, according as the human intention was good or
 275 evil. If there is a Divine Intelligence with numerous ministers of various duties and degrees of power, it is not to be wondered
 435 at that men will sometimes look directly to the agents (or angels) for help, feeling their presence nearer, and not look further, to the higher power. If men may come to believe in the ministers
 447 without knowledge of the Divinity, they may ascribe to the ministers the attributes of the Divinity and call them gods. If
 88 they may do this they may still further restrict their vision, or be
 526 restricted in a manner incomprehensible to them, and see no
 119 further than the instruments of the gods or angels, the elements of the earth and the heavenly bodies that give light and heat and
 328 life to all animate nature. Thus we get the outlines of the various beliefs and the manner of the changes that are constantly occurring. We can not say that a certain belief indicates a
 48

higher degree of intelligence than another belief, but if any system could be traced back the ancestors of its present possessors would be found holding to another system.

186 It would not be profitable, and probably not interesting to most readers, to give a full survey of the religions of the Medes and Persians. But it is important to know that the same features that were prominent then are present in the world to-day, and that these features will last forever.

The Magi were a close order or brotherhood. To be admitted 100
to its mysteries and benefits the candidate was subjected to severe 320
tests and long apprenticeship, and then was initiated for life, being 331
unfitted for other employment. The order had a liturgy, per-
formed sacrifices, offered prayers on stated and special occasions,
and did everything usually done in an elaborate system of reli-
gion. It was not democratic in any respect: only the wealthy 390
and powerful could enjoy it. 683

187 The reformers, the followers of Zoroaster, were simple and democratic. They could not worship in the Magian way, yet thought that the gods could not intend that the worship should be monopolized by an order. They worshiped in a simple way as their consciences told them. The shepherds and farmers who could not go to the Magi or pay them fees for sacrifices and prayers offered up their own sacrifices and prayers and felt that they were accepted. There might be less of pomp and ceremony, but there was more of spirituality and reverence.

188 These two rival forms of worship did not live together in peace. While a people were in poverty and political weakness the Zoroastrian worship was popular, but when they became powerful and prosperous, especially if the change came through the conquest of other peoples, they took naturally to the Magian worship because it was more esthetic and gave them importance as rulers of the world: it flattered their pride and elevated their own opinion of themselves. When the Medes were weak they had a simple worship; when the Medes were powerful they adopted the Magian worship. While the Persians were vassals to the Medes they were Zoroastrians; when they became masters they soon employed the Magian brotherhood. But the simple worshipers among the Persians and Medes did not like the change: they saw the aristocratic trend and were jealous. An- 400
other distinction is made, with much probability. It is asserted 405

by some that the Scythic Medes were Magians and the Aryans were Zoroastrians; that the difference was racial and political. This may have been true in early days, but changes in the social and political relations of the people produced two parties, each having adherents throughout Media and Persia.

173 189 Cyrus was a politician. He wanted to be king of Persia, and he could not be king of Persia alone. If he should free his own country from Media he would then be between Media and Babylonia, and the latter power was much the strongest of the three. He saw that he must be king of Media as well as of Persia. He knew that many if not most of the Medes were Zoroastrians, though the Magi had been recognized by king Astuages and had great political power. The Magi could do him much mischief if he opposed them. He conciliated them with promises of favor, while gaining the Zoroastrians of Media with promises of religious freedom.

190 When Cyrus had accomplished his first designs and wanted Babylon he found another religious party to assist him. He had succeeded in gaining the support of both parties in Persia without uniting himself with either. He could not play this game in Babylonia, where the Aryan religions had few followers. But he found still another people, with a religion different from both. The Jews were willing to help him to the very thing he desired. They had been taken captive and brought to Babylon. They wanted to return to Judæa. He entered into negotiations with some of their most discreet priests and nobles and they undertook to deliver the city to him, or assist in a plan whereby he might enter the impregnable city with little difficulty. The Jews were not slow in stratagems: they did their part, and Babylon was taken without a decisive battle. Until late years it was
300 thought that the Persians took Babylon only once. Now it is known that they took it twice. On this first invasion there was much discontent in the Babylonian provinces, but the Jews gave the Persians the most efficient aid. Cyrus restored order and permitted the Jews who wished to return to Judæa to do so.

173 191 In one generation the Persians had risen from the condition of a vassal province under the Median monarchy to the proud position of the ruling race in the known civilized world.
318 In their colonial state the people were divided into ten tribes. Four tribes were nomadic; wandered about with their flocks to

find pasturage. Three cultivated the soil, and the remaining three were warriors and nobility. In this way the duties and opportunities of life were set apart to the tribes so that no necessary employment might be neglected and each might have the means to live and not be reduced to bondage.

192 Herodotos relates, and in the very last paragraph in his histories, that Artembares made a remark, which the Persians adopted and carried to Cyrus, in these words: "Since Jupiter has given the sovereign power to the Persians, and among men to you, O Cyrus, by overthrowing Astuages; as we possess a small territory, and that rugged, come, let us remove from this, and take possession of another, better. There are many near our borders, and many at a distance. By possessing one of these, we shall be more admired by most men; and it is right that those who bear rule should do so, and when shall we have a better opportunity than when we have command of many nations and of all Asia?" Cyrus, not liking the proposal, bade them do so, but he warned them "to prepare henceforward not to rule, but to be ruled over; for as delicate men spring from delicate countries, it is not given to the same land to produce excellent fruits and men valiant in war." The Persians yielded to the opinion of Cyrus: they rather chose to live in a barren country and be masters than live in fertile plains and own others as rulers. 577

193 Cyrus was endowed with the qualities necessary in an organizer and ruler of a despotic government, and withal seems to have been usually humane and under self-control, but Cambyzes, his son and successor, though ambitious as his father, was lacking in moral qualities.

Cambyzes subjugated Egypt and not only destroyed the people ruthlessly, but made a studied effort to insult them by destroying the images of their gods, their sacred animals and their houses of worship, earning a racial hatred that was long held against the Persians. He also reduced Phœnicia, and meditated an attack by water upon Carthage, but the Phœnicians would not even in the face of destruction aid their suzerain in a war against their kinsmen. Cambyzes reigned eight years, and there were few to mourn him at his death. 300

194 Before the death of Cambyzes a magian named Smerdis claimed to be brother to the king and usurped the throne while Cambyzes was absent on a military campaign. Cambyzes had

had a brother Smerdis, but had procured his death from fear that he might get the kingdom from him, and this was another Smerdis, who kept himself secluded that he might not be discovered.

When the magian had ruled seven months a conspiracy was formed by seven Persians, who took his life. The seven conspirators were Otanes, Ardomanes, Gobryas, Intaphernes, Megabyzus, Hydarnes and Darius. When the tumult had subsided, after five days, these seven men met to deliberate upon the kind of government that should be established, since they had the matter in their hands. These men were all of the nobility, and their speeches are worthy of repetition, even though there is some doubt whether or not they were ever made. Herodotos 230
342 vouches for them, though he says some Greeks doubted them.

195 Otanes, the originator of the plot, spoke as follows: "It appears that henceforward no one of us should be a monarch. You know to what a pitch of insolence Cambyses reached, and you have experienced the insolence of the magus. Indeed, how can a monarchy be a well constituted government, where one man is allowed to do whatever he pleases without control? Even if the best of men were given such power he would depart from his wonted thoughts. Insolence is engendered in him by the advantages that surround him, and envy is implanted in man from his birth, and having these two, he has every vice. One would think that a man who holds sovereign power should be free from envy, since he possesses every advantage, but the contrary of this takes place in his conduct toward the citizens; for he envies the best and delights in the worst. If you show him respect in moderation he is offended, and if you honor him very much he is offended as with a flatterer. He changes the institutions of our ancestors, violates women, and puts men to death 621 without trial. But a democratic government bears the fairest name of all, equality of rights."

348 196 Megabyzus was for aristocratic government, an oligarchy, and said: "I agree with what Otanes has said about abolishing tyranny, but in bidding us transfer the power to the people he has erred from the best opinion; for nothing is more foolish and insolent than a useless crowd; therefore it is on no account to be endured, that men who are endeavoring to avoid the insolence of one unrestrained tyrant should fall under the insolence of an unrestrained multitude. The former, when he does anything,

does it knowingly, but the latter have not the means of knowing. 656
 Let those, then, who desire the ruin of the Persians adopt a
 democracy, but let us, having chosen an association of the best
 men, commit the sovereign power to them; for among them our-
 selves shall be included, and it is reasonable to expect that the 759
 best counsels will proceed from the best men."

197 Darius was for monarchy. He said: "In what Mega-
 byzus has said concerning the people he appears to me to have
 spoken rightly; but concerning an oligarchy, not so. Of the
 three forms—democracy, oligarchy, monarchy—I affirm that the
 last is far superior. For nothing can be found better than one
 man, who is the best; since, acting upon equally wise plans, he
 would govern the people without blame, and would keep his
 designs most secret from the ill affected. But in an oligarchy,
 while many are exerting their energies for the public good,
 strong private enmities generally spring up; for each wishing to 632
 be chief, and to carry his own opinions, they come to deep ani-
 mosities one against another, from whence seditions arise. In a 496
 democracy it is impossible but that evil should spring up. In
 either event the disturbance lasts until some one of the people
 stands forward and puts them down; and on this account he is
 admired by the people, and becomes a monarch. And this, too,
 shows that a monarchy is best."

198 No other plan was proposed and there were four votes for
 monarchy. Otanes then said that he did not want to govern his
 countrymen, but had hoped when he rose against the magus that
 nobody else would rule over him. He therefore asked that the
 others would pledge him immunity from despotism, his heirs as
 well as himself, and he would not enter the contest for sovereign
 power. This was promised. and a plan arranged whereby one of
 the six should be chosen king by lot. Dari'us (Dareios Hys-
 taspes) by a trick cheated the others and was made king, 521 B.C.

199 There are two ways to look at this story. If it is true it
 shows that Aryan wit was not mean in that day and that Asia
 was on the point of a trial of democracy. It would have been a
 failure with the ideas of military glory then prevalent, though
 good might have resulted to later generations. Then, even if it
 is not true, it is important to know that the arguments have been
 read by the Greek scholars, and some others, a small class dis-
 posed to oligarchy and monarchy, ever since they were penned

by Herodotos. They have had great influence, in all leading countries, and undoubtedly strengthened oligarchic government.

200 Darius found the several peoples composing his kingdom in open revolt. His first efforts were to restore order and reform the government. He set over each people a civil governor and a military commander, and to watch both classes of officers he employed an army of spies. In this way he became the originator of the best government on an extensive scale yet seen. In after years he became involved in undertakings so great that he was forced to relax his oversight of the governors, the two classes were merged into one, and the governors were despots. But for practical purposes, during the lifetime of Darius, the provincial organization was efficient: he received supplies and submission from his governors.

201 The first expedition of Darius was into India, where he conquered the people in the Punjab and Scinda, east of the River Indus, and found gold mines and increased his supply of the precious metal. He had at this time a practical turn of mind. He built bridges, made roads, established stations, and in every necessary way provided for extensive and safe commercial relations with the east. He laid out and improved roads through
171 all the provinces. If his love for glory had been satiable, if his later operations had been as practical and beneficial, he would have been a great benefactor. But he was possessed of the As-
181 syrian idea that if others were prosperous he and his people could not be.

202 During the weakness of the Persians under Cambyes an adventurer, Nadintabel, usurped the authority in Babylonia and asserted independence. Darius in 521 B.C. moved his armies into Babylonia. In two battles he was victorious and shut the Babylonians up in their city. Darius had no hope of taking the city by force, but invested it and waited for help from within. After a siege of nearly two years, and when he had made no impression upon the walls, he suddenly gained entrance, at night. When Cyrus took the city with the discreet aid of the Jews he gave them permission to return to Judæa, but only a small number went. When the Babylonian authority was reestablished the Jews were not treated so well as they had been formerly and many more wished to return to Judæa, but the king would not release them. He had no fear of them, however, and many of

them held positions of trust in all departments of the public service. The Jews undoubtedly assisted the Persians again. While the king and his court were enjoying a feast and being entertained by Daniel the prophet the Persians gained entrance into the city through a passage that was opened from the inside, and which could easily have been defended after the opening of the gate if Babylonians had been on guard. Darius heaped presents upon the Jews and sent them with ample protection to Judæa, but he utterly destroyed Babylon. As long as the Persian power lasted the Jews were favored. It is questionable whether they ever paid taxes or tribute; there is no record to show that they did; and no record to show that any Jews went with the armies of Darius or Xerxes into Europe, though no other nation under the Persian dominion was exempted.

203 The writer of the books of Esdras (I. Esd. iv. 43) says: "Then said he unto the king (Darius), Remember thy vow which thou hast vowed to build Jerusalem, in the day when thou camest to thy kingdom. And to send away all the vessels that were taken away out of Jerusalem, which Cyrus set apart, when he vowed to destroy Babylon, and to send them thither again. Thou hast also vowed to build up the temple which the Edomites burned, when Judæa was made desolate by the Chaldees. Then Darius the king wrote letters for him unto all the treasurers and other officers," giving orders that all Jews who might wish to should be permitted to return, and that the Celesyrians, Samaritans and Phœnicians should furnish material and help in building the city of Jerusalem. "Moreover he wrote for all the Jews that returned to Judæa, that no officer, no governor or lieutenant or treasurer, should forcibly enter into their doors; and that all the country which they should hold should be free without tribute. Yea, that there should be yearly given twenty talents to the building of the temple, until it was built; and other ten talents yearly to maintain the burnt-offerings upon the altar every day. And that all they that went from Babylon to build the city should have liberty; they and their posterity, and all the priests that went away. And he commanded to give all that kept the city pensions and wages."

The Persian governors were not satisfied and sent to Darius to acquaint him of the doings of the Jews. In the sixth chapter we read that Darius commanded that search be made in the records

of Cyrus to ascertain the extent of the treaty with the Jews, and when the records showed all that was claimed by the Jews, the king was impatient and wrote to his governors that they should not trouble him again, but see that his orders were obeyed. Besides the former grants he added that the governors should give to the Jews corn, salt, wine and oil, "and that continually every year without further question." As a punishment for disobedience of these orders he commanded that one of every family that disobeyed should be hung. "The god therefore whose name is there called upon, utterly destroy every king and nation that hindereth the building of the temple in Jerusalem." The other subjects could not understand this partiality toward the Jews, but Cyrus made the grants for valuable services to him in Babylonia, and his successors carried them out. In the day when there was not room for the ambitions of Cyrus and Nabonidos the Jews were in position to help either side, and they helped Cyrus and made the Persian supremacy possible.

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204 There is a tradition, or somehow the belief has grown, that Cyrus was good to the Jews because the Persians and the Jews worshiped one god, were monotheists. But the facts are that both the Persians and the Jews worshiped as many gods as other ancients. Cyrus restored the temples and sacrificed to the native gods at Babylon. There was one similarity, however. They both worshiped unseen gods and would not tolerate images or representations of the deities. Even this, however, is doubtful of the Jews previous to their friendship with the Persians. Certainly not more than a small faction of the Jews had been iconoclasts. All of the really distinguished leaders had made images and bowed down to them. The Persians, or one faction among them, hated images, and destroyed them on every opportunity. The alliance between the Jews and the Persians led the Jews to adopt iconoclasm, and it worked through them a great change in worship in after ages. So far as men were conscious of their acts it was by chance that the change occurred: it took many centuries and many diverse and antagonistic races to change the nature of the worship.

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205 Herodotos says that Darius divided the empire into twenty satrapies and levied tribute upon them according to numbers and their ability to pay. He gives minutely the territories and peoples of the satrapies, together with the amount of tribute

in gold and silver, horses, etc. The greatest tribute was upon the Indians, because their number was greatest; it was 360 talents of gold dust. The total tribute in gold and silver was 14,560 Euboic talents, not including small amounts from special taxes and imposts, and reckoning one talent of gold to be worth thirteen talents of silver, the ratio established by Darius. The Persians paid no taxes. The foreigner paid them; and by this plan the foreigners did pay them: they did not pay them on goods ⁷¹⁸ sent to Persian markets, but Persian officials collected the taxes in each district and forwarded them to Darius. This was the mainspring of the desire for dominion, that the ruling race might have the revenues, and pay none. A talent was \$888 or \$1,000: its exact value can not be ascertained.

Among the smaller sources of revenue was that extorted from a district; which depended upon the branches of the River Aces. This river, issuing from the mountains, divided into five streams and irrigated a great extent of land otherwise arid. Darius dammed up the exits from the mountains and formed a lake. When the farmers along the streams were left without water they went to Darius to complain, but he would not turn on the water until they paid him for it, and then they got only what they paid for. This was small business for a king with the revenues and pretensions of Darius, but he was that kind of man: he could not forego any advantage.

206 Egyptians said that long before this time one of their ²⁵³ kings made a raid into Europe, but some think that Darius was ⁵¹⁸ first to enter Europe with a hostile army. Of course there had been migration of tribes, and the Scythians had moved westward faster than the southrons. The Scythians of Asia and of Europe had acted together and against each other and made raids back and forth and into the lands south of them, but their wandering and marauding are not to be taken into the account of the civilized races. The raid by Darius into European Scythia was to awe the Scythians and take revenge for their raids.

Darius collected an army of 700,000 men and a navy of 600 ships, and crossed the Bosphorus on a bridge which he built for the occasion. The Ionian, Æolian and Hellespontine Greeks conducted the naval operations. The fleet was ordered to sail to and ascend the River Ister to a point where the river separates into its several mouths and throw across a bridge for the army to

pass over. Over this bridge Darius and his army passed and entered the Scythian territory, the fleet being left to protect the bridge for sixty days, and if the army did not return in that time they were to destroy the bridge and return home.

207 The Scythians were not united nor alike in customs and dispositions. Some of them refused to have anything to do with the war, and so informed Darius, though they would not aid him in any way. They had committed no depredations upon the Persians or other civilized people, and those who had done so, they thought, deserved punishment. But the guilty tribes followed their usual style of warfare. They had no cities and no destructible wealth. Their families and cattle were moved out of the way and they tantalized the Persians by keeping in sight and out of reach, leading Darius and his big army around and through an uncultivated country. They tried to lead Darius into the territory of the neutral Scythians, that they might be drawn into the quarrel, and when the neutrals threatened to join the Persians the others said they were not afraid of that: they would have to fight them only, since the Persians could not help them. The Persians were worn and short of provisions and had not met the enemy, when Darius sent to know why they did not stand and fight as men of valor would. The Scythians said they had not received half as much injury in keeping out of the way of the Persians as the latter had in the effort to find them, hence they thought they were gaining the cheapest and safest victory possible; but if the Persians would desecrate their burial places they could count on having an engagement: there was no other harm or indignity that they would resent. When the Persians were in a destitute condition and scared at everything that moved they determined to retreat. Then the Scythians went to the Greeks guarding the bridge and tried to persuade them to destroy it and retreat with their navy, since the sixty days were up, and thus avenge the wrongs done upon them by the Persians without violating the orders of Darius. At the same time the Scythians returned to meet Darius and give battle. But Darius took one route and they another and there was no engagement, though the Persians lost great numbers from sickness, starvation and estrays.

534 208 The Greeks and the Scythians had not had much to do with each other yet. The Scythians were averse to civilized vis-



itors and the Greeks had not done much to overcome their prejudices. Each had thoughts of conquering the other when ready. Both admired brute courage, and despised cowardice. This was the state of mind of the two races interested in repelling the Persians. When the Ionian Greeks refused to carry out their part of the agreement and destroy Darius' bridge, for they had agreed to do so, the Scythians were loud in their denunciations of them for cowardice and bad faith. Now there may have been bad faith on the part of the Greeks, but there was no cowardice. The facts are that Athens at that time was giving the Greeks an example of democratic government, and the lower and part of the middling classes in other Greek states were ready to follow. The tyrants of the various cities and small states were disposed to destroy Darius, but were more afraid of their own people. They chose rather to remain under Persian suzerainty and be tyrants themselves than allow the people to have a voice in the government. They made choice for themselves and for all the Greeks.

209 What may have been the outcome if the Ionians had destroyed the bridge it is impossible to say, but there is no likelihood that Darius or any of his men could have escaped. If Darius and his army had been destroyed, all the Greeks in Asia Minor would have asserted their freedom and there would have been no Persian authority left in Europe and little in Asia. As it was, Darius and most of his army returned and Thrace and a part of Macedon were added to the Persian dominion. These wild territories were the base of operations in the invasions of Greece a few years later. Operations for the subjugation of Greece were at once begun. Darius had now under his control about all of the known world except Greece proper, and wanted 212 to make his empire coëxtensive with the earth.

210 Before Darius had time to begin operations against Greece the Asiatic Greeks rebelled against their tyrants and called upon the European Greeks for help. The resistance was desperate, 629 but the greater numbers of the Persians bore them down and the Asiatic Greeks were conquered and severely punished. Darius then resolved upon an expedition into Greece at once. In the early part of 492 B.C. he sent an army and a fleet to Greece, but they were almost totally destroyed without meeting a Greek. Two years later another attempt was made, when the Greeks met 635.

636 the Persians at Marathon, twenty-two miles from Athens, and the superiority of Grecian arms, discipline and courage over Persian numbers was demonstrated. Before he was ready to lead a still greater army and navy in person into Greece Darius died, in 486 B.C.

211 Cyrus first entered upon the design of conquering all of Asia and having one vast kingdom. Cambyses was inflamed with the same ambition. Darius accomplished the object. There were other kings, but Darius was king of kings and priest of priests; for when a people were subjugated their gods were also. The strongest race had the strongest god, and, though each people worshiped their gods as before, they did not give them the credit of almighty power: people and gods were humbled.

212 The history of Persia is now so closely allied with that of Greece that it need not be continued further here. It is much more interesting to follow a race when it is growing, while it has
 442 vigor and virtue, ambition and hope, than after it has attained its growth and become sotted and hardened in misery and luxury,
 710 low wages and high salaries, with the classes hedged in by custom and law. It will be pleasant and encouraging to read of the contests between young Greece and old Persia, between the new and the old, from the Grecian standpoint. To some it may be saddening to reflect that each race, or the people of each block of
 645 earth as the races move around the belt of the temperate zone from east to west, must decay and become uninteresting in their crystallized state; but such has been the way of the world.

Let us see what Darius was in character, as described by himself, late in life: "Says Darius the king: These are the countries
 446 which belong to me, by the grace of Ormazd I have become king of them: Persia, Susiana, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, those which are of the sea (the Mediterranean), Sparta (by which
 209 he meant all of Greece), Ionia, Media, Armenia, Cappadocia, Parthia, Zarangia, Aria, Chorasmia, Bactria, Sogdiana, Gandara, the Sacæ, the Sattagydes, Arachosia and Mecia. These are the countries which belong to me; by the grace of Ormazd they belong to me. That which has been said unto them by me, both by night and by day it has been performed by them. Within these countries, whosoever was good, him have I cherished and protected; whoever was wicked, him have I utterly destroyed.
 158 By the grace of Ormazd these countries have obeyed my laws.

Ormazd and the other gods brought help to me because I was not wicked, nor was I a liar, nor was I a tyrant, neither I nor any of my race. I have obeyed the laws, and the rights and customs I have not violated. Whoever labored for my family, him have I cherished and protected. He who was hostile to me, him have I utterly destroyed." Nor would he allow those who might live after him to have a mind of their own: he would bind all mankind then and forever to obey his laws. He says in his great tablet in which the foregoing is contained, a tablet hewn on the face of a solid stone mountain: "If, seeing this tablet and these figures, thou shalt injure them, and shalt not preserve them as long as thy seed endures, then may Ormazd be thy enemy, and mayest thou be childless, and that which thou mayest do, may Ormazd curse it for thee." 145
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213 WOMAN IN ASIA was a luxury or a nuisance. Patriarchs, kings and nobles had as many women as they liked, while the common men lived almost without female society. The soldier, the laborer, the shepherd and tenant farmer were denied wives, while the magnificent harems of the kings received the choicest specimens and the nobility monopolized the rest. Woe to the man in any station if a superior wanted his good-looking wife. The kings and nobles had no more respect for women than for animals, while men of meaner fortune who were denied wives and seldom saw women regarded them as men in a normal state regard the angels of heaven. And the women—what were they, and what idea had they of men? In our day and country we can not imagine the conditions or the ideas of those days.

With the relations of the sexes in this abnormal state, of course the children were not reared in a manner that would turn out good men and women. There was not and could not be a home. The boy knew that he could not have a wife, and the girl knew that she would be taken at an early age to a harem and would live only so long as she found favor with a lustful master who could get as many maidens as he wished, and would neither let her remain or go forth to find another habitation.

Where single wives were tolerated simply because the husband could not afford others the harem fashion was maintained. The house was built in two complete parts. one for males and one for females. Each part had a hall, and there was a middle hall 102

common to both, under certain restrictions. Male visitors, even boarders, never saw the females. The men dined in their hall, the women in theirs. Women seldom left their apartments.

This is an extreme view. There were some exceptions in
 430 some countries and at some times, but there is no history to show that among any people of western Asia, unless it might be the Arabs, the Phœnicians or the Barbarians, was there any degree of freedom allowed women. Where women were not kept in harems, but taken by men for single wives, they were transferred as
 536 animals, without their consent, and became chattels to their husbands.

214 There was a peculiar custom among the Babylonians, and one which Herodotos commended as better than any other which he heard of among the Asiatics. Once a year, on a stated day, all the marriageable maidens were brought to a public auction. In some countries it was customary to buy a wife, while in others it was necessary to give a dowry, sometimes large, to attract a desirable husband. In all cases it was necessary to have a contract and transfer the daughter in the same way as a slave was sold. All women and most men were chattels. If a man could get a woman for a wife without a contract to bind him he could treat her as a slave, and this made it necessary for the father or guardian to provide in the contract that his daughter or ward should be treated as a free partner. The Babylonian officers collected all the free maidens and sold them to the best bidders. The purchaser was bound by law to make his purchase a wife: if he found he did not want her he must return her and the money was repaid. The most beautiful and pleasing was first auctioned off to the highest bidder, and when the most eligible had been disposed of, the most ugly, deformed or crippled was offered to the man who would take her with the least dowry. In this way the purchaser of the first choice was made to contribute a dowry for the least attractive, and so on, and all the maidens found husbands. The father was not permitted to dispose of his daughter, nor could the young people have any acquaintance with each other. But none of the ancients allowed the young people to choose for themselves. After the subjugation of Babylon by the Persians this custom was abandoned, Herodotos says because the men could not support wives as formerly, and the daughters were allowed to prostitute themselves. Then laws

were necessary to protect the women and prevent men from carrying them off for slaves. This is not an isolated instance of misfortune to women on account of war: they are first to suffer and suffer most, whatever the customs.

215 One thing must be said for the Asiatics. We do not know what was the condition of woman in prehistoric times. It may be that imperceptible changes had resulted in this state of affairs; that when Asia was barbaric, in the Stone age, or in the days when the pioneers were coming in from the east with new customs, the conditions were similar to those of Europe in a like stage of growth, and that in time Europe and America will suffer the same course of change until the relations of the sexes will be as abnormal as those in Asia for three or four thousand years past. 5

I submit that the prominent fact of the status of woman in Asia in successive ages is the strongest proof that the civilizations were very old before Europe was reached. In the early Vedic literature woman is the helpmeet and companion of man. As men submitted and acknowledged lords and masters the aristocracy assumed the right to the women and shut them up. In some instances the exclusion was so strict that there was a male and a female language, and women were foreign to men.

216 In Lydia the Greek customs prevailed. Merchants and artificers were free, and the maidens were without shame allowed to be prostitutes, receiving their price, that they might acquire sufficient means to secure a husband. These liberties were subject to recall by the king. The father of Cræsus treated the three classes—merchants, artificers and free women—leniently, and at his death they joined in the erection of a monument to his memory. Herodotos says this monument was standing in his day, and that the part supplied by the women was more than either of the other two. This custom of maiden freedom must not be viewed from a modern Christian standpoint, but as an improvement upon the Asiatic custom and the beginning of a better one. The Asiatic customs prevail there now. 535 558 275 713

EGYPT AND PHCENICIA.

217 WITHIN A FEW YEARS the researches have restored to the world much of the very ancient Egyptian history, contained in the graven inscriptions. By verifying the statements of Egyptian writers, and supplying the names and dates that have been lost or corrupted in transmission through hostile or prejudiced hands, some Egyptologists now think the dynasties can be made whole, or nearly so, from the first. The researches are still being made and scholars are withholding opinions.

Enough has been done, however, to show that Egypt was
148 occupied by a civilized people at least as early as 7000 B.C., and
145 probably the long dates, say 35,000 or 40,000 years ago, are correct, as I shall try to show.

It is now certain that Egypt was once further north or south than it is now, and that the present Egypt has since been made by the Nile. Formerly the lands east and west of Egypt were habitable, and not desert. As the streams dried up and the rains became infrequent the people occupied the new land which was watered by the Nile. Where the Nile now traverses 1,600 miles
129 without a tributary stream, in former time there were tributaries on both sides, with forests and swamps, as shown by the petrified remains of trees and the pebbles in the beds and on the banks. In those times the Nile was higher, had a shallow bed, and flowed directly into the sea. The overflows built up banks and formed the delta by depositing the washings. The current also deepened the channel. Much of the land once fertilized is now too high to be overflowed. There are stone implements in the old forests, showing that the land was inhabited.

360 It is said by ancient writers that the Mediterranean Sea was once joined with the Pacific by the Red Sea, and at that time it
30 was not joined with the Atlantic. What convulsion of the earth

threw up the Isthmus of Suez and opened the Strait of Gibraltar? Nobody knows, or can know. Shifting sands may have filled up the strait, but no simple process of events could have opened the strait.

218 I confidently assert that the changes have been caused by the apparent shifting of the poles of the earth, really a change of position as viewed from the sun, but have not been able to satisfy myself whether Egypt has moved from south to north or from north to south. 70
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If the movement has been from north to south I would expect to find the upper part of Egypt, or Ethiopia, developed first. The valleys of Ethiopia were once as fertile as ever were those of Egypt, but a geologic change worked a depression of the river bed and the overflows ceased. 145

219 If the movement has been from south to north we must suppose that when the desert along and around Egypt was well watered and supported vegetation it was far south of the equator, and has since passed the equator to its present location. 245

220 If we deny that there has been any change of latitude we may suppose that by cutting down and destroying the forests and draining swamps the inhabitants caused the streams to dry up and thus turned the smiling land into desert. I can not accept this theory as accounting for all of the known changes. 49

221 Another theory, consistent with my general theory, is that a fixed pole of the great revolution of the earth may be in the neighborhood of Egypt, say at the Great Pyramid. In this case the territory for a few thousand miles around might revolve around this axis and not get far from the true equator, while half way between the two poles would be the line of that part of the earth that made the greatest movement from north to south, and from south to north, on an axis such as now understood in the ordinary changes and revolutions of the earth. This would suppose that there was a regular and straight motion in making the changes of polarity, which I do not assume, but incline to the theory that the motion has a twist, or that it is from northeast to southwest, with no fixed axis. If there were fixed poles for this motion the parts around them would never reach the frigid zones. 74

222 MENES, the first king, united two kingdoms that already existed. The date for this first dynasty is by close calculation

placed in the year 5004 B.C., with chances that it will be carried further back rather than be brought forward by new findings in inscriptions. Some scholars now place the date at 7000 B.C. Yet it is certain that the Sphinx and some temples in what is now the desert of Gizeh, near the Delta, were built before the time of Menes. The masonry in the Sphinx and the temples has stood some 7,000 or 9,000 years and is now in good condition, showing that the arts of civilization were not then new. A temple found in the desert by Kheops was nearly buried in the shifting sands. It was probably built here when this was not desert, and when the precincts were sacred. A late inscription says the temple
 330 was erected in honor of Isis, but its builders may never have heard of Isis.

223 In the Egyptian question there are some things that cannot be denied or explained away. The most striking is that the first dynasty bursts out with an old civilization. There is a wise king ruling over a powerful people. He builds cities and erects monuments. As far back as history goes, at the time of this first dynasty, the overflows of the Nile were understood. The Nilometer informed the authorities beforehand how high the water would rise, and the authorities were devising artificial lakes and locks to augment the overflow in seasons when it was not great enough to insure good crops. Those who have sought to cut down the dates and squeeze all the dynasties into few enough years or centuries to bring them within the dates set for
 56 the supposed creation and the deluge of Genesis have overlooked this civilization at the beginning in Egyptian history. More
 151 than 7,000 years ago there was a prosperous people in Egypt, and in all the ages since there has been no time when Egypt did not support a population greatly in excess of the world's average per square mile.

224 Men who have spent their lives in research among the records and inscriptions, and have gone carefully over all the ground from the Mediterranean eastward to the Pacific, say that
 133 they can find no connection between Egypt and China, or be-
 78 tween either of them and the Mesopotamia; that each of these three ancient seats of civilization was separate from all the rest of the world and original. I have great respect for these energetic scholars and their opinions, yet in view of the facts admitted by
 116 all, ancient and modern, that the Scythic, Semitic and Aryan

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races came into Mesopotamia and Egypt from the east, that each wave of immigration overran the old civilization and set up a new, composed of their own and what they found, and that the oldest records and inscriptions make it certain that these immigrations were not then just beginning, it seems evident that if the immigration was not from China it was from some highly civilized country north or south of that favored spot. I can not believe that even in the Mesopotamia or Egypt a civilization could maintain itself without new stimulus. A people can advance a short way, but if left alone they will at best crystallize into conservative habits and work out no new things. The civilization at the beginning of Egyptian history, the first dynasty, was too far advanced to have been produced by an isolated people.

225 THE GREAT PYRAMID has been under investigation for about three centuries. For two generations dispute has been warm, and every feature of the structure has been noted, every suggested measurement and calculation made. Many investigators admit that there is ample evidence that the builders knew more of astronomy and geometry than is known to-day. The Pyramid indicates the exact shape of the earth, its relative land and water surface, its distance from the sun and the moon, its weight, its circumference and diameter, the length of degrees of latitude and longitude, the location of the center of the land surface, the mean temperature, and many other things quite as obtrusive upon those who believe the world is only a few thousand years old and human knowledge has always grown. 47
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Some theorists contend that there was a grand civilization in prehistoric time, though admitting that the geologic theory is correct and that man had not long been on the earth. Others assume that man rose by evolution from lower orders of animals, and that the Pyramid is an evidence of unaccountable wisdom and skill. Some orthodox Christians see in it a revelation from Jehovah to degenerate man in these last days: they find exact dates for creation, the flood, the birth of Christ, the tribulation and triumph of the Church, the Reformation, and, finally, about the present time, or 1881, to be exact, the second coming of Christ and a new dispensation. 55
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226 Having taken this position, the (Protestant) Christians who have been drawn into the dispute have been forced to make

out a complete theory to sustain their cause and the dates now printed in the English copies of the Bible. Now these dates are not a part of the Bible and were not intended to be when placed there by the modern compilers. In the present condition of the best manuscripts it is impossible to work out the dates and say how long a time elapsed from the creation to the flood or from the flood to any other event. But the figures having been placed in the margin of the Bible, though without authority from the Bible itself, some Christians feel that they must defend them. Hence as soon as the Pyramid began to attract attention some enthusiasts set about to find a way to interpret the figures and facts it indicated and make them fit in the preconceived Bible dates. To do this the earliest date that could be allowed for the Pyramid was 2170 B.C. And with the history at hand it was useless for the orthodox to say that the builders had the knowledge and skill displayed in the great monument, so they boldly asserted that it was the work of Jehovah.

227 Of course the discussion, carried on by men at the head of scientific institutions, has brought out a vast amount of history and science that otherwise might have remained hidden, both in the Pyramid and in forgotten places of the world. I will use some of this information to strengthen my theories.

228 The arrangement of the zodiac as now used by astronomers is so old that it is not known where or when it originated. When it was made the makers were on the fortieth degree of north latitude. This is now ten degrees north of the Pyramid and seven or eight north of Babylon. It is on the line of Pekin, China, while in early times the Chinese capital was much further south. There is no history of an ancient civilization in Asia as far north as the fortieth degree. One astronomer (Cassini) says "it is impossible to doubt that astronomy was invented at the beginning of the world. History, profane as well as sacred, testifies to this truth." By "the beginning" he means the creation, 4000 B.C.

229 Some ancients had an idea that the heavens and the earth were like a half sphere and that man dwelt on a plane surface bounded by the horizon. The sun and stars fitted in grooves in the firmament, and the firmament was to them as material and substantial as the ceiling of a dome to a big house. When Alexander was fighting the Scythians northwest of Macedon he

was visited by a delegation of Celts who dwelt on the Adriatic. These Celts wanted a treaty of friendship with him, and Alexander asked them what was the greatest fear they had, supposing they would say it was himself, who had conquered their neighbors; but they replied that their people had never had fear of any man or men; the only fear they had ever had was that the firmament would fall down on them. Ideas changed gradually, and it is difficult to say what was believed at any particular time by any race. It has been a general belief that human knowledge has always grown, but it has not. There was less knowledge eight centuries after the Christian Era than at the beginning. Knowledge is lost as well as gained: the world may at any time start on a backward course.

230 In modern times it is debated whether or not the planets are inhabited, even whether or not a means of communication with their dwellers may sometime be devised. The educated Greeks debated whether the earth was greater than from the River Indus to the Pillars of Hercules and from the Black Sea to the Desert of Sahara. The sun was not supposed to be bigger than half of Greece, and the planets and stars smaller in proportion to their apparent size viewed by the naked eye. Strabo, in the ripeness of the Grecian learning, imagined that south of the torrid zone there was a temperate and a frigid zone, as in the north; that the southern world was inhabited, but not with such men as the northern. Such was the depth of ignorance reached soon after the time allowed by some for the building of the Great Pyramid. 194 519

231 Hipparchus, 150 B.C., discovered that the sun was losing time, was not making schedule time as indicated by the zodiac. The world cared little about a zodiac then, and not much attention was given to Hipparchus or his discovery. In modern times, when a revival came, the astronomers found that Hipparchus was right. The loss since his time has been about thirty degrees, or one whole sign. He found the sun in Aries and Libra; now it is in Taurus and Scorpio. The earth loses about 50 seconds of the zodiac (about 20 minutes of time) in a year, a degree in about 71 years, a sign in 2,240 years and the whole course of the zodiac in about 26,868 years. This loss of time is the difference between the sidereal year of 364 days and the sun year of 365 days. Astronomers thought the two years ought to 39

end together at one of the equinoxes, spring or autumn, and when they could not account for the discrepancy they assumed that the earth was losing time in its revolutions, according to the scientific dictum that it would. This was strong confirmation of their theories. When the zodiac was arranged, they said, it was perfect, and the loss of time in the revolutions was notice that
 45 the earth was gradually dying.

232 When the Pyramid was studied it was found that the builders thoroughly understood the precession of the equinoxes. They indicated the number of years that it takes for the earth to lose its whole circumference, as ascertained by the majority of modern astronomers.

233 Now, with the facts known, how old is the Pyramid? At one time I settled upon the date 4800 or 5200 B.C., the epoch of Kheops. But the orthodox writers have made out their case except as to Kheops. They make it plausible if not certain that the Pyramid was constructed when α Draco'nis was at its lowest culmination as the north star and Alcy'one of the Plei'ades was on the same meridian above. This was an important coincidence, the most important in all the configurations of the entire precessional period of 25,868 years. The Pyramid must have been constructed for this extraordinary astronomic event, and this occurred in 2170 B.C.

234 But the scientists who defended Bible dates went too far and proved too much. They brought on a convincing array of facts and witnesses to prove that no Egyptians at that time or any other in all the period covered by Egyptian monumental inscriptions were possessed of the skill or tools, to say nothing of the knowledge of geography, geometry and astronomy, necessary to carry out this stupendous work.

235 They likewise disproved their theory that Jehovah built it, or had it built by inspired architects and masons, by proving that it was built at the time when α Draconis was at its lowest culmination and Alcyon of the Pleiades was on the same meridian in the zenith. They have made it plain that the Pyramid was built then and observations were made of these stars. Now, who will believe that ignorant shepherds, even if inspired and directed to build the Pyramid, would care whether or not these stars were in position to be observed, and long enough beforehand to make such preparations for the event? They would not have made

accurate observations, but the actual builders did. If the tunnel through the Pyramid, from several hundred feet below the base, in solid rock, to the top, was for a gigantic telescope, and no other use has been found for it, the modern world has not had such a telescope as the Pyramid builders constructed. If this was supplied with glasses the world has yet much to recover in the way of scientific appliances.

236 Was this in 2170 B.C.? Of course not. There was then nowhere in the world, so far as we know or can know, accurate knowledge of the common facts of astronomy or geometry: there was no knowledge of the shape of the earth, or of the land and water surface. Then the Pyramid must have been built a whole precessional period earlier than 2170 B.C., or about 28,038 B.C. 6
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"Oh!" you say. Yes, I reply. Hear the facts and arguments.

237 "The precession of the equinoxes," says Seiss, one of the defenders of the Bible dates, "is a clock whose face is in the sky, and from which we may read backward or forward for thousands on thousands of years without the possibility of confusion, the same as we read the hours and minutes on a timepiece." The builders of the Great Pyramid knew this: the knowledge had accumulated with centuries on centuries of observation.

238 Dupuis supposed the constellations of the stars into signs with names for the use of astronomers to have been arranged in Egypt about 15,000 B.C., when the sun was in Capricorn, but there is stronger evidence that the zodiac was already in use at that date than that it was then arranged. Others try to set a date about 2200 B.C. and place the arrangers in the fortieth degree of north latitude and just east of the Caspian Sea.

Drummond was certain that "at some remote period there were mathematicians and astronomers who knew that the sun is the center of our system, and that the earth, itself a planet, revolves around it."

239 Probably the grandest thought concerning astronomy, the strongest proof of the permanence of the planetary systems of the universe, may be suggested by the query, Why was this slow precession of the equinoxes provided for in the universal plan? Was it not to teach the inhabitants on the planets that the universe, while ever revolving within itself, never changes in its membership? The planets and stars are ever changing their relative positions, yet the same objects are ever in sight: it takes

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many thousand years for the same relative positions to recur, but they will recur, and if a distant sun goes out of sight or is obscured the changes of time will restore it.

240 Why this precession of the equinox, requiring 25,868 years to complete a cycle, if the earth is only 6,000 years old and is soon to come to the end of its life? It would have been easier to arrange the solar and the sidereal years of exactly equal length than of unequal length yet exact in the annual difference, and the equal years would have been more convenient for man.

Could the Pyramid have survived 30,000 years? I can not say that it could, but nobody can say that it could not. "Nothing decays in Egypt" is an old saying. Then the Pyramid is so big and so compact that it ought to last as long as a solid rock hill. Its four sides are each 763 feet, giving a base surface of 13 acres. When whole it was over 500 feet high; it is now 480 feet high and as level as a floor on its broad top. It now contains about 3,000,000 cubic yards of stone, much of it granite. With all this mass the hand of Time has dealt gently, yet decay is noticeable. The stone is so worn and rotted away in places that exact measurements can not be had.

241 If we can believe, then, that the Pyramid is 30,000 years old we must believe that the scientific knowledge of the precession of the equinoxes was at least as old as one precessional cycle, or 26,000 years, when the Pyramid was designed. Astronomic science was old when the precession was observed, and it then required observations for thousands of years, with exact data, to arrive at exact calculations. There was no place of beginning, and after a break in the observations the astronomers would have to begin a-new. Then the observations were consecutive and the records had to be preserved in some safe manner.

242 The zodiac is an arrangement of star groups in the sun's path into twelve divisions or stations, called signs. These signs are of very irregular latitudes. They were taken close together or far apart, as they happened to have interstices between them. Hipparchus found them altogether too indefinite for accurate purposes, and substituted twelve signs of thirty degrees each and drew a map of the heavens for use instead of the quondam signs. The Chinese, it may be stated, had twenty-eight instead of twelve signs. Modern astronomers have dropped the signs altogether and count 360 degrees from the vernal equinox.

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Now if Hipparchus and the moderns find the signs useless in the acquisition of exact data, were they sufficient for the builders of the Pyramid, who had more exact data than modern scientists have? The question brings the answer. The builders of the Pyramid had a better arrangement. When the world drifted to barbarism, to the Stone age, this scientific arrangement was too complicated for the barbarians and they invented the zodiac, which belongs to superstitious astrology and not to scientific astronomy.

243 If the Pyramid was built 30,000 years ago, was oriented then, and is oriented now, what becomes of my theory that the earth has a rotary motion which takes all parts to the poles and to the equator? Certainly fixedness of the Pyramid would indicate stability of the polarity of the earth.

Let us suppose that since the Great Pyramid was built the earth has changed exactly one-fourth the circle of the zodiac; that is, that what was south is now east. The Pyramid is placed in the exact center of all the land surface of the globe, and we may consider its site to be one of the poles of this rotary motion. The earth could move ninety degrees and leave the Pyramid exactly oriented, with the side that had been to the south now east. It is a remarkable coincidence, if nothing more, that the nadir to the Pyramid, in the southern Pacific Ocean, is nearly or quite the center of the water surface of the globe.

244 If the north side of the Pyramid was built for the east side what was the purpose of the tunnel, or telescope? Observatories are usually provided with machinery and apparatus especially for meridian observation. But this tunnel was fixed: it gave only one point for observation, and would not be convenient for the transit of any star or the sun or moon. We do not know what methods were then in use, but a fixed glass may be set to follow the sun by the intermediation of a mirror or reflector, and astronomers in recent years have employed this means for obtaining better results than from direct rays of sunlight; or they do so for obtaining different results necessary to determine some matters of importance, as in photographing Venus in transit. No use has yet been found for the two chambers in the midst of the solid Pyramid. They may have been used in some processes not yet recovered from the oblivion of barbarism. They have an equalized temperature and are dark enough for any purpose.

245 Of course if the earth makes four changes of ninety degrees in the course of a precessional period the Pyramid when constructed 30,000 years ago may have been set just as it is now, and have changed ninety degrees at a time four times since. I can not assert that this has happened, nor can any one deny it with any more reason. In that case tradition may be correct in placing a beginning some 6,000 years ago, since a change would come every 6,667 years or thereabout, and one may be due now, as some would have the Pyramid to indicate.

145 When Nabuchodonosor rebuilt the Birs, a great astronomic tower at Babylon, supposed to be the biblical Babel, he found it necessary to change the sides of the old base twelve degrees to bring the angles back in line with the cardinal points. The old structure was in all likelihood oriented when built, but in many centuries had become half oriented, and is now six degrees out of line again, making eighteen degrees in all since the first base was set. The oldest part now faces E. N. E. and W. S. W. The present remains show the original brick masonry and the later correction by Nabuchodonosor. The second. work was built against and joined with the first without changing it.

The Pyramid is almost exactly oriented. When investigations were begun the variation was immaterial. Late bearings show that it has since changed slightly but noticeably. In 2,500 years the change may be as great as that of the Birs Nimrud for a like time. All of the ancient astronomic structures are out of orientation, but they could not have been so carelessly built. The evidence is overwhelming that the earth moves in this slow manner.

7 246 When the Pyramid was built there was no religion but science. Everything is in exact accord with the truest science of astronomy, geometry, geography, geology, architecture and perspective, but there is not the slightest hint of religion, of the gods or the spirit world. No such age is known to history, even to 64 tradition. If the Pyramid had been built by any one of the several races that successively occupied Egypt from the first dynasty there would have been some symbolism of the prevailing religion. If the Semitic or Arabic races that visited Egypt as friends or conquerors had built the Pyramid they would certainly have left something to memorialize their gods and themselves. The Great Pyramid is not to be compared or classed with any other pyramid. The others may have been built in historic times in imita-



tion so far as the builders could imitate without entering and knowing the inner arrangements and without the science of the original pyramid builders.

247 Suppose the records on the monuments say plainly that Kheops built the Great Pyramid: that would not be conclusive. It seems to me probable that this Pyramid had been there so long that it had ceased to attract admiration, so long that its builders had been forgotten. Then what more probable than that Kheops would build a respectable imitation, call it the Great Pyramid, and leave posterity to give him the credit of building the original? His successor, likewise, would be tempted to build a third and receive credit for the second, and so on: there are about forty, big and little. The scribes or engravers of the monuments were under the control of the king or priesthood. The second pyramid, if the first was absent, would inspire wonder. Its size and architecture, though lacking in the scientific knowledge and skill displayed in the first, would excite admiration and study. The numerous gigantic pieces of native art and architecture of early historic time are a monument to Egyptian skill, but I can not give it credit for the Great Pyramid, which belongs to an extinct civilization of 28,000 B.C.

Scholars would not forgive me for calling in question the truthfulness of the inscriptions: there is that about them that inspires confidence, both in Egypt and Assyria. But the authors were fallible: they told truth so far as they went; their plain and concise sentences are not questioned; but they did not hesitate to make their kings glorious by omitting what was not to their glory. Kheops would not steal credit for the Great Pyramid: he would begin a new one on the old model, case up the old one so that it could not be known how inferior his was, and leave the records in such shape that posterity would give him the credit. There is not in existence a positive and plain statement that he 336 was the builder, made by any one who knew.

248 THE FIRST SIX DYNASTIES ruled generally from Memphis. Then there was an invasion from the northeast or east. So far as the Egyptians could see, all the invaders came from the north, but the new comers stated their origin in the monumental records. There had been wars with various fortunes before this time: the Egyptian kings had overcome some of their neighbors

at times, and there had been internal dissensions, with one province after another taking the lead and erecting monuments to art and greatness: each new dynasty meant a revolution or a new royal family. Toward the close of the sixth dynasty the Semitic wanderers began to arrive. They collected in Arabia and on the borders of Egypt. From the first they tried their skill with the Egyptians. About 3500 B.C. they became strong enough to overrun the Hamites, and for some centuries the Semitics were the controlling race.

About 3064 B.C. the Hamites in the southern provinces asserted independence and called the new government the Middle Empire. It was established at Thebes. It subdued the Nubians and gradually encroached upon the invaders in the north until they were driven out and the Hamitic borders again included Mt. Sinai. During this occupation the religion and manners of the Egyptians underwent great change, as might be expected. Art and industry suffered. Nothing is safe from man and time, the two builders and destroyers.

249 The Hamites were not yet safe. The Shemites were reinforced by great bands from "the east," that country that has always sent its venturous and dissatisfied population to the west. These Shemites came from somewhere east of the Persian Gulf. It is odd that with all the inscriptions in Egypt and Assyria none of them give the former location of these rovers from the east. Some of these new arrivals obtained permission to settle in the Delta. They were only the advance guard. When the main body arrived they pushed right into Egypt and possessed it. Their kings were called Hyksos (shepherds) and governed Egypt for five hundred years. The Hyksos were also called Men or Menti (Syrians) and were probably Hittites, a Semitic race that for centuries was strong in Syria and Mesopotamia. But the name Hittite does not betray their eastern origin. Some names which can not now be placed may then have been understood by the Shemites, but not by their successors after a few generations, when they learned to write history. They had the names but did not know their origin.

250 The Hyksos never quite subdued the Egyptians: some of the chiefs and provinces maintained a show of independence by one means or another. And though the invaders overran the natives, the civilization of the natives quite captivated the invad-

ers. The Shepherd wanderers learned the art, industry and science, even the religion, of the Egyptians. They erected some monuments, thinking they were going to remain in their new possessions forever. Their old life was almost outgrown.

251 It is thought that it was during this Semitic occupation that Joseph, himself a Semitic, visited Egypt. It must not be supposed, however, that the general term Semitic meant of the same race or people. It means no more than that these people came from lands in the temperate zone. 356

252 These Shemites carried on trade and war with other Shemites in Syria and Arabia, probably in Assyria, and the Egyptians saw the uselessness of trying to be seclusive, now that energetic races lived everywhere north of them. When the Hyksos were driven out, between 1806 and 1703 B.C., the Egyptians adopted the policy of their late rulers and fought and traded with Asia. Here I must remind the reader that Egyptian did not mean what it did formerly. Shemites and Hamites had formed a new race. Those that now remained were called Hamites: those that went north became Shemites.

253 The Egyptians now became the greatest power on earth, and for three centuries or more maintained the ascendancy. The Hittites usually succumbed, though they were a great power; Syria, including Phœnicia, was kept in subjection; Asia Minor was visited many times; even Assyria did not escape, and it is not known that Babylonia did. The Egyptians lived off the spoils of war; or rather, having an abundant supply of cereals, the slaves taken in war were worn out erecting monuments and temples or in quarries. The Egyptians carried on commerce, or allowed their subject nations to do so. 253
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The Egyptian kings during this time seem to have been the prime movers in everything. The priesthood had much influence, as at other times; probably did all the ministerial work and advised the king; but the king was general of the army and admiral of the navy. He even owned or absolutely controlled the merchant-marine of Egypt, as well as all the trade, both by land and water. Interference with trade, then, was the cause of the loss of prestige. All the maritime peoples combined to free themselves and their commerce and navigation. The Egyptians with their peculiar institutions might be content with a god for a king, but subjects in Asia were in a different situation. Royal monopoly deprived them of profits and hindered exchanges. 321
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254 During these centuries of Egyptian enterprise, military and commercial, nearly all parts of Africa were visited. There were trading ports on all the shores of the Red Sea and far down on the eastern coast of Africa. There were caravan routes through Africa: they pushed along the southern borders of the
 313 Great Desert from the Nile to the shores of the Atlantic. The Negroes of southern Africa were permitted to visit Egypt for the purpose of trade, but were not allowed to settle and become citizens. Many of them were made slaves and as such they were
 144 highly prized. Probably even this was not the beginning of the
 764 African slave trade: the great dissimilarity of the races made them desirable slaves: they were employed in personal services and treated better than other slaves because more faithful and trusty. Nearly all of Africa was explored and placed under tribute to Egypt. Only the northwestern territory seems to have escaped. This was called Libya. All of Africa except Egypt was by the Greeks and others called Libya. Africa was a later name, first given by the Romans to one of their provinces after the destruction of Carthage.

About 1350 B.C. the tide began to turn against the Egyptians. All the world was against them. One people after another was successful in battle, though the Egyptians were not always defeated. It is supposed that the Israelites were in northern Egypt during all this period of prosperity, and escaped or emigrated
 360 about 1320, while there was foreign war on all sides and internal strife in Egypt.

255 Rameses II., about 1300 B.C., is said by some to have
 298 built a canal from Bubastes, in lower (northern) Egypt, on the Nile, to the Red Sea, but this is doubted by other authorities. It is certain that the canal was begun, but there is no history of its completion or use. The Egyptian commerce demanded this convenience and to the king it was a necessity. His subjects in Phœnicia, Cyprus and Asia Minor were navigators and he was threatened with a naval war. It came to him or his successor. Nearly all the maritime powers united and sent a vast armada to the Egyptian waters. It seems odd to read of these things away back there in time, but there is good history for them. The Egyptians received and destroyed the "rebel" fleet, whether they had the canal or not. If it was made it was soon allowed to fill up and become useless.

256 Egypt was successful in repelling the invaders, but lost her hold upon her subjects and was left to herself again for a long time, during which the classes illapsed into conservative ways and seclusiveness, so that when the next people came to share the land or ask for commercial opportunities the former close notions were encountered. As soon as they were free from the outside world, with no subject nations to look after and no desire for healthy commerce, the Egyptians resumed the policy of "Egypt for Egyptians." 16

257 PHŒNICIA was in southwestern Asia, on the extreme eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea. It was a strip of land from two to twenty miles wide and one hundred and twenty miles long, containing about two thousand square miles of territory. On the south was Palestine, the boundary being Mt. Carmel, 1,700 feet high and extending into the sea, dividing Phœnicia from Philistia. The northern boundary was the promontory of Casius, also forming a natural barrier to the invader, between Phœnicia and northwestern Syria. On the east were the Lebanon Mountains, rising so high in places as to be perpetually covered with snow.

258 Phœnicia was settled by colonies of Semitics contemporaneously with the first Semitic occupation of Egypt. The earlier Shemites colonized the coast and those driven out of Egypt, with the later arrivals, became the Canaanites in Palestine: the Philistines were not Semites, though they gave their name to the country—Palestine. There were already flourishing colonies in Phœnicia when the exiles arrived in Canaan from Egypt. Before the Semitic invasions the country around this part of the Mediterranean was occupied by barbarians, or by people who had had little part in the civilizations of Egypt and Babylon so far as known. There is, in the inscriptions, mention of cities in this territory earlier than the time of the Shemites. It had at times been under the suzerainty of Egypt. 418

259 Modern investigators in the department of ethnology have done a great deal in the work of clearing up the mists of ancient history and tradition, but some of them have not been content with what is reasonable and probable: they have boldly entered the field of speculation and written the history of early times by grouping the races in a few families and making everything bend

144 to theory. It is assumed that there were once three brothers—Japhet, Shem and Ham—and no other men in the earth; and that these three men imparted to their posterity so strong characteristics that they can be traced through all the migrations and mixtures that occurred during several thousand years.

260 I have shown the great certainty that Asiatic civilizations came from the east: if the geography of the globe was practically the same fifteen thousand years ago as now the Asiatic civilizations, or the energy that produced and maintained them, the immigrations, came from what is now called the two Americas: if the theory of the change of axis of the earth is correct the immigration may have come from some part of the earth's surface which is now around the north pole, while the Mediterranean was north or south of its present position. In either case my theory is that there was a constant emigration to the westward then as in historic time, and that the migration from the shores of the Persian Gulf was in the natural order of events. Thus the contention of some ethnologists that the races were distinct for several thousand years is directly opposed to my theories.

261 These ethnologists assume that races perpetuate ideas and characteristics, while I assume that ideas and characteristics perpetuate races, or perpetuate themselves through the races as they undergo changes. The ancestors of the Phœnicians came
67 from south-central Asia, and their ancestors from some place further east, and in all probability the same characteristics had distinguished them from their neighbors for many centuries and during successive migrations westward, changes in the make-up of those devoted to the ideas all the while occurring. From the earliest acquaintance with a people possessed of the idea that peace and plenty can be had through exchanges of products there has been a steady line of succession, although for some ages, called in historic time the dark ages, there was almost an entire eclipse. Through all the ages, and going the same route to the westward, were the races that worshiped glory, that thought it more glorious and manly to take by prowess than by mutual consent. The races were ruled by ideas. It may be that the idea of fair exchange could not have maintained itself against the slothful and exclusive races without the accompanying idea, and that very vigorously enforced, that the earth belongs to the brave. Whether or not the one idea is the complement of the

other, the two have usually traveled together and there have been constant changes of individuals and sometimes of peoples from one to the other, so that all energetic races continually gain and lose in membership.

262 One might spend much time and write a long chapter on the etymology of the word Phœnicia. The Shepherd kings and their people were of the same race as the Canaanites. Their language was not the same as the Egyptian, but they took up many Egyptian word roots and adapted them to their own forms. Anac was an Egyptian term of honor or distinction. Its variations appear in the names of kings—Necho, Nacho, Necus, Negus. The Titans of Greeks and Romans were in Egyptian Anakim. Phi (or ph') signified the mouth, or an opening of any kind, as a cave or the source of a river. Hence was compounded probably Phi-ourah, Pharaoh, the Voice of a god. The Canaanites called the palm tree ph'anac, because that tree was regarded as the grandest and most stately of trees, and as these trees were more numerous there than anywhere else the Greeks called the Canaanite coast Phoinike, with the variations Phoinik, Poinik, Phoinix, Phoinikes, Phoinikoeis, etc. The Latins changed them to Phoenix, Phœnices, Pu'nicus, Punic'eus. The term was also applied to the Tyrian purple, as being the noblest color known to the Greeks. The Canaanites on the coast called themselves Phoinikes, but they assumed this as a title of nobility, and did not use the term as a patril name. The fabled bird, the phoinix, had a like origin. The palm tree was regarded as having the property of reviving after being many years dead, so the idea of a bird that rose from its ashes once in five hundred years was somehow connected with the phanac tree and was named after it.

263 There are two historic definitions of Canaan; that is, two definitions given in the Bible and other Hebrew works that are considered standard authorities. One would have the word to mean a merchant or trader, one whose business is to buy and sell, exchange commodities, supply the wants and needs of others. The other definition is a low country, or a resident of a low country. Neither definition would fit all the Canaanites, since they did not all live in the low country along the seacoast, nor were they all traders. It is very likely that in the countries whence they came they were traders and navigators and hence lived on low lands, convenient to the sea, and that the stigma

already belonged to traders: they were a low race of people with whom the respectable races or tribes would not associate. It is certain that when they colonized and took possession of the land which they called Canaan those who occupied the high lands held aloof from the traders and navigators in the low lands.

264 Probably no people in ancient times were given a worse name by their contemporaries than were the Phœnicians. The
18 fashionable peoples, those who lived on the high lands and fol-
297 lowed war and robbery as a pastime or a means of livelihood, thought the name Phœnician synonymous with selfishness, cruelty, ferocity, perfidy and general pravity. If the Phœnicians had
751 been addicted to war instead of industry and trade the history of the world, if written or preserved at all, would be very different from what it is to-day. It is certain that they almost alone taught the world that work was not degrading. They imported,
530 simplified and spread letters. Their own history, it is sad to know, though preserved with great care, has all been lost, but by spreading their learning and letters they encouraged other races to preserve history, and thus has the world profited by the successes and failures of ancestors.

265 The Egyptian monuments mention Gebal and some other Phœnician towns in the early days of the Hyksos, already doing a thriving trade. The first city known to other than Egyptian monumental history was Sidon. The name means a fishing station, and shows that the Sidonians chose the site because they found good fishing, and that their industry and trade began with catching and trading in fish. This has been the beginning of commerce in many places: nearly every country has fishing stations or markets. The fishermen must have other things, and as all people like fish, they come with other things to exchange for them. When the supply and demand become regular a place is set apart for the exchange. It is a short step then to the exchanging of other articles, and a trading center is established.

As soon as Sidon was fairly built a colony was planted to the south of it, and Tyre was founded. Tyre was so named because of a rocky island, Tyre, or Tsor, meaning rock. Thus at a very early time they began the practice of establishing colonies, a practice which they and their colonies continued as long as the race existed. During the Semitic occupation of Egypt they had many colonies about the Delta. In later times the Greeks were

even more active in colonizing, and as their object was dominion rather than trade they were more successful from the standpoint of numbers and power. The Phœnician cities at first, and at intervals all through their history, were independent, but at times they united for the purposes of defense and the general welfare. The leading city was sometimes overbearing, but each city was free to engage in industry and navigation in its own way. 720

266 The Phœnicians were a commercial people, and were the first in historic time to engage in navigation. They had the exclusive use of the sea for many centuries. Their sailors were known throughout the known world, where they could go by water. They were not only carriers and traders for the world, but when another people wanted to have boats of their own the Phœnicians were called upon to furnish sailors, and generally the boats also. Other peoples went in caravans by land, not trusting themselves on water. The Phœnicians also did a caravan trade, but preferred the water when they could reach their destination by boat. A few boats could be fitted out and manned at small expense and despatched to any point with little fear of pirates, while the sea was not traversed by others, but a caravan was a great undertaking, and robbers were everywhere. 133

267 The trade to the east was mostly by caravan. The organization of a caravan required as great expense and judgment as that of an army. There was a captain who took charge of everything and gave orders, with under officers much as are necessary on a modern ocean vessel, and guards who watched on all sides for robbers. Camels and horses were provided for passengers and freight. There were regular times for caravans to set out and passengers and freight must be at the place of departure on time. The camels were bred and cared for in great numbers. Sometimes there were as many as two thousand persons in a caravan, and as there were many pack camels and horses for freight, food and water, there were about twice as many animals as persons. In these caravans slaves were carried and sold or traded off. Where it was practicable they had to walk.

268 Though Zidon was first built, Tyre was almost from its founding the more important. Tyre was built on an island half a mile from shore and three-quarters of a mile in length. On the coast was Palætyros. Both cities were surrounded by strong wall. The island city had two harbors, one on the north and

one on the south, that vessels might have choice of ports in time of storm. When the storm hindered a landing at one port the other was reasonably safe. There was also a canal through the island city, with wharves along its length, to permit vessels to load and unload in the city and to transfer from one to another. Both cities were laid off into squares, and the buildings, of pine lumber on stone foundations, were several stories high, arranged in flats or apartments for families, for the people had to live in as small space as possible. This ancient city, if accounts are true, resembled a modern manufacturing and mercantile city. The industries were numerous, since this was the seat of industry and skill of the world.

522 269 Before the time of Homer the Tyrian wares and fabrics
751 had a reputation in almost all the countries bordering on the eastern Mediterranean. Barbarous and savage tribes were visited. Many times the venturesome navigators were caught and killed by the savages, and sometimes served for food for cannibals. When robbers became also pirates the Phœnicians had to go prepared to fight at sea. This did not deter them, though it made them more cautious: they were the best sailors, and rather than be taken they would sink their vessels and drown. When
800
802 Greeks, Tyrrhenians and others entered the sea in competition with them, as often for piracy as for trade, and never with the integrity of the Phœnicians, navigation became more complicated but not less profitable. Then the Phœnicians, instead of trying
730 to fight back and maintain their markets by force, withdrew and worked up new fields which their competitors were afraid to enter. The Greeks were fighters, but they wanted to fight where they could have glory. The Phœnicians had more of real courage, and went through rough seas to distant and unknown lands. With one it was love for glory, with the other it was pride in business and respect for humanity.

22 270 In all ages the industrial peoples, those who have made
631 industry and commerce their business in life, those who have bid
660 for the patronage of the world, or for that beyond their neighborhood, have built up a reputation for honest goods, while those who have been addicted to war and glory with an occasional spurt of industry, or have been forced by circumstances or necessity to engage in foreign trade, have been content to be imitators. The Greeks and some others undertook to supply their own mar-

kets and by reciprocity to secure neighboring markets against the Phœnicians. They sought to create a prejudice against the Phœnician articles, and talked about pots and pans simply as pots and pans; but they were base imitators. Their own people recognized the superiority of the Phœnician materials, and other people were not satisfied with the imitation. Greeks, Egyptians, Etruscans and Romans put lead in their bronze, and their tin was spurious. Their cloths and dyes were inferior to the goods sent out by Phœnicians, though in some lines of goods which the Phœnicians were not prepared to make they themselves dealt in the foreign: what they offered was the best. 98

271 The earliest accounts represent the Phœnician vessels carrying sails and also provided with rowers. The vessels were small. It is remarkable that the sailors survived their voyages in even fair weather, but wonderful that they survived the storms of the Mediterranean, where the waves, though not so great as on the ocean, are more choppy, and the greatest danger, anyway, was from rocks and the shore. The first navigators hugged the shore, not venturing into the open sea, yet there was greater danger near the shore. They started out with no knowledge of the Mediterranean, with poor boats, but with courage to brave and learn. 635

It took a great degree of determination to carry them through their voyages. Whence did they get the inspiration? Whence the encouragement? Men would not do this for gain alone. Their souls were enlisted in the work, and they were buoyed up by a power more than human. They were doing their part in the plan of a higher Mind for bringing the world into communication and coöperation, that peoples should not live to themselves in seclusion, but should learn to be brotherly and inter-assistant.

272 It has been customary to say that the mariner's compass is a modern invention, and that the Phœnicians had only the stars to guide them, but there are evidences that they had a contrivance of a loadstone on a floater in a bowl of water, by which they got as accurate directions as can be obtained with the modern compass. This contrivance can be traced through all the Asiatics to China. 51

273 "Solomon sent to Hiram, king of Tyre, saying, As thou didst deal with David my father, and didst send him cedars to build him a house to dwell therein, even so deal with me. Be- 397

hold I build a house to Yaveh, my god, to dedicate it to him. Now therefore send me a man cunning to work in gold and in silver, and in brass and in iron, and in purple and crimson and blue, and that can grave all manner of gravings, to be with the cunning men that are in Judah." All this did Hiram, and much more. He supplied skilled mechanics, designers and masons, and Solomon built a most wonderful temple: he had the means and the Tyrians the skill. The rocky elevation on which the temple was built was very uneven, so that some depressions had to be raised as high as eighty feet to be on a level with other parts. The height above the foundation when made level was some seventy feet, the superstructure being of wood. And think of stones six by three feet and forty feet in length, laid without mortar, with joints so perfect that a knife blade can not now be inserted, after three thousand years. Not alone the size and exactness will strike the mind, but these stones were quarried in mines carried into the solid rock hill, far under ground where it was not possible to have any but artificial light. The space dug out has been found in modern times. There are now huge pieces of stone that were condemned or not needed, and not finished. Then the great bowl or laver, called the molten sea, was forty-
204 seven feet in circumference and held 17,000 gallons. This immense casting was in one piece. Other lavers were smaller, but
429 remarkable for artistic designs, being ornamented with lions,
487 oxen, cherubim and palms, and mounted on rollers, so that they could be moved from place to place as needed. The other furniture and adornments were on a like magnificent scale.

There is some doubt as to whether any of the remains at Jerusalem are of this first temple of Solomon. The second temple was built on the old site and the remains may be of that. The old scriptures say that there were stone foundations. The
484 scriptures say that the stones were of great blocks. There is no question but the Phoenicians hewed and squared immense blocks of stone in those days, bigger than in a later day. The probabilities favor Hiram and Solomon as the builders of the grandest masonry of the remains.

History does not inform us whether or not Hiram sent to Solomon for a return of the favor with help in building a temple to his gods, but it says he built a grand temple to his god Melkarth and that this Tyrian temple was in all respects like that of Solomon. The two kings were close friends.

274 After the death of Hiram there is a break of forty or fifty years in the history of Tyre. During this time occurred the separation of the tribes of Israel from those of Judah and Benjamin, who retained Jerusalem and the temple built by Solomon.

About the year 918 B.C. Ethbaal, high priest of Ashtoreth, assassinated the reigning king, Phales, and became king of Tyre. Phales had murdered his brother to get the crown; this being the custom at Tyre at this time, it seems, as well as in other nations. While Ethbaal was king and high priest, Ahab was king of Israel. The story following is condensed from Josephos, giving the troubles between the two peoples, and how they arose. Josephos uses the name God (Theos), because in his day Jehovah had been suppressed. I restore Jehovah because in the old writings it was Jehovah, or Yaveh, or Yavé. 204 429

275 Ahab wanted for a wife Jezebel daughter of Ethbaal, king of Tyre and Zidon, and Ethbaal was willing to give him his daughter if she might have some of her priests in Samaria and follow the religion of her fathers. Ahab consented, and Jezebel became his favorite wife. The Israelites did not complain of this, but Elijah, a prophet, would not let it rain for a whole year, until Ahab would consent to slay all of the foreign prophets. When Ahab at length slew the prophets and regained the good will of Elijah there came copious rain once; yet Elijah, though appeased at this time, made dire prophecies of disasters to the house of Ahab thereafter. Soon after; afterward Ahab, assisted by Jehoshaphat, king at Jerusalem, had a war with the Syrians, fought the most remarkable battle on record. The two armies fought all day and the only man killed in all the two armies was Ahab. And now Ahaziah, son of Ahab, reigned over Israel. He was a wicked man in all respects like to both his parents. He fell off from the top of his house and in his sickness sent to the Fly, the god of Ekron, to inquire about his recovery; but the god of Israel appeared to Elijah the prophet, and commanded him to go and meet the messengers that were sent out and ask them whether the people of Israel had not a god of their own, that the king had sent to a foreign god to inquire about his recovery? and to bid them to return and tell the king that he would not escape this sickness. And when he came to the king he prophesied, and told him that Jehovah said, "Since thou hast despised him as not being a god, and so unable to tell the truth about thy dis- 213 538 410 419 20

temper, but hast sent to the god of Ekron, know this, that thou shalt die." Accordingly Ahaziah in a very little time died, as Elijah had foretold. Jehoram, or Joram, his brother, succeeded him in the kingdom. But for this Jehoram, he was like his father Ahab in wickedness, and reigned twelve years, indulging himself in all sorts of wickedness and impiety toward Jehovah; for, leaving off his worship, he worshiped foreign gods; but in other respects he was an active man. At this time it was that Elijah disappeared from among men, and no one knows of his death to this very day (A.D. 80); but he left behind him Elisha his disciple. Benhadad, king of Syria, sent men to take Joram in ambush, but Elisha warned Joram and he was not caught. Wherefore Benhadad sent a great army, with horses and chariots, to take Elisha, and when they were come to his city Elisha went into the midst of his enemies and asked them who it was that they came to seek, and when they replied that it was the prophet Elisha, he promised that he would deliver him to them if they would follow him to the city where he was. So these men were so befogged by Jehovah in their sight and in their mind that they followed him very diligently; and when he had brought them into Samaria he ordered Joram the king to shut the gates, and to place his own army round about them. But Elisha said that since these men had obeyed the divine power and come without knowing it they should not be harmed. Wherefore Joram feasted the Syrian army and sent them away. Then Benhadad, because he could not take Joram by stealth, made open war upon him, and shut him up in his city of Samaria, and besieged him and his people until the famine became so terrible that mothers sacrificed
511 their children and eat them. Then Joram tore his garment, and cried out with a loud voice, and spoke words of wrath against Elisha because he did not pray to Jehovah for some means of escape out of their sad plight. Hereupon Elisha prophesied that the very next day, at the very hour in which the king came to him, they should have great plenty of food. The same night four lepers who were outside the gate, and starving, went over to the enemy, but the Syrians, fearing they were an Egyptian army
412 come to the help of the Israelites, fell into a mighty disorder and tumult, and left everything and fled. The lepers first took all that they wanted and then carried the good tidings to the king. Besides great wealth of gold and silver found in the camp of the



enemy, there was so much grain that it became a drug on the market and sold cheaper than ever known before. But Benhadad, when he understood how he had been tricked, was wofully cast down at his having Jehovah so greatly for his enemy, and, falling into a distemper, sent to Elisha to know whether he might recover. Hazael was the messenger, and Elisha told him that he should be king, and anointed him. So Hazael returned and told the king good news, and the next day he strangled him with a wet cloth, and took the kingdom. Now Joram, after the death of Benhadad, hoped that he might take Ramoth, a city of Gilead, from the Syrians, because it had once belonged to his people. But as he was besieging it he was wounded and gave order to his charioteer to take him back to Jezreël his city, and left the army in charge of Jehu, his general. But Elisha sent one of his disciples to Ramoth and anointed Jehu king, and told him 388 that Jehovah had so ordained, that he might destroy the house of Ahab. Jehu set out straightway with his army to fulfill the commands of the prophet, taking care that no man should go to Joram and give him warning. Jehu slew Joram, Jezebel and all their relations, including Ahaziah, king at Jerusalem, nephew of Joram, and who had for wife Athalia, daughter of Jezebel. The sons of Joram were many: seventy were slain in Samaria. Of his daughters no account was taken. The reforms of Elisha and Jehu were not yet completed: the priests who administered the foreign religion, those foreigners who had polluted the sacred 401 soil of Samaria with their presence and their rites, must be swept 487 away. Jehu vowed that not one wicked man should be spared of all the priests and prophets of Jezebel, since it was a most pleasing sight to a good and righteous man to see the wicked punished. And being desirous that all might be taken at one haul, he adopted this wile: He gathered all the people together, and said that he would worship twice as many gods as Ahab or Jezebel had worshiped, and desired that the priests and prophets 185 of Baal might be present, because he would offer costly and great sacrifices to Ahab's god. And when on the day appointed the priests came, and received their vestments, he went into the house of Baal, and gave orders to make strict search and keep out all save the alien prophets and false priests, for he would have no one mix with the holy officers. And when they said there was no stranger there, and were beginning their sacrifices, Jehu set

four score men without, they being such of his soldiers as he knew to be most faithful to him, and bade them slay the prophets, and now vindicate the laws of their country. So they slew them all with the sword, and burned the house of Baal, and by that means purged Samaria of foreign customs. When this god was demolished, Jehu and the Israelites worshiped the golden heifers, as had been their wont when not led astray by foreign priests. Because he had done this, and taken pains to punish the wicked, Jehovah foretold by his prophet Elisha that his sons should reign over Israel for four generations.

276 So soon and so effectually were broken the friendly relations that had grown up to the advantage of both peoples during the times of David and Solomon. During all the ages since, or since the Christians have made the Jewish writings known to the world, the theory has been that a falling away from the worship of the true God caused the ills to the Jews, and that the Tyrians were punished, so far as they suffered, for seducing and corrupting the Israelites. Who can read the history of the Jews and the other peoples of that time and previously and not see that this is a view drawn entirely from the imagination? It is a fact that certain Jewish prophets and priests had endeavored to persuade and force the Jews, or Israelites, to recognize Jehovah as the national god and make all kinds of war upon foreign gods. It is true that the people had sometimes submitted and refrained from worshiping other gods or employing or consulting foreign priests and prophets. But it is equally true that when occasion invited they broke away from fanatic restraint and did as other people did. They were not naturally seclusive, but desired to be so far like other people as to be able to go abroad and to allow foreigners to come to their country. This was the Semitic nature, and animated them as it did the Tyrians and all other Semitics: this characteristic brought them from their eastern home into western
21 Asia. Abraham and Jacob, in time of famine, had been forced
351 to go into Egypt for grain, and there had been many seasons of
357 drouth when the Israelites felt sorely the need of food from their
124 neighbors. They had not yet been led to believe that it was
404 better to starve in Israel than go into a neighboring country for corn: they had moreover seen that while they were free to trade with the Tyrians, though the king had got an undue share, there was a greater plenty not only of necessities but of comforts, even

of luxuries, than had been known in Israel before, and it is fair to presume that a large part of the people reasoned from correct premises and perceived that the true source of peace and happiness is exchange of labor and products. They were naturally religious, but they could not believe that so intelligent and prosperous a people as the Tyrians could be altogether and willfully wrong. The Tyrians were the most contented and prosperous people in the world; then what harm could there be in their religion? Humanity will measure a religion by the benefits it brings to its devotees. It sometimes seems that the reverse is true, but if people follow a religion that degrades them it is because they do not see a chance to get a better, or because they are deceived, and if they are deceived they will rebel as soon as they see where they are. Sometimes they will cling to a religion when it can bring them only suffering and degradation, but in such cases they believe there is to be reward hereafter. To the Jews there was no such promise: the promises of Jehovah and their other gods were all in this life—all related to “the land 424 which thy god giveth thee.” And did not the gods of the Tyrians 436 give them more? Had they not given more for centuries? and more than Jehovah could promise in Judæa or Samaria without a miracle to increase the productiveness and certainty of crops? There is no room for question that most of the people in both countries wanted freedom to go and come, and did not care whether they followed Jehovah or Baal: we see them changing frequently, from whim sometimes, but oftener for politic reasons. Scheming politicians and a few zealots stirred up the bad feeling. 397

277 Men who write of the Phœnicians and go into ecstasies over the progress they made, who dwell upon their ways of peace and credit them with remarkable talent for enjoying peace and plenty when all the rest of the world was at war, or suffering the effects of war or the blight of sloth and pride—such writers will yet take it for granted that the Phœnicians practiced a barbarous religion and were punished for leading the Jews, the chosen race 471 of Jehovah, into idolatry. Now I am not going to defend the 464 worship of the Phœnicians nor condemn that of the Jews, but assert that if the religion of the Phœnicians, and their other institutions and idiosyncrasies, had been no better than those of the Jews, the Phœnicians would have had wars and rebellions as destructive as the Jews had.

61 278 But what was the genealogy of Jehovah, this god so
 418 renowned by some of the Jewish priests and politicians that his
 glory has scarcely yet waned in the world? He was common
 among the ancients. The worship that was universal among the
 313 prehistoric races—found in Mexico, in Peru, in China and in all
 the oldest tradition and history—was the worship of the Sun as
 the Creator and Ruler of the universe. Among some ancient
 historic races the Sun was almost exclusively worshiped, and
 351 this was the idea of monotheism. The Moon and the Planets
 185 were worshiped as inferior deities, often as female deities. Many
 races at times included the names of celebrated kings, warriors,
 reformers and colonizers as representatives or manifestations of
 divinity, but the names of these hero-gods were usually names of
 the Sun already in use or afterward understood to mean the Sun.
 Thus in the Peruvian language, before the times of the Incas,
 were the names Inti, Con, Choun, Illiatici-Huirachoa, Pachaco-
 mac (son of Con). In the earliest Asian languages the common
 61 name was El. This name became universal. In every ancient
 468 language it was used to denote god, the generic term for divinity,
 though etymologically it meant the Sun. The changes and inno-
 vations brought into use among the Chinese and Hindoos such
 305 names as Abelion, Eleës, Achad, Cham, Vishnu, Syrus, San,
 Iakusi. The Chaldæans and Assyrians had Chus, Asshur, Abor,
 Hermes, Shamash. The Egyptians had El-Uc, Amon, Kneph,
 On, Osiris, Thamas, Ait, Orus, Orpheos. The Phœnicians and
 other Canaanites had Dagon, Adonis, Arez, Elion, Eliza. The
 Greeks received their names from all sources and had Dionusos,
 324 Zeus, Herakles, Bakchos, Apollo, Helios, Puthon, Hippa, Cronos,
 most of which names or forms were in use among worshipers of
 the Sun in Asia and Egypt. The Persians were partial to Per-
 541 seus and Hama, though familiar with other names. The Romans
 adopted Cunnius, Craneus, Ampycus, Phaëton, with Saturn as
 the father god. All these names were closely allied to the Sun
 and his worship. There is another set which was indicative of
 the Sun, though sometimes allied to the planets. Jupiter was a
 very common name, with a second name usually, as Jupiter Plu-
 vius, Jupiter Amon, Jupiter Lucetius, etc. There were some
 454 three hundred of these second names of Jupiter. Sometimes the
 749 second name got separated from the principal name and the god
 was called by it alone. Such names are Bel or Baal of the Chal-

dees, Phœnicians and Canaanites, and probably also many of the names given above. Besides these and many other names of the Sun god there was a host of others, usually feminine, peculiar to the Moon, and yet others for the planets and starry constellations. So vague were the ideas that Jupiter was sometimes called the Mother of all life, and Venus was represented as masculine, with a beard, while Cupid was a middle-aged man dressed and armed for real war. In the Veda of the Aryan Hindoos Dyaus (Heaven) and Prithivi (Earth) were the parents and creators of the universe, but Indra their son was afterward honored as the all-creator and with having been the single parent of his father and mother.

279 But what of Jehovah and the other Hebrew names, as many as any other people had? Iav was one of the old names of one of the great gods, and after various changes became Iov in the Latin. This same god was also Bel of the Babylonians and Baal of the Canaanites. The Hebrew form was Iav, and should be Iaveh in the English translation. Jehovah, then, was the Latin Jove or Jupiter, the Assyrian Bel, the Canaanite Baal, the Greek Zeus, the Sanscrit Dyaus, the Peruvian Ioheva. There is just as much difference in the names as there is between the Spanish Cristoval' Colon' and the English Chris'topher Colum'-bus, and no more.

280 It has been assumed and believed that the Jews were the first people who rejected the old Sun worship and astrology and inaugurated the more rational worship of one God, without name other than one denoting his attributes. They deserve no such credit, and if I understand modern Jews they disclaim it. The history of worship shows clearly and unmistakably that there have been universal changes of worship, and not brought by man, but by a Power or Influence above and beyond his comprehension. At one time the Sun was God; then the nations forgot the Sun and worshiped the gods as having power over the sun and the other heavenly bodies. In one Asiatic age there was direct communication with the gods; then this was all lost; then communication was restored through oracles and prophets, mediums and clairvoyants. I do not believe there was ever a thought among the Jews of a single Almighty God. The Jews thought themselves a superior race, the chosen of the gods, but worshiped all the gods known to their neighbors: not all at any one time, but made changes as their neighbors did.

281 This being the state of worship and ideas of the gods, why should the Phœnicians sit supine in contemplation of the
 125 seers and poets? Why not accept the form of worship and follow it consistently and sincerely, and keep themselves free to engage in industry by which they could put into practice the best ideas they had or could get? They may at certain seasons have given themselves up to bacchanalian orgies; they certainly
 560 sacrificed children to Molech, the god of fire; but when their zeal
 769 had been satisfied they returned to business and prayed that they might be permitted to forego this sacrifice in future: it was not consistent with their nature and disposition, but people will do what they believe the gods require. Abraham was willing to sacrifice Isaac, and no Judomaniac condemns him. The Phœnicians did what they believed to be their duty, and went to work: their neighbors invoked the aid of the gods in the most heartless
 162 of aggressive wars, and became so enamored of their lazy lives that they thought more of war than of work, and when they did think of work it was the work to be put upon their slaves.

282 What was the law for the sacrifice to Molech? It was a Canaanitish law and has a prominent place in the laws of Moses. Ex. xiii. 1: "Jehovah spake unto Moses, saying, Sanctify unto me all the firstborn, both of man and of beast: it is mine." Lev. xxvii. provides various amounts for the redemption of persons devoted to Jehovah. If a man is in a tight place and wants the aid of Jehovah he may vow that his child, or his wife or concubine, or his father or mother, or his rival or enemy, shall be devoted to Jehovah and be delivered up to the priest for a burnt offering. This is in addition to the firstborn. With other Canaanites the vow was to Molech, and the Israelites before the separation knew the god by this name better than by the one now
 409 in the Mosaic laws, Jehovah. For a child under five years the price of redemption was five shekels for a male and three for a female; from five to twenty years, twenty shekels for a male and ten for a female; from twenty to sixty years, fifty shekels for a male and thirty for a female; sixty years and older, fifteen shekels for a male and ten for a female. Verse 29, "None devoted, which shall be devoted of men, shall be redeemed: but shall
 561 surely be put to death." In Num. xxi. and Judges xi. we have most convincing proof as to how this law was understood. The
 418 Israelites were Canaanites, with customs the same as in other tribes.

283 Con and Supay with the Peruvians, Oromazus and Arei- 185
 manius with the Persians, Osiris and Typhon with the Egyptians, 445
 Yaveh and Satan with the Jews, and like pairs of names with
 other ancients, represented respectively the principles of good
 and evil. With the Phœnicians the dual idea was less prominent. 156
 The Tyrians, for instance, gave to Baal Melkarth, their city deity, 367
 both the attributes. Good and evil were not so much thought of
 as conservatism and enterprise. The Phœnicians were indeed
 superstitious, were slaves to their gods, but they rather divided
 men and gods by the test of energy and sloth, industry and laziness,
 peace and war, than by the sentimental idea of good and
 evil. Other people might praise conservative zeal that would
 neglect physical comfort, but the Phœnicians judged by results.
 A man might praise the gods and obey the priests while he left
 the little ones to suffer, but the Phœnician took time to provide
 for his own. Ambitious kings and aristocrats might believe their
 gods were good enough to assist them in robbing the weak and 163
 unfortunate, but the Phœnicians did not ask their gods to give
 them what belonged to others: they tried to earn and give value
 for value, to enrich their patrons as well as themselves. A god
 that could help them to improve the condition of the world must
 be energetic, vigilant, conscientious, discriminative, not all good
 on one occasion and all bad on another. Nor did they think
 it politic to divide the responsibility: Baal Melkarth was account- 179
 able for the safety and prosperity of Tyre, whatever other gods 369
 might do.

Like the Aryan Hindoos and some other peoples, they recognized
 as many female as male deities: every god had his mate.
 This is a matter of great importance in the study of ancient customs
 and conditions. While a race is young and vigorous the individuals
 are democratic: men and women are free, the women are distributed
 among the men, families are numerous and small. As the aristocracy
 gains control and enslaves men the women are huddled into harems
 to be like flocks of hens, and families are few and large, guarded
 by eunuchs. Then when women are eliminated from the activities
 of the world the idea of feminine divinity is incongruous, and the
 goddesses are first neglected and then suppressed. As long, then,
 as the female divinities were honored, so long were women free. 305
 When you read of the ways of the sexes in Phœnicia don't measure 559
 them by your ideal

standards, but by the ones then prevailing, or by those in fashion there now.

253 284 In Homer's age the Phœnician influence was more general in Greece than in later times. Homer knew the Phœnicians in Thebes, around the Straits of Corinth, which they used for a passage to the west, and in the islands and shore cities in Asia Minor, his native land. From them he got his knowledge of geography. The Asiatic Greeks were next to the Phœnicians in navigation, but not so daring or persevering. Later, when the Greeks were strong and selfish enough to drive the Phœnicians away and their enterprise was not turned in peaceful ways, they lost both the knowledge of geography and the taste for its acquisition, so that not only did the later classic writers know less of it than did Homer, but they confused and vitiated what they had by attempting to find in Greece the places that were distant—
160 west, east and north.

285 THE PHŒNICIANS about 875 B.C. had a chance to discuss the right of a foreign king to do whatsoever he pleased and could—to exercise his natural rights regardless of all ideas of other rights. It was the natural right of Asshur-izir-pal, the
11 king and god of the Assyrians, to invade, conquer, destroy, lay
157 under tribute or otherwise dispose of other countries and peoples. The kingdom of Assyria had grown up and encompassed the various petty governments that existed in Mesopotamia and on the Persian Gulf in the days when the ancestors of the Phœnicians moved west to find room and freedom. Now the eastern power was extending westward and the Phœnicians were in the attitude of the barbarians whom they had dispossessed or civilized. We speak of the land of the Assyrians, of the Egyptians and others, but no people ever had a land to which they had a better title than the Assyrians now had to the land of Phœnicia.
553 There have been no aborigines: all have been conquerors. The Assyrians had the military strength to conquer, and there was no power, human or superhuman, to intervene.

286 Some peoples submitted to the Assyrian king without a struggle, others resisted and were overrun and destroyed or made slaves, while a few resisted and were not conquered, because too far from the Assyrian power or very well protected by nature: none were able to cope with Assyria in a fair contest with arms.

What should Phœnicians do? If they submitted they would be at the mercy of the master, while if they resisted they might be destroyed. What was the chance for merciful treatment if they submitted? They would be laid under tribute, but they could pay tribute and thrive. In the event of submission to Assyria the Phœnicians would have the advantage of trade throughout the Assyrian empire, and that was a great advantage. If they resisted and kept the Assyrians away they would not only be denied the Assyrian markets but would find it necessary to keep in a standing army and navy the men who would with peace be at liberty to pursue industry and trade. The Phœnicians looked at these matters from a business standpoint. Submission would bring them more wealth, besides peace and enjoyment of their wealth. War would be uncertain: it would be destructive of life and property, and at best it was questionable whether it would not put off the time when they could be their own masters again; for if the Assyrians themselves were at peace there would be a better chance to gain concessions that would allow their dependents some freedom. For such reasons the Phœnicians sent their submission with presents to the Assyrian king and were received into the Assyrian family. 757 866

287 It can not be said that the Assyrians carried on war on account of religion, or that religion had much influence to cause war or bring peace. Because the Assyrians had a national god, Assur, from whom they took their name, and because they believed that Assur was pleased with having his people observe his worship, some modern writers have thought the wars were undertaken to compel the rest of the world to accept Assur as their god. But there are several reasons against such a theory. In the first place while Asshur was the national god there was a local god for every city, and every family that made any pretension had its private god or design, its totem as the Indians of America would say. The names were peculiar to the peoples or tribes: were in effect flags or coats-of-arms. When the Phœnicians submitted their gods were also in submission, but the worship was not changed. The king of Assuria might add the gods of Phœnicia to his calendar if he chose. 403 313 157

288 For a century and a half the Phœnicians submitted to pay tribute without revolt. During this time Assyria had peace most of the time and Phœnician commerce was prosperous. The

caravan trade was safer than ever before. There were revolts and destructive conquests, but Phœnicia was better off than she would have been with brigandage in the name of local self-government, which would have been probable with Assyria crippled. Fear of the Assyrian satraps restrained the lawless elements in the mountains and deserts, and thus even this despotic and cruel government, in its better days, was better than the state of barbarism that had prevailed in places.

289 About 727 B.C. the Phœnicians are found in rebellion against the Assyrian power. There had been a change of dynasty, and Shalmanezar IV. was so insolent and hard that there was a concerted movement against his demands. It is human nature to be lenient as long as the oppressed have recollection and experience of freedom, especially if there is a chance that they may rebel and regain their freedom, and then, when the semi-subjects have become inured to their condition, to make demands without regard to feelings or abilities to meet them. It is also not unusual for a really great man, one who is capable of meting out justice to all his subjects, to obtain absolute power and leave it to one who is not gifted with abilities in any direction. Shalmanezar cared nought for his subjects, but appointed his favorites to be viceroys over other peoples and allowed them to make outrageous demands on their own account besides taking the electable young men for eunuchs for the great king and the choicest of the noble maidens to adorn his harem.

290 Elulaios was king of Tyre. In the coalition to resist Assyrian encroachment he united the cities of Tyre, Sidon, Acco, Arvad and probably some others, most but not all of Phœnicia, as some cities were disposed to submit or were not able to act by reason of the nearness of the Assyrian arms. Shalmanezar came down the coast from northern Syria with a great army and overran everything on land, but Elulæus maintained his hold upon the island Tyre. Shalmanezar could do nothing on the water, but, to take vengeance upon the king that dared to oppose him, he persuaded and forced the subdued Sidonians to assist him with a fleet of sixty vessels. This fleet, manned by Zidonian sailors and Assyrian warriors, attacked the island Tyre. Elulæus had only twelve vessels in harbor at the time, but with these he won a victory, and Shalmanezar settled down to a siege. There was no fresh water on the island, the supply having been brought

from land in boats, but with only a brackish kind obtained from a spring in the sea, and the rain water that could be saved, the island city resisted for five years, until troubles in other quarters took the besiegers away.

291 Shalmanezzer IV. was succeeded by Sargon about 722 B.C. Sargon gave the Phœnicians little trouble, though he was a terror to their neighbors. It is not known why this conquering king kept off of Phœnician territory, but he did, and Elulæus gradually restored his authority and rebuilt the cities destroyed by Shalmanezzer. But while the Phœnicians were again free to prosecute their industries and commerce, they were narrowed in their field of operations by the wars and pillage, and consequent insecurity of travel by land; nor is it probable that the Assyrians permitted them to enter their territories. Submission now meant absorption into the Assyrian family, and this would have resulted in extinction or reduction to a level status with the servile races, while independence shut them out of their best markets. If the Assyrian kings had not made the burden unbearable the Phœnicians would not have revolted. 164

292 The next Assyrian king was Sennacherib. What offers he made we may never know, but his demands were so hard that Elulæus would not submit. Elulæus was too old for the activities of a siege, however, and retired to the island of Kupros, not far from the shore. The cities of Tyre then submitted without a siege, and Sennacherib appointed Tubal, a native, to be viceroy. The Phœnician cities were now in about the same relations as during the century and a half from the first submission, but the commercial policy of the Assyrian kings and aristocracy allowed Phœnicia little hope. With such ideas dominating the controlling classes of Assyria there was no chance for a commercial people: it was war or destruction without war. 415 421

293 For about forty years, from 680 to 640 B.C., the Assyrians gave Phœnicia no peace. Esarhaddon was king from 681 to 668. He was very exacting and very ambitious, a glorious king. Several times he visited Tyre and the other cities and placed them under heavy tribute, besides taking everything in sight, including their noble maidens for his harem. When the people were not entirely submissive he destroyed everything in his course and distributed the men through his armies, as was the Assyrian custom, that the races might not be able to take con-

certed action, but be helpless under their officers. The Phœnicians were not united, and while the Assyrians were conquering one city the others usually pursued their trade until they in turn were besieged. It will be said that this was the weakness of the Phœnicians, but was it not their strength? If they had always been under one strong central government would they have had the same success, or any success, as traders and navigators? Freedom is absolutely necessary to commercial and industrial enterprise. All the great and strong governments, ancient and modern, were dominated by the war sentiment, which is destructive to stability and prosperity. The great kings squandered the substance of the people in equipping armies and in magnificent architectural monuments, which, while they attracted admiration, were of no possible utility to the people and served rather to excite pride and envy than to allay racial prejudices and bring mankind into fraternal and peaceful communication.

294 Assur-bani-pal succeeded Esar-haddon and carried the Assyrian power to its culmination. This king almost annihilated the Phœnicians who were in Phœnicia. But for the colonies on the islands and in the western Mediterranean the race would probably have been destroyed. During this time the city of Arvad became noted. Tyre and Sidon were reduced to abject submission, but Arvad seems to have fared better, as also Akko. It is probable that when vessels could not return to their own city they went to some city that could receive them, and thus Arvad may have attracted the trade of the more unfortunate cities. Anyhow one city at least always escaped and became the nucleus for rehabilitation.

295 In 632 B.C. the Medes made war upon Assyria. The Assyrian hold upon Phœnicia was weakened, but before the Phœnicians had time to make an effort for their freedom the
165 Scyths swooped down from the north and changed all conditions and relations. The Phœnicians in this crisis were forced to take immediate steps for their preservation without consulting their masters. The Scyths spent their force in overrunning the other countries, so that the Phœnicians were able to defend themselves, and were thus freed by the Scyths. It may also be that the Phœnicians were known with favor to the Scyths, as they had gone by boat to the Scythian tribes around the Black Sea and by caravan to the tribes north of Mesopotamia and Media.

296 For about forty-five years, from 630 to 585 B.C., Phœnicia was free from foreign suzerainty. These years witnessed the height of her prosperity. Civilization, or what we must call such, had been much extended since the last spell of freedom, and the Phœnician markets were likewise extended. The Jewish prophet Ezekiel (chap. xxvii.) gives a general description of the Phœnician industry and commerce at this time. 719
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297 There has always been among those peoples that did not recognize the real benefits of commerce a superstition or devilish prepossession that for one nation to prosper it must hold back others and keep them out of markets. But the Phœnicians prospered with the prosperity of others. When they could visit rich markets without hinderance they got good profits, and yet, as Ezekiel says, they filled many peoples, and enriched the kings of earth with their great riches and variety of merchandise. It seemed to Ezekiel, though he was one of the most magnanimous of the Jewish writers, that because the Phœnicians were prosperous and enjoyed their riches they were proud and deserved to be destroyed. Hence he was lavish with predictions of disaster to this most civilized people. The prevalent idea of the puritanic Jews (always the minority but the loudest and most persistent) was that the people should belong to the national god, to the king or the prophets, and that without constant and drastic check they would be corrupt, mischievous and unmanageable. The king and Jehovah might rob and plunder and employ the people in oppressing each other, and this was agreeable to orthodox logic and approved piety; but because the Phœnician aristocracy engaged in industry themselves and encouraged the common people to do likewise, dealing justly with them and permitting of fair distribution of profits, with ability and freedom to enjoy their gains, they were denounced as sunk in luxury. Jehovah would blot them out for their vileness and save the Jews from the danger of contamination. This was a very cheap kind of prophecy. It would have come true of any people of that time; that is, of any people within the reach of the wave of progress; the peoples east of the Indus may have escaped such a prophecy from that day to this, because the energetic races had then passed over that part of Asia and were still making for the west. Ezekiel must have had an idea of this westward movement: he announces the destruction of all the existing governments and peoples, even the 373
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Jewish nation, though Jehovah will preserve the seed of them that honor him and obey the prophets.

If the Phœnicians were industrious and ingenious they must
 549 acquire wealth: then what must they do with their store of good
 860 things? They did not wish to employ mercenary soldiers to oppress other peoples; they were lavish in building temples to their gods and in ceremonials and festivals, but this did not exhaust their resources; they gave value for value in their trade, or others would not have traded with them. What was left for them to do but to be good to themselves, to provide comfortable houses and furnish them with luxuries, that their wives and children might enjoy life? If the other Asiatics had been as much given to industry, honest dealing and fair play as the Phœnicians were they might also have had real prosperity, and not have been green with envy.

298 After the Scythian invasion there followed a three-sided struggle for the mastery of Asia. Assyria wanted to hold onto what she had, while Media sought to conquer her, and Babylonia wanted independence, or suzerainty. Syria and Egypt were not willing to be idle, to be gobbled again by the victor. Egypt undertook to extend her borders and the Jews and the Phœnicians were divided as to the best policy. The Phœnicians did not so much care what power was their master, if they must have one, as they wished to keep the powers balanced, that none might become supreme. If this was their policy it was a bad one in this instance, judging by results; for Egypt could not hold her conquests, nor her own territory, but by opposing the better organized power she kept Syria in a state of reprisal warfare for many generations. In the interim Neco, king of Egypt, took possession of Syria, or the larger part of it (about 608 B.C.) and
 163 made war upon Babylonia. But Sardanapa'los, king of Babylonia, sent an army under Nebuchadnezzar his son and drove the Egyptians back into Egypt, 605 B.C. Soon afterward Sardapalos died and left Babylonia to Nebuchadnezzar.

Herodotos says that Neco attempted to finish the canal begun
 255 by Ramses II., but failed, and then employed some Tyrians to sail from the Red Sea to the south, around Egypt and Libya, and return by way of the Pillars of Herakles. The Tyrians set out on the voyage. When autumn came they went on shore, sowed wheat, and waited for harvest. Having reaped the grain, they



put out again, and next autumn they stopped and raised another crop. In the third year they reached the entrance to the Mediterranean, and sailed through it to Egypt. When they started the sun was on their left hand at noon, but after passing the meridian it was on their right hand, changing again when they recrossed the meridian. This is what puzzled Herodotos and led him to doubt the report of the sailors. It is now the strongest evidence that the voyage was made.

299 With the short-lived kingdom of Babylonia came almost to an end the usefulness of the Phœnicians. Nebuchadnezzar first neglected the Jews and the Phœnicians until they declared their independence and then sent a great army and conquered them. The Jews were carried captive to Babylonia, but the Phœnicians fared even worse. It has often been remarked that men who do not want to fight, and will suffer a great deal of abuse before they resist or defend themselves, will make the most desperate resistance when forced to fight. This has been true of all really industrial and commercial peoples. The Phœnicians had made several very obstinate wars in self-defense, but when the Babylonians invested their cities they made greater resistance and sacrifice, realizing that they must defend themselves, move westward or be destroyed. Several of the cities maintained long sieges, but Tyre held out longest, thirteen years, and there is a question whether or not it surrendered at all. Nebuchadnezzar's armies almost obliterated the cities and then the Phœnicians were placed under heavy tribute, with many interferences in their trade.

300 Under the Persian supremacy some good was accomplished, though the general trend was backward. Commerce can not flourish when controlled: it is essentially an affair of peace and freedom. Darius established post roads throughout his dominions, and these were a great help to caravan trade. Caravans had traveled the deserts with no more certainty of their direction than that of the navigators of the sea when out of sight of land. Another help was the striking of coins and furnishing a basis of value in trade. Coins had been struck by some small powers but had not come into general circulation. It should not be forgotten that the Phœnicians had traded with the most civilized and with barbarians, and with all degrees between, and over all the known world, and had had no coin or other recognized

"money." Coin, or money, is a convenience to commerce and industry, but not a necessity. With "free trade" but no "money" the Phœnicians had prospered and largely civilized the world: when they had fallen a prey to military glory, esthetic splendor and religious fanaticism, their successors, with coin but not free trade, did not, and could not, maintain the degree of civilization bequeathed to them by the Phœnician free traders.

301 During the Persian suzerainty—Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius, Xerxes, Darius Codomanus—the Phœnicians were called upon to depart from their time-honored custom of fighting only in self-defense. Persia had no navy, had no sailors, and Phœnicia
661 was asked to contribute as her share toward the maintenance of the empire the vessels and seamen, or the better part of them, necessary to carry out the war policy of the Persian monarch. Phœnicia did this when war was against Egypt, Greece or other unkinly nations, but drew the line sharply when it came to fighting against Carthage or any other Phœnician colony.

302 I feel that I must call special attention to the most prominent feature in the policies of this people. The selfish races who
25 regard war as glorious and the spoils of war as honorable acquisitions to be mentioned with pride would rejoice and thank their
344 gods for a chance to destroy or injure their rivals, but the Phœnicians would not injure a rival. There is not in all their history an instance of meanness or reprisal against the industry or commerce of another nation. There were contests among their own cities, but they were no more than family quarrels over the inheritances, and did not affect their intercourse with aliens. When the seceders from Tyre went to the northern coast of Africa and built up Carthage to be a great rival commercial nation there
761 was entire good feeling on the part of the Tyrians, who could have destroyed Carthage or kept it under Tyrian suzerainty. Instead, each visited the markets of the other freely. It would be well for modern statesmen and politicians, and the people as well, to take this lesson seriously to heart. The wealthiest nations of earth, and those that have secured the best distribution of wealth among their citizens, have been those that have recognized the justness and equality of the Phœnician policy; and in the proportion in which they have so done.

Now when the contest was between Persia and Egypt the Persians used the Tyrian navy to destroy the Egyptian commerce,

which at that time was quite important in the Mediterranean. The Tyrians were not jealous of the Egyptians: they had in fact voluntarily assisted them in getting a navy. But the Egyptians themselves were little more ethic in their policies than Persians or Greeks: they would have destroyed the Tyrian commerce if they could, on their own account. The Tyrians assisted in the destruction of Egyptian commerce, but they did it at the demand of Persia, and when a refusal would have brought destruction to themselves.

303 When Alexander and his Greek army came into Asia the Persian king, Darius Codomanus, fled and left Phœnicia at the mercy of the despoilers. The cities north of Tyre surrendered without a struggle. Tyre was willing to surrender upon conditions that were fair and not humiliating even to a conqueror, but the Greek would listen to nothing but unconditional surrender: he rather wanted to take the cities by force, for the glory and the effect a victory would have upon the Asiatics and the Egyptians. Palætyros was soon taken, but Tyre sustained one of the remarkable sieges of history. Getting no assistance from Persia, and Sidon and other kindred cities in their degenerate days assisting the besiegers, it was, after seven months, taken and destroyed, with nearly all the people, in 332 B.C. 748

304 HERODOTOS, about 400 B.C., or earlier, in describing the bounds of the Persian empire, said, "Asia is inhabited as far as India, but beyond this it is all desert toward the east; nor is any one able to describe what it is." Notwithstanding his ignorance, he had a glimmer of the plan of Providence in distributing the good things of earth all over it, to compel men to go abroad and allow foreigners to visit them to make exchanges. He said, "The extreme parts of the habitable world somehow possess the most desirable products." He said that Arabia was the furthest of inhabited countries toward the south and the only one that produced frankincense, myrrh, cassia, cinnamon and ledanum. He admitted that the Phœnicians alone went there for these things, and did not discuss the probable benefits if the Greeks, Phœnicians or others should push their discoveries further eastward or southward, but contented himself with saying that there was no habitable country further east or south. But for the enterprise of the Phœnicians there would have been no present 171 20-

305 If you draw a picture of a horse it will suggest to an Englishman the word horse. The picture suggests particular sounds of the voice as well as the image of a horse. But to a Frenchman it will suggest cheval (shuv-al'), which is very different in sound; to a Spaniard, caballo (cab-bal'yo); to an Italian, cavallo (cav-val'lo); to the Latins it suggested equus; to the Greeks, hippos. While all written language anciently was not thus ideographic, yet this was at times and in places a common style, and just anterior to the time of the Phœnicians there was little writing that directly suggested to the mind the articulation necessary to express the language. Ideas, not words, were conveyed by the pictures or characters. But the Phœnicians made an alphabet of twenty-two letters, each having one articulate sound, and reduced their written language to the condition the English would be in without the c, q, w and y, and each letter retained having one invariable sound. This simplified the task of learning to write and enabled them to put much more matter on a given quantity of writing material, which was scarce and expensive, so that all of their people could learn to write and read in words. It is worthy of remark that the commercial peoples have always simplified processes and made labor and study more productive. That is of itself sufficient to prove that the trading peoples have been the civilizers of the world. These merchants and navigators carried trade to all parts of the known world (and they knew twice as much of the world as the Greeks did), and it is said truly that letters were the first and the best article which they exported. They spread letters to the west, but the peoples to the east would not take them. Some Asiatics afterward adopted them in part, but the development of phonetic writing there is awaiting an immigration from the east, from the direction of the Pacific.

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necessary to acquire the knowledge displayed in the Pyramid. This was lost, as other acquirements were lost, and will be again. The North American Indians had ideographic writing and a sign language, which could be read by all, regardless of the peculiar speech of the tribes; but it is proven beyond a doubt that former Americans had phonetic writing of a high character. The Phœnicians, then, were not the first to make a phonetic alphabet in the absolute sense, but deserve as much credit as though they had been, since the models were lost and the rest of the world were content to use the barbarous forms and methods.

Ideographic writing was probably responsible for the multiplicity of names for God, or the Sun, which was the Sabian idea of the true God when Sabaism was universal. El was the most common name, but the representations of the Sun were called by 136. names peculiar to the races, peoples or tribes, and generally by their patril names. In this way originated every designation of a principal male deity in use before the establishment of Christianity, and there was a like origin for the female deities, though there seems to have been no appellation so common for the Moon as El was for the Sun. El was varied to Al, Eli, and other forms, and appears in the Mahometan Allah. It was compounded with nouns and adjectives and used in names of persons and places. Such names are Eli-On, a Canaanitish deity; Elis, the sacred land of Greece; Elisa-beth, a temple of El, afterward used as feminine by Phœnicians, Greeks, Carthaginians and Romans, when El 283. became Elisa, Elasa, Eleusa; El-Uc, El-Uc-Or, El-Uc-Aon, in Egypt, became in Greece Lukos, Lukoreus, Lukaon, all titles of the Sun; Jethro, whose daughter Moses married in Midian, was high priest of El at a place called El Ain, which is said to be of 359. the same derivation as the proper name of the Greeks, Hellenes, 800. and of the Etruscans, Tur-Aini or Tyrrhenians; Elijah, Elisha, Eliud, Jehiel, Gamaliel, Samuel—the list could be lengthened to 380. include a large part of the names of persons and places, both ancient and modern. As the Phœnician phonetic letters were adopted, however, the names ceased to multiply, and then began the process of dropping out the redundant forms and returning to one name, equal to the former El. Jesus on the cross called upon “El-i, El-i==my God, my God,” the i being the personal 496. pronoun of the first person, singular. To-day there are various names or forms—God, Gott, Dieu, Dios, etc.—but there is no

confusion or misunderstanding. Moderns are indebted for this reform to the Semitic traders of Phœnicia.

306 The Phœnicians had various manufactures. What was called purple, and became famous the world over, was made by them. It was cotton, silk or woolen fabric, and was prized for its color, the dye for which was obtained from two shell-fish, the buccinum and the murex. This dye was very costly and was used in the best fabrics only. Its discovery was attributed to the Tyrian god Herakles, or to his dog, which in eating the fish stained his mouth and suggested its use as a dye. There are now in the solid rocks along the shore at Tyre and Sidon the vats in which the shell-fish were placed to undergo the process of extraction. It has been thought that the Phœnicians were the
244 first glass-blowers. They were not, but they deserve credit for making the best quality and for introducing it in the western world. Pottery was one of their industries. They did good work in bronze and the precious metals, were skillful jewelers, and wove silk, woolen and cotton fabrics.

307 The first article they went from home to get was tin. Tin was found in few places—it has not been found in many places yet—and the Phœnicians had difficulty in getting it. The first question was, where can we find it? and the second, how can we get it home? for many of their routes were infested with petty rulers who would rob them or exact outrageous tribute. A supply was found in Spain, and when that was exhausted they
*7 found another supply in Cornwall, Britain. These far off places necessitated long water voyages and great dangers, but the Phœnicians extended their trade wherever they went, and made friends when all the world was warring. They maintained their trade in tin to the last, and supplied all the known world.

308 The Phœnicians were very early engaged in mining.
761 Their mines in Spain betray a knowledge almost equal to that possessed by moderns. Other ancients obtained a moderate quantity of metals for their home use, but the Phœnicians wanted metals for export, and to get supplies they opened all kinds of mines and in various quarters. Iron, tin, copper, gold, silver, antimony and lead were obtained for use in manufactures at home and for export.

309 They were not only skilled workmen at home, but whenever they came in contact with others they showed superiority.

When Xerxes, for instance, was digging a canal through the mountain at Mount Athos the Phœnicians made their excavation wide at the top and sloped the sides, while the others dug their sides perpendicular. All the other parts of the canal caved in and caused great loss of life, but the Phœnicians had no caving. Their knowledge and skill led them to adopt the safe and easiest way of doing the work. 666

310 The Phœnicians planted many colonies, but almost all of them were in the water—on islands—where they were secure for centuries, simply because other peoples were land-lovers. Almost every island in the Mediterranean was occupied by them, and when this body of water had been explored they went through the Straits of Gibraltar into the Atlantic and occupied the island of Gades, now Cadiz, about 1000 B.C. On the shores of the Mediterranean, in Africa, they established Carthage, Hadrumetum, Utica, Milite, Gaulos and many others; in Spain, Tartessos, Carteia and Malaca. They also sailed through the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus into the Black Sea and traded with the barbarians who lived on its borders. The colonies had more or less trade of their own, and were stations where the articles of commerce were gathered and distributed by the navigators of Phœnicia. From the stations beyond the Pillars of Hercules they made voyages along the west coast of Africa, and it is certain that a crew of them sailed around Africa from the Red Sea back into the Mediterranean, but they did not extend their stations along that coast and did not continue to “double the cape,” simply because the Babylonian wars soon afterward crippled them. To make the voyage to India the Phœnicians went by land to the head of the Persian Gulf and from Tylos and Aradus their vessels sailed through this gulf into the Arabian Sea and to the point of destination. This route was not so safe as the all-water routes, but diamonds, pearls, silks, ointments and other valuable articles of exchange could not be had from any other source, and they had no all-water route to the Indias. Likewise the gold of Arabia must be obtained after a land journey to the Red Sea and a voyage through that sea. 298 377 267 171 522

311 Wherever the Phœnicians went, north and west, they had trading posts, and in most places they established colonies. Strabo says they had three hundred regular stations along the west coast of Africa. Nearly all of these stations became cities 761

and were retained and maintained long after the home government had been suppressed by fighting races. Their citizens went under other governments and their posterity lost the name Phœnician, but the training in the old way was never quite lost and as often as temporary peace allowed of industry and commerce these heirs of Phœnician enterprise revived the peaceful and prosperous ways.

312 Plato, about 350 B.C., related some very old traditions of a great island in the Atlantic west of Europe and Africa. Before this time there were prevalent stories of the western continent, evidently based on knowledge. He says that in very ancient time the people of this continent or island were more powerful than those of Europe and invaded Europe, overrunning everything until they came to Asia Minor. I have already mentioned the exploits of the Egyptians in southern Africa before the time of the Israelites in Palestine. There are many evidences, and in all countries, that there was communication between Europe and America from say 10,000 B.C. to the destruction of Carthage, and between Asia and America for some centuries later. But the Greeks and Romans cared only for the lands they could reach with their armies and place under tribute. Beginning with the oldest writers, each age was less positive in speaking of the western continent, until Seneca, about the beginning of the Christian Era, could do no more than prophesy that the time would come when the boundaries of the known world would be extended to a great country in the Atlantic Ocean. Then the knowledge and the desire for it were smothered.

313 When the bloody and bigoted Spaniards had finished the work of destruction in South America, in the Sixteenth Century, scholars began to collect the remains of history and relics from the Peruvians and to investigate their monuments. There were traditions to the effect that there had once been communication between the Peruvians and people who answer in name and characteristics to the Phœnicians and the Egyptians. At that time the Peruvians had letters, but afterward, being isolated from the moving world, lost them. There was a general belief that the friendly traders would return, and this was much in the favor of the Spaniards. Alas, for the Peruvians! The Spaniards were of the races and dispositions that as a besom swept Europe and declared that peace should be no more! Tin and the precious

metals were in abundance in Peru. The Phœnicians wanted the tin because it was useful. The Spaniards wanted gold because it was their god.

314 The Phœnicians were scoffed at by the glorious races for trading with barbarians and savages. Now a man in business does not stop to ask his customers what they know and do and all about their habits; he wants to think that they have money or something valuable for exchange, and wants them to deal honestly with him. Assyrians, Persians and Greeks were not above killing, robbing and dispossessing the barbarians: they thought that all right. The Phœnicians would give goods for goods and by that means enable the barbarians to learn the ways of peace and civilization, while the others would destroy or enslave and thereby degrade their own common people while ruining others. The Greeks especially sneered at the Phœnicians for making wealth by cheating those who knew not the value of gold, silver 606 or other commodities. The Greeks themselves were as guilty of cheating as were the Phœnicians, to say nothing of their more summary way of obtaining the possessions of others. How were barbarians to learn the value of their articles except by taking them to market or being visited by buyers?

The habit of exchanging with barbarians whose language they did not know, or whom they feared, or who feared them, was to find a harbor, unload their merchandise, set it in order on the shore, return on board their ships, and make a great smoke. The inhabitants, seeing the smoke, came down to the shore, looked at the goods, laid down as much gold as they were willing to pay for them, and withdrew some distance. The Phœnicians, or Carthaginians, for they had the same methods, then went on shore and examined the gold or other commodity, for sometimes tin or other metal or article was wanted, and if the amount offered in exchange was sufficient they took it, returned on board, and sailed away; but if it was not enough they went on board again. Then the barbarians returned, and if they thought they could give more would offer it. In this way the trade was consummated, and never was there trouble; for the barbarians would not take anything until the merchantmen took their departure and left the merchandise.

315 It was not the policy of the Phœnicians to make treaties with the nations for privileges of trade or navigation. While they 761

endeavored to keep on good terms with as many peoples as possible, they refrained from making reciprocal alliances that would exclude others from the same markets. Vessels and merchants from other countries were not excluded or hindered from trading at the Phœnician cities, though there were restrictions upon visitors to their small islands in the Mediterranean, because these were rather stations where goods were stored, and were not markets. But the Greeks and Egyptians made reciprocal treaties and endeavored to give each other and their allies the privilege
 544 of their marts. In the reign of Ama'sis in Egypt, for instance, just before the conquest by Camby'ses, the Greeks were accorded favors not given to any others. The city of Nau'cratis was given to them, and in other cities they were allowed land for temples and marts. Before this time Naucratis had been the only city at which aliens might land and sell their wares, and now it was given to the Greeks exclusively. These partialities worked present hardship to others, but afterward greater to the Greeks themselves.

316 Wherever the Greeks established a colony the remains are yet to be found, showing that they were energetic and ambitious to perpetuate themselves and their institutions. The Phœnician colonies did not evince the same ambition, but were more peaceful and fair in their dealings both among themselves and with the barbarians. When the Greeks and others approached a Phœnician colony (except Carthage) they knew what to expect, since all the colonies had the same characteristics, but Greeks and aliens alike must know the origin and prejudices of each Greek colony and take great chances in visiting it. The Phœnicians did not fight among themselves nor with others, when avoidable, but the Greeks had little thought of maintaining themselves by any other means than fighting. Each and every Greek
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 631 state and community (except Sparta) had some industry and commerce, but fair exchange of benefits was not the Greek idea. The
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 724 contrast between the Phœnicians and the Greeks was thus very marked. One demonstrated to the world that where a people
 348 are willing to do right the form of government and the religious beliefs are of secondary importance; the other undertook to establish government and religion on a logical and equitable basis, and not being endowed with spiritual resignation, but fired with worldly ambition, were unhappy even in success.

317 The affairs and the history of the early Phœnicians have been closed. It only remains for posterity to give them the credit due them. It was many centuries after their decline before other peoples of the world fully realized the benefits of their policy of peace and education. Even the name by which they are now known was unknown to them. They called themselves Canaanites, while the name Phœnician was given them by the Greeks. All their literary works and their historic records have perished. What we know of them has been gleaned from the writings of other races and from inscriptions on monuments. Their history written by themselves would probably have done them fuller justice; would have been more complete and furnished many of the details necessary to give us a clear insight into their internal affairs. 262

318 Herodotos, in describing the seven classes in Egypt, says there were 400,000 warriors, who were not allowed to practice any mechanic art, but gave all their time to war or preparing for it. He does not give the number of priests, but says they likewise were prohibited from labor. The other five classes he calls interpreters, tradesmen, pilots, herdsmen and swineherds. Herodotos says he does not know whether the Greeks learned from the Egyptians or from the Scythians, Persians, Thracians and Lydians, but they learned from some or all of them to give greater honor to those who abstained from handicrafts, and the greatest honor to those who devoted themselves to war. He says the worst in this respect were the Corinthians, and the Spartans were little better. The Grecian forgot to give a good word for the Phœnicians, or thought them too degraded to be mentioned with the grander people. But the very fact of leaving them out of the list of peoples from whom the Greeks might have copied is significant. His silence honors them. 191
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319 AFTER ALL HERE SAID of Phœnician adventure, enterprise and industry there yet remains something not given in the histories of the Phœnicians, but which may be obtained from other sources. In the condition of the ancient world, when wisdom, even religion, was despised if not accompanied with muscular development and a warlike spirit, a people devoted to industry and commerce could not have been free from ravishment without some definite association with their neighbors, even their most 546
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distant customers. That such association existed, that there were strong ties that bound the intelligent classes of all lands with the Phœnicians, there is abundant evidence. To relate this feature of Phœnician life is but to add another, the greatest, to their beneficences to mankind.

320 Some modern Free Masons have claimed a very ancient origin for their order, or something like it. It is certain that an order with signs and symbols, independent of and higher in ideals than practical masonry, was known among the Chinese before the time of Mencius, and that he was a member of the order. The orders were not just the same in any two countries and they varied in each country with the different civilizations. In Mesopotamia and Egypt they were more religious and political than industrial, but in Phœnicia they began to take the practical or secular turn. Always the orders were religious, political, industrial, fraternal and social: the difference was in the degree in which each of the five elemental objects was prominent. The ancient orders were in each locality usually compact under one authority, and exercised the functions of the church organizations, the secret societies, the scientific and educational institutions, the labor organizations and the political parties of modern times.

321 At the earliest traditional time Egypt was already the land of the sciences and the arts. The sequestered position of Egypt made it the most convenient country for the development and preservation of learning. The wise and skillful from Asia repaired to Egypt to secure repose in times of turbulence, and when Egypt became rich in lore the ambitious of other lands came hither for instruction. Astronomy, agriculture, land surveying, grammar, rhetoric, mathematics, geometry, music and other sciences and accomplishments were nourished in Egypt, and as all undertakings of the ancients were a part of their religion, the mythologies of nearly all of the Asians were grafted upon the Egyptian stock and the Egyptian mythology may be said to include all the ideas of the ancients, if not of moderns as well. In China, India, Arabia, Mesopotamia and ancient Egypt there were close orders of priests. These priests were more or less connected with all the undertakings and even the daily occupations of their people.

158 In Egypt they were a power above the throne. The king was seldom strong enough to defy them. When he was able to defy

one order it was because another order had become strong enough to give him support. Rivalry of orders was not common, but sometimes arose. When there was rivalry the crown was a dangerous possession until one order gained supremacy. Almost every change of dynasty in Egypt was brought about by these orders. No man could gain the crown or hold it without their support. Their control was as complete as they might make it. Not only did the people believe in superhuman power, but, if the term can be comprehended, in supernatural power. There was large room for exercise of mystic arts entirely within the domain of nature, but which were unknown to the uninitiated. Where the priesthood, or any of its members, resorted to trickery or legerdemain it showed a degeneracy for the time, or the necessity of resorting to deceit to overreach a rival in the estimation of the other classes of the people. These exceptions 318 do not affect the true story of the learning and power of the orders: the priesthood and the king understood each other.

322 So religious, or superstitious if you will, were all the ancients that almost all proper names and most of the common words can be traced to a sacred origin. Take the word *summit*, for instance. An old name for the Sun god was *Shem* or *Shemen*. From it came the names of places, *Samothrace*, *Samos*, *Samé* and others. *Samorna* was an earlier name of the city of *Ephesus*. *Syria* was in Greek *Suria*, from the old form of *Sham* or *Shem*, so called for the worship of the Sun in high places, as high as the priests dared to go to pray to their god at the *summit*. From *Sam* and *Samen* the Roman form became *Summus*, and *Hercules Summanus* was entered in the calendar. The religious significance of the term is lost, but the word *summit* is left, without reference to its elder brother *Syria* or its father *Sam*. In every country the priesthood preserved the genealogies of the divinities and the terms used in the worship. They provided for the feasts, festivals and fasts. They were consecrated to the profession for life, and to divulge the secrets or mysteries was a hainous crime. The punishment of *Tantalus* was not for divulging secrets of the gods, but for giving away secrets of the priesthood. Not only were the priests themselves bound by oath to keep sacred what was committed to them, but the other classes held it to be sacrilege for the initiated to betray their trust.

323 The Eleusinian mysteries were carried from Phœnicia to

Greece by Cadmus about 1550 B.C., or by some one else soon after that date. They were maintained in Greece with very little change until 396 A.D., when they were suppressed by Al'aric and his Skythian hordes.

143 324 What the mysteries were is not exactly known, but it appears that they preserved the traditions of the travels and accomplishments of Dionusos, a hero-god, synonymous with
 212 Apollo, Osiris, Bacchus, Abelion, Orpheus and many other names
 278 of the Sun god; that is, all these names were given at different
 448 times and places to the same individual, or had some connection
 136 with the Aryan swastika, or referred to the Sun himself. Dionusos is said to have marched over Asia from India, where he was born, to Greece, and to have been accompanied by an army. He was not a warrior, but wherever he went he instituted the cultivation of the soil and built cities. He was specially the friend of the vine and the winepress. Instead of military drill his followers were used to music and dancing, and were honored with the presence of Pan and other rural gods. In Arabia and Egypt he wrought a great change in the barbarous customs of the people. In each country which he visited he left lasting memories of his munificence and good nature. As the countries and peoples varied, however, as well as their languages, his work was not uniform, hence the ideas and customs that resulted were not the same, but there was so great similarity that when scholars collected the data in after times they traced the course of the hero and wrote his history, retaining all the names. Such is the story in the Greek classics.

325 Osi'ris was persecuted and saved his life by flight in an ark. The accounts are so nearly like the tradition of Noah and the flood in Genesis that many scholars have thought that there was one origin for both traditions. There is good reason for believing that the story of creation in Genesis was a part of the mysteries of the orders, and was not in those times known to the uninitiated, but when Egypt and western Asia were made Roman the orders became extinct and their writings came into the possession of priests and scholars not bound by the former ties of
 527 brotherhood and secrecy. Iosepos says as much.

326 In Greece these mysteries typified the planting of grain in spring and the harvest in autumn. The exercises in spring were called the lesser and those in autumn the greater mysteries.

The grain was buried in the ground in spring and typified death: the exercises then were rather mournful, and short, consisting in sacrifices and prayer for the resurrection of the buried. In the fall the preparations were gorgeous and the exercises imposing. Nine days were given up to the festival, and wine and good cheer were free. There were processions from Elis to Athens, along the seashore, over mountains and through groves. At night the torches in the woods, with the frolic and singing, made the Greek festival memorable. In the theater there were plays and sacred pantomimes, with choruses and music. 123

327 Everything in the ancient habits and life had a religious aspect: nothing seems to have been secular. The theater was sacred: the state provided the means for its erection and maintenance and the priests and their assistants, and what would in our time be called Sunday-schools, took charge of the representations and were the actors. The plays commemorated events of mythology and were as sacred as any other feature of the worship. In the degenerate days of Athens the theater was a curse, but in the earlier times it was a blessing: good and evil are not inherent in anything; their theater was what the patronage of the Greeks made it.

328 In Egypt the symbols and ceremonies, as well as jurisdiction and offices of the priesthood, were more complicated, and yet more systematic and orderly. There were twelve gods of the first class: these gave their names to the twelve signs of the zodiac. The second class gave their names to the hours. There is a want of agreement as to the number of gods in this class. If there were only seven or eight the names would not denote the same hours on different days. The day was divided into twelve hours, and with fewer or more names there would be endless confusion. A third class of gods numbered only seven. Besides these principal gods there was a host of others to be remembered and looked after. Every plant, star and object, animate or inanimate, had its peculiar guardian spirit or tutelary genius. The heavens were divided into two sections, one ruled by a god of light and purity, the other by a demon of darkness and evil. There were six orders of demons, inferior to the great gods, but so nimble and quick that they could do their evil work in spite of their superiors and betters. These things were largely known to the uninitiated, but the priests retained the true knowledge and interpreted signs and omens as occasion required. 242
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329 The Egyptians had a story of creation, but it was over-
 shadowed by their belief in a continuity of existence. They
 123 believed that all souls of living men had before inhabited bodies
 145 on the earth; that at death the souls returned to the regions of
 bliss and remained there some ten thousand years, when they
 157 might return to earth and be reincarnated. But they also be-
 lieved that the same soul might be incarnated in an animal or
 insect, hence regarded all animate existence as possessed of soul.
 This belief caused them to be very careful in the slaughtering of
 animals for food: if the animal was not killed in the prescribed
 way a sin was committed and to eat the flesh was sinful.

Take up any book on Egyptian mythology and customs and
 you will find a story different from this. I can not help it. The
 248 Egyptians could not keep to one system for ten thousand years,
 nor could they be always alike in all parts of Egypt. There
 were several changes of race, so that it is remarkable that any-
 thing survived from the first dynasty to the time of the Greeks.
 I have tried to be with the best authorities as far as I go. The
 differences in authors is often due to the choice of matter: there
 is so much to be found that one book will not contain it, but the
 writer may cull out what he wants.

330 The story of Osiris and Isis is more complete in Egypt
 222 than in other countries. Man having fallen in sin by violating
 the laws of the gods, disease was visited upon him as a punish-
 ment. When the earth was filled with disease (sin) and violence
 283 Osiris and Isis were sent to be born as man and woman, be the
 saviors, and redeem the fallen race. They of course appeared in
 Egypt, the land favored of the gods. Osiris taught man the use
 of tools, principally in agriculture. Typhon (Night), the envious
 brother of Osiris (Day), sought to destroy him. He defeated
 Osiris and cut his body into many pieces. Isis gathered the
 121 pieces and restored her spouse. With the help of Anu'bis and
 Orus, daughter and son of Osiris and Isis, Osiris was rescued
 and placed in a vessel or ark and he went on his travels over
 Asia, to return when Typhon's power waned. Osiris was the
 same as Dionusos and Jupiter and others. Osiris was the Sun
 and Isis the Moon. This idea of a savior or a new manifestation
 of the gods in the flesh was also entertained by the Aryan Hin-
 93 doos, and in a more indefinite manner by the Chinese, in fact by
 866 all the ancients. The Egyptian idea seems to have been that
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each generation—taken in the wide sense of the return of souls after the interregnum of about ten thousand years—was to have a new savior or divine manifestation. There is, however, nothing to show that a savior or divine manifestation was ever honored as more than man during his mortal life: the name and memory survived and grew in men's minds after the real man had been forgotten.

331 The priesthood in Egypt were of a separate class, even a separate race. Their duties were to keep the sacred mysteries, teach the popular theology (which was a system distinct from their own beliefs and practices), and perform the duties of the temple. They exercised legislative and judicial power, and advised the king. They sometimes furnished from among their number a successor on the throne when there was a vacancy and no direct heir. They prescribed rules for the training and education of the children of the king, and also for the guidance of the king himself, both in his official and domestic affairs, even to the appointment of the times when it was proper for him to eat, drink, walk and bathe. 801

The priesthood was hereditary, and all temple property also. Their dress and manner of living were prescribed by strict rules, reaching and directing every act of their lives. The priest must shave his head weekly, sometimes daily, except when in mourning for the king or a member of the royal family. He dressed in white linen or cotton, with reed shoes, and bathed every day and every night. His diet was strictly prepared, avoiding pork and all other articles known to be indigestible: to be sick or feeble was to be unclean or sinful: he must be healthy. The priests and the king were allowed wine on certain occasions.

332 The duties of the priesthood were various. The prophets directed the temple services, and had charge of the revenue of the kingdom. The stolist placed the mark of the sacred order on all things set apart for sacrifice. The scribes kept the sacred archives, wrote the current history of the kingdom, and were instructors in the arts and sciences; astrology was a part of their duties, or rather some of the scribes were the astrologers and wrote the current events of the heavens as well as of Egypt. The musicians wrote and arranged the sacred chants and led all processions. The physicians made the healing art a life study, and there is no doubt that they were very successful in their treatments. 100

The priesthood sought to keep mysterious and secret the arts and sciences, for by their knowledge and art they maintained their superiority over the other classes. The excuse offered by them for this monopoly was that the generality of mankind are too ignorant and indifferent, not to say supercilious, to understand the whole truth, therefore it was necessary to present it in parables and symbols. The result was, of course, that the people
 185 mistook the symbols for the truth that was behind them, and never knew of a hidden meaning. A sphinx, an obelisk or a sacred bull was to them a real god. Their adoration or worship did not go beyond the material representation. The priests also wrote their own history in language and characters different from those in common use. These are the hieroglyphics now being unciphered and translated.

333 The great advantages and responsibilities this condition
 801 of affairs threw upon the priestly class stimulated them to great care in keeping concealed the precious mysteries. The first requisites therefore for a candidate for the mysteries (for though all the priestly caste was included in the "living" afforded by the revenues, yet only the chosen ones were admitted to the mysteries, the rest having honorable employment but being inferior in office) were a mind well stored and broadened with knowledge and sufficiently cultivated and enlightened to value the lessons taught, and that his inclinations should be toward a pure and ethic life, as well as useful. To impress the importance and sacredness of the mysteries on the mind and character of the candidate, there was required a fearful and solemn oath of secrecy and silence before initiation. The nature of the initiation is now largely known, and may be found in many works on Egyptian life and customs. On rare occasions, when a foreigner of note was initiated, the tragedy of Osiris was enacted, with gorgeous pageantry and public festivals. The Egyptians could be lavish as well as elaborate, and when there was no trouble from abroad they were orderly.

334 What effect has food upon the character of a people?
 73 Will one people be ambitious and progressive on one kind of bread and another people slothful and backward on another kind? If so, has the food anything to do with this difference in character? I know that many of the scientists have laughed at the idea that food determines character. But I am persuaded

that the diet of a people is a very telling factor. The people of eastern Asia have for centuries been addicted to a weak vegetable diet, with very little animal food and scarcely any wine or other alcoholic stimulant. Not only have they used a vegetable diet, but that diet has consisted almost exclusively of one cereal, rice. The eastern Asians are proverbially indolent and dreamy. They are philosophers and are given to homiletics, but they are content and conservative; they are not energetic.

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In Mesopotamia wheat was found in the wild state, the only place on the globe where it is known to grow indigenously. When the migrants from the east came here and found and cultivated wheat the greater strength of body and mind it imparted at once gave new force to its cultivators. Wheat is immensely superior to rice as a food, and the civilizations of western Asia were stronger in proportion.

The Egyptians had all things their valley would grow, with wheat as the principal grain. The Phœnicians had all the cereals known in Asia and Egypt: they grew in their limited fields the garden truck; the cereals they mostly imported. They grew cane and made a fair quality of sugar which they found to be a good article of commerce as well as diet at home. The Egyptians, then, had the best vegetable food, with some animal food, and the Phœnicians not only the best of everything but the greatest variety.

335 In the matter of government, too, the Egyptians were usually fortunate. In other countries scant crops or entire failures often resulted in disorders, for, as Josephos says, the administration is always blamed with every calamity, whether the fault of governors or the failure of nature. But in Egypt there was seldom a failure, or even a short crop. With diligence and not hard labor the agricultural class could raise enough every season for all the people, so that the other classes could be well fed without danger of leaving the working classes to go hungry. This happy condition relieved the priestly class and the army from the danger of riot. It also made it possible for the ruling classes to undertake vast enterprises for improving the land and erecting massive monuments.

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336 When Pythag'oras visited Egypt he found only tradition and fable connected with the pyramids and other architectural and astronomic wonders. But before I say further of his visit to

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Egypt (about 582 B.C.) I will give what is known of the parentage and early life of this great man.

337 The father of Puthagoras was Mnesarchos, a merchant of Phœnicia, who had emigrated to the Grecian island of Samos. Being himself well educated and possessed of the Phœnician habit of cultivating knowledge and friendships for practical rather than for purely sentimental and religious ends, he procured for his son the advantages afforded among the Greeks and then, at eighteen, when he had already attained the prize for wrestling at the Olympic games, as well as great credit as a scholar, Pythagoras was furnished with the necessary means and sent to Egypt, and afterward to Babylonia, the Mesopotamia and India, that he might become acquainted with the wise men of the east and be prepared for a useful life.

338 Pythagoras had been taught astronomy, geometry, music and poetry as well as these branches could be taught in Greece, so that when he was favorably introduced to the Egyptian priesthood he was accepted and initiated into the mysteries of the order and given every opportunity for acquiring their science and art. Being then a fellow with the greatest order in the world, he probably had little trouble in gaining the confidence of the Asiatic orders. What a fund of old knowledge he must have acquired! His native genius, too, was capable of improving his acquisitions. It was he who discovered that "the three angles of a triangle are together equal to two right angles, and that in any right-angled triangle the square formed on the hypotenuse is equal to the sum of the squares formed on the two sides. This is the famous forty-seventh problem of Euclid." This geometric knowledge was locked up in the Great Pyramid, had been forgotten, and had to be discovered a-new. According to his ideas of astronomy, the sun was the center of the universe, and all the planets moved in an elliptical order around it. This was incomprehensible to the Greek sophists of the time and they jeered him for being gullible.

339 On his return to Samos he found the island in the power of the tyrant Polycrates, and did not remain long at the old home. He went to Olympia, and then to Elis, in Sparta. During this stay in Greece he originated the term philosopher. The scholars of Greece called themselves sophists, wise men, but Pythagoras called himself a philosopher, a lover of wisdom.

While a man is acquiring wisdom he is a lover of wisdom; it is the desire for wisdom that induces him to study and contemplation. When he has acquired wisdom he may be a sophist, but in any case it smacks of arrogance for a man to call himself wise, since wisdom can scarcely be said to be a possession. A wise man will ever study and observe, that he may be able to solve problems. When he quits learning his faculties wane and he begins to lose his knowledge. The Greek sophists restricted themselves to theoretic reasoning, ignoring every means of demonstration in the world of practice. Theirs was not the practical knowledge and skill required to construct buildings or sail vessels, but abstruse operations of the mind entirely divorced from work, which was slavish and degrading.

340 When Pythagoras was forty years of age, about 560 B.C., he went to Croto'na, in Magna Græcia, Italy. Here he founded what has been called a new sect of thinkers, but in fact it was both in theory and in practice a masonic order, as the order was known in western Europe in mediæval times. He taught astronomy, mathematics and architecture, probably including practical masonry, and all the other varied branches of learning which he had brought from the east. He had an exalted idea of human possibilities and responsibilities, and undertook to introduce in the extreme west the best science and art of the east. He boldly attacked the wild and natural habits of the people in the Italian colony as well as the fads and frivolities of the Greeks, and exacted the most rigid discipline from his followers. He taught the transmigration of souls, as believed in India; also the other Indian belief, that all flesh is sacred in the same way as the human; hence he allowed no flesh to his disciples.

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341 Pythagoras thus brought to the west the science and art of the east, but in doing this he made the mistake often made by sensitive and enthusiastic men: he became exclusive and pretentious and incited hatred toward himself and his followers. The rapid advancement of his disciples in all the higher walks of life begot a fear in the minds of those that followed the old ways that the new order would monopolize all the positions of honor and profit in the Greek world, and this ill feeling broke out almost without warning into a persecution. Most of the Pythagoreans were assassinated, and it is supposed that Pythagoras suffered with the rest; if he survived he was not heard of again. The

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order had become so well founded, however, that it could not be stamped out, though it never had the former publicity. Traces of it are found through all the centuries since, preserving the name of Pythagoras through all the migrations and variations of dialect.

342 Herodotos went down into Egypt more than a hundred years later than Pythagoras, but, being only a Greek, without the practical turn and training of the Phœnician, he learned much less and made no effort to improve upon what he did learn. He left numerous historic accounts of the Egyptians, Babylonians and other peoples, but his superficial observation and readiness to accept wonderful tales of people unknown to the Greeks led
518 him into making many absurd and some positively false assertions. He also spent his later years in Magna Græcia.

343 WHICH of the five elemental objects of the mystic orders
320 predominated in Phœnicia? I can not give conclusive testimony from any particular writing or incident, but the inference from what we know is that the whole fabric of government, industry, religion and society was wefted together in an enlarged order.

344 The first requisite to such organization would be that all
297 members must be free. The Phœnicians were the first to abolish
302 slavery. It was incompatible with their institutions. Not only
762 must each member be on an equality with his fellows—that is, those of his class and degree—but each member of a class must have equal opportunities with those of his class, and the classes must be inter-dependent. Now if one had slaves he would have
485 a great advantage over his fellows and a greater advantage over those of the next lower order. The Phœnicians did not make the common mistake of supposing that slavery was wrong only
486 when brethren or fellow-countrymen were enslaved, but rightly
600 saw that an injury to the meanest barbarian or stranger would react and plague themselves. They bought and sold slaves as other articles of commerce, but they made no slaves. In war the
506 vanquished were usually slaughtered or sold into slavery. The
513 Phœnician merchants bought the prisoners on such occasions, but there was no room for complaint on this score: the fault was with the fighting and slave-holding peoples. When a slave escaped and reached Phœnicia or a Phœnician vessel anywhere his chances for being returned home were very good.

345 In industry and navigation there were masters or overseers. An industry must have a head, a responsible manager who gives out work and apportions wages or profits; he or some other responsible person must make contracts, and buy and sell. There were corporations among the Phœnicians. Either those employed under one management or those in one line of industry were organized into a guild. There were such guilds in Assyria and Babylonia, but they were carried to greater perfection and usefulness among the democratic Phœnicians. Each guild was a working lodge or assembly, and regulated all matters pertaining to the industrial and social needs of its members. There was not much room for jangling: authority was vested in the master and his assistants and they were in turn subject to the lodge in its corporate capacity, while the corporations were amenable to the state, or to the grand officers of the guilds.

346 The priests were restricted to the proper duties of their calling. In Egypt the priesthood ruled the kingdom through the king. In Phœnicia the priests were one factor in the government: they were respected for their calling and had great influence, but they were subject to the united orders of which they were a part. At Tyre was the most magnificent temple, but in each port were a temple and priesthood. The temple was at the water's edge and served as lighthouse and haven for the mariner. Between mariners and priests there was the closest friendship. 23
The priests did more than offer sacrifices, chant hymns and pray: they kept themselves informed and assisted the mariners in various ways. They were a necessity to Phœnician navigators. The great temple at Ephesus was built at the water's edge, so that 163
vessels could land at its portals. All the maritime powers contributed to its edification, though the Phœnicians were the prime 801
movers.

347 The government was thus under the control of guilds of merchants, artisans, navigators and priests. These guilds had a direct bearing upon the administrators of the government. The king may or may not have been the head of the guilds in their collective capacity and subject to their decrees in council, but we may be sure that whether he was or not he usually heeded their memorials and requests. It is evident that there was not much despotism. If there had been there would have been open rebellion. Authority being definitely understood, there was harmony.

There were of course differences and disputes to be settled, but
 19 rights and duties were so well defined, and the manner of ascer-
 taining them, that the people were not liable to break out into
 violent disorder. When Alexander made his demands upon
 303 Tyre the leading citizens replied that they could not comply with
 748 them because the king was away and they could do nothing
 without him. Rather than act for him they resisted and allowed
 their city to be besieged. Some centuries before this time Tyre
 had tried oligarchic government, and it had resulted disastrously.
 The Tyrians wanted to know where responsibility rested, and to
 obey those who administered authority or depose them.

196 348 An oligarchy is a government by a few. This is the very
 759 worst and most fallible kind of government. To illustrate: If
 one man means to be bad, but is alone in his undertakings, he
 will have only his own counsel and energies to aid him; but if
 544 several men are in the same condition and mean to be bad, then
 each has the counsel of all and all will unite their energies to do
 evil. If one man means to do well, and has only his own counsel
 and energies to direct him in the execution of his projects he will
 not be likely to undertake too much, but to accomplish what he
 470 does undertake; but if several together mean to do well there will
 be a diversity of counsel and much time and effort will be wasted
 in coming to an agreement, with a great likelihood that too much
 or too little will be done. The worst feature of an oligarchy,
 however, is the difficulty of breaking it down. When a small
 class gain the administration of the government they can perpet-
 uate themselves. It is much easier to change from oligarchy to
 monarchy or tyranny than to democracy.

In a republic the people do not make laws or enforce them,
 but they choose representatives or agents to perform the func-
 tions of government. In large countries, where it is not practi-
 cable to submit all matters to the people or grant appeal to them,
 this may be a convenient method of restraining the shrewd and
 scheming classes that would, directly or indirectly, enslave the
 masses of the people, or a large part of them. Representative
 government has been tried by many peoples and in all parts of
 791 the world, with various success. It depends upon the virtue,
 intelligence, watchfulness and discrimination of the people.

A democracy is the best form of government, the only just
 and equitable one. The evil of an oligarchy is that a few lay

burdens upon the many for the benefit of the few. In a true democracy this can not be done. The whole people have to bear the burdens, and what they ordain will be for their benefit. Government directly by the people is adapted to small countries, small in territory, or to local governments in countries where other forms of government prevail. It has always been held by the aristocracy that the people were not capable of self-government; that if all laws and important matters had to be submitted to them for approval before taking effect the people would be so selfish and fickle that they would not permit any to obtain or enjoy wealth or honor; that all the people would be brought to a mediocre level and then decay would ensue, and so forth. Democracy has had few trials. The dark ages succeeded republics and oligarchies.

Whatever the form of government, the important thing is that there be a way of ascertaining readily and accurately the sentiments and wishes of the people. The people may be highly educated and intelligent, opinion may be freely and vigorously expressed by the people individually, but if there is not a systematic and regular way of ascertaining the weight of opinion and recording it the constituted authorities may defy it. We find in all kinds of government where the people are dependent upon rulers, whether exercising authority as monarchs or despots or as representatives chosen by the people for a term of months or years, where there is no organization of the people with the means for expressing wishes and enforcing them, that the people are helpless and their complaints only make the administrators of public affairs more set in their purpose to act in their own interest or on their own whims. The Phœnicians were heard through their industrial and social organization. If the Tyrians had made conquests and extended their political system they could not have maintained self-government at home.

349 The temples were rich in wealth acquired from votive offerings. The people were prosperous, and, believing that their gods were good to them, watching over them in their voyages, in their undertakings and daily life, they made rich gifts to the temples in addition to the tithes and ordinary fees to the priests. Of course they could not have given a reason for this hoarding of treasure, but they were not alone in doing a thing for which no good reason could be assigned. There was no regular way

for this treasure to be used, yet it was piled up, and somehow the people imagined that the gods were grateful for this show of good will toward them. Piety is natural to humanity, and defies analysis.

350 The Jewish prophets were so adept in predictions that they wrote history for the future as well as for the past. They had few tense forms for verbs and were careless in using them. This made easier work than looking up information and assuring themselves of facts, or waiting for events, though of course they sometimes made mistakes, if the modern texts are true copies and the translations faithful. Ezekiel is an instance. When 297 Nebuchadrezzar was making forays into Syria the prophet wrote some three chapters of denunciations against Tyre, several times saying that Tyre should be utterly destroyed, should be no more, 373 should be a hissing and a byword among the merchants of the earth, and other things as bad. Jehovah was going to have Nebuchadrezzar act as his destroying angel and do these avenging acts, because Tyre had become wealthy from trade and navigation. Nebuchadrezzar did do a great deal of damage to Tyre, and Alexander almost completed the destruction, selling nearly all of the survivors into slavery. He also founded the rival city of Alexandria, Egypt, to do the trading of the eastern world. The Romans likewise injured Tyre and encouraged Alexandria. Yet Strabo, about the beginning of the Christian Era, reported that Tyre was a flourishing manufacturing and trading city. Then Jesus himself, as reported, uttered predictions against the merchant city, but it still lived, and when it became a Christian city its trade went on prospering. The Mohammedans came and conquered it, and its prosperity continued. The Christian Crusaders took it back in 1144, and it was still a flourishing manufacturing center. All these vicissitudes had not been sufficient to destroy the descendants of the Tyrian Herakles or their energy and enterprise: they still pursued the policy of giving value for value and taught the lesson that industry and honesty are more stable than glory in war or fanaticism in religion. 166 Babylon had fallen; Nineveh had ruled and ruined the commercial world and been blotted out; Carthage, built by ambitious 769 aristocrats who could not endure the meddling of the lower orders of Tyre, had brought upon herself merited destruction; Jerusalem had fallen; Greece had risen, fought and decayed;

Egypt had had all kinds of experience and been a prize for all ¹⁴²
the conquerors; Rome had ruled the world and been shattered
to pieces in darkness and misery; the new world in the west had
been for centuries in the throes of death with scarcely a ray of
hope. Through all these changes and trials Tyre held on until
1291 A.D., when the sultan of Egypt and Damascus took the
neighboring ports and the certainty of extermination induced the
Christians of Tyre to embark in their vessels and abandon their
city to the most degenerate of the Mohammedans. The hatred
was so strong between Moslem and Christian that a commercial
people could not exist at Tyre. If Tyre had been in contention
between two factions or nationalities of Christians or of Moham-
medans it might have fared as badly. Religious fanaticism and
the war spirit had reached such a state that there was no place ¹¹⁷
or way of safety.

The title "Eternal City" has been given to fighting Rome. It ²³
belongs to trading Tyre, the city that stood from 2700 B.C. to ²⁶²
1300 A.D., or at least 4,000 years, a monument now, though in ⁸⁷³
ruins, to peace and order.

THE ISRAELITES.

351 WE LEARN from Genesis xi. that descendants of Shem journeyed from the east to the land of Shinar, and there stopped and built a tower of brick and slime, and that the gods came down and confounded their language and caused them to separate. The location of Shinar will never be ascertained. It was east of the valley of the Tigris, or between the two rivers, or meant all of the plains watered by them. The best scholars seem to think it meant southern Babylonia, near or on the gulf, but
284 some modern writers are open to the charge against the classic Greeks, of contracting geographic history and names into a small territory. These writers locate the garden of Eden and the land of Shinar in the same neighborhood. I call particular attention
224 to the statement of Gen. xi. 2, "They journeyed from the east and found a plain in the land of Shinar." How far east? There the vail is drawn, but they came from the east and were bound for the west. Probably the original legend contained a geographic designation which has been dropped and only the general direction retained.

Some generations later Terah, with his family, including his son Abram, made another move to the westward. He started for Canaan, but stopped at Haran, a place not quite satisfactorily ascertained by moderns. For my purposes it is not necessary to establish the location: Terah was going to the new west.

Josephus says that Abram, in Chaldæa (Mesopotamia), began to teach heresy. An innumerable race of gods were recognized and worshiped at that time, and when Abram asserted and taught
728 that there was only one god, or that the authority of the gods was exercised as a unit of power or intelligence, there was an outcry against him. Abram did not deny the existence of a host of gods, but he contended that their authority was centered in

one mind or executive. He reasoned that if there were many sources of divine power and authority there would be confusion; that while one might order the sun to move from east to west 278 another might order it to move from north to south, and other 120 natural phenomena would in like manner be subject to the whims of individual deities. For teaching this logical heresy Abram was banished, or escaped to save his life, and with Sarai, his sister and wife, went to Damascus, where he was made king, or usurped the kingdom, for Damascus was already a city and probably had 518 a history among the archaic inhabitants. Filled with the spirit of adventure, Abram left Damascus and moved into Canaan, into that part afterward called Idumæa and Edom. During a drouth 520 he went down into Egypt for supplies, and was initiated into the 276 Egyptian priesthood and exchanged notions about the gods and the universe. If the story of his former heresy is true he must have returned to the prevailing beliefs: the Egyptian priesthood would scarcely have admitted to fraternity a man of a peculiar 372 faith. There is not much probability in the stories of his beliefs: there are many myths yet current in Arabia, and most of them are of other characters or corrupted by transmission. That there was such a Semitic pioneer and that the history is in the main correct is as certain as anything related of those ancient times. He returned to Canaan and there ended his days. He 375 was according to Jewish tradition and history the beginning of the race of the Israelites.

352 Isaac was the favorite son and successor of Abraham in the patrimony, though the family was numerous and scattered. Isaac had two sons, Esau and Jacob. Esau was the favorite with the father, but Jacob was the favorite with the mother. When Isaac was old and ready to bless Esau and make him heir and patriarch, Rebek'ah, the mother, helped Jacob to deceive the blind old father and obtain the blessing. Jacob became thus the 488 accredited descendant of Abraham and Terah. The son who obtained the blessing was the head of the Israelites, but other 402 sons of force of character became chiefs and renowned ancestors of other tribes in Canaan: had other totems and insignia. Esau lost the right to the totem of the tribe of Israel, but he originated another, as Terah had done, and his descendants were the Edomites or Idumæans. Remains of the old totems yet found show 287 that they were similar to some found in both Americas, in the Pacific islands, in Africa and in many parts of Asia.

353 Rebekah sent Jacob into Mesopotamia to marry a cousin, Rebekah's brother's daughter. On the way, while he was sleeping on the ground, his head on a pillow of rocks, a god appeared
 519 to him in a dream and said to him: "O Jacob, hope for better times, for by my assistance thou shalt have great abundance of all good things; for I brought Abraham hither out of Mesopotamia, when he was driven away by his kinsmen. I made thy father a happy (fortunate) man, and I will not bestow less on thyself. The marriage thou goest about shall be consummated, and thou shalt have children innumerable, to whose posterity I
 128 give the dominion of all the land, and their posterity shall fill
 369 (spread over) the entire earth and sea, as far as the sun beholds them. Do not fear any danger, for I will direct thee what thou art to do in the time present, and still much more in the time to come. Jacob went his way into Mesopotamia, and made a contract to serve Laban seven years for his daughter Rachel. At
 213 the end of the seven years Laban gave to Jacob his daughter
 430 Leah instead. Jacob was not satisfied, and Laban promised Rachel at the end of other seven years of service, and for the sake of peace in the family gave her to him the next week and trusted Jacob to fulfill the contract. Jacob served the second term and earned the younger daughter, with whom he had first fallen in love; with each getting a maid, so that he had four women with whom to begin a family. There was rivalry between Leah and Rachel, and each preferred her maid, hoping to be the mother of Jacob's favorite son.

354 Jacob stayed six years in Mesopotamia after earning his second wife, making twenty years in all. Then he and his wives and concubines and children, with their effects and household gods, slipped away and started for Canaan. Laban overtook them and made a search, especially for the stolen gods, but, not finding them, and not thinking it safe to risk an engagement, he
 383 permitted the fugitives to go on their way. Rachel had these gods, or teraphim. She wanted them, and deceived her father.

355 Jacob had twelve sons. By Lea: Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar and Zebulun. By Zilpah, Lea's maid: Gad and Asher. By Bilhah, Rachel's maid: Dan and Naphtali. By Rachel: Joseph and Benjamin. These twelve men were the fathers of all Israel, and Jacob was their father, so Jacob was the
 375 ancestor of all the race. The mothers—no account was taken



of them; they were just women, taken from every tribe and from captives in war, and herded in corrals. When these pioneers moved west they carried with them the worst features of the customs prevailing in Babylonia and Mesopotamia. Probably no individual was in fault, for the whole race had grown into these ways and knew not of a better. We should be careful to know all these conditions before drawing conclusions or praising one person and condemning another.

356 Jacob had the ordinary love that a man with four wives and some servants would have for a big family of boys (there was only one girl, Dinah), but for Joseph and Benjamin he had a tender regard, both because they were sons of his first love and because they were his youngest. This partiality for the younger sons made trouble, and Joseph made matters worse by telling his father of the peccadillos of his brethren. In spite they sold him to some traveling peddlers who took him to Egypt, where he became chief waiter to a favorite of the king. After some time and some severe trials he became a favorite with the king by interpreting a royal dream to mean that there would be seven years of great plenty and then seven years of drouth and failure of crops. The king appointed Joseph chief officer to buy all the surplus grain and save it against the day of famine. Joseph built many granaries and performed his task so well that when the famine came he had grain to sell. Many lessons have been drawn from this legend. To me it means that no people alone have the favor of Heaven. The Egyptian king had a dream, and could not recall it. The Egyptian priests could not get it for him, but this slave was given perception, related the dream, and solved it.

357 The famine found Jacob (now called Israel) ill prepared, and he sent ten of his sons into Egypt to buy grain. He kept Benjamin, fearing that evil might happen him. Joseph sold grain to his brethren, who did not recognize him, played some tricks upon them, and then kept one of them as hostage and demanded that Benjamin come with them next time, when he would let all of them go back to their country. Israel did not like to let Benjamin go, but he must have grain. When Joseph had tried the ten to see that they were sorry for selling him to be a slave he declared himself to them. There was joy all around and the ten went back to Canaan to bring their father and all the

tribe to Egypt. Jacob's wives, children and grandchildren were forty-seven, in eight families; his concubines' children and grandchildren were twenty-three, in four families. These numbers include the wives of the sons, taken in the family and from many of the neighboring tribes, but not Israel himself, so that besides
491 Israel (his wives being dead) seventy persons went in the Israelite colony to Egypt.

358 FOR SOME GENERATIONS the Israelites were treated well in Egypt, but these were times of conquest. The changes brought new Semitic masters, then the real Egyptians rallied, and the Israelites were reduced to a state of servitude. They did not become citizens, were not merged into the several classes into which the Egyptians were divided, but remained separate. At first their presence was known to few, but when they had grown
372 to 600,000 men of military age, and spread out, the industrial classes were seriously hampered. It was a question which race should occupy the land, and all of it, and the Egyptians were not willing to surrender the land to the immigrants whom they had hospitably received.

359 Moses took command of the Egyptian army and drove
253 back the Ethiopians at a time when they were about to conquer Egypt, but the Egyptians became more afraid of him and his people. The contest was between Shemites and Hamites in Egypt, and both had to defend against the Ethiopians. The feeling was so strong against Moses that he fled out of Egypt and
376 went to Midian, where he took service as shepherd of the flocks of Jethro, the chief of the tribe, and married his daughter. Moses
305 led his flocks out to the base of Mount Sinai, the highest mountain in those parts. He had been warned not to ascend the mountain, as there was an oracle at the top and people had often heard the voice of a god. But Moses was more inquisitive than afraid and drove his flock up the mountain, when he was told by a voice to return to Egypt and lead his people out of bondage. He protested that it was much too big an undertaking for him, but the oracle promised help in all difficult matters and would
519 not take any excuse. Moses drove his flocks back to Jethro, got his consent to the project, and with his family set out for Egypt.

360 When Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt he went
217 through the Red Sea, in which the Egyptian army was drowned

while incautiously pursuing them. Moses had learned all the ways of this treacherous body of water and the dangers of its marshes, and the Egyptians were led into a place from which they could not escape before the rise of the tide. Then some of the Israelites wanted to return and possess Egypt, now that the Egyptian army was destroyed, but the command to Moses had been to bring the Israelites out of Egypt, and he made directly for Mount Sinai, in order to consult the oracle as to further movements. At the end of thirty days the supply of food and water was exhausted. Moses had his hands full trying to satisfy or pacify six hundred thousand men and their women and children in a desert country, but the oracle had promised that they should be preserved. One difficulty was not overcome before another arose. While the people were murmuring and threatening to kill Moses and return to Egypt, the neighboring tribes, under the leadership of the Amalekites, assembled and undertook to drive away this horde of vagabonds or fugitive slaves, as they called the Israelites. The Israelites had only the few arms they had secured when the Egyptians were drowned, but Moses exhorted them to fight desperately against these people who were about to attack them in their misery, when they had no country, saying that it was the will of the gods that the Amalekites should be utterly destroyed. The battle lasted all day, and the Amalekites suffered great slaughter, while the Israelites lost not a man. Early in the fray Moses raised his hands toward heaven for help, and it was seen that while his hands were uplifted his men had easy work, but when his arms were tired and he rested them the Amalekites stood their ground. Then those around him supported his arms for several hours, until the Israelites had won a complete victory. They gained a country and a great quantity of war material and much food and clothing.

361 There had been no sort of government for the people, but now Moses was not able to hear all the complaints and decide all the disputes, so he appointed men to rule over tens, fifties, hundreds and thousands, reserving to himself the great causes and difficult questions. There is a misunderstanding in some quarters as to the manner of choosing these judges. Moses appointed all of them: the people may have been consulted in some cases, or on complaint he may have changed some, but Moses exercised dictatorial authority, in the name of the oracle.

362 When Moses reached Sinai he at once ascended the
 mount and consulted with the oracle. The voice told Moses
 63 that the god whom he had obeyed was Iaveh, and commanded
 him to inform the people that they were to come near the mount
 and hear his voice, but if one touched the mount he should die.
 When all were ready, and Moses and his brother Aaron only in
 138 the mount, amid thunder and lightnings the voice came loud
 enough for all the people to hear, and the Ten Commandments
 were delivered orally. The people were affrighted and requested
 Moses to intercede with the god and restrain him from speaking
 to them directly. Iaveh consented, and Moses obtained the
 laws and ordinances and delivered them to the people. Then
 went up Moses, Aaron, Nadab and Abi'hu and seventy others of
 the nobility, and they all saw Iaveh, and did eat and drink.
 (Ex. xxiv. 9-11.)

363 Among all the peoples of the world at that time at all
 civilized from eight to sixteen principal gods were recognized,
 and there was little rivalry among the gods or among the peoples
 on their account. But the Israelites were told by Iaveh, or by
 Moses, to be separate and peculiar in the extreme. The oracle
 390 said, "Thou shalt not suffer a pythoness (clairvoyant) to live."
 416 These pythonesses were priestesses who communed with the
 gods. If they were permitted to receive messages from other
 542 gods there would be confusion: if only Iaveh was consulted there
 742 would be harmony. Moses wanted harmony: the way to have it
 502 was to make the people dependent upon him and his god. "He
 390 that sacrificeth unto any god, save unto Iaveh only, shall be
 123 utterly destroyed." The promise to them was: "If ye will
 467 obey my voice in deed, and will keep my covenant, then ye shall
 779 be a peculiar treasure unto me above all people. Ye shall be
 501 unto me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation." They had not
 yet a country sufficient for their maintenance, but they were
 promised: "I send an angel before thee to keep thee in the way,
 128 and to bring thee into the place which I have prepared. If thou
 shalt obey his voice and do all that I speak, then I will be an
 enemy unto thine enemies, and an adversary unto thine adversa-
 ries. For mine angel shall go before thee and bring thee in unto
 the Amorites, and the Hittites, and the Perizzites, and the Cana-
 nites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites; and I will cut them
 off. I will send my fear before thee, and will destroy all the

people to whom thou shalt come. I will not drive them out from before thee in one year, lest the land become desolate, and the beast of the forest multiply against thee. By little and little I will drive them out from before thee, until thou be increased and inherit the land. I will set thy bounds from the Red Sea to the sea of the Philistines, and from the desert unto the river (Jordan). I will deliver the inhabitants into your hand. Thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor with their gods. They shall not dwell in thy land, lest they make thee sin against me." Iavé had evidently gained some prestige in heaven, and wanted to be respected by men. He had no respect for other gods and taught his people to have none for other people. It was his plan to have no god but himself and no people but his people: others were not to be converted but destroyed. These people were all related to the Israelites, or had been before the going down into Egypt, but they must now be exterminated to give room to the chosen and peculiar children of Iavé. Supposing the story as related to be good history, what could we think of the justice of the decree? But let us not waste sympathy upon mythology; we have need of it in cases that are authentic. Neither God nor the gods would undertake to destroy one people to make room for another people no better. People may undertake such things on their own motion, and be assisted in their designs, but Providence will not favor the aggressor in any case to the extent ascribed to Iavé.

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364 While Moses was in the mount consulting with the oracle the people urged Aaron, who had been ordained high priest, to make a molten god, that they might worship it and let this man Moses know that they were not subservient to him. Aaron readily consented; and when they brought him their trinkets he cast a golden calf, in imitation of the Egyptian Apis which they had been wont to worship. Then the people came together joyfully and worshiped their god, their own god, made of their precious jewels. When Moses returned from the mountain, where he had remained forty days, he called upon those who were for him to come out and declare themselves. Only the tribe of Levi came out, but he ordered them to go through the camp and slay indiscriminately all the men they met. Three thousand were slaughtered, and Moses pleaded with Iavé to forgive the rest, though he admitted the Israelites were a stiff-necked people.

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365 The oracle told Moses that if he would construct a cabinet or small portable house it would move therein and might be carried about by the Israelites, to be convenient when wanted. This was a new thing for an oracle to do. The most renowned
 749 oracle in the world was that of Jupiter Amun, at an oasis in the
 520 Desert of Sahara, in Libya. It was difficult of access, yet to consult it one must go to it. People went from great distances to
 543 the oracle of Apollo at Delphi, in Greece. These oracles were dignified, rigidly just regardless of race, and were stationary. This oracle of Moses was so anxious to be consulted, had been neglected so long, that it was ready to be housed and carried about by him. Moses had the tabernacle built, and the oracle descended into it. Josephos says: "In the following manner did he come into it: The sky was clear, there being a mist over
 399 the tabernacle only, encompassing it, but not with so very deep and thick a cloud as is seen in the winter season, nor yet so thin a one that men might be able to discern anything through it; but from it there dropped a sweet dew, and such a one as showed the presence of God to those who desired to believe it." Moses could now go into the ark, shut himself from the view of men, and commune with Iaveh, without going away and leaving the people to be corrupted by agitators and innovators, and without employing a pythoness or priest.

322 366 Sinai had always been renowned as the abode of the elohim. In ancient times, and indeed to quite modern times, all mountains were held to be sacred, the pillars supporting heaven;
 436 near their tops were the trap-doors to heaven. When Moses secured the friendship and alliance of one of the elohim' who lived here there were left others, and the neighboring tribes, Israelites as well as others, continued to regard it as the most promising place for finding the gods and consulting them. When the local gods failed them they made a pilgrimage to Sinai. But Iaveh offered himself as the national god of the Israelites, and Moses accepted and made a covenant with him.

367 Although the Levites are represented in Iosephos and the Bible as a distinct tribe, it is said by modern scholars, notably Ernest Rénan, that the Levites were Egyptian followers and were employed in menial services only in connection with the sacrifices and other things pertaining to the worship; that the chief of each tribe was priest for his tribe, and the Levites did not

sacrifice, but kept the altars and accessories and waited on those who sacrificed. This is very probable: we know that among all the ancient peoples in their beginnings the chief of the tribe or family was supreme in everything; that he was both temporal and spiritual head of the family, and the Israelites were more given to this custom than others, and held to it more tenaciously. In every tribe, every family, wherever one man had the government of others, in any degree or capacity, he was the spiritual head, and was extremely jealous of interference in this office, even from a superior. This was the means by which he held sway: to allow another to step between his people and their gods would break the covenant, at least so far as he was concerned.

368 The familiarity between Moses and Iaveh is shown by a speech made soon after leaving Sinai. There had been serious intentions of deposing Moses because he led the Children away from Sinai and the country of the Amalekites. The supplies gave out again and there was great fear of starvation. Moses promised them a plenty of fresh meat in a few days, and added, "Neither Yahveh nor I, although we hear opprobrious language from you, will leave off our labors for you." As soon as he had said this the whole camp was filled with quails, and the hungry Israelites gathered them in great numbers. However, it was not long before Yaveh punished the Hebrews for their insolence to himself and Moses; for no small number of them died of indigestion; they thought they might not get any more food, and eat too much.

369 Toward the end of the forty years that the Israelites were to wander and wait for Iaveh's permission or command to exterminate the Canaanites and take their possessions Moses moved on as far as the Jordan, to be ready to break over when the time was up. In the meantime he destroyed some tribes bordering on Canaan and divided the lands among two and a half tribes of the Israelites. At this time there was concerted a movement on the part of the tribes that were marked for slaughter, to devise ways and means for defense. It was in this crisis that Balaam, a prophet who lived over on the Euphrates, was called upon by the Moabites and the Midianites to come and prophesy for them against Israel. When he consulted his gods he was told that the Israelites were invincible and the Midianites should be quiet in the hope that they might escape: that it would do no good to

resist. The Midianites were not pleased with this answer, and sent to him again. Balaam then made a prophecy that has proved itself. Even if such foresaying was not made at the time, but is not older than the Christian Era, it is still remarkable. It is, however, as authentic as any ancient writing, and there is good reason to believe that it is as old as any part of the Pentateuch, except possibly a part of Genesis. Anybody can prophesy that a government will be destroyed or die out, even that a race will disappear; for all governments must end or be radically changed, and most races become extinct in a few centuries; but to predict
 353 that a race will many times be broken up, and will yet flourish, is not so easy. Balaam tried to make such prophecy as would please his friends the Midianites, but could not, and when he was reproached he said: "It was my prayer that I might not put
 179 any affront upon you, as to what you desired of me; but the
 283 gods are more powerful than my will to serve you; for those that take upon them to foretell the affairs of mankind, as from their
 390 own abilities, are entirely unable to do it, or to forbear to utter
 519 what the elohim suggest to them, or to offer violence to their will: for when they control us and enter into us, nothing that we may do is our own." When Balaam had been entreated and finally ordered away for refusing to prostitute his sacred office
 544 and be a lying prophet (he was not a prophet of Iaveh), he said, not because he wished to, but because he had to say it or lie: "No entire destruction can seize upon the nation of the Hebrews; for the providence of the elohim (or of Yaveh) is concerned to preserve them from misfortune. Some small misfortunes, and those for a short time, whereby they may appear to be brought low, may befall them; but after that they will flourish again, to the terror of those that brought the mischiefs upon them." He also said that "this people shall dwell apart, and shall not be reckoned among the nations." Nobody, not Moses himself, could then grasp the meaning of these prophecies.

370 When the time came for Moses to die he made a long speech, reviewing his forty years of leadership and exhorting his
 212 people to maintain the theocratic form of government and forever
 523 obey his laws. He exhorted them to obey their rulers and the high priest of Iaveh; to build one chief city in the place where
 453 Iaveh should direct and there have one altar and no other any-
 456 where; to maintain an aristocratic form of government, so far as



governors were concerned, but in no case submit to a democracy; 460
 and if they chose a king he should be one of their own people; 451
 not to allow an alien to live in Canaan, but to exterminate the 476
 race of Canaanites, and spare none that worshiped an alien god. 519
 At the same time, knowing how frail is mankind, and how prone 487
 his own people were to be proud and rebellious, he told them
 that they would become rich with the spoils of war, would forget
 his words, and would fall a prey to their enemies; but foretold
 that when their city was destroyed and they were scattered they
 would still be powerful and fill all the earth. Do you believe
 that Moses, Balaam and other prophets really received these
 messages from their gods? or do you believe that they were in
 the universal priesthood and had the history of thousands of
 years and made a guess of the future from the past? I want to
 place in your mind the fact that these remarkable prophecies 350
 were uttered and preserved, and that they were not confined to 649
 any time, race or locality, and leave you to your own opinion.

371 Ex. xxx. 11-16: "And Iavé spake unto Moses, saying,
 When thou countest the children of Israel, then shall they give
 every man a ransom for his soul unto me. This they shall give,
 every one that passeth among them that are numbered, half a
 shekel. Every one from twenty years old and above shall give
 an offering unto me. The rich shall not give more, and the poor 205
 shall not give less than half a shekel. And thou shalt take this
 atonement money, and shalt appoint it for the service of the tab- 525
 ernacle of the congregation, that it may be a memorial unto the
 children of Israel before me, to make an atonement for your 453
 souls." This was the basis of all Mosaic taxes: that "the rich
 should not give more, nor the poor less," but they should pay by 494
 the head, regardless of ability to pay or of benefits received.
 When tithes and first-fruits were collected it was on the same
 principle: poverty was not an excuse: if one could not pay taxes
 and tithes he must be a slave. You may say that the shepherd 581
 who paid a hundred lambs in tithes in a year paid in proportion
 to his increase as did the widow who had but one ewe and paid 489
 its only issue, one lamb. But he did not pay in proportion: he
 still had a good increase, while the widow paid all the increase.

372 IT IS A MOOT QUESTION whether the Israelites at this time
 were at all literate, so we must treat all this as tradition or fable,

yet possessing great value in so far as it shows the customs of the times and the movement westward. South of Arabia there was no highway for travel: the country was hot and arid, and there was interruption by water. Arabia was shut in by water except on the northwest. The migrants from Hindoostan and Beloochistan had to go north around the Persian Gulf, when
 322 they must go west to Egypt or northwest to Chaldæa or Syria. It is evident that the first objective point would be the Mesopotamia. But the migrations of the peoples further north got in
 150 there before Terah and his kind arrived. Some Semitics settled among the Babylonians and scattered along the course of the two rivers, but these Semitics in their former countries had been of settled habits; they had been addicted to industry and trade, while Terah was a shepherd and wandered with his tribe and
 249 flocks, unused to any but tribal government. The Hyksos were most likely of this race of Semitics. They moved into Arabia
 258 and then into Egypt and Palestine. The Phœnicians were of the Shemite race that scattered through the cities of Babylonia and
 352 Assyria. Abraham, then, coming in contact with the Semites in Egypt, and not with the real Egyptians, would not learn much. It is said that Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptian
 519 tians, but there is no other character in the Bible so doubtful as
 358 Moses. Every incident related of him is doubtful. All other important actors have been verified by inscriptions and other remains, but there is no confirmation of Moses. He is so far as now known a myth. If he was a man as related in the Pentateuch, it is not said that he imparted his learning to the Israelites,
 607 or to any one, nor do we read of schools or schoolmasters. The
 151 Shemites in Mesopotamia and in Phœnicia had libraries, and translated to their tongue all the important works extant; they
 520 had grammars and dictionaries; but the Shepherd races had no
 527 taste for letters, and what is related of them is no more than oral tradition, unless it is corroborated by contemporary writings and inscriptions of other peoples. Yet if it could not be verified at all it would still be invaluable to us: we know that it has been
 471 believed by the Jews, and we may by studying it know just what moved them in their long career. This is the object of the true historian: to relate the conditions, the undertakings, the results.

373 It is known within a century or less when the Canaanites arrived in the deserts and in the mountains of Syria. The re-

ords of Egypt give much of the history of Syria in pre-Semitic 258
times. The Egyptians had colonies and cities and exercised 418
suzerainty over the territory at various times, and there are inter-
esting stories of wars and the journeys of viceroys. When the
Shemites appeared the Egyptians were unable to hold their pos- 407
sessions in Asia. Their later accounts, as well as other records,
show that the land was possessed by many tribes, all except the
Philistines speaking nearly the same language. All the Canaan-
ites except the Phœnicians were about on a level as to energy
and ethics. The Phœnicians were almost totally different from
their inland neighbors. But with all their differences and preju-
dices there was never a war between Phœnicians and other Can- 350
aanites, and with few slight exceptions of aggression on the 383
part of some of the tribes of Israel there never was a cause for 404
war. Considering the numerous severe wars in Canaan, the dis-
position to fight for spoils, and the great spoils they would have
had in Phœnicia, or in any of her rich cities, this is one of the
remarkable things in history. We read that the Jewish prophets
foretold dire evils for the Phœnicians, and rejoiced when their
prophecies were sparingly redeemed by soulless conquerors, but
I believe there is not recorded an instance of Jews or Phœnicians
making war against the other or assisting a suzerain to do so.

374 I have said that a man has a natural right to do whatso- 11
ever he wills and is able to do. The Canaanites knew no other 405
rights. It was a man's right to steal or take by violence what- 430
ever he could. There was no recognition of any other authority
but that of might. Of course it is one thing to be and to feel
entirely free from authority and another and quite different thing
to kill and rob at every opportunity. These Canaanites were
shrewd and calculative. One tribe would arm themselves and 490
appear suddenly in the midst of another, usually weaker or not
prepared. Then it was a matter of business: if the attacked
party offered no resistance the visitors took what they wanted,
women included, and returned joyfully to their own land; or they
might take a part or all of the land of the weaker tribe and drive
them out. If the attacking party met any resistance they fought
to exterminate all the males and take their women and effects.
In every case the gods of the tribe were praised in victory and
reviled in defeat or disaster. There was no idea of property
rights. The spoils were the property of the victors as sacredly 158

383 as though they had made or earned them. The vanquished, if they survived, had the right to take it back if they could, or to treat some other tribe in like summary manner. Numbers xxxi. is an account of a raid where resistance was offered.

375 THE FIRST ACCOUNTS at all entitled to be called history relate some of the doings of Gideon. From the indistinguishable mass of immigrants and original inhabitants there begins to appear an affinity among some tribes, and they call themselves Israelites. There is no use to try to trace the name further back than to Gideon, and even here there is not a distinct Israel, but a
352 beginning. The tradition was written long after this time, and
355 after the Jewish character was formed. Earlier tradition may represent the character of the Canaanites as it was, but it is plain from the conditions at the time of Gideon that there had not been an Israel with the history ascribed to it before his time.

359 376 It had been for some years a habit of the Midianites and Arabs to make a raid into Canaan at harvest time and take or destroy everything. The Israelites had become cowed and made no effort to defend themselves. They hid themselves and as much as possible of their stock and grain and suffered the raiders to take all they could find. But Gideon, a young man, son of a chief, determined to resist. He collected a small band and by good tactics routed and destroyed the invaders. He was a hero: his bravery and good judgment won for him the admiration, and also the fear, of his neighbors, and he was made king
383 or judge over several tribes. He exercised this authority well, observing the idiosyncrasies of the Israelites, and lived to a good age. He had many wives, a sign that he was a person of respect and means. At his death an illegitimate son, Abimelech, killed the other seventy sons his brethren and attempted to continue the government, but the chiefs would not submit to one who had not personal prowess to govern them without their consent, and
348 they showed that Abimelech lacked this, for they killed him.

377 Philistia lay on the seacoast south of Phœnicia. The Philistines had the best agricultural lands in Syria; drouths were rare. They had all the advantages and opportunities possessed by the Phœnicians for navigation, but were content to grow grain and domestic animals. Their principal god, Dagon, was part fish, the lower half, showing that they were to some extent

fishermen. The caravan trade of Phœnicia and northern Syria 310
passed through Philistia to the south, and this gave them good 404
markets. In wealth and comforts the Philistines were more for- 418
tunate than their neighbors in Canaan and excited their envy and
cupidity. The legends represent Iaveh as giving the land of
Philistia to the Israelites, but the Philistines would not recognize
the claim, and at no time could the Israelites be said to have
possessed it.

378 That my position here is the correct one is borne out by
the history of each country of Asia and Europe so far as known.
Whatever the condition of the prehistoric races, when the immi-
grants from the east arrived everything was thrown into confu-
sion. In time the tribes became somewhat settled, and then
came the struggle in forming groups and nations, always much
different from the nations the immigrants had left in the east.
The time had now come when there must be organization. It
is only a question of how it shall be done and what it shall be.
There will be strenuous and persistent opposition on all sides,
but it will be overcome: there is going to be organized govern- 261
ment: these various tribes, representing nearly as many origins, 457
must become one, or a few.

379 Whether the Philistines or the Canaanites were first the
aggressors can not be known, but soon after the time of Gideon
there was war. At this time there was little if any distinction
between the Israelites and other Canaanites, and they were not
united against the Philistines. The Philistine cities were inde-
pendent, each governed by a king, much the same as in the
Phœnician cities. Each city had its allotted territory, so that
there was local self-government, with only nominal central power.
The cities had allies among the Canaanites, and the combined
force, with the superior arms of the Philistines, had gained some
advantage, with the chances on their side. Affairs could not
continue as they were. Some tribes must make the beginning
and organize a power to cope with the Philistines or the latter
would take them all in and form a great Philistine empire. It is
hard to see that this would not have been the best thing to hap-
pen at that time, but it did not.

380 Samuel so shaped matters as to give a start for a federal 305
government. Shiloh, it seems, was the seat of the worship of 389
Iahveh. Almost every city had its favorite god, and Iahveh had

to take his chances with the other gods in the capricious choice of the chiefs. When a tribe had good fortune it gave its favorite god the praise, and in misfortune the god relied upon was in danger of being disgraced. Few people in Syria followed a god after being deceived by him. Some of the Israelites preserved a tradition that Javeh had led their ancestors from the desert into Canaan, and though they sacrificed to other gods as it was convenient, they still had not an unfavorable impression of Jahveh.

496 Eli was the priest of Iaveh at Shiloh. He and Samuel now
429 united to organize the tribes under Javeh. The other gods were still in favor, but Iaveh must stand or fall on the result of the war with Philistia: Iaveh and Shiloh were the magical names.

381 The Israelites, because they feared the Philistines, carried along the ark of the covenant, that Iaveh might be on the scene of action and strike their foes with terror. Then it was that both sides were surprised; for the Philistines, though afraid of the ark,
399 slew thirty thousand of the Israelites and their allies and took it. Israel was in sore straits then, when the dwelling of Iaveh was in the possession of an enemy. Eli, when he heard the news, fell from his high seat at the gate, where he was wont to hear causes as judge of his tribe, and straightway died. His two sons had died defending the ark, and a wife of one of them died on hearing the news. This seemed a bad beginning, but Iaveh was in the ark.

382 The Philistines in triumph took the ark to their chief city,
287 Ashdod, and placed it in the same building with their god Dagon. The next morning Dagon was found off his base, in a position of adoration to the ark, and the Ashdodians restored him to a position of dignity, yet on their next return they found him groveling in the dust again, and this continued to happen. An epidemic of dysentery and bloody flux seized upon the people and a plague of mice destroyed their growing crops, until in despair the Ashdodians asked the citizens of Askalon to take the ark. The Askalonians were glad of the honor, but when the same dire evils happened to them they passed the ark on to their next neighbors, and thus it went the round of all the Philistine cities, doing the mischiefs that the Israelites had been unable to work. At the end of four months the ark was placed on a cart drawn by four milch cows and driven back into the land of the Hebrews. No such freak on the part of a captive god had ever

been known before. When one people had overcome another the gods were also conquerors and captives. But Iaveh took a new tack and gained the victory by allowing his people to be butchered and himself to be carried captive through the cities of the enemy, that he might work in them and through their own gods a lasting fear of him.

Samuel was then a young man, but was so greatly endowed with the divine inspiration that he was well nigh invincible. He incited the Israelites to make another effort to throw off the Philistine yoke and stop the tribute. While the people were assembled at Mizpeh, unarmed and disheartened, the Philistines came upon them with a powerful army and were about to annihilate them, when Samuel and Yaveh caused an earthquake to shake the ground on which the Philistines stood, and many of them were swallowed in chasms, thunder and lightning adding to the terror. Thus were the Israelites saved from the wrath of their enemies, for they experienced none of the terrible effects. Samuel was now in great respect, and Yaveh also. The Canaanite allies left the Philistines and there was a beginning of a national organization; that is, the tribes knew each other better and there was a little confidence.

Josephus here for the first time uses the term Jews, having 403 thus far said Hebrews, Israelites, etc. If we admit that the term Jew is proper thus early, or at any time before the Captivity, we must do so on the theory that it was adopted to indicate the followers of Iaveh. As the Assyrians were the children of Assy, the Herakli'dæ the children of He'rakles, so the Jews were the children of Iaveh. Modern Jews disclaim this origin of the term and say that it comes from Iuda, and means the inhabitants of 520 Iudæa. I shall not try to settle the question, but I take the view that there were no Jews until after the Captivity. There was no Judæa until after the Captivity: before that time there was a tribe called Judah, but the land they lived on was not called Judæa. In Greek the names were Iouda, Ioudai, Ioudaioi. Hebrews never meant the same as Israelites. Heber was a brother of 351 Terah: he stayed in Shinar, and when his descendants moved west they were called Heberites or Hebrews.

383 There was but one ark for the oracle of Yaveh, but there 683 were several ephods. An ephod was a vestment or robe for the high priest of Yaveh, but it occurred to the common priests and 389 others that they might with it consult the god also.

204 Gideon (Judges viii. 27), when he had taken great spoils of the
 429 Midianites, took all the gold and jewelry, seventeen hundred
 467 shekels, and made a molten image and ephod of Yaveh. He
 376 then destroyed all the images and priests of the god On, that he
 363 might have no rival in business. His name came from this act,
 gide-On meaning destroyer of On. Gide-On had so much cus-
 tom that he was able to maintain many women, and was father
 of seventy sons. While he lived his family were partial to Iaveh,
 but at his death they returned to the worship of Baal.

519 Micah (Judges xvii.) had a graven image and a molten image,
 in fact a house of gods, and he made an ephod, and teraphim,
 and consecrated one of his sons to be his priest. But when a
 Levite happened to come that way Micah hired him to be his
 priest for ten shekels a year and found. And then he prospered,
 because people came to consult his oracle and paid him good
 fees. But Micah's fortune was not to last. The tribe of Dan did
 not like their situation and sent five men to spy out a new plot
 of ground. The spies came upon Micah's Levite priest and con-
 sulted the ephod, which told them that they would find the city
 of La'ish an easy prey; that the people were quiet and industri-
 ous Sidonians, and too far from their capital to get help. The
 Danites returned to their tribe and reported, and the tribe packed
 their movables and set out for Laish. On their way they halted
 at Mount Ephraim and took Micah's gods and ephod of Iaveh.
 As the Levite would be out of a job at Mount Ephraim without
 the sacred things, he was easily persuaded to go with the Dan-
 354 ites and be their priest. Micah did not like this way of robbing
 374 him, but they were too strong for him and he submitted.

384 When Samuel was grown old and unable to move around
 and act as judge, which he did rather by sufferance than by
 authority, though with little opposition, he appointed two of his
 sons to act for him. The sons were not of the disposition of
 their father, but were insolent and haughty, so much so that the
 people, the tribes, or some of them, demanded of Samuel a king.
 400 Now Samuel, like Moses, was a believer in aristocratic govern-
 754 ment, an oligarchy, a government by the best citizens, not by
 one, nor yet by a majority, and he vehemently opposed the de-
 mand. He consulted Iaveh, however, and was told that he
 should grant the request. Iaveh said that it was a greater insult
 to himself than to Samuel, and he was willing to give the people

a practical illustration of the evils of kingcraft. Iaveh and Samuel then chose for king a young man named Saul, the tallest and best man physically in all the land, a "beefy" man who could be trusted to have no fine feelings or spiritual aspirations.

385 It is questionable whether "the people" wanted a king, or thought much about it, but the tradition says they did. If they were consulted, or took any action at all, they probably preferred a king or tyrant to the self-appointed "judges" who were exercising the little judicial power then known. 824

386 Saul was a great and successful warrior. He performed prodigies in subduing the neighboring and inveterate enemies of the Hebrews. He also gained the good will of the people. Samuel was jealous of the successes and prosperity of Saul and sought to embroil him in endless wars. When the neighboring enemies had been subjugated Samuel revived the old animosities against the Amalekites and prophesied that Iaveh demanded that 434 Saul should utterly destroy them, beginning with the women and children. The sympathy of Josephus is plainly with Samuel, yet he gives us to understand that Saul obeyed the orders of Samuel and Iaveh very reluctantly and only so far as necessary to avoid an open rupture with the prophet. The Amalekites occupied the land between Pelusium and the Red Sea. This was added to the possessions of the Hebrews. When Saul returned to receive praise from Samuel for this work which he would not have done of his own motion, Samuel met him and told him that because he had spared the life of Agag, the Amalekite king, and allowed the soldiers to drive home some of the cattle of the enemy instead of destroying and wasting them, Iaveh was greatly incensed against him and was going to give the kingdom to another. Saul then hewed Agag to pieces, but this did not satisfy Samuel. The prophet could not understand how Saul could want to spare the life of any one not an Israelite, or why he was not willing and anxious to hunt out and exterminate all that would not acknowledge him and Iaveh. Saul was not so coarse and brutal as Samuel and Iaveh had thought, neither in his treatment of his own people nor in destroying the heathen: he had too much human sympathy to be the general of Iaveh.

387 In writing any work wherein the story of Samuel, Saul and David must be analyzed, the writer should take into consideration the antecedent history and the present conditions. To

take the usual course of the defenders of the Bible and praise Samuel and David and admire their piety and wisdom is a travesty upon common sense, ethics and justice. To take the usual course of the skeptics and judge all of these men by ideal modern standards is equally unsatisfactory. Yet to discriminate and say how far each was good and bad, wise and unwise, is very difficult, if not impossible. To estimate the effect on succeeding generations—and moderns have been as much affected as those immediately following, by reason of the general study of that part of biblical lore—is too great a task for any man. That good has come from the study of Samuel and David can not be denied, but it surely has been a negative good, since there is little good related of them. Ideal men, and not historic men, have been studied. That unspeakable evil has come from taking them for models is too true; yet they will be kept before the world, and nothing short of logical and fair analysis will counteract the disposition to paint them as angels or demons.

388 When the people wanted a king Samuel gave them Saul. He did not come before them as a good Israelite and say that their will should be done and provide for the election of a sovereign, but he usurped the franchises of the people and anointed
 497 Saul. And what did this anointing mean? So far as Samuel
 275 was concerned it meant that the body and mind of Saul were consecrated to Yaveh and the people; that it would be a crime against religion and law for a subject to question his authority. When Saul became popular, Samuel, who had anointed him, and pronounced the curse against any who should harm him, organized a rebellion and anointed David king, secretly and meanly,
 13 and then encouraged him in rebellion. David showed his disdain for life and property from the time of his anointing. He became rebel, highway robber, freebooter, libertine and traitor:
 626 he enlisted with the Philistines against his own countrymen, and would have fought against them but for the better sentiments of the Philistine generals who would not fight while he was in their army.

383 389 In the beginning of the rebellion David had no ephod, but by intention or by chance, it is hard to say which, he got the
 380 one which had long been in use at Shiloh. The chief priest, Ahim'elech or Ahi'ah, was basely deceived by David into giving him and his vagabonds food and assistance, and when this was.

made known to Saul he ordered Ahimelech and all his priests apprehended, and then ordered their execution. Eighty-five of them were killed, but one escaped and gave the ephod to David, who then had the means for obtaining advice from Yaveh, and his luck changed.

390 Yaveh being on the side of David, now that he had an ephod, the prophets would not prophesy for Saul, and when he was sorely perplexed he inquired for and found a clairvoyant, commonly called the witch of Endor. Endor has been improperly translated, hence misunderstood. It should be En Dor, En Ador or En Adonis. This woman was a pythoness of the god Ador or Adonis, a Sun god, the same with Osiris in Egypt. En meant a fountain. This oracle had long been known and consulted: undoubtedly it had been in honor among the natives in the days when there was communication with Egypt, before the coming of the Shemites. The bloody Samuel had declared it to be wicked, and for a Hebrew to consult it was unlawful. Yet the name Adonis had a permanent place in the literature of the Jews. The ephod and the ark were in the control of the politicians, but the pythoness could not be suborned. This woman was not willing to forecast for Saul, but when urged she brought the spirit (the book says the shade) of Samuel, who told Saul that on the morrow he and three sons would be slain in battle. Whether the oracle was good or wicked, the answer was a true prophecy, for on the morrow everything happened as foretold. David's rebellion was crowned with success, and success makes a bold and wicked schemer a great man, wins the praise of a certain class of writers, and blots out or cauterizes crimes.

391 David was a shrewd and conscienceless politician, a bold and successful general. He made wars for spoils and tribute, and also to keep enemies abroad and his subjects busy in defense. In this way he made himself the central figure and an apparent necessity to the Hebrews. Nothing in human history is more remarkable than that this man has been held up as a model of man and king. The statement of Josephos that David was guilty of only one fault in all his life, killing Uriah and taking his wife, when Josephos himself relates scarcely an act of his life that would not be condemned in any country with a normal public sentiment, is unaccountable.

392 David can be defended somewhat from the egregious

wickedness ascribed to him. Let us consider that some kind of government or authority must be set up; then let us admit that the Israelites and Canaanites were incapable of self-government. These propositions admitted, David was justifiable in using the means necessary to secure and maintain control. Only one form of government was possible—a tyranny. All history of these
 523 people shows them incapable of self-government, for the one reason that they can not believe that one living man is better than another and entitled to uncommon respect: they are the most socialistic race the world has ever known. A Jew hates tyranny, but he can submit to an alien with good grace where he would die rather than submit to a fellow-Jew. David knew this and employed Philistines and other aliens as mercenaries to execute his orders at home. He could not trust men from the tribes he governed, because they would not coerce their brethren, and the tribes would resent any attempt to set their brethren over them. It was this disposition to equality that led to the employment of
 367 Levites to keep the sacred tent and afterward the temple. Jews could not be masters or servants to each other.

393 The worst blot on David's character was his treatment of Michal. Saul had given this daughter to David, and afterward, when David rebelled and Saul sent to his house to take him, Michal saved his life by letting him down from the window of
 429 their bedroom, then putting the family god (a wooden image, life
 416 size) in the bed and telling the officers that it was David, asleep. They discovered the trick, but David had time to escape. When David was gone Saul gave Michal to Phalti, another courtier, because it was not respectable for an eligible woman to be without a husband. When David had succeeded Saul and was gathering women into his harem he demanded Michal, and she went to him willingly, because he had been her first lover. Then when David was disporting himself before the ark of Yaveh, in an unbecoming manner as she thought, she cautioned him not to make a show of himself to the people. She had been used to the ways of the court and did not understand the tactics of David in cultivating popularity among the common people. David turned upon her sharply and cursed her with a fearful oath, swearing that she should during the rest of her life be a grass widow. Notwithstanding his implacable hatred to her father's house one would think that he would have had respect for Michal, but he

wanted all to fear him. Some years later there was a famine or poor crops for three years secutively, and David followed the popular superstition and offered special sacrifices. He thought that the young men of Saul's family would be as acceptable a sacrifice as he could offer, so the five sons of Michal and two sons of Rizpah, one of Saul's wives, were hung in the first days of the barley harvest. Yaveh and the other gods were appeased, the drouth was broken, David's rivals were done away, and it was demonstrated that he was in the favor of the gods. 335
483

394 While David was an outlaw with six hundred brigands he got another wife. Nabal was a rich farmer and shepherd, and David sent to him for food for his men. Nabal did not do the genteel thing, but refused outright. David had a pretext to demand tribute from Nabal. He had not robbed him when he could have done so, and that entitled him to reward, and he swore an oath to take the life and the estate of the miser. Abigail, wife of Nabal, gained a husband in losing one. She met David and made him presents, saying that her husband was too dull to understand affairs. David was pleased with her contour, accepted her presents, and spared her husband, who accommodatingly died a few days afterward. This was probably not an instance of love at first sight, since they may have had the same mother (II. Chron. ii. 16). This love story may not be like those 491 found in fiction, but it is historic.

395 Religious tolerance or intolerance in those days did not mean what it does in modern times. We now understand it to mean the right and opportunity to worship God as conscience dictates, or an attempt to interfere with the individual. In any instance there is but one God, and the contention, when there is any, and not contingent upon political schemes, is as to how God shall be worshiped. In David's time nobody thought of restricting the worship to any one god, but a faction sought to have the worship of Yaveh made national. In all personal matters and in common matters of public interest any god was consulted or sacrifices were made to any or all the gods, but when the state was involved, when there was foreign war or any great matter of state, one faction insisted that Yaveh should be alone respected. He was the patron of the nation in its national capacity and was responsible for its safety. That was the extent of the covenant. Saul's children were named after the Canaanite gods, Meribaal 779

and Isbaal for Baal, and Milkisua for Milik, Melkarth or Moloch. Jonathan was named for Yaveh. David named at least one son for Baal, Baaliada, though he may have been called Eliada for El. Adonijah is a compound of Adon and Jahveh. Many of the names were of Canaanite gods, and Yaveh seems not to have been in better respect than other gods when David's children were being named.

- 396 When David was grown old his son Absalom was nominally declared successor, but he became too anxious and raised a rebellion. The details would show the perfidy of the members of the royal family, as well as of the nobility and the military leaders, but they are not necessary here. Absalom was slain after he had about succeeded in taking the kingdom by force. The other sons of David then recognized Adonijah as the rightful successor, but Bathsheba, who had been the wife of Uriah and afterward the favorite wife of David, obtained consent that her son Solomon should be king, and he was installed while Adonijah and his brethren were celebrating in a feast. Solomon was the youngest of David's legitimate sons. His first thought was
- 481 to get rid of all of his brethren and others who might contest the crown with him, as well as all of the enemies of David, some of whom had been spared because they had returned to his service and been useful to him, but now might be troublesome to the young king. It was dangerous to develop military or political skill: the king was afraid of a man who might be a leader.
- 273 397 David had built a palace at Jerusalem. Solomon added to and beautified it, and also built a temple for Yaveh. These structures were magnificent in comparison with anything hitherto seen in those parts. This temple was connected with and was a part of the palace of Solomon, and used by him as a royal chapel. It had no national significance or use, except on the theory that Solomon was the nation and what he owned or did was national. Every temple, whatever the patron deity, had a priesthood, and sometimes, if not usually, there was rivalry between these priest-
- 279 temple to Jupiter or the Sun were promised the royal patronage, and when he sacrificed to other gods, gave other priests the toll,
- 276 these priests were tempted to complain of neglect, but that was the extent to which priestly rivalry was then known: the people exercised their preferences.

398 While the temple was building was there at Jerusalem an organization of masons, with Solomon as grand master workman? There is very good evidence that there was, though not including the common workmen. It was a body of great dignity, but it was necessarily different from the organizations at Tyre. Grand master Hiram was simply the head of a well organized industrial people observing the proprieties in business and industry, while grand master Solomon was head of a well organized aristocracy which supported him as despot over an unorganized people. Such an organization afforded protection to the Tyrians, but it added to the despotic power of Solomon and the leaders of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin. At Tyre all the citizens had part in society and government, while at Jerusalem there were several grades between the aristocracy and the slaves, and not even the free citizens participated in the counsels of the rulers or could be heard to complain of wrongs in any other way than by open rebellion. The banding together of men in a close brotherhood for the purpose of protection against religious fanaticism and racial prejudice is one of the most potent factors of civilization, but where the royal household and the titled aristocracy control such an order and use it to maintain their mastery over a helpless people the worst results must ensue.

399 We have seen how Iaveh entered the cabinet when it was first built by Moses in the wilderness. It had since had various possessors and experiences, and there was some apprehension as to whether Iaveh would demonstrate his presence after the ark was deposited in its permanent abode in the tabernacle built by Solomon. At the dedication of the temple this doubt was dispelled. "Now, as soon as the priests had put all things in order about the ark, and were gone out, there came down a thick cloud, and stood there, and spread itself, after a gentle manner, into the temple: such a cloud it was as was diffused and temperate—not so rough a one as we see fall of rain in the winter season. This cloud so darkened the place that one priest could not discern another; but it afforded to the minds of all a visible image and glorious appearance of Yaveh's having descended into this temple, and of his having gladly pitched his tent therein." Then Solomon made a neat speech of thanks to Iaveh, reminded the people of the blessings intended for them if they remained true to the covenant, and the exercises were ended.

381 We learn from I. Kings viii. 9 that there was at this time
 421 in the ark only two tables of stone put there by Moses at Horeb.
 416 When Moses had written the laws he ordered the Levites to put
 the writings in the ark (Deut. xxxi. 26), but Solomon did not
 find them, and there is no reason to believe that he knew of them.

400 Solomon in his younger days set his heart upon wealth
 and splendor. David left many of the tribes of the Canaanites
 and others as tributaries, and Solomon subdued others to pay
 tribute and be slaves. All the Hebrews of military age were
 kept in the army and splendidly equipped. Those exempt from
 military service were of the nobility, and no Hebrew did any
 384 kind of work. They were then a nation of aristocrats, and Samuel
 would have been rejoiced could he have lived at this time,
 621 when there was no democracy. The arms of the Hebrews were
 carried to the borders of Egypt and extended over a large part
 of Syria. So says Josephos, and he is probably correct, though
 when he says the Hebrews or Jews in this instance we are to
 understand only the tribes of Judah and Benjamin. Other Israelites
 fared little better than other Canaanites.

401 When Solomon became surfeited with wealth, splendor
 and praise he sought solation in the company of women. His
 first wife was a daughter of the king of Egypt. He added others
 535 to his harem until he counted seven hundred wives and three
 hundred concubines. Almost every nation and important tribe
 in and surrounding his possessions furnished one or more of its
 choicest and noblest maidens to adorn the harem of the grand
 monarch. Among barbarians of this stage of development the
 kings or chiefs give their daughters or sisters as a pledge of faith
 and peace. The next step is to furnish men to be held as host-
 ages. The third and last is to send ministers with power to act
 for their government, and be returned on the eve of hostilities.
 In all cases the maiden, hostage or minister must be persona
 grata at the foreign court. Now the parents of the women at
 Solomon's court had secured treaties binding Solomon to pro-
 vide them with opportunities and means for their native sacrifices
 and worship, and the vicinity of the grand temple of Javeh be-
 275 came an amphitheater of polytheistic sacrifices. This becoming
 known abroad, many came to Jerusalem to see this spectacle as
 well as the other wonders. It was at this showy time that the
 queen of Sheba, or, as Josephus says, of Egypt and Ethiopia,

came to see Solomon. She had no daughter to give to Solomon, so came in her own person. Solomon "showed the greatness of his soul in bestowing on her what she herself desired of him."

402 Solomon left the kingdom to one of his sons, Rehoboam. This young man was haughty and self-willed, and when all the people had assembled at Shechem to determine whether or not they would ratify the choice, another aspirant, Jeroboam, appeared. The people wanted Rehoboam because he had been blessed by Solomon, but they wanted some assurance that he would lighten the taxes or tithes and deal fairly and impartially with all the tribes. Rehoboam said that his father had been too gentle with them: he would show them that a king did not have to promise anything, but could do as he pleased. Ten of the tribes then declared for Jeroboam, leaving to Rehoboam only the tribes of Judah and Benjamin. The party of Rehoboam were afterward called Judaites and the ten tribes were called Israelites.

403 The Jews, as we know them in history, began to be a people under Rehoboam, though the two tribes had been taking on their characteristics since the time of Samuel. Their pretensions and ambition, their ungovernable cupidity of wealth and honor, their haughty bearing toward the other tribes, rendered union of the tribes impossible. Some writers date the Jews from the Separation, but I take it that there were no Jews, properly speaking, until after the Captivity.

404 Under David's administration the Hebrews had for the first time been brought into anything like friendly relations with the Tyrians or Sidonians. For about eighty years under David and Solomon they had the benefit of foreign trade. The effects of this enlargement of the supply of necessities and comforts of life were various. There grew up a large class of people who took readily to the Phœnician ideas. Many families engaged in trade and industry, and besides the maritime trade in conjunction with the Tyrians the caravan trade across the deserts of Arabia from Idumæa to the northern point of the Persian Gulf was greatly increased. On every hand there was indication of present increase and greater benefit in the future. But this was an innovation, and there is always a class who do not know and do not think, but cry out against everything that promises to make plenty: they reason that if it had been possible or safe to have this plenty their fathers would have got it. Suppose the Phœni-

cians and the Egyptians do have this plenty: they are not Israelites, but heathen. We must maintain our superiority over them by refusing to trade with them: our gods will be displeased if we
444 exchange products with the subjects of other gods.

405 Few of the Hebrews were disposed to the policy of live
764 and let live. The king wanted all the revenue he could get; the
827 merchants wanted all the profits possible; most of the people
374 wanted to retain their natural right to take what they could, anywhere and anyhow; all were superstitious. David and Solomon collected revenue as most governments did, and do: they collected what they could and where they could, with the least
276 opposition. Several of the tribes at different times refused to pay
826 tribute, because two (Judah and Benjamin), around Jerusalem, were exempted. These two supported the pretensions of the king and rather enjoyed the revenues than helped to furnish
164 them. These prejudices and wrongs caused the separation and
761 most of the subsequent miseries of the race.

406 I. Kings iv. gives a list of twelve districts, except Judah,
95 each with an officer whose duty it was to furnish provision for
494 one month in the year for the royal household. Besides these
490 supplies Solomon laid customs taxes on all trade, as great as the
453 trade would bear, and got suitable dowries with the princesses who came to reside in his harem. Whether the king or the
769 people were in fault, the government had not been organized on a basis of justice, and injustice will cause disturbance.

407 Rehoboam, after the loss of the ten tribes, sobered up and gained the good will of the two tribes left to him, but after a time of prosperity he became profligate as his father had been and Javeh instigated the king of Egypt to make war upon him. All the cities of Judah were looted: even the treasures of the
158 temple were taken. This Egyptian king at the same time ravaged most of Asia west of Babylonia and Assyria as far north as the Black Sea, so Josephos is forced to say that the reader may form his own opinion as to whether the Egyptian invasion was prompted alone by Iaveh and to punish Judah for impiety, but he says the Javehists so insisted. A. H. Sayce, in a work for the Religious Tract Society, London, gives a more logical and historic view. He says that during a temporary weakness of Babylonia and Assyria the king of Egypt undertook to reestablish
518 the Egyptian authority in Asia as it had formerly existed, and
258 all of Palestine was in this territory.
373

408. After the Separation the Jerusalem government admitted few aliens to the rights of citizenship, unless in time of war and as a necessity of war. The customs and traditions of Hebrews and other Canaanites, who were all Shemites, remained about the same, though the tribes became more seclusive and exclusive in their membership. The kings or chiefs, however, continued to swap women, or receive each others' sisters and daughters as pledges of peace and friendship. The policy of the government of Israel was varied. This government was not so well established as that at Jerusalem, and was also beset by warlike neighbors on the north and east.

409 Both Judah and Israel nominally acknowledged Javeh as their national god, and in both nations the people continued to worship all the gods as formerly. At Jerusalem there arose a sect of pietists or puritans that afterward became zealots of Iaveh. At first they did not champion Iaveh, but were obnoxiously pious and patriotic: they made war against everything foreign. They were the minority in the nation, but made so much noise and trouble that one would think from the history, written mostly by themselves or their successors, that they were the majority. To them prosperity and plenty were evils to be shunned. It was 827 wicked for any family to have more than the general average. Trade and commerce, they said, were corrupting the manners of 97 the people and encouraging insubordination. The prophets of 182 this faction launched the bitterest invectives against those who by energy and industry obtained some comforts above the common and former necessities. There were, of course, two kinds of puritans: the aristocratic oligarchy wanted to control both king and people and be the law in themselves; some of the less ambitious thought the pious prophets were sincere democrats who were opposing despotism, hence became zealous partisans. Thus arose in Judah a strong tendency to puritanism and an abhorrence of trade, and even of industry beyond the cultivation of the soil and the tending of flocks. Seclusiveness brings its own punishment.

410 Now Jehoshaphat was king of the Judaites and Ahab was king of the Israelites. And Ahab wanted the help of Jehoshaphat against the Syrians, to win back the city of Ramoth, which had belonged to his father. Judah and Israel being now friendly, Jehoshaphat's son having taken Ahab's daughter to wife, Jehosh- 401

aphat joined with his friend to wrest the city from the enemy. And when Ahab had talked with all of his four hundred prophets, and when they had all told him that he could take the city, he was made glad, and got all things ready for the war. But Jehoshaphat was not so hopeful concerning the prophesying by Ahab's prophets, and asked him, Have all of the prophets of thy country told thee that thou mightst win? And Jehoshaphat asked again, to know whether the prophets were all of one mind; for he knew by their words that they were all lying prophets; and now Ahab bethought him of one mad prophet named Micaiah, who had been cast into jail for prophesying evil things. Then Jehoshaphat asked that Micaiah might be brought, and Ahab sent one of his eunuchs to fetch him. Micaiah, when he had come before the two kings, prophesied and said that if Ahab went to this war he alone would be slain, while all of his host would come back safe. Ahab's four hundred prophets then said wicked things of Micaiah, and reminded Ahab that Eliiah, another of the prophesiers of evil, had foretold that dogs would lick his blood in the city of Jezreël, which is a journey of three days from the city of Ramoth. Thus must four hundred prophets be set against two prophets in saying what is to happen; but Ahab sent Micaiah back to the keep and the two armies went on to the city of Ramoth.

And Jehoshaphat understood that Micaiah was a true prophet of Javeh; for he had great insight in this matter of true and false prophets, and saw that the prophecy must be true because it was less pleasing to Ahab. So when they were come to the place of battle they changed garments, and Ahab put on the trappings of a common soldier, that he might not be picked out and killed. The king of Syria, because he knew that the war had been cooked up by Ahab, gave out the word to all of his men that not a Hebrew should be taken or killed but Ahab alone. And when all were ready for the battle the Syrians went through the ranks of the Hebrews, and the Hebrews went through the ranks of the Syrians, urging each other to the work in hand, and they all made a great noise and show of fighting from the early morning until the evening; yet was there not a man hurt among all the soldiers. And when in the first onset the Syrians got round about the general of the Hebrews, and were ready to slay him, they saw that it was not Ahab, but another, and they held off

their hands, and did no harm to Jehoshaphat. When the Syrians ¹⁴² were about to give up the search for Ahab, a young man, Naaman by name, of the body guard of Benhadad the king, drew his bow and shot an arrow and wounded Ahab through his breast-plate, in his lungs.

By this paraphrase it will be seen that Micaiah was a true prophet, and the four hundred were liars; for when Ahab knew that he was wounded unto death he told the driver of his cart to take him quickly to the rear, hoping that his fighting men would not lose heart but would press on under Jehoshaphat and win the battle. But in a little time it was known that Ahab had been wounded, and both armies drew off, when not a man but Ahab ²⁷⁵ had been hurt, and they fought no more. And the driver of the war cart of Ahab took the body of the dead king to Samaria, and afterward drove to his own city of Jezreël; and when the cart was left at the spring to be washed, the dogs came and licked the blood. So the king alone was killed in the battle at Ramoth, and the dogs at Jezreël licked his blood.

"And as what things were foretold by the two prophets, came to pass, we ought thence to have high notions of God, and everywhere to honor and worship him, and never to think that what is pleasant and to our liking is worthy of belief before what is true; and to value nothing above the gift of prophecy, and that foreknowledge of coming happenings which it bestows, since God thereby shews men what they ought to shun. We may also guess, from what happened to this king, and what we can know of fate, that there is no chance of getting out of its way, even when we know it. It creeps upon human souls, and flatters them with pleasing hopes, till it leads them about to the spot where it will be too hard for them."

411 Elijah was much annoyed by the prophets and the priests of Baal, who had been allowed to bring into Israel the worship of the gods of the Phœnicians. During his life he worked for their ruin, and caused the death of many hundred of them. Iezebel, the queen of Ahab, and their patroness, took revenge upon the priests of Eliiah, and the life of a priest or prophet was not safe in either company.

Joram, son of Ahab, was king of Israel. And Elisha, who followed Elijah in the office of chief prophet of Javeh, anointed Jehu as king and ordered him to exterminate the race of Ahab

and Jezebel, and this Jehu did. Wherever they were found, old and young, they were killed. Then Jehu laid a snare to catch the wicked prophets and priests of Baal. He gave it out that he would carry on the worship of Baal as it had been under Ahab's favor, and bade all the priests of that god to come to one place and have unusually great sacrifices. When they were all gathered in one house Jehu ordered his soldiers to fall upon them
 21 and spare no man of them. Thus was Israel baned of the foreign priests and restored to the care of the native prophets. Jehu and his people worshiped the gods of Israel as formerly: the golden heifers were the emblems to which sacrifices were made on patriotic occasions.

412 Jehoram II., at Jerusalem, was also departing from the strait and narrow way and paying toll to priests of foreign gods, and Elisha prophesied against him and his house, so much so that he and all the race of David were slain or died in agonies. Josephus says that one baby boy was saved, and began anew the line of David, but he is not very positive about it. The story rested upon the claims of the partisans of the old royal line after the outburst had quieted down; after the nation had suffered an invasion and the people had been led to believe that the house of David could protect them and make them glorious. But for the present the house of David was accounted extinct and Elijah and Elisha were the greatest prophets ever known among the Hebrews. So strong were they in divining that they could win victories over great armies without a battle, the enemies killing each other or vanishing. They could bring rain or drouth, even
 275 storms of fire. Sometimes the kings would not believe them, but terrible mishaps taught them to pay respect to the prophecies.

413 There were orders of prophets and priests in both jurisdictions, and sometimes they made little account of the separate governments. These orders had nothing in common with orders in foreign lands: they were peculiar in all their teachings and doings. But though they were not connected with foreign orders they were not always loyal to Javeh, but sacrificed to other gods and prophesied in their names. Indeed, the same men sometimes prophesied, as convenient, in the names of Yaveh and
 279 other gods, especially Baal. In many instances the same prophets, one body calling the other false prophets, were all prophets of Yaveh. In such instances one got the advantage by prophe-

saying that Yaveh put lying words in the mouths of their rivals to bring them into disgrace. But there was one characteristic of all of the native prophets of Judah and Israel: they were against everything foreign except when a strong military power promised or threatened to destroy their rivals, or those Hebrews who would not surrender to them—body, property and soul.

414 Though the history as written by the Hebrews and the Jews is of more importance to us than the true and complete history would now be, because it was this partial history that actuated the later Jews and has been taken as the word of God by the Christian world, it is yet desirable that we know as far as possible the actual state of facts.

Shalmaneser II. was king of Assyria from 858 to 823 B.C. The Assyrian kings had long sought to extend their authority in the west, and Shalmaneser was largely successful. The Hittites had been the strongest obstacle, but Shalmaneser conquered them and brought the kings of Damascus and Hamath to a condition of vassalage. While other peoples stood between the Hebrews and the Assyrians the Hebrews had no fear of the distant power, and would attack Syria on one side while the Assyrians menaced it on the other. But when Assyria gained so much territory as to threaten to wipe out all the political powers between them and the Israelites Ahab was willing to enter into alliance with Benhadad for common defense against Shalmaneser. The great battle at Karkar was fought in 853 B.C. and the Syrians suffered great loss, though the Assyrians did not follow up their advantage and overrun all of Syria. Two years after this battle, while the alliance against Assyria was in effect, Ahab with the help of Jehoshaphat made the attempt to take Ramoth from Benhadad. Here was a tangle. Judah was helping Israel to despoil Damascus, Israel and Damascus were in league to stay the Assyrian encroachments, and all the four peoples were Shemites. The same religious notions obtained in all these countries. Hadad was the national god of Damascus and ben meant son of, so that Ben-Hadad meant son of Hadad.

518

After Shalmaneser the Assyrians employed their arms in other quarters and the Syrians were left to plot and fight among themselves. Rimmon-nirari, however (810–781 B.C.), again marched the Assyrian forces into Damascus. This time Israel and a part of Palestine, or all of it, was subjugated. Jerusalem was proba-

bly not taken, but paid the tribute demanded by Rimmon. The Assyrian power suffered a decline from the death of Rimmon.

415 In 745 B.C. an adventurer with the insignificant name of Pul seized the reins of authority at Nineveh and assumed the high-sounding title of Tiglath-Pileser II., at the same time, of course, claiming the national god and goddess as his parents. Tiglath took advantage of every pretext to seize or subjugate the petty powers in Syria. While the Assyrians had been away the usual plots and counterplots of the Syrian Shemites had been rife. He soon asserted his authority over Damascus and made Israel tributary. The provinces were peaceful for a time, and then Damascus and Israel revolted and sought to unite all of the kings in an alliance against Assyria. Judah refused to enter the league: Jotham said he had not submitted, and he would not act with those who had. The other kings then made war upon Judah, and Ahaz, or Jehoahaz, who had succeeded Jotham, sent his submission to Pileser and became an ally rather than a subject. When Pileser came to restore order he swept over Damascus with ax and fire: the improvements were laid waste and the people butchered. A large part of Israel was wasted and the people were transferred to other Assyrian territory. Others of the confederates against Judah were sorely punished, and Judah was restored as formerly: all of her provinces that joined the coalition were again made subject to her. But all of her neighbors were now against her and waiting for a chance for revenge.

When Shalmaneser IV. succeeded Pileser in 727 B.C. Hosea, who had been made king of Israel by Pileser, refused to pay the tribute, and Shalmaneser went with an army to collect it. Hosea and some Israelites were carried away, but before Shalmaneser got his provinces in subjection he died.

Sargon, a general in the army, now assumed the authority. In the first year of his reign (722 B.C.) he overran Samaria and carried away 27,280 of the Israelites. The new Samaritans, who gave the name to Samaria, were not brought in until some ten or twelve years later, when Sargon had taken Hamath and Babylonia. These transfers of people from one province to another were not for the purpose of finding lands for overcrowded populations, but to break up combinations and make revolts difficult.

429 In 711 B.C. there was a movement on the part of Babylonia, Elam and most of the Syrian powers, and Egypt, to form a coali-

tion against Assyria. Hezekiah was at the head of the move in Palestine. Before the plans were effected Sargon was in Syria, determined to save all he had and acquire all he could. Jerusalem was taken and Hezekiah forced to submit to the demands of Sargon, who was there in person. There has been a supposition that Sennacherib was first to attack Jerusalem, but the records of Assyria lately found and translated make it plain that Sargon took the city and made it tributary, in the eleventh year of his reign. 292

416 During these times, and to the reign of Josiah, not long before the Captivity, the temple was allowed to drop into decay. To show the state of knowledge and worship, I will relate what happened under this youthful king, for he was crowned at eight years and died at thirty-nine years of age. He (or the prophet-politicians who governed in his name) restored the temple and the worship of Yaveh. "Like unto him there was no king before him, that turned to Yaveh with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his strength." When the temple had been opened and searched Hilkiah the high priest found the books containing the laws of Moses. They had been lost so long that it was not known they were in existence, or what they had once contained. Hilkiah gave the book to Shaphan, and he read it. And Shaphan the scribe read the book before the king, who tore his clothes to show that he was out of sorts; and he gave orders that somebody should go at once and ask of Iaveh concerning the words of the book. So they went to Huldah the clairvoyant, who said that Iaveh denounced evils upon the Judaites because the laws and ordinances had been neglected and other gods had been worshiped. 422 399 363 683

417 Thus far in the Jewish history, then, everything is very doubtful, for the history itself says the law of Moses had been a long time lost, and there was only the word of a clairvoyant that the book produced by Hilkiah and Shaphan was genuine. Some men may think they have an instinct which directs them in the determination of authenticity and genuineness, but any man is liable to be deceived: nobody can say that Jewish literature to this time is authentic. Such as it is it is interesting and instructive, but it is not complete or well arranged, hence not reliable as history. It is said that this book contained only a part of the laws, that others were in use, but who knows? 56

418 In face of all the accepted ideas of the Jewish tradition and history I will now write the history down to this time in one section. Abraham and his immediate posterity are fairly historic characters; that is, the things related of them are what we would look for in Arabia and Syria when the shepherds of the plains were moving westward to the south of the track of the races that settled in Babylonia, northern Syria and Asia Minor—races of more order and more amenable to government because they were on the traveled road from east to west. These Abrahamic shepherd tribes, then, south of and out of the current of travel and commerce, with no inclination to work, in a climate that made them lazy, contracted habits of barbarian simplicity. They were generally peaceable, though when they fought they knew not mercy. They had no idea of right and wrong; natural right was the only right recognized by them, seasoned with cunning and far seeing calculation: property meant what the patriarch possessed, consisting of women and flocks, and it was his only so long as he could defend it: when one patriarch raided another it was usual to make a show of strength, when the stronger took what he wanted of the other's possession, and made him and his household slaves; if resistance was offered the weaker side except the eligible women were exterminated. Each patriarch had his
352 god or gods, images usually of wood, though some totems were of stone, and when he was fortunate he gave his favorite god the credit; if unfortunate his god was treated with indignity or destroyed and a new god favored; the god covenanted to watch over and protect the patriarch and confound his enemies. When these tribes—they were very numerous and small—wandered
373 into the hilly country of Syria they found many native tribes and treated them in all manner of ways from incorporation to extermination. The only two exceptions in origin and characteristic were the Philistines and the Phœnicians. The Phœnicians were
282 Shemites, and of the same dialect as the Canaanites. The Philistines were of another race and language, much resembling the
258 Pélasgi of Hellas and the Tyrrheni of Italy. The early doings are preserved in mythology, or at best tradition. In time the tribes became settled and known to each other. The Phœnicians held themselves separate from their barbarous neighbors and carried on their industries and commerce with the more civilized, or those whose position near the water was such that the traders

could escape if attacked. The Philistines, like the Greeks, were willing to trade, and had quite promising industries and navigation at an early day, but were also ready to fight when there was occasion. 377

Each tribe had its worship, and when some tribes became powerful enough to govern their neighbors the god or gods that had been fortunate enough to get the credit became more famous. At the earliest time of anything like history there were numerous tribal gods peculiar to Canaan. Iaveh happened to be adopted 278 by some leading tribes and grew into greater popularity than any other. As he became more and more the fashionable god the ambitious kings, politicians and prophets of all tribes dropped their weaker gods and ascribed benefits and calamities to him. 203 Even the Philistines, the strongest single power, and who gave their name, Palestine, to a large part of Syria, at times acknowledged Javeh. But in no tribe or locality previous to the time of Hezekiah, about 726 B.C., was there any attempt to restrict the people to the worship of Iaveh or any other god, and the attempt never was successful.

419 Moderns who regard the Bible as a book to be accepted without question and studied as the word of God to all peoples and all times are in great danger of mistaking and being led into error. Those who take the contrary view, and dismiss the Bible, as also those who profess to believe it but do not study it, likewise shut themselves out from lessons that may be learned from an intelligent perusal of the book. It is a book of strong and positive characters.

The Jews had government: without it they could not have held together at all. Any form of government administered by wise and honest men may be successful and give satisfaction, but the judgment can not be supplied by one man only; there must be a variety of opinions, and those who make laws and administer affairs must have counselors and informers to assist them. In a democracy all the people are free to give advice and suggest the policy to be pursued. In a monarchy a small class of courtiers have the privilege of advising and suggesting. The Judaites were supposed to have a theocracy: Yaveh was supposed to do the advising. The prophets, then, who professed to speak for him, were the politicians who sought to enforce upon the administration their ideas and wishes. One prophet wanted the policy 169 759

411 to be narrow and peculiar ; wanted the Hebrews to have nothing to do with aliens unless it be to exterminate them and take their possessions, or subjugate them and make them tributaries, that the Hebrews, the children of Yaveh, might have all the territory they wanted for themselves and force others to pay in tribute enough to maintain the Hebrews in idleness and splendor. Another prophet was more liberal, yet more conservative. He said that such a policy would bring ultimate disaster upon the race; for while they were fortunate they would become lazy, proud and overbearing, and when adversity came, as it surely would, they would be unmanageable. A people who live by war will take on a military government and the arts of peace and industry will be neglected, so that when they are reduced to a condition of self-support they will become most miserable. Samuel, David and Solomon introduced and perfected the military and aristocratic ideas and built up the grandest state ever reached by the race. Short-sighted prophets believed that this was done by the will of Yaveh, and that all that was necessary to regain and continue it was to maintain the theocratic ideas and treat all other peoples as inferior and having no religion or rights the Hebrews could be bound to respect. The false logic ran its course and brought the inevitable results, and then in their misery the proud Hebrews turned to the prophets who did not flatter them, but told the truth. With every success over a neighbor the aristocratic pride was inflated: when an Assyrian or Egyptian army came into the territories of Judah the aristocratic pride had to suffer the misery and want which it had visited upon others. Yaveh did not now lose his prestige in times of distress, however: if the Hebrews were out of luck it was not his fault, but because they had tolerated the worship of other gods. The prophets were positive in their assumptions.

420 After the carrying away of Israel the puritans at Jerusalem were more active and more exacting than before. They were like the extremists of all ages and countries: they set up an impossible standard and tried to force others up to it while they assumed the divine right to live as they pleased and say what they pleased. There were two principal factions, the other being more liberal in all things. The liberal faction showed up the consummate egoism and impracticability of the puritans, but men who believe that they alone are righteous have no reason and

can not be reached with reason. It was a constant struggle between the puritans and the liberals. Nearly all the scriptures of these times were written by the puritans, or their successors suppressed what was written by the liberals. It was not more than thirty-five miles, and some say twenty-five, from the most distant corner of the kingdom to Jerusalem. One place of sacrifice and worship was now possible, and a movement to suppress all the others was not met with the objection of great distance.

421 Hezekiah, from 726 to 715 or 697 B.C. (scholars differ), was the first king to give up to the prophets of the puritans. He destroyed the "high places" and also the brazen serpent said to have been made by Moses in the desert of Arabia. This serpent had been placed in the ark and was as much a memorial of the covenant between Yaveh and the Israelites as the ark itself. It was destroyed because it was an image, but why had Moses and Yaveh given it to the Israelites if it was wicked? The puritans, as their prototypes always are, were able to interpret the traditions aright, hence whatever they determined upon was according to the divine will, and the brazen serpent was destroyed with the other ungodly things. This puritanic victory was short lived. It died with Hezekiah. The puritans could not overawe the kings between Hezekiah and Josiah. The liberal element restored freedom of worship and the puritans howled in chorus for seventy-four years without gaining another king to their side. 399

It is sickening to read the story of Sennacherib's campaign 158 against Hezekiah, as written by Sennacherib himself. He says: "And Hezekiah, king of Judah, who had not bowed down at my feet, forty-six of his strong cities, his castles and the smaller towns beyond number I attacked and captured. I brought out from the midst of them and counted as a spoil 200,150 persons, great and small, male and female, horses, mules, asses, camels, oxen and sheep without number. I diminished his kingdom. I augmented the amount of their tribute and gifts to my majesty. The workmen, soldiers and builders whom Hezekiah had collected now carried tribute to me—30 talents of gold and 800 talents of silver; woven cloth, scarlet; precious stones of large size, couches and movable thrones of ivory; and his daughters, and the male and female attendants, unto Nineveh my royal city after me he sent; and to pay tribute and do homage he sent his envoy." There is more than suspicion, there is a certainty, that the

brazen (or golden) serpent was turned to use in squaring the account with the conqueror, and that the people were divided into political parties rather than into religious, though preferences for gods were very strong. Sennacherib usually includes gods of the conquered people among his spoils; there is no mention of them here in the translations.

416 422 Josiah was the first to inaugurate an exclusively Javehist worship. He turned over all the machinery of the government to the puritans, to that school of prophets who were confident that they knew the mind of Javeh and that he could and would preserve Judah if Judah would be undivided in loyalty to him. Hezekiah had not quite succeeded, the Assyrian power was too hard for Yaveh, but now the Assyrians were too weak to inter-
295 fere, the Skythians were not disposed to try the mountains of Palestine, the Babylonians and the Egyptians were busy at home, and Iosiah and Iaveh were able to extend control over much of Samaria. With all this good luck the Judaïtes were made to believe that Iaveh was indeed god of gods and cared for his own. This was a generation of fanatic enthusiasts. Iosiah was as relentless as Samuel and Eliiah. He burned the priests of Baal on their altars: the sacred groves and high places and images were destroyed: the bones of the prophets of Baal were brought out of the sepulchers and burned upon the altars. Every honor was offered to Iaveh and every indignity imaginable visited upon the shrines and the worshipers of other gods.

After all this show of piety Javeh said, "I will move Judah also out of my sight, as I have moved Israel, and will cast off this city Jerusalem which I have chosen, and the house of which I have said, My name shall be there." The prophets knew that when the kinks were straightened out there would be a great power in Babylonia: things were shaping that way. They would not stake their reputation and the veracity of Javeh on the permanence of the present apparent prosperity.

423 One thing was now remarkable about these prophets of Iaveh: they dissuaded the people from fighting, but promised them that if they would be loyal to Iaveh he would give them "houses full of good things, which thou filledst not, and wells digged, which thou diggedst not, vineyards and olive trees, which thou plantedst not" (Deut. iv. 11, though written as late as Jeremiah). Everything was to come without labor on their part.

Iaveh was to do all this for them. They were to suffer without raising a hand, and Iaveh would set the other peoples to quarrelling and fighting among themselves, and when both parties were in sore straits they were to call in the children of Iaveh to arbitrate the differences, and they were to take possession or assume control. This promise became the covenant of the race. We shall see how they realized upon this covenant during and after the Captivity, and afterward followed other counsels and suffered unspeakable miseries.

424 Josiah's successors until the Captivity were of the liberal party and restored the worship of all the gods, but the puritans were now established. The temple was "desecrated" with the sacrifices to all the "host of heaven," and while the Yavehists sang their songs and praised Yaveh, and sacrificed as they could after their manner, those who wished, and very likely a majority, or they would have been suppressed, went their several ways and worshiped as they thought right, which always meant profitable, for they all looked for worldly profit and nothing beyond this life, the Javehists as well as the Baalists. When the Captivity actually occurred there were two kinds of Jews carried into Babylonia, the Yavehist puritans and the liberals. The puritans maintained their religious preferences or prejudices intact during all the trials of two generations, while the liberals entered into the life and energies of Babylonia, and prospered. The faithful cared for nothing beyond a bare subsistence, and bore captivity with a bad grace, all the while railing against their more energetic and successful countrymen as degenerate and apostate. Of course it is unexplainable that these puritans had no thought beyond this life and yet denied themselves comforts and cursed others for enjoying them. The worship of the gods has always been full of contradictions. All the predilections of man are contradictory.

425 About 586 B.C. the Babylonians took the Judaites captive and carried them to Babylon. Nabu-kudur-uzur permitted a few of the Jews of the middle and lower classes to remain in their country, hoping that they would cultivate the soil and follow the ways of peace, but they slew their governor, when Nebuchadrezzar moved them also into Babylon.

426 The Babylonians treated the Jews well. They gave them lands and the most promising of the young men were educated at the public charge in all the learning then attainable. The

Jews were permitted to retain their slaves, and buy and sell, and have all the opportunities of citizens of Babylonia. The Jews were held to a strict observance of Babylonian laws, as all subjects were, but on the other hand they learned to obey law and earn their living without robbery or oppression the same as other races under Babylonian control. While becoming industrious they learned to respect the rights and opinions of other peoples, and, being protected by the king and not in fear of invasion from without, they quieted down and became manageable. Nebuchadnezzar was bloated with self-importance, but he was a great man and his subjects were not permitted to fight or rob each other.



THE JEWS.

427 IN BABYLONIA the Hebrews from Judah were called Juda-
ites or Judæans, as we may translate the Hebrew or Aramaic
term. This name has undergone changes in successive tongues,
until in French it is Juifs and in English Jews. During the
Captivity they were called Jews in distinction from other Shem- 403
ites, who were then everywhere, though the Babylonians were
not Semitics.

While Cyrus was besieging Babylonia he was persuaded that
Isaiah had been told by Iaveh, and had written in a book of 450
prophecies, the following, "My will is that Cyrus, whom I have 202
appointed king over many and great nations, send my people
back to their own land, and build my temple." As this was said
to have been written before Cyrus was born he was persuaded
that it was genuine and meant him. Kurios (Cyrus) meant king, 190
and the prophecy easily fitted. After taking Babylon, therefore, 450
Cyrus gave order for the return of as many Jews as wished to go,
for the building of the temple at his cost, and the return of the
plunder taken from the temple by Nebuchadressar. Josephos
says that 42,462, with their effects and their slaves, returned.
Many Jews, however, remained in Babylonia, being unwilling to 202
leave the properties they had acquired. Thus was the race again
divided. But the lands in Judæa had been kept unoccupied, so
that the Jews had room for growth, and they were a prolific race.
As might be expected, the puritans returned and the liberals
remained in Babylonia.

428 I have said that Daniel, who was high priest at Babylon 190
under Nadintabel, assisted Darius in gaining an entrance into the
city, as some other Jews had assisted Cyrus, and that this is the
secret of the interest which the Persian kings took in the welfare
of the Jews. Whether Daniel lived at the time of Cýrus or later

with Darius I am undecided, but he was the chief agent on one of these occasions and other Jews did a like turn for the Persians on the other. Daniel had been honored with the highest office the Babylonian king could bestow upon him, and all the Jews had been so well treated that when Cyrus gave them permission to return to Judæa a great many of them stayed in Babylonia from choice, among the people they had grown up with and learned to like, for few of the present generation had ever seen Judæa. Certain Jews who had not been honored in Babylonia, and some who had been, were ready to betray their adopted country into the hands of its enemy in the promise that they might return to Judæa and set up an oligarchy, or remain and be quietly rewarded by the conqueror. These men became the leaders among the Jews in both Babylonia and Judæa, and covered their tracks by singing of the wickedness of Babylon! They were political adventurers: they brought misery upon their own race as well as upon Babylonia and her dependencies, but they got political power and were happy, and their stories have been believed by billions of good people.

429 Another very strong reason for believing that the Jews (the puritans) aided Cyrus in taking Babylon by opening the gates, and had a definite understanding with him, a royal edict in fact, is that after their return to Judæa they ceased to use the name of Javeh. The earliest tradition shows the Israelites were addicted to the worship of "the gods" (elohim'), then Iaveh grew into favor and became the national god, and though he was never accepted by the Jews as a race, probably at no time by a majority, he was accepted by the socialistic faction, the faction which
 380 returned to Judæa after the Captivity. When we follow these enthusiasts through all their vicissitudes, see them triumphant and then down and persecuted; see them reviled and reviling; see them faithful to their covenant during two generations in captivity—when we find their whole existence and hope bound up in Yaveh's promises, and then find that they cease at once to
 274 use his name, we may be sure there was very great cause for it. When Nebuchadrezzar took Jerusalem how many of the true Javehists would have renounced his name to save their lives? Probably not one. But now we find them voluntarily, so far as the records show, suppressing the name. The reform began at once as soon as the Jews had made a compact with Cyrus or his

representative. The Jews give up the name of their god and there is forever the best of feeling between them and the kings of Persia. There has been an endeavor to show that Cyrus was converted to Iaveh, or was a monotheist, but this is entirely unsupported by even Jewish history. The Persians were at that time, according to some authorities, monotheists, but laboring with a new order of priests who were introducing another divinity. Some were certainly iconoclasts. And it is now known that Cyrus was not a Persian, but an Elamite. The Jews had up 415 to this time tolerated images. Their household gods were life-size and every family had one, or tried to have one, the puritans, 204 the Yavehists and all alike. After the return we find them suppressing Javeh's name and all manner of images. Adon (lord) 273 or Adonai (my lord) became the favorite substitute. It was not a new name, but as old as Canaan. There is no room for doubting that the orthodox faith of the Jews was radically different 283 after the Captivity, and it is equally clear that the new faith was in many important particulars made in agreement with Persian ideas of that day. Josephus would not write Iaveh, but said it 393 was not lawful to do so. 390 468 429 91

430 Modern Hebrew scholars say that the book of Daniel was written long after the Captivity by some author unknown, and that Ezekiel and the second Isaiah (that is, the latter part of the book of Isaiah, beginning with the fortieth chapter) are the principal part of the literature during and after the Captivity. It is also conceded, even by orthodox scholars, that many parts of the older books of the Bible were written then, and other parts changed to agree with the notions of the puritans on their return. The priesthood was not installed, as the laws directed, until after the return. Then the government was radically changed from anything that had obtained in former ages. The sabbath was instituted, and the festivals rearranged or given new importance. This all agrees with the theory that the Jewish autonomy after the Captivity was devised and instituted under the direction or at least in conformity with the ideas of the Persian Zoroastrian priesthood of Ormuzd. 202 450

The Jews had always had other gods, and made all manner of images of them, even to the time of the return. They had not observed any sabbath day. They had not honored their parents, as all the tradition shows, but among the Persians, in their better

213 days, before their corruption in power, the love of children by
 353 parents was to adoration, and there were few instances of lack of
 affection of children for parents, even in the harems, and out of
 them, where marriages were single, the families were exemplary.
 374 The Israelites and Jews had little respect for life or property:
 their cupidity would not let them stop at murder, robbery or
 false witness, and if these misdemeanors were ever punished it
 was by a despot who was himself worse than the culprit, and who
 had a sinister purpose in inflicting the punishment. The Per-
 sians were the originators of the Decalog: they had practiced the
 precepts and found them salutary. The Jews willingly adopted
 them, and to give them force they ascribed them to Moses.

431 The Jews went up to Jerusalem and had one of their old-
 time feasts. They eat and drank for seven days while proving
 their genealogies and reminiscing. Formerly the praise for pros-
 perity was to Iaveh, but it is noticeable that after the return
 Cyrus and Darius got a large share of the praise, and this in ad-
 dition to the prayers that were required for the health and pros-
 perity of the king.

432 The prophets were politicians who advocated their own
 views of the policy or impolicy of the rulers and their peculiar
 ideas of political economy and administration. The people were
 called together at stated festivals when there were barbecues and
 feasts in which all took part, and on these occasions the utter-
 ances of the prophets were discussed. This was the means by
 which society, or the people in their individual capacities, were
 made acquainted with the doings of the administration and were
 enabled to form an opinion of the tactics or schemes of king or
 high priest. Moses or somebody was wise in providing for these
 471 gatherings; no provision of his constitution was more useful in
 holding the people together and securing harmony. Besides
 these stated gatherings to which all the Jews came, each head of
 a family was required to lay by a part of his crops or income for
 social uses, to provide entertainment free of cost to any Jew,
 whether stranger or acquaintance, who might happen to come
 his way, and if none came he was still required to use this por-
 tion for this purpose, even if he had to go abroad or send invita-
 tions to the multitude to come to him.

433 When a family moves into a neighborhood it is import-
 ant that the members try to begin on good terms with the people

already there. If they do this, and maintain good feelings for a time, any little friction that may thereafter be engendered may be smoothed, but if at first there be quarreling or hard words it will be hard afterward to get to a neighborly disposition. This is true of colonies as well as of single families. So when the Samaritans first came into the territory formerly occupied by the Israelites, and a bad feeling was at once engendered, grief for the future was stored up. When the Jews went into captivity the Samaritans rejoiced; when the Jews returned the Samaritans were displeased and jealous; when Darius refused to listen to their complaints, but ordered them to supply the Jewish priests with animals for sacrifice, "that they may not leave off their daily sacrifices, nor praying to Iaveh their god for me and the Persians," the Samaritans were made permanent enemies to the Jews, with a determination to get revenge as soon and as often as they could.

434 Artaxerxes had one hundred and twenty-seven provinces, and signed himself king of all the habitable earth and king of kings, so he could not understand the conditions in each province and the doings of the scattered races. Naturally this gave opportunity for intrigue and rascality. The Jews could by sharp practice or good fortune get any advantage of their enemies, but likewise they were in danger from their enemies. Since Moses' first battle with the Amalekites, these people had watched and waited for an occasion for revenge, but the Jews had indeed added to the enmity by destroying the Amalekites almost root and branch on another occasion. The Amalekites now thought they had a chance for revenge. Haman obtained favor with Artaxerxes and got a decree that all the Jews should be massacred on a certain day, and the decree was published everywhere. Two persons secured the recall of this decree. Esther, a Jewess, was queen to Artaxerxes, and she and her uncle Mordecai succeeded in getting the ear of the king and turning him against Haman. Artaxerxes was won over solely by Esther, who had been chosen queen in competition with all the belles of the empire after trial by Artaxerxes, and she had great power over the king. So completely was the king's mind changed, or so indifferent was he to the welfare of his subjects, that he gave Esther and Mordecai leave to issue orders as they pleased in this matter in his name. Now was the time to win peace with their enemies by seeking

out and punishing the conspirators or instigators of the plot, and stopping with just retribution. But Esther and Mordecai were as bloodthirsty as Samuel or Elijah, and gave orders to the Jews everywhere to exterminate the Amalekites, and all other of their enemies, and for two days they shed the blood of their enemies. Josephus says they murdered seventy-five thousand. The feast of Purim was instituted, to commemorate the preservation of the Jews, but such deeds brought upon them so much misery that it ought rather to have been a time of fasting in sackcloth and ashes. Mordecai and Esther revived the ways that had brought misery upon the race.

- 185 435 What were the ideas of the Jews in regard to heaven and earth, the gods and angels and their habitations? The best answer, and the one least likely to be antagonized, may be found in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible. The reader must remember
61 that in most places God should be read the gods, elohim, Jah or some form of the name, since the Jews had not the faintest conception of God as moderns accept the term.

436 HEAVEN. There are four Hebrew words thus rendered in the Old Testament. 1. Raki'a (Authorized Version firmament), a solid expanse. Through its open lattices (Gen. vii. 11; II. Kings vii. 2, 19) or doors (Ps. lxxviii. 23) the dew and snow and hail are poured upon the earth (Job xxxviii. 22, 37). This firm vault, which Job describes as being "strong as a molten looking glass" (xxxvii. 18), is transparent, like pellucid sapphire, and splendid as crystal (Dan. xii. 3; Ex. xxiv. 10; Ez. i. 22; Rev. iv. 6), over which rests the throne of God (Is. lxvi. 1; Ez. i. 26), and which is opened for the descent of angels, or for prophetic visions (Gen. xxviii. 17; Ez. i. 1; Acts vii. 56, x. 11). In it, like gems or golden lamps, the stars are fixed, to give light to the earth, and regulate the seasons (Gen. i. 14-19); and the whole magnificent, immeasurable structure (Jer. xxxi. 37) is supported by the mountains as
539 its pillars, or strong foundations (Ps. xviii. 7; II. Sam. xxii. 8;
366 Job xxiv. 11).—2. Shamayim. This is the word used in the expression "the heaven and the earth," or "the upper and lower regions" (Gen. i. 1).—3. Marom, used for heaven in Ps. xviii. 16; Jer. xxv. 30; Is. xxiv. 18. Properly speaking, it means a mountain, as in Ps. cii. 19; Ez. xvii. 23.—4. Shechakim, "expanses," with reference to the extent of heaven (Deut. xxxiii. 26; Job xxxv. 5). St. Paul's expression "third heaven" (II. Cor. xii. 2)

has led to much conjecture. Grotius said that the Jews divided the heaven into three parts: the air or atmosphere, where clouds gather; the firmament, in which the sun, moon and stars are fixed; the upper heaven, the abode of God and his angels.

437 EARTH. The views of the Hebrews on cosmogony are confessedly imperfect and obscure. The earth was regarded as not only the central point of the universe, but as the universe 230 itself, every other body—the heavens, sun, moon and stars—being 519 subsidiary to and, as it were, the complement of the earth. As with the heaven itself, so also with the heavenly bodies; they were regarded solely as the ministers of the earth. With regard to the earth's body, the Hebrews conceived its surface to be an immense disk, supported like the flat roof of an eastern house by pillars (Job ix. 6; Ps. lxxv. 3), which rested on solid foundations (Job xxxviii. 4, 6; Ps. civ. 5; Prov. viii. 29); but where those foundations were on which the "sockets" of the pillars rested, none could tell (Job xxxviii. 6). Other passages (Ps. xxiv. 2, 123 cxxxvi. 6) seem to imply the existence of a vast subterranean ocean; the words, however, are susceptible of the sense that the earth was elevated above the level of the seas. Beneath the earth's surface was sheol, the hollow place, "hell" (Num. xvi. 30; Deut. xxxii. 22; Job xi. 8). It extended beneath the sea (Job xxvi. 5, 6), and was thus supposed to be conterminous with the upper world. Jerusalem might be regarded as the center of the earth (Ez. v. 5; Judges ix. 37; Ez. xxxviii. 12).

438 HELL. This is the word generally and unfortunately used by our translators to render the Hebrew Sheol. It is deep (Job xi. 8) and dark (Job xi. 21, 22), in the center of the earth (Num. xvi. 30; Deut. xxxii. 22); having within it depths on depths (Prov. ix. 18), and fastened with gates (Is. xxxviii. 10) and bars (Job xvii. 16). In this cavernous realm are the souls of dead men, the Rephaim and ill spirits (Ps. lxxxvi. 13, lxxxix. 48; Prov. xxiii. 14; Ez. xxxi. 17, xxxii. 21). It is obvious that Job xi. 8, Ps. cxxxix. 8, Am. ix. 2 (where "hell" is used as the antithesis of "heaven"), merely illustrate the Jewish notions of the locality of Sheol in the bowels of the earth. The Hebrew ideas respecting Sheol were vague.

439 MICHAEL. "One," or "the first of the chief princes" or archangels (Dan. x. 13), described in Dan. x. 21 as the "prince" of Israel, and in xii. 1 as "the great prince which standeth" in

time of conflict "for the children of thy people." All these passages belong to that late period of its Revelation, when, to the general declaration of the angelic office, was added the division of that office into parts, and the assignment of them to individual angels. As Gabriel represents the ministration of the angels toward man, so Michael is the type and leader of their strife, in God's name and his strength, against the power of Satan. He is the guardian of the Jewish people in their antagonism to godless power and heathenism.

440 ANGELS. By the word "angels" (i. e., "messengers" of God) we ordinarily understand a race of spiritual beings, of a nature exalted far above that of man, although infinitely removed from that of God, whose office is "to do him service in heaven, and by his appointment to succor and defend men on earth." The very fact that the titles "sons of God" (Job i. 6, xxxviii. 7; Dan. iii. 25 compared with 28), and "gods" (Ps. viii. 5, xcvi. 7), applied to them, are also given to men (Ps. lxxxii. 6), points to a difference only of degree, and an identity of kind, between the human and the angelic nature. They eat (Gen. xix. 3). Of their office in heaven we have, of course, only vague prophetic glimpses (as in I. Kings xxii. 19; Is. vi. 1-3; Dan. vii. 9, 10, etc.), which show us nothing but a never ceasing adoration. Their office toward man is far more fully described to us. They are represented as being, in the widest sense, agents of God's providence, natural and supernatural, to the body and to the soul. The operations of nature are spoken of as under angelic guidance fulfilling the will of God.

441 SERAPHIM. An order of celestial beings, whom Isaiah beheld in vision standing above Jehovah as he sat upon his throne (Is. vi. 2-6). They are described as having each of them three pairs of wings. They seem to have borne a general resemblance to the human figure, for they are represented as having a face, a voice, feet and hands. Their occupation was twofold—to celebrate the praises of Jehovah's holiness and power, and to act as the medium of communication between heaven and earth. The idea of a winged human figure was not peculiar to the Hebrews. Among the sculptures found at Mourghaub, in Persia, we meet with a representation of a man with two pairs of wings.

442 SATAN. The word itself, the Hebrew *satan*, is simply an adversary, and is so used in I. Sam. xxix. 4; II. Sam. xix. 22; I.

Kings v. 4, xi. 14, 23, 25; Num. xxii. 22, 32; Ps. cix. 6. It is used as a proper name or title only four times in the Old Testament, viz. (with the article) in Job i. 6, 12, ii. 1, Zech. iii. 1, and (without the article) in I. Chron. xxi. 1. In accordance with the "economy" and progressiveness of God's revelation, the existence of Satan is but gradually revealed. In the first entrance of evil into the world, the temptation is referred only to the serpent. Throughout the whole period of the patriarchal and Jewish dispensation this vague and imperfect revelation of the Source of Evil alone was given. In the book of Job, for the first time, we find a distinct mention of "Satan," the "adversary" of Job. The Captivity brought the Israelites face to face with the great dualism of the Persian mythology—the conflict of Ormuzd with Ahriman, the coördinate Spirit of Evil. In the books written after the Captivity we have again the name of "Satan" twice mentioned (I. Chron. xxi. 1; Zech. iii. 1, 2). But the apocryphal books (as, for example, Tobit and Judith), while dwelling on "demons," have no notice of Satan.

443 DEMONS. In Josephus we find the word "demons" used always of evil spirits. By Philo it appears to be used in a more general sense, as equivalent to "angels," and referring to both good and evil. 120
447

444 Bearing in mind these ideas of heaven and the habitation of the gods and their angels or spirits, we can understand the full meaning of II. Kings xvii. The colonists from Assyria and Babylonia took possession of Samaria (Israel) and were afterward called Samaritans. They brought with them their own gods and worship, but did not prosper, and sent to the king of Assyria (about 678 B.C.) and said: "The nations which thou hast moved and set in the cities of Samaria know not the manner of the god of the land. Then the king of Assyria commanded that some of the priests who had been brought from the land should be sent back, to teach the colonists the manner of the god of the land. Then one of the priests whom they had carried away from Samaria came and dwelt in Bethel, and taught them how they should fear the gods." The worship of Javeh had not been the worship of the land, but the Israelites had "feared" images, so the Samaritans did likewise: each tribe kept the gods it had brought from the east: but the Pentateuch that had been in the possession of the Israelites, and which undoubtedly was the same 404

as all the Hebrews, if not all the Canaanites, had before the Captivity, was given to them, and they preserved the laws and traditions as they were before the Captivity. This chapter, then, seems to be conclusive that the Jews learned from the reformed Zoroastrians to despise images. But this is still an open question. One thing this chapter does settle, however: that the gods had possession of certain parts of heaven and earth under their

204 footstools, so that the god that might have helped these Samaritans in Mesopotamia had no jurisdiction in Samaria, and the Samaritans must become acquainted with the local gods and sacrifice to them in the customary manner. David, when he was threatened with overthrow, was afraid that he would have to go into another land, where he could not be heard by Yaveh, and would have to learn to worship the gods who were native there.

283 445 We find, then, that the Jews always had, at the least, two
184 principal gods, Yaveh and Satan, agreeing with Ormuzd and Ahriman of the Persians and others who brought them from the east. The Persians at one time had only one principal god, Ormuzd the good. During the reign of Jemshid, a king of Iran, the religion of Ormuzd was promulgated, and it is related in the Zendavesta that in the days of this most glorious of mortals "animals did not perish: there was no lack of water, or of fruit-bearing trees, or of animals fit for the food of mankind. During the light of his reign there was neither frost nor burning heat, nor death, nor unbridled passions. Man appeared to retain continuously the age of fifteen. Children grew up in health as long as Yemshid reigned the father of his people." Then there appeared another deity, Ahriman, with a retinue of angels like those of

187 Ormuzd, and another order of priests (magi) introduced his worship into the earth. This made trouble. Both the gods could not be accounted good. Ahriman was denounced as bad and his magi were anathema to the magi of Ormuzd. This was a growth with the Medes and Persians, but the Jews adopted the dual idea at once. In this way Satan was made subordinate or inferior to Yaveh, though there are passages which infer that he was once in the same heaven with Yaveh and they were co-workers. It was the mission of Zoroaster to cast out Ahriman and his magi and restore the pure worship of Ormuzd, but the two orders of

189 priests remained, and Cyrus gained the support of both. The Jews, having become estranged from the former host of gods in

Canaan, and having adopted the Persian notions of duality, were free to unite the two systems with one order of priests, and under the patronage of Cyrus and his successors they gave up their former gods and returned to the worship of the *elohim*, and this term became very vague. Satan was seldom mentioned. *Elohim* was both plural and singular in use, if modern scholars are correct. There is difficulty in determining what was the idea of the writer of any particular passage of the later writers. There was great freedom. Every Jew had his own ideas, though all were set against everything foreign except Persian.

446 In the Egyptian mythology *Osi'ris* was the *Ormuzd* of the Persians. *Osiris* was a great traveler and teacher and made the earth a paradise. He had a wife, *Isis*, and they had a son and a daughter, *Orus* and *Bubastis*. *Osiris*, *Isis* and *Orus* are represented as a triad or trinity. *Osiris* had a brother, *Typhon*, the *Ahriman* of the Persians. *Typhon* was envious and wicked. He made war upon *Osiris* and killed him. *Orus* continued the struggle, and with the aid of the shade of his father he subdued *Typhon*. By other authors this tradition is given another turn. *Typhon* was the god of the waters, of rain, and brought a flood. He built an ark in which to carry away his brother *Osiris* and dispose of him, and it was for this purpose that he brought the flood upon the earth. *Osiris* escaped from the ark. The mystic tradition was preserved by the Egyptians to typify death and resurrection, the imprisonment in the ark signifying death and burial and the escape signifying the resurrection. But this conceit of the Egyptians, with the numerous personages in each party, does not detract from the value of the tradition of a god and a devil: the Persians had no idea that *Ormuzd* and *Ahriman* were the only deities.

447 But was even the later Jewish system monotheistic? Not only are we puzzled by Satan if he is not a god, but with him are *Michael*, *Gabriel*, *Beëlzebub* and other individualities, and a host of angels and spirits, who, whatever their nature, are not mortals. If *Yaveh* and Satan are the fathers of spirits, are their offspring divine? If these spirits are divine, in what manner or in what degree are they different from the associate gods and goddesses of the Egyptians? If the Egyptians were not able to distinguish divinities sufficiently to name and recognize them, are we to believe that the Hebrews or Jews could do so? If *Yaveh* has been

seen by no mortal, but he sends his angels to deliver his messages and bring reports from the mortals on earth, then man must depend upon the good or bad reports made by the messengers; ¶85 if this is so, as many texts affirm, it is important that men keep
281 in the favor of the angels. This is just what the neighbors of
769 the Jews did, and they seem to have fared as well as the Jews.

448 When you understand the festivals and feasts of the Jews you have the ideas and customs of nearly all of the ancients.
27 Most of them were brought from the far east, probably from America, and were summed up in Sabaism, or astrology. All of the ancients sacrificed to the gods with the idea that the gods
88 wanted the same food and drink as men. Hence the Mosaic law required the sacrifices at sunrise, at high noon and at sunset, and that the portion for the elohim or Yaveh, with a prescribed libation of wine (drink offering), should be provided and offered as demanded. Besides these daily feasts there were occasions, as at certain times of the moon, when there must be more food, as well as some variety and a change in the vintage of the wine. When Yaveh smelled the savor and it was agreeable he was pleasant and gracious, but woe unto them if he was not satisfied.

449 There were three principal or great feasts: the equinoctial feasts, in spring and autumn, and that at the winter solstice. 1. The Jews called the feast of the spring equinox by its correct astronomic name, the passover; that is, when the Sun passed over the line on his way from south to north. To give it a special meaning and make it a memorial to the race of the Jews this feast was said to commemorate the passing over of the angel of the god of Israel, in Egypt, when the first-born of the Egyptians were slain. 2. The autumn passover was called the feast of the tabernacles, when all the Jews must get out of their houses and live a week in tents or shanties. This was said to celebrate the
360 passage over the Red Sea when the Israelites were saved and the
519 Egyptians were drowned. The feasts were astrologic. Owing to inaccuracy in the Jewish calendar they sometimes fell in other months, but they were intended to be celebrated in March and September, at the true equinox. Lev. xxiii. 4 says these feasts were to mark the seasons. 3. There was another feast, that corresponded with the modern Christmas, and was a season of joy when the Sun stopped in his southern journey and began to return, promising to drive away cold and darkness and restore



warmth and light. "May the Lord (the Sun) draw nigh, that we may feel his presence, and know that he careth for us," was taken literally and as palpably true as the presence of the sun and its light is to Christians. 4. Few of the Asians marked the summer solstice. They did not seem to care whether the Sun stayed or went away: it was not appreciated until it got far away and the superstitious were afraid they would lose it.

450 ALEXANDER OF MACEDON, when he was besieging Tyre, 303 sent to the Jews for supplies, which they refused. When Tyre 748 had been taken and Alexander was ready to continue his marauding march the high priest was in consternation. Then there happened a remarkable coincidence in dreams. The high priest dreamed that he should dress the city in holiday attire, the priests in their sacerdotal robes, the people all in white, and go out and meet Alexander and conduct him into the city. Now Alexander was shown in his dream just such a procession and assured that the priest at the head of it would bring him victory in his wars against Persia. So there was joy among Jews and Greeks that day, and it was heightened when the sacred books were shown to Alexander and he was told that there was a prophecy by Daniel that a Greek would destroy the empire of the Persians. 427 The Jews were spared and respected by Alexander. They willingly submitted to the usual customs and tribute, but obtained a remission in the seventh or sabbatic year, as they produced nothing in that year.

Remember that there had been no such plea or concession in any of the dealings of the Israelites or Judaites before the Captivity. Solomon as suzerain of other nations and Hezekiah as 430 tributary to Sargon and Sennacherib had not said a word about a sabbath day or a sabbath year. The sabbath laws were not known until the Captivity; but though they were a graft upon the Hebrew traditions they were rigorously observed.

451 At the division of the Macedonian empire (323 B.C.) Ptolemy Soter secured Egypt and Syria. The other provinces submitted without a struggle, but the Jews refused to recognize his 370 authority. Ptolemy did not make war upon them to subjugate them, but visited Jerusalem on a sabbath day to offer sacrifice and to pay his respects to the gods of the Jews. The day after 457 the sabbath the Jews found their city in the possession of Ptole-

my. They were treated by their master as spoils of war. A large part of the Jews were moved into Egypt and mixed with Samaritan captives and refugees. These were more fortunate than those left in Judæa, and many others followed, until Judæa was almost depopulated. Again it was the liberal element that chose a foreign land: the puritans would remain in Judæa whatever the fortune.

This was for the good of the Jews, however; for Ptolemy Philadelphus (250 B.C.) had a great desire for a complete library, and restored all the Jews who wished to return to their country, in order to obtain the favor of the high priest toward the copying of the literature of the Jews. This being done by seventy of the most learned Jews and a number of Greek scholars, the Egyptians became possessed of a Greek copy of the Jewish writings, and the Jews were brought to the notice of the scholars and law-makers of the world. Another account is that the Jews in Alexandria had learned Greek and forgotten Aramaic and wanted the laws and traditions in their adopted tongue; that it was at a later
 456 date, and just before the rebellion of the Maccabees.

452 As the Jews came more in contact with other peoples they dropped some of their peculiarities. The politics of Judæa were shaped in keeping with those of other countries, and the pleasure and wrath of El were not so much minded as the growth and decay of the military powers of Asia and Europe. So long as the Jews could be independent of the rest of the world the prophets spoke as oracles of the gods, but now the high priest and the elders wanted to know the ability and disposition of the conquerors who swayed the destinies of the nations. The laws were observed in the main, and the effort to maintain them and the national polity and traditions was made as formerly, but it is noticeable in the writings that there was less of the superstition with each generation.

453 Anti'ochus and Ptolemy Euer'getes, after a long series of wars, made a peace. Ptolemy received the daughter of Antiochus and with her Kele-Syria, Judæa, Phœnicia and Samaria.
 406 An incident of this time will show the manner of laying and collecting taxes and tribute. It was customary to farm them, and when the time came to let them out for the year the principal men and rulers of Syria and Phœnicia assembled to bid on them. They arranged among themselves that they were to bid eight

thousand talents for the farming of the revenues in Phœnicia, Celesyria, Judæa and Samaria. These bidders were organized into a trust or combine to keep down the amount to be paid to the king and make big profits for themselves. It was notorious, too, that they laid heavier burdens upon the other provinces than upon their own. A Jew named Joseph had the good fortune to get the confidence of the king, and when he saw the combination bidding down the privileges he doubled their bid, offering sixteen thousand talents, and got the office. He was clothed with all the power and authority of the king to enforce collections, so when the people of Askalon refused to pay the amount assessed against them he put to death about twenty of the wealthiest and confiscated their wealth. This scared others and they paid what was demanded of them. Joseph got great wealth for himself and spared his countrymen. He held the office twenty years, until the Jews were in better circumstances than their neighbors and were envied by all. This custom of farming the revenues was bad in every particular, but it was in fashion, and Joseph knew that if the others got it the Jews would be at their mercy. He was not so much at fault as was the custom, but he and his folk throve and their neighbors and rivals remembered them when there came another turn at the wheel of fortune. 371

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454 While there was prosperity in Judæa and peace with the king of Egypt, to whom the Jews owed suzerainty, there arose a contention over the succession to the office of high priest. The weaker side appealed to the king and he appointed their choice. Then the other faction, who were in turn weaker, appealed to Antiochus IV. (Epiph'anes), the Macedonian king of Syria, and he gave them permission to become Greeks, forsake Jewry and introduce Greek customs at Jerusalem. Antiochus then made war against Ptolemy Philome'tor for the possession of Egypt, or her provinces in Asia, and was about to succeed, when he was advised by a delegate from Rome to desist. It is related that this Roman delegate was unassuming in dress, though easy in self-possession, and accompanied by a few friends only. He went to Antiochus in camp in Egypt and delivered the message from Rome. Antiochus was disposed to treat the delegate as an ordinary person, but the delegate with unruffled temper told him to act his pleasure: Rome had spoken once in words: Antiochus knew Rome: Rome wanted Egypt. 370

Antiochus then left Egypt and marched upon Jerusalem. The apostate Jews opened the gates and he entered without opposition, professing to be friendly. But not only was Greece now degenerate, but the Macedonians were more degenerate than others. Antiochus (175 to 164 B.C.) treated the Jews worse than any other conquerors had. The race had never suffered such indignities. He forbade the circumcision of the babes, and strangled or crucified those who performed it and those who suffered it. He destroyed part of the city and put up buildings in the Greek style. The temple was pillaged and the altars desecrated with the sacrifice of hogs, while the Jewish sacrifices were prohibited under penalty of death. There was a studied effort to harrow the souls of the pious Jews by any and every act forbidden in the laws of Moses. The Samaritans, who paraded as Jews when the Jews were fortunate and as anything else when the Jews were

433 unfortunate, as Josephus says, now denied that they were Jews, but admitted that a long time ago they had followed some of the Jewish superstitions, particularly the sabbath day and the sabbath year. They got permission to dedicate their temple to Jupiter

278 Hellenius. The puritan Jews had no friends.

538 455 When Camby'ses the Persian was in Egypt, and had conquered the whole country, Herodotos says he added insult by destroying their temples and gods and making sport of their sacred things. The Greek says he must have been mad; "for if any one should propose to all men to choose the best institutions of all that exist, each, after considering them all, would

538 choose their own; so certain is it that each thinks his own ways by far the best. It is not therefore probable that any but a madman would make such things the subject of ridicule." Herodotos also cites as an instance a trial by Dari'us. He called before him some Greeks who were his subjects and asked them for what sum they would feed upon the dead bodies of their parents. They answered that there could not be raised a sum big enough to hire them to do so. Darius then called up some Indians (Cal-latians) and asked them for what sum they would consent to burn the bodies of their fathers when they die. They begged him to talk of something else. They were as religious in eating their fathers as the Greeks were in not eating theirs: if their fathers died by accident and their bodies were lost, and not eaten by their family, it was looked upon as a great calamity. So we



have the opinion of a Greek as to the hainousness or idiocy of playing with a people's religious predilections, and now we have a Greek committing that act against conscience.

456 The high priest (Onias) who was loyal to Ptolemy fled to Egypt and was assisted in building a temple at Alexandria. For 515 a long time afterward the Alexandrian Jews vied with those of Judæa in following the traditions and sacrifices, and some of the time Alexandria was the seat of the Jewish faith. It was for this new Jewish colony, strong, numerous and almost independent, speaking the Greek altogether, that the Septuagint version of the laws and records was made, but at what time is doubtful. The 451 Septuagint became valuable because the originals were destroyed by Greeks and Romans. But the history of the Jews must follow those in Judæa until the destruction of Jerusalem and final scattering.

457 There was now no Jewish nation (196 B.C.), and scarcely 261 a Jewish people, in Judæa. The Macedonian kingdom of Syria 378 was master; most of the Jews were scattered or slain, and those that remained in Judæa were compelled to sacrifice to Grecian gods, and in the Grecian manner: it was not enough that they see Greeks offer the sacrifices, the Jews themselves must do it. It was while affairs were in this state that Judas Maccabe'us took a bold stand and raised a sedition. The Greek officer whose duty it was to see that the sacrificing was done according to orders had ordered the Jews present to begin. There was some hesitation in this instance and some Jew asked Judas to offer for the assembly. Judas declined. Then a young Jew, seeing that some one must sacrifice, stepped to the altar and began, when Judas rushed upon him and killed him and then killed the Macedonian officer. Judas did not know how many Jews would come to his help, but he made the effort to rouse them. The patriotic Jews repaired to the desert and hid in caves and hills. The Greeks followed them and the sabbath coming then, the Jews were shut up in the caves and smoked to death, hunted in the hills, and everywhere killed on sight. The case was desperate, and Judas advised his people that they should so far give up their strict observance of the sabbath that they should fight when attacked. 451 469. The Jews then began to fight, and fought desperately. The Greeks were in possession of all the strongholds and Judas had but few men and scarcely any arms until he had captured them.

The Jews suffered terribly, but they brought death and defeat to the Macedonians and drove them out (169 B.C.).

750 458 While the Macedonians were trying to restore their kind of order in Judæa there were many changes in the political map of Asia. It seemed that the whole of Asia was given up to the game of war and intrigue. Treachery was rampant. In this time of bloodshed and rapine the Jews made important conquests. They responded to the call of patriotism, and when fortune came their way they were as bad as the worst. After making a loud complaint because the Greeks had forced their religious notions upon them, the Jews in their turn burned the temples of
487 other gods and destroyed their captives who would not adopt the Jewish rites in all particulars. When Greeks and Asiatics conquered each other there was not added to the hardness of feelings the unquenchable fires of religious rancor, but in these contests between Jews and others it was a case of life or death, since the conquerors would not give quarter to the enemy of their gods.

459 The meeting-house of modern times, as distinct from a temple or cathedral, is said to have originated with the Jews during the Babylonian Captivity. Whether or not it was an institution in Babylonia or other parts of Mesopotamia, or originated from the condition and habits of the Jews during their sojourn of some fifty years, I can not discover, but the records indicate that it was an institution of the Jews soon after the return to Judæa, and was in working order following the times of the Maccabees. As might be expected, some were big and some little houses, with one or many leaders and assistants. Jerusalem being the holy city, each meeting-house faced toward it. In each there was a chest or closet to contain the local records and the copies of the law and the prophets. So far as there was any local government the meeting-house was the seat, and the officers were the civil as well as religious guides and judges. The services consisted of readings and explanations by those set apart or deputed for the occasion. Besides the regular sabbath meetings there were others for prayer and instruction. At all meetings the songs or psalms were sung by the congregation and formed the most important part of the worship, the preaching and expounding being rather exegetic of the law and the common duties than inspiring in a spiritual way. These local meetings worked a revolution in the Jewish commonwealth.

460 From the time of the Captivity for a period of 471 or 481 years (both numbers in Josephus) the Jewish government was what may properly be called an oligarchy or a republic. Josephus says it was a democracy, but it lacked the essential element of a democracy. In a democracy the laws are ratified by the people, and no officer of government can be appointed or chosen except by the votes of the people. In Judæa during the nearly five centuries between the Captivity and the usurpation of the government the high priest was the head. Only one family was eligible to this office, and while there was sometimes trickery in obtaining the office, the people had little to say about it. There was a senate of seventy persons called a sanhedrim, but the common people, the democracy, were not eligible to it, nor were they consulted in choosing members. The government was aristocratic, oligarchic, not democratic.

461 A part of the time the Jews were under the suzerainty of some greater power, and then the high priest and other high officials were appointed by the king who overruled them. There was then a rivalry to see who could please the foreign king and obtain the honors, and this led so many Jews to apostatize that it was sometimes difficult to know who was a true Jew. This contention began soon after the Captivity, and in the time of the Maccabees there were so many apostate or renegade Jews that they were able to dispute the name of Jew with the conservatives. When the conservatives were victorious they were more persistent in punishing renegades than foreign foes. Then it was natural that the renegades should retaliate when their day came. This state of feeling made peace and quiet impossible.

462 During these ages of despotism and tumult there arose two principal parties or sects among the Jews. These parties were the Pharisees and the Sadducees. There was a third party, the Esse'nes, but third parties in politics are like a fifth wheel to a wagon, so I shall waste no space with the Essenes. The Sadducees were close constructionists: they opposed every innovation and held to a strict observance of the laws of Moses: they appealed to the wealthy and those whose interests for the time were in existing conditions. The Pharisees accepted the laws of Moses, but insisted that the present generation were not living with or for Moses or any other ancient; that as Moses did away old things and instituted new, so they had a right to interpret his

laws in the light of present conditions and do accordingly; that in arriving at a sense of their duty they had a right to preserve and profit by the traditions of the Jews for all past time. The common people were generally with the Pharisees. These two parties changed, as is natural, and men changed from one to the other, as their interests and sentiments changed.

463 From other Jewish sources I learn that the Pharisees were sticklers for the law and the Sadducees for an easy life and nominal respect for the law. This seems more reasonable. The Pharisees might champion the law as the basis of religion and government and still be merciful or lenient to violators of it, while the Sadducees might twist the law to their own interpretation and use it for their selfish purposes. It is the part of the oligarchy to be free with law as it relates to them and harsh when they can use it against the common people. The interest of the common people is usually in the enforcement of law. They suffer when there is a one-sided enforcement, and this the Sadducees wanted. Jesus was a Pharisee, and his work was among them: he could not reach the Sadducees. But a well informed Jew will tell you that it is difficult to define the differences between the two parties, now and long since extinct.

464 Strabo, speaking of these generations of the Jews, says:
 519 "The successors of Moses continued for some time to observe the same conduct, doing justly and worshipping God with sincerity. Afterward superstitious persons were appointed to the priesthood, and then tyrants. From superstition came abstinence from flesh, from the eating of which it is now the custom to refrain, then circumcision, excision (spaying) and other practices which the people observe. The tyrannical government produced robbery; for the rebels plundered both their own and the neighboring countries. Those also who shared in the government seized upon the possessions of others, and ravaged a large part of Syria and of Phœnicia. Such was Moses and his successors. Their beginning was good, but they degenerated." As to the Jewish practice of spaying, Strabo repeats his statement when he comes to write up the Ethiopians, saying of them: "This, however, of all their usages is most to be admired, that they bring up all children that are born. They circumcise males and spay females, as is the custom also among the Jews, who are of Egyptian origin, as I said when I was treating of them."

465 Strabo was skeptical. His own words are: "Law is two-¹⁵⁸
fold, divine and human. The ancients regarded and respected⁵⁹⁷
divine in preference to human law. In those times, therefore, the
number of persons who consulted oracles was very great. What
truth there may be in these things I can not say; they have at
least been regarded and believed as true by mankind." He gives
the Jews credit for being sincere once, but thinks that in these
times they were degenerate. It is certain that they held more
tenaciously to the old beliefs than did other races at that time.
Greeks and Romans had given up their early credulity, and if
they degenerated in some respects they at least learned to be
civil and human: they could endure people of very different race
without wishing to destroy them because they did not worship
the same god, or worship in the same manner. The Pharisees
wanted to be progressive; their professions would lead one to
believe that they could have tolerated heathen in the city of Jeru-
salem, the holy city.

466 In all ages there have been conservatives and liberals.
There is no general rule by which to judge of the merits of the
two classes. If there was always a close observance of the estab-
lished laws and customs there could be no progress; and if all
attempts at innovation were successful there could be no stability.
The conservative Jews would have refused all intercourse with
gentiles and have made the contest so bitter that the entire de-
struction of the Jews would have resulted. If the liberal Jews,
the renegades, had had their way they might have reformed the
government and customs to such an extent as to make the race
progressive and prosperous, but they also might have made so
many changes that the race would have been lost in a maze of
ideas. Party feeling silenced reason, and the shrewdest schemers
got the advantages.

467 The second Isaiah (chap. xlv.) makes a strong argument⁴³⁰⁻
against graven and molten gods. A god made of wood or metal^{383.}
is of no use to man, unless the material be used for some prac-
tical purpose. But the belief in the efficacy of the worship of
wooden gods did not make a lack of the necessities of life, nor
hinder the people from being devout. For if the wooden gods
were made by men it may be said that moderns also make their
gods. We do not now make statues and call them gods. What^{363:}
is God to you? He is the summing up of your ideas of right^{538.}

and wrong, of your ideas of your duty and your neighbors' duty. Whatever you think is right you think God thinks is right, and your conception of God you call your god, only that you now
 728 write it with a big G and deceive yourself into believing that you have not made your god. The attributes of God is God, and each individual ascribes to God the attributes of his ideal: when his ideas change his god changes. Then no two persons worship the same god, since no two persons have exactly the same ideas. Isaiah was arguing with those Jews who were slow in giving up their wooden gods to accept the Persian idea-gods; was in fact giving notice that the Jews who returned to Judæa must accept the new order of things as arranged in Babylonia.

468 The Jewish ideas of the gods had now undergone almost complete change since the time of Hezekiah. Formerly many of the names of men were compounds of Jah with other nouns and pronouns. Abijah was from ab (father), i (my) and Jah (Jahveh) = Javeh is my father. Elijah meant Javeh is my god; Adoniah, Iaveh is my lord; Isaiah, Iaveh is my shepherd; Josiah, the fire of Javeh. Jahveh (or Jahu) now being suppressed, it being unlawful to utter the name, it could not be used in forming names.
 429 Other divine names were still used. El and Adon were the more popular names at this time. The Jews never had any name that was peculiar to themselves, though whatever name they used,
 305 even El, the most general name, they tried to regard as peculiar. In this confusion every Jew had his individual opinions, and now we may have our views of their belief and assert almost anything of them with little fear of successful refutation.

469 Strabo makes it plain that he did not mean that the rebels
 199 only were robbers, but that all the Jews were anarchists. "When Judæa openly became subject to a tyrannical government, the first person who changed the title of priest for that of king was
 460 Alexander (107 B.C.). His sons were Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. While they were disputing the succession, Pompey came upon them by surprise, deprived them of their power, and destroyed their fortresses, first taking Jerusalem itself by storm (63 B.C.). It was a stronghold, on a rock, well fortified and well supplied with water within, but outside entirely parched with drouth. A ditch had been cut in the rock, 60 feet deep and 250 feet wide. On the wall of the temple were built towers, made of the materials from the ditch. The city was taken by waiting for

the sabbath, on which day the Jews were in the habit of abstaining from all work. Pompey on these sabbath days filled the ditch and threw bridges over it. He gave orders to raze all the walls, and he destroyed, as far as he could, the haunts of the robbers and the treasure-holds of the tyrants. Two of these forts, Thrax and Taurus, were situated in the passes leading to Jericho. Others were Alexandrium, Hyrcanium, Machærus, Lysias and those about Philadelphia, and Skythopolis near Galilee. Pompey curtailed the territory which had been forcibly appropriated by the Jews, and assigned to Hyrcanus the priesthood." Strabo says that Pompey came upon the brothers unawares, but Josepos says that Hyrcanus had appealed to him to do justice in their dispute, and that when Aristobulus would not respect Pompey, Pompey turned upon him and had the help of Hyrcanus and his partisans, who surrendered the city. It was only the temple that was taken by force. Hyrcanus was made high priest by Pompey, while Aristobulus was put in chains and carried to Rome.

470 When the besieged were on the verge of starvation, when the walls had been carried, when the conquerors were slaying the victims, the victim Jews did not abate one iota of their services and ceremonies in the temple, but without any defense or fear stood at the altar and offered sacrifices, and when one was cut down another took the vacant place. The prophets had foretold that such calamities should come upon them, but this does not account for this courage and indifference to suffering. Why should they undertake impossible things and not learn that they could not perform them? that there would be no advantage to them or the world if they should succeed? Their traditions and superstitions were so ingrained in them that they could not forsake them. Yet they hated each other worse than they hated the uncircumcised: they might show quarter to others in war, but not to each other. When the walls had been forced the Jews who had surrendered the city and helped Pompey continued the slaughter of their countrymen after the Romans had desisted. A Jew would not ask quarter from a Jew.

471 The idea of the Jews that they were a chosen and favored race, an idea instilled into them by prophets, poets and priests, with the promise that they were to possess and control the earth, made them love glory. They believed that earth and heaven would be delivered to their race, and each one believed that he

would have glory in proportion to his valor and sufferings: hence
 381 if war was not apparently successful it was in a glorious cause.
 But the very force of this mad idea defeated its success; for since
 it was more glorious to conquer a valiant enemy, and the love of
 glory was become the overruling passion, it followed that the
 greatest glory was in overcoming fellow-Jews as the most valiant
 warriors and schemers. So the Jews, while they were proud of
 conquest and rule over gentiles, in proportion to their supposed
 strength, were yet more proud if they could exercise authority
 525 over Jews. Hence, as Josephus says, they were used to fighting,
 and would rather die than be controlled, even by their own rulers,
 and were always ready for sedition and innovation. It was nec-
 348 essary to watch them at every festival. What should have been
 432 a means of securing harmony occasioned riot.

472 Judæa was not made a part of the Roman empire, but
 349 accepted as an ally or friend. Pompey did not disturb the treas-
 ures of the temple, but went into the most holy place, and the
 Jews never forgave him. When the contest came between him
 and Julius Cæsar the Jews assisted Cæsar solely on account of
 this impiety.

473 Gabinius, a Roman general, was sent by Pompey or the
 senate to look after Judæa and neighborhood. He had to con-
 quer Judæa. Alexander, son of Aristobu'lus, had stirred up his
 partisans to resist the Roman power; but he was taught the les-
 son of the times, that the Romans were invincible. Gabinius
 abolished entirely the office of king and created five councils to
 hear causes, the principal being at Jerusalem.

474 Soon afterward Aristobulus escaped from Rome and col-
 lected another army in Judæa. Gabinius defeated him and slew
 many of the Jews. He was called into Syria as soon as he could
 recover, to fight Alexander again, who had persuaded many of
 the Syrian Jews to revolt. Alexander was defeated and 10,000
 Jews were slain. It must be remembered that Hyrc'a'nus the
 high priest was loyal to the Romans and the Jews were divided.
 Aristobulus and his sons could not understand that they had not
 the office of king. They thought the Jews belonged to them. It
 took half of the Jews and the Roman power a long time to cure
 them of their error.

475 Crassus visited Jerusalem in 53 B.C. and robbed the tem-
 ple to fit out an army to march against the Parthians. The

temple was a treasure-house and temptation to the adventurer. Jews everywhere sent tithes to the high priest, and whether the affairs of Judæa prospered or not, those of the temple did. In a battle at Carrhæ the Parthians scattered the Roman army and killed Crassus. As soon as the Roman army had left Judæa a 822
sedition arose, and when Cassius, quæstor under Crassus, collected the remains of the defeated army and retreated into Syria, pursued by the barbarians, he found Judæa in revolt. There was almost indiscriminate fighting and pillaging for a time, but Cassius restored the Roman authority and in the space of two years drove the Parthians back into Skythia.

476 Not only were the Jews irreconcilably divided, but the Romans were split into factions, so that it was impossible to plan for safety. Antip'ater, an Idumæan, a friend to Hyrcanus, got the favor of Julius Cæsar and was appointed procurator (governor) of Judæa. The Jews were for a while treated as well as Cæsar could treat them. Antig'onus, another son of Aristobulus the pretender, wanted to be king, but Cæsar did not listen to him. Hyrcanus, when he was made high priest by Pompey, was at the time the leader of the popular faction; and now Antipater, his friend, though not a full Jew, was a good soldier and probably as 370
good an overseer as could have been expected from the Romans.

477 Antipater appointed his two sons, Phasae'lis and Herod, governors over Jerusalem and Galilee. There was also chosen a council of seven in each of the smaller cities to hear causes, with an appeal to the council of seventy-one (sanhedrim) at Jerusalem. The government was still an oligarchy, worst of all. 759

478 Hyrcanus had a great reputation at Rome, and used it to obtain ease to his people from the exactions of Rome. These exactions were only such as all Roman subjects submitted to, but the Jews complained that they were different from all other people and could not obey Roman military discipline, since it 520
conflicted with their sabbath laws, their discriminations in food, and other things sacred to them. Accordingly decrees were sent to the various governors of Asia ordering them to exempt all Jews from military service and to allow them, when they wished, to return to or visit Judæa. Those in other provinces were to be allowed to import such articles as their superstition required. Such decrees had been obtained from some of the consuls, but had not always been respected. The Jews helped Cæsar in pay-

ing their grudge to Pompey, and Cæsar remembered his friends: he also exempted them from taxes and tribute in the seventh year, when they "neither plant nor reap, nor gather the produce from the trees." And these concessions caused other races to envy and hate them.

479 For some years from the forming of the conspiracy against Julius Cæsar the Jews had no peace. The many Roman adventurers had no respect for each other or for anybody else except so far as they could use the people and the provinces in their ambitious designs. The partisans of Pompey raised armies in Asia; then Cassius, Antony and other principal generals successively, while each had confederates and subordinates that ravaged on their own account as well as for their principals. The leading Jews, all who could persuade a following, engaged in the fashionable pastime of rebellion. Josephus attempted to give a succinct history of the rapid movements and changes, but it is very hard to follow him, and not profitable. There is profit in the study of the previous institutions and conditions that led to this season of disorder, but it is sufficient now to relate the general facts. One army would scarcely get through ravaging Judæa before another would begin. When the leaders were continually changing alliances it was impossible for the common people to keep track of the doings and know where their interest lay or what might be done to restore order, if they had wished to do so.

Of the leading actors in Judæa there was one man who was so lucky as to keep in with the winning side. Herod was favored by Julius Cæsar, Cassius, Antony and Octavius, when they were successively masters. Herod was a politician. He took the wealth of the Jews in any way convenient, made great presents to the conqueror, broke alliances as soon as there was a change of fortune, and throve on the spoils of all parties. When Augustus (Octavius) Cæsar was master of the Roman world Herod was in league with him.

480 In all the history of this time of blood-letting and riot probably the worst was the war between Antigonus and Herod for the kingdom. Antigonus was son of Aristobulus, and therefore king by divine right of succession, as the superstition was, while Herod was king by Roman sufferance. Antigonus was supported by most of the orthodox Jews, and by the Parthians, who had been hired with promises of money and five hundred

Jewish maidens. Herod was supported by many of the Jews as well as by Caius Cassius and his Roman army. To add to the confusion each side used money freely to corrupt the followers of the other. When Jerusalem was finally taken, on the same day exactly twenty-seven years after its capture by Pompey, it was given up to pillage and slaughter. When the Romans and the partisans of Herod were about to make a clean sweep Herod had to buy them off, and he did this in the fear that if his enemies were all killed he would have no citizens in his state.

481 It took Herod and his partisans three years to conquer the Jewish royalists who believed in the blue-blood theory and supported Antigonus. The second year of the war there was drouth and the third was the sabbatic year, so that besides the dreadful slaughter there was scarcely anything to eat. But Herod, once master, slew the principal of his enemies and some of the wealthy citizens whose riches he wanted. Then while he organized a secret service to bring to death all who meditated sedition he leisurely picked off the less offensive of his opponents. In the fore part of his reign he killed all that might claim to be in the line of succession from the Asamonæan family, which dated from Judas Maccabeus. Herod exterminated the Asamonæan family because they were forever stirring up seditions and contesting the claim to everything worth having, and nobody else could be king in quiet while this family had a representative. 396

482 When Herod had got the people under control, or under fear, he appointed solemn games to be celebrated every fifth year, in honor of Cæsar; built a theater in Jerusalem, and a very great amphitheater in the plain, both costly works, but hateful in the eyes of the Jews. He advertised the games in the neighboring nations, and the wrestlers and others that strove for prizes came. As very great prizes were offered there came many, and the most famous in Greek and Roman exercises, including chariot racing. In the theater he placed inscriptions of the great actions of Cæsar, and trophies of those nations he had conquered in his wars, and all made of the purest gold and silver. Everything was on a costly and grand scale. He also made a great preparation of wild beasts, and of lions in abundance, and of other big and strong animals not usually seen. These were provided not only to fight with each other, but men who were condemned to death

were to fight with them. Visitors, foreigners, were delighted with the spectacles and the richness and grandeur of Jerusalem and the other cities of Judæa, but the orthodox Jews bore the innovations with a bad grace. Herod respected their feelings and prejudices to some extent: he placed the most offensive spectacles in other cities, but Jerusalem was not entirely exempt.

483 It had been the habit of the puritan Jews to lay all misfortunes to their sins, and the prediction was freely made that these desecrations and violations of the laws of Moses would be followed by condign punishment. If a king or priest sinned the whole nation might be punished, and if a ruler was punctual in observing the ordinances the whole people might be happy and prosperous. This was in keeping with their superstition. In a case which I am now going to relate, however, Josephus says there was some question whether the calamity was brought upon them by the Lord or came in the natural course of events.

In 24 B.C., the thirteenth of Herod, counting from the taking of Jerusalem, there was drouth and a complete failure of crops. A pestilence followed, and there was much distress. The next year was like it, and all the people were threatened with destruction. In this emergency Herod did what would always be done if the people of the earth were intelligent and not wedded to idols of prejudice and wrong ideas of independence and pride. He sent all of his wealth to Egypt to buy grain. When the ships returned he sold the grain to those who could pay for it, and gave bread to the poor. He not only fed the people through the famine, but sent and bought wool and other materials and supplies for winter, that the people might be tided over their necessities. There might have been difficulty in getting these supplies if the Egyptians and others had been as narrow minded as the Jews had been on many occasions and were disposed to be now; but all the world was subject to Rome, and one people could not deny another. Herod did not fail to make capital for himself: he persuaded the Jews that it was not God that had fed them, but Herod. He was correct: but for scoundrels as great as himself there would have been no power to break down the wall of ill will between Jew and gentile.

484 Herod had two objects in view: to seat his family on the throne and to leave behind him monuments to perpetuate his name and fame. He built several magnificent cities and one of

the best harbors in the Mediterranean Sea. While doing this he reduced the taxes to get the good will of his people. But the crowning undertaking for his glory was the rebuilding of the temple. When he first proposed it the Jews were offended, thinking he had no such thought, but wanted to deride them; for while they had no faith that he meant to do it, they did not think he could do it. But he went to work at it and got all the material ready before the work was begun, and then the temple was built in much less time than they thought possible. The building was grander than that of Solomon, and the Jews rejoiced greatly. 273 There was a great celebration and Herod was almost forgiven all his sins against the Jewish institutions.

485 The Mosaic law of slavery was this: If an Israelite was convicted of robbery he must pay fourfold the amount to the loser or become his slave; or if he owed a debt lawfully contracted and could not liquidate it he likewise became a slave to his creditor, who must be a Jew, and not a foreigner, and it was not lawful for the Jewish master to sell him to a foreigner; if he had a wife she went into slavery with him, as also his children; in which case all the family was freed in the sixth year, the last year before the sabbath year; but if he was single when taken for a slave, and married a slave of the master, the wife and children were not freed in the year of jubilee, and the husband must go without them, or himself remain in slavery until the fiftieth year, the year of liberty (jubilee), when all Jewish slaves were freed. Herod changed this law, and enacted that a man caught and convicted of robbery should be sold into slavery to a foreigner and taken from the congregation of Israel. This gave offense to the Jews, who thought that Jews should be allowed to own the uncircumcised as slaves, but the circumcised should not be slaves to the uncircumcised. But Herod was firm in his belief that all men should be honest, and the Jew should have no pre-eminence above a gentile. 344

486 Lev. xxv. 44: "Both thy bondmen and thy bondmaids which thou shalt have shall be of the heathen that are round about you; of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids. Moreover, of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they begat in your land: and they shall be your possessions. And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your 344

children after you, to inherit them for a possession; they shall be your bondmen for ever: but over your brethren the children of Isra-El ye shall not rule one over another with rigor." Moses also provided that captives taken in war should be slaves. Every provision of Moses was calculated to give the Jews an exalted idea of superiority over the heathen. There was no provision for protection to the slave from ill treatment. No Jew might interfere with another Jew in the management of his slaves or his stock or his children. So the Jews were in an inconsistent attitude when they petitioned Cæsar to free the Jews who had been taken in war, in ways common with the Jews themselves as to other races, and sold into slavery. The "heathen" races could not understand why they must free their Jewish slaves while the Jews did not free their heathen slaves. The Jews were now "friends with Cæsar" and would take the present advantage.

487 Agrippa, the Roman governor of Asia and overlord of Herod, came into the provinces and Herod, being in great favor with him, traveled around with him. At Lesbos came up a case that involved the whole question of the status of the Jews. The judges had laid a heavy hand upon the Jews; had refused to humor their superstitions and claims to exemption from Roman laws; had imposed upon them the same duties as were imposed upon Greeks; had summoned them to appear in court on the sabbath day, which to other people was not different from other days; had taxed them on articles the same as other people, and in various ways had failed to respect their peculiar views. It is interesting to read the petition they made to Agrippa, wherein they said: "It is no more than this which we desire, to preserve our religion without any prohibition, which, as it appears not in itself a privilege to be envied us, so it is for the advantage of those that grant it to us; for if the Divinity delights in being honored, he must delight in those that permit him to be honored." This is the religious question in all its phases stated in very few words, in one complex sentence, in fact. If the Divinity delights in being honored he must delight not only in those who honor him, but in those who permit others to honor him. Now the honor that one person forces another to render to the Divinity is the worst kind of mockery, and the sin of the mockery is not upon the one who is forced but upon the despot who forces him. The Jews of Lesbos were entirely right in this con-

tention. But it is easier to persuade to this proposition than to justify the Jews on their side of the controversy; for in attempting to prove themselves free from the offense they were charging to others the best they could offer was that "None of our customs are inhuman, but all tending to piety, and devoted to the preservation of justice." They did not say that the Jews had been wont to grant religious freedom to others; they knew that even then, when Judæa and all the Jews everywhere were subject to Roman authority, it would be a very dangerous venture for a Roman, for Agrippa himself, to presume to worship his gods in his accustomed manner in Jerusalem. Herod had made innovations in some of his cities where there were many Greeks and Romans, but in Jerusalem he had not been so hardy as to introduce innovation in worship. He had built a theater, but it was merely a museum for statuary and art in honor of Roman triumphs, and even this had well nigh produced a frenzy of passion in the pious Jews. The reader will please bear in mind this incident and statement as the basis of the whole matter and observe whether or not there is not good ground for the hypothesis that, as the Jews were the first to raise man against man in intense hatred on the score of piety toward the gods and the proper manner of worshiping them, so they should be the worst sufferers, and should be preserved to suffer, until they themselves should pacify the hatred they had engendered and reunite mankind in the divine sentiment that "if the Divinity delights in being honored he must delight in those that permit him to be honored."

488 From the time the Romans declared Herod king to the taking of Jerusalem (38 B.C.) was three years, and, as we have said, were years of the worst phase of war and famine. From the time when he was secured in his kingdom (35 B.C.) to his death in the year 4 B.C. was thirty-four years. (These figures are given as they are found in the books.) During these thirty-four years there was no war of consequence anywhere in the world, except the contest between Antony and Octavius (Augustus) Cæsar. Judæa was more peaceful than it had been since the Jews were visiting in Babylonia. Herod had a few short campaigns in Arabia and neighboring provinces, but these were slight in comparison with the continual warfare of former generations. Yet Judæa was not quiet. From the time when Herod was made king there was continual plotting to get the kingdom from him.

At first the old royal line wanted to be restored. When he had quieted all of these claimants by killing them off he was beset by the members of his own household. He had several brothers and one sister. He also had nine wives. His brothers and sister and their children and each of his wives and her children all worked for self. Sometimes two or more of the schemers plotted together, but they were not sincere. Every one was selfish and desperate. Several times Herod made wholesale torture and slaughter of the associates of the plotters. The custom in examining witnesses was to subject them to the greatest pain and agony possible by racking them and pulling their limbs out of joint. If they died, as many of them did, no matter: they would probably be killed anyway. In the course of these intrigues and the fears bred in the mind of Herod he put to death his favorite wife and her mother and brother; also three of his own sons. After all this, Herod died of old age, actually rotted to death. If he had had a better lot of relatives and only one wife he might have enjoyed peace in his family and been a good governor; for, whatever we may think of him, he was a great man and did much for his people. He was harsh with those who sought to take the authority from him, but otherwise was a soft-hearted man, often letting seditious persons go free when he might have been expected to punish them. He was subject to Rome, and could not be a tyrant altogether, but as far as he was allowed to be he was one. In the condition of the Jews at that time no other government but a tyranny was possible without constant internecine war; the Jews could not tolerate even Jews.

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489 Good singers usually beg to be excused when asked to sing at a gathering where they are not the principal attraction, or when some others be for the time to be honored. So we may say of these ancient Jews as to fighting. They had begged off from military service in the several countries in which they lived, and their pretense that it was on account of religious scruple had been accepted. But we see by the events of the few months following the death of Herod that it was not because they could not fight, nor because they did not like to fight. In a short time after Herod's death, and before Cæsar could declare the succession, seditions broke out in all parts of Judæa. There were bands of rioters everywhere, Josephus says ten thousand of them, most of them under some Jew who assumed to be a king, and robbery

and bloodshed were in order. The evils of theocracy and oligarchy were evident: the people had not been led to self-control through liberty, but had been taught to obey something they did not understand, but knew it robbed them. The loyal Jews and two Roman armies killed many thousands of poor Jews, and suffered great losses themselves, before the riots were quelled. 95
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490 Herod had several times changed his mind as to the succession; and at the very last declared that Archelaus, his eldest son, whose mother was a Samaritan, should have the kingdom, subject, of course, to the will of Cæsar. When the time came to present the matter to Augustus Cæsar the leading men of Judæa were divided, some wanting Archelaus, some Antipas, some Philip, all sons of Herod, while some wanted Judæa added to the presidency of Syria, and all asking an abatement in the amount of taxes and tribute and the manner of their collection. It appears from their complaints on this occasion that Herod had laid heavy taxes on all exchanges of commodities, thereby hindering trade and commerce, both internal and external. The petitions asked the abolishment of these taxes. It was also stated that Herod had intrusted his domestics with the collection of taxes and tribute, and that they had exacted large amounts in presents to themselves by threats of confiscating the wealth of the possessors: that Herod and his household made no secret of killing wealthy Jews for their estates, and that the wealth thus obtained was used in corrupting the morals of the people, both high and low. There was no denial of these charges; it was admitted on all hands that they were true. It was also shown that Sabinus, the Roman general who went to suppress the late riots, robbed the treasure holds of Herod and allowed his soldiers to pillage the houses of the people. The appeal was to Cæsar, that he would stand between the Jews and their despoilers; allow the Jews to be governed by their own laws, and restrain the ruler from tyranny. Augustus Cæsar was as ambitious a man as ever lived, but a man of great breadth of mind and conscientious regard for the welfare of all the subjects of Rome as well as the Romans themselves. Augustus gave one-half of the possessions of Herod to Archelaus, warning him that he must be a good ruler (ethnarch). Archelaus returned to find the Jews in revolt, and it took a long and hard war to recover the government, with the assistance of a Roman army; after which Archelaus at first did fairly well, but became 374.
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frivolous and indifferent to the rights and needs of the people. Augustus heard the complaints of the neglected, and banished Archelaus to Vienna, in Gaul, in A. D. 7, when he had been ruler ten years.

491 Archelaus owed some of his unpopularity to the fact that he divorced his wife Mariamne and married Glaphura, who had been wife to Alexander, his half-brother; that is, they had not the same mother. There was no wrong in divorcing his first wife, or in marrying another, with or without divorcing his first wife. The sin was in marrying the widow of his brother when she had had children by him. The law of Moses made it the duty of a man to marry his brother's widow if she have no children by her first husband; but Glaphura had had three children by Alexander; after his death had married Juba, king of Libya; and at his death returned to her father, Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. If Archelaus had married an aunt, or a niece, or a cousin, or even
 393 a half-sister, there would have been no complaint, for all these connexions had occurred in Herod's household and were common among the Jews (Reuben had taken for wife Gilpah, concu-
 357 bine to his father Jacob), but somehow this case of consanguinity was inadmissible. Josephus says that Glaphura had a dream in which Alexander appeared and reproached her with marrying his brother; said that he was jealous and would take her from his brother and bring her to himself; and that shortly afterward she died and went to Alexander. Josephus instances this as confirmation of the belief in the immortality of the soul and of the providence of God in human affairs, and adds, "But if any one does not believe such relations, let him enjoy his own opinion, but let him not hinder another who would thereby encourage himself in virtue."

492 It has probably occurred to the reader that the primitive laws and customs of the Jews were now inadequate to their needs. The Jews were not the only people who have held onto laws and customs long after their day of usefulness, but they are a remarkable instance. The Greeks in early times had as narrow minds as the Jews, and thought that to be a Greek was to have kin with the gods. But as the Greeks were brought into contact with the other races of mankind they abated of their assumption. They admitted other races to citizenship, migrated and established new peoples, and in all ways learned that they were of the earth,

as other races were. The Jews might have been as human as the Greeks, and given up their superstition of self-importance, but for the pride of circumcision, which almost precluded them from apostatizing: once a Jew, always a Jew. There were many Jews in the Greek world before the Romans took it, and then they spread over the Roman possessions. The Jews who apostatized mixed with the gentiles and were lost, but the Jews did not grow fewer.

493 Affairs in Judæa went from very bad to worse. There were more and more seditions, while the changes at Rome after the death of Augustus were for the worse. Tiberius was weak 835 and profligate after a few years; Caius (Caligula) was a bloody 836 tyrant; Claudius was too easy to do good himself or check the 840 nobility and the governors of provinces; and Nero was worse 841 than any of his predecessors. In Judæa there was scarcely any endeavor to preserve order. The officials wanted money and honor; the chief priests and elders made a pretense of observing the ordinances of Moses; the "better elements" of the Jews were ready to head a riot at any time when the governors attempted to desecrate the temple or the public places with statues of the 158 Cæsars; the common people were as loggats in the hands of their superiors; the robbers increased in number and boldness until it was not safe to venture anywhere, even the streets of Jerusalem being infested.

494 In the course of the changes of governors and the harshness of some of them one party at Jerusalem (the oligarchy) came to think that conditions might be improved if they were placed under full Roman authority with the rights of Roman citizens. This idea grew, notwithstanding a strong opposition, said to have been on the part of the common people, and the desire was made known at Rome. The emperor was willing, and Judæa became a Roman province, under the jurisdiction of the president of Syria. The first thing to be done was to take a census of the people. Now this was forbidden by a Mosaic law. Then there were several kinds of taxes, and it was against the custom and traditions 81 of the Jews to pay taxes to gentiles. Tribute was bad enough, 99 where a lump sum was levied upon the nation and they were left 406 to raise it in their own way, but for gentiles to take a census and 371 levy taxes was so repugnant that there was a revolt, which was soon put down.

826 495 It may be well here to state the Roman system of taxation. The province was divided into districts and officers were appointed to take a census of population and an assessment of property. On this basis taxes were levied. A head tax fell on
500 individuals without regard to property or wealth; the land tax of
581 course fell upon those who had the direct benefit of government and also the means with which to pay; a local tax was for roads, bridges, etc. The government usually farmed the taxes. This system was a great improvement upon the theocratic plan of tithes, but unfortunately it was only an addition to the unequal burden: the priests still claimed their tithes.

204 496 In the meantime the Christians had their beginning in Judæa and neighboring provinces, recruiting first from Jews and then from gentiles, and further complicating the relations. No like period of time in our history has furnished more material for writers and orators than the century from the death of Herod. National and racial prejudices were enduring from that day, and the occasion was the actions of men entirely given up to excitement. Murders, executions and massacres were common. Life, regardless of innocence and guilt, was ruthlessly taken by Jews and Romans. Jesus lost his life during this time of disorder. His crucifixion has been charged to the Jews. The twenty-seventh chapter of Matthew says that it was "the chief priests and elders" who "took counsel against Jesus to put him to death,"
520 and "the chief priests and elders persuaded the multitude," beside themselves with political excitement and ready to be moved by those whom they regarded as true men and leaders, but who were anxious to have Jesus out of the way because he would
833 strip them of their political power and place it in the hands of the people—"the chief priests and elders persuaded the multitude to
121 ask Barabbas and neglect Jesus." Barabbas was charged with taking part in a riot, and riots were every-day affairs; "the multitude" had engaged in them and had no mind to condemn a man for an offense which they had been guilty of, and would be again. In the sermon recited in the twenty-third chapter of Matthew Jesus shows the hollowness of the pretensions of the Scribes and Pharisees (the leaders of the Pharisees, not the lower orders, in which he belonged), and exhorts his hearers to greater sincerity
282 and consecration to their traditions, and says: "All whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye after

their works; for they say, and do not." The chief priests and elders, the rulers and officers of every degree, were all oppressing the common people, and were ready to crucify any man or men who raised hand or voice against the oligarchy. The condition of the common people was deplorable, and growing worse; they did not know what to do; being excited, they stood in their own light, and could not see. Cupidity and political power will warp the judgment, then lead men to stifle all friendliness to common humanity. There was a class of Jews who cared only for personal gain and "honor." There was a like class among the gentiles. These classes maintained their relations with their own people and took an interest in each other's welfare as against any freedom or relief that might be demanded by the common people. The wealthy Jews sent their sons to Rome or Athens to be educated, and there was usually a welcome for them there. These classes had no personal quarrel with Jesus, but looked upon him as a dangerous man—to their schemes. And they brought him to the cross. It must not be forgotten that the chief priests were appointed by the Roman authority. They were usually men in good standing, in outward appearance, but desperate in their determination to hold the office.

497 Messiah in Hebrew means the same as Christos in Greek; that is, anointed. In a common way it was used of bread when dipped in oil or spread with butter. In court language it meant one who was inaugurated by being smeared with oil which had been blessed in a peculiar manner. Only chief rulers, as kings and high priests, were oiled and consecrated. Jesus was called by his disciples Christos. This was distasteful to the Jews, not so much that he should be so distinguished, as that the Greek term christos should be used. They were hoping and looking for a messiah, one who should redeem the race by accomplishing the prophecies that the Jews should conquer and rule the whole world. They looked for a David or a Maccabeos, and would have made him a hero if successful or a villainous pretender if unsuccessful. When Jesus allowed apostate Jews, Samaritans and Greeks to join his band the full-blooded Jews held aloof from him, or were easily prejudiced against him. A movement in which gentiles had part would not give the orthodox Jews control. The prophecies might once have been redeemed, but now the center of civilization was west of them: Asia was left behind:

649 the Jewish race had plenty of faith, but the Greeks and the Ro-
 423 mans had more energy: the Jews were now, though too late,
 651 looking for a Themistocles.

498 In the prevailing violence the professional robbers who lived in the mountains and wilderness became so bold as to dispute the government with the Roman appointees and urge the Jews to undertake a war against the Romans. The people were indeed ready for war, but the priests, elders and leading Jews used all their suasive powers to quiet them, while Gessius Florus, the Roman commander, and others of the Romans, as well as their armies, committed outrages against the Jews to incite them to rebellion, and Nero did not rebuke them.

499 Agrippa was governor of Judæa. He had been appointed by Claudius and continued by Nero. When the Jews were clamoring for war with the Romans Agrippa made a speech to a large assemblage at Jerusalem. Josephus was a personal friend of the governor, hence this speech, whether it is reported as uttered or fabricated by the historian, is one of the most valuable pieces of ancient literature. It probably contains the geographic knowledge and the political views of both the men. Agrippa had been much at Rome and had great influence with the emperor.

500 "Such crimes as we complain of may soon be corrected, for the same commander will not be continued forever; and the successors may come with more moderate inclinations. But if war be once begun it is not easily laid down again, nor borne without calamities. As to the desire of recovering your liberty, it is unseasonable to indulge it so late; you ought to have labored earnestly in old time, that you might never have lost it. You who have not accustomed yourselves to obedience from one generation to another, and who are much inferior to those who first submitted to the Romans, will venture to oppose their entire empire; while those Athenians, who, in order to preserve the liberty of Greece, did once set fire to their own city; who pursued Xerxes, that proud prince, when he sailed upon the sea; and could not be contained by the seas, but conducted such an army as was too broad for Europe; and made him run away a fugitive in a single ship—these Athenians are at this time servants to the Romans. Those Laconians also, who got the great victories at Thermopulai and Plataiai, and searched every corner of Asia, are content to admit the same lords. These Makedonians also, who-

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still fancy how great men Philip and Alexander were, and once were promised empire over the whole world—these bear so great a change, and pay their obedience to those whom fortune hath advanced in their stead. Moreover, ten thousand other nations that had greater reason than we to claim their liberty yet do submit. You are the only people who think it a disgrace to be servants to those to whom all the world hath submitted. Will you not carefully reflect upon the Roman empire? Will you not estimate your own weakness? Hath not your army been often beaten even by your neighboring nations, while the power of the Romans is invincible in all the habitable earth? Nay, rather, they seek for somewhat still beyond that; for all Euphrates is not a sufficient boundary for them on the east side, nor the Danube on the north; on the south, Libya hath been searched over by them as far as countries uninhabited; on the west, mind you, they have sought for another habitable earth beyond the ocean, ³¹² and have carried their arms as far as such British islands as were never known before. What, therefore, do you pretend to? Are you richer than the Gauls, stronger than the Germans, wiser than the Greeks, more numerous than all other men on the habitable earth? Perhaps it will be said that it is hard to endure slavery. Yes; but how much harder is it to the Greeks, once esteemed the noblest of all people under the sun. These, though they live in a large country, are in subjection to six bundles of Roman rods. What is the case of five hundred cities of Asia? Do they not submit to a single governor, and to the consular bundle of rods? If great advantages might induce any people to revolt, the Gauls might do it best of all, as being so thoroughly walled round by nature: on the east side by the Alps, on the north by the Rhine, on the south by the Pyrenees, on the west by the ocean. These Gauls, with such obstacles to attack, and not fewer than three hundred and five nations, and the fountains of domestic happiness within their borders—these bear to be tributary to the Romans; and they undergo this, not because they are effeminate, or of ignoble stock, as having borne a war of eighty years in order to preserve their liberty, but by reason of the great regard they have for the Romans and their good fortune, which is of greater efficacy than their arms. These Gauls, therefore, are kept quiet by twelve hundred soldiers, hardly as many as there are cities. Who among you hath not heard of the great number of the Germans?

You have yourselves seen them to be strong and tall. Yet these Germans, who dwell in an immense country, who have minds greater than their bodies, and a soul that recks not of death, who are in rage more fierce than wild beasts—they are tamed by eight Roman legions. Do you also, who depend upon the walls of Jerusalem, consider what a wall the Britons had? For the Romans sailed away to them, and subdued them while they were encompassed by the ocean, and inhabited an island that is not less than this (old) habitable earth. And four legions are enough guard to so large an island. Now, will you be the only people
 423 that make war against them, and this without regarding the fate of the Carthaginians, who, in the midst of the boasts of the great
 754 Hannibal, and the nobility of their Phœnician original, fell by the
 813 hand of Scipio? Egypt, at your borders, hath 7,500,000 men, besides the inhabitants of Alexandria, as may be learned from
 495 the revenue of the poll tax, yet it is not ashamed to submit to the Romans. It pays more tribute to the Romans in one month than you do in a year, besides sending corn to support Rome
 859 four months in the year. What remains, then, is this, that you have recourse to divine assistance; but this is already on the side of the Romans; for it is impossible that so vast an empire should be settled without God's providence." He then reminds them that if they go to war they must transgress the laws of Moses, for Pompey took the city by working on the sabbath, and the Romans will do this again. "Now, all men that go to war do it either as depending on divine or human assistance; but since in going to this war you will cut off both those helps, those that are for war choose evident destruction. For those of you who survive the war will not be able to find a place whither to flee, since all men have the Romans for their lords already, or are afraid they shall have hereafter. Nay, indeed, the danger concerns not only those Jews that dwell here, but those of them that dwell in other cities also; for there is no people upon the habitable earth which hath not some of your people among them, and these your enemies will slay, and on that account. Have pity, if not upon your wives and children, yet upon this metropolis, and its sacred walls; spare the temple, and preserve the holy house; for if the Romans get you under their power they will not longer abstain from them when their former abstinence shall have been so ungratefully required."

501 Agrippa has never been named among the Jewish prophets, but not one of them ever excelled him. Even the crude idea of Britain was practically correct; for though Britain was not so large as he anticipated, the prophecy that there was a great continent beyond the shores of Gaul was correct. The prophecy as to the Jews in all the cities of the earth was more than fulfilled; not only were the wandering and resident Jews made to feel the mailed hand of war, but the growing sect of the Christians was brought into the ban everywhere and persecuted. Did this not concern the Jews? The Jews did not think then that it did, but at first the Romans and their allies and subjects made no distinction between Jew and Christian, and afterward, when the Christians became strong, they repaid in kind all their sufferings on account of the Jews. Truly, the human family in its entirety is like the human body in its individuality: all parts are connected with and dependent upon all parts; if one part is rebellious all the other parts must suffer, and if one part is injured the whole body must suffer pain. Providence allows a people to be over good or very bad, but since all other peoples must bear a part of the pain and loss from obstruction of circulation it is the right if not the duty of all the others to restore the affected parts to a normal circulation.

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502 Let those who would incite hatred and strife in the name of religion read Josephus' histories of these wars, and take warning. The Jews began to slay the heathen on the pretense that the enemies of their god were their enemies, and on the theory that those who had not the Mosaic superstitions were enemies of their god. The Jews had been repaid by the heathen for all the mischief they had done, yet because they now became more desperate than ever as they suffered just retribution, it seemed as if all the gods of all the other races, with the shades of the departed during all the ages since Hezekiah, united to blunt their senses to present danger, that they should bring upon the race the anger of mankind, and make one great season of destruction that should pale all past agonies. The race seemed doomed to destruction, but Providence was not willing to that.

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503 Seditions, massacres and sieges occurred with more and more frequency until the year 67, when Vespasian was sent from Rome with an army to restore order. For two years he was engaged in recovering the other cities, leaving Jerusalem to be

- 513 taken last. Josephos was in command of the Jews in Galilee,
and the time taken by Vespasian would show that a strong de-
496 fense was made, but when he surrendered and became an adviser
to Vespasian the zealots would have no leaders but of their rash
kind. As city after city was invested the robbers and the zealots
fled to Jerusalem. It has almost always happened that those
who assume to be the wisest and holiest have been allied to the
828 worst classes, and these unreasoning extremes have united to run
831 the government, while the energetic, thinking, quiet and peace-
able classes have been victims. It was so here. The puritans
in Jerusalem had become so zealous in their holy work as to
welcome recruits without question: puritan and robber are now
zealots: they can not be distinguished. When the other parts of
Palestine had been nearly overrun and the turbulent elements
were cooped up in Jerusalem they initiated a reign of blood and
terror that can not be exceeded in horror in all history. The
525 high priests and nobility were the first victims, and then the mob
divided and turned upon the people indiscriminately. Many
would have welcomed the Romans. Some escaped and begged
Vespasian to come to their relief. But Vespasian was wise to
foresee that they were wasting their substance and supplies in
killing each other, while if he should move against the city all
would unite against him. Going from one enormity to another,
the mobs ceased to bury the dead, or allow the friends to do so.
845 News came that Nero had been assassinated at Rome and that
there was civil war in Gaul. Vespasian stopped, and while he
was inactive a robber named Simon organized an army of some
40,000 plunderers and overran Idumæa and some of the moun-
tainous country, destroying everything they did not want and
exterminating the inhabitants that did not join the army. The
zealots at Jerusalem, under a leader named John, looked upon
this new force as rivals and made war upon them. Simon be-
sieged Jerusalem, but could not take it. Then there was a split
513 among the zealots and one faction admitted Simon into the city
to restore order. It is sad to read that the people were in such
misery and fear that they welcomed these robbers as saviors, to
be treated worse than they had been; for now there were three
factions to fight each other and prey upon the people. In their
jealousy one faction set fire to the granary to keep another from
having control of it, and supplies for three years were burned.



504 The civil wars of the Roman empire having ended with the elevation of Vespasian to the supreme power at Rome, Titus, 859 his son, was sent against Jerusalem. I would call up the assertion of Iosephus that God brought these calamities upon the Jews in punishment of their impiety. The system which Iosepos 809 advocated had done the work. In this theocratic oligarchy the 348 people had no voice: piety meant obedience to all the exactions 363 of their rulers. God had no more to do in their affairs than to 702 endow them with reason and leave them to do for themselves. 647

505 From the coming of Titus to the end of the siege was about seven months. I can not relate events in the order of their occurrence, but give those that have a bearing upon the general history of the Jews, as showing their character and the results of their previous traditions and institutions.

506 The Feast of the Passover was then being observed. This feast commemorated the going out from Egypt and was eaten with all the partakers dressed as if ready for a journey, as though awaiting warning to depart hurriedly. Notwithstanding the condition of the country and the certainty that Titus would come with an army, there were not only individuals but whole families 863 from all accessible parts of Asia, Africa and Europe. This was a remarkable feature of Jewish cohesiveness, that no danger could restrain them from visiting the temple and partaking of this feast in commemoration of the origin of the race. Each party had a lamb slain and prepared for its separate feast: parties must consist of not less than ten and sometimes there were twenty persons. A few years before this time the number of sacrifices was 256,500, which indicated the presence of 2,500,000 or 3,000,000 persons, and there were always many persons who were excluded from the feast, though they may have come long distances. At this feast it is thought there were not so many present, but Josephus says there were 1,100,000 deaths from starvation, murder and Roman arms; 97,000 were made slaves, and many deserted and 344 received the right hand of freedom from Titus. The zealots murdered for pastime, and all the time. When they made sallies to fight the Romans they returned and slew great numbers of the starving citizens for sport.

507 It is a trait of human nature to become inured to a condition, and the more readily in excitement. The zealots, though murdering the citizens and each other by turns, and doomed to

starvation or massacre, were still as persistent in gathering gold and silver as though they were assured of a long life in which to enjoy their gains. They killed and robbed the people, searched the temple and private houses, and continued this to the last minute, when they were ready to die of starvation or be killed by the Romans. Many citizens swallowed gold in the hope that they might thus save it, and the zealots learned to stamp the rotten bodies to pieces for the coins. After this mad craze for gold the zealots were treated in like manner by the Romans when they had taken the last strongholds.

508 When Titus came he hoped to prevail upon the Jews to surrender without a siege, but they attacked him as soon as he came in sight. When he had got ready to batter the wall he offered safety to life and property if they would surrender, but all offers were defiantly rejected by the zealots. These offers were repeated every day until two of the three walls had been taken, when he told them that they would have no further chance for safety if they did not then give up, but his heart failed him and he pardoned those who escaped. When the last wall was taken he turned the city over to his soldiers, as was usual in Roman warfare. That is, when a city surrendered it was at the disposal of the general, but when it was taken it was given up to the army. The Roman soldiers slew the starved Jews until they were tired of the slaughter, then saved the rest for slaves. Titus sold some, gave some to his friends, and sent some to the various Roman theaters in Asia for gladiatorial spectacles.

509 A speech made by Titus when he encouraged the Roman soldiers to scale the last wall in face of certain death will show the misguided patriotism that actuated both the Romans and the Jews; for though the speech was made by a Roman it was preserved by a Jew. "What man of virtue is there who does not know that those souls that are freed from their fleshly bodies in battles by the sword are received by the ether, that purest of elements, and added to that company that are placed among the stars; that they become good demons, and propitious heroes, and show themselves as such to their posterity? while upon those souls that wear away in and with their distempered bodies comes a subterranean night to dissolve them to nothing, and to deep oblivion to take away all the remembrance of them, and this notwithstanding they be clean from all the defilements of this world ;



so that, in this case, the soul simultaneously comes to the utmost bounds of its life, and of its body, and of its memorial also. But since fate hath determined that death is to come of necessity upon all men, a sword is a better instrument for that purpose than any disease whatever." With such ideas of the future it is easy to see how the Jews could hold out and starve or fall by the sword. It was equally glorious to be conqueror or conquered, and inglorious to gain a victory without bloodshed. This false idea or worship of glory led men to fight without regard to the questions involved: the war might be for liberty or right, or it might be to enslave men and destroy their possessions: glory might be had in any struggle, and it was glory they sought.

510 A wall seventeen feet thick and forty-five feet high would seem impregnable to an army without artillery or any kind of explosive, yet such was the wall built by Herod Agrippa, and which Titus had to beat down with battering rams before he could enter the city. On the walls, too, the Jews had machines which threw great stones a quarter of a mile, and several times they set on fire the works and machines of the Romans. There were three of these walls, and that around the temple was the strongest. The Romans made provision for the strongest as methodically as for the weakest: as strong as the walls were, so heavy were their engines.

511 Josephus gives a speech made by Titus to the zealots when they were using the temple as a citadel, filling it and surrounding it with the dead bodies of their countrymen. "Have not you, vile wretches, by our permission (formerly), put up this wall before your sanctuary? Have you not been allowed to engrave upon it this prohibition, in Greek and in your own letters, 'No foreigner may go beyond this wall'? Have we not given you leave to kill such as go beyond it, though he were a Roman? And why do you now trample upon dead bodies in this temple, and why do you pollute this holy house with the blood both of foreigners and of Jews? I appeal to the gods of my own country, and to every god that ever had any regard to this place, for I do not suppose it to be now regarded by any of them; I also appeal to my own army, and to those Jews that are now with me, and even to yourselves, that I do not force you to defile this your sanctuary; and if you will change the place of fighting no Roman shall come into your sanctuary or offer any

affront to it." After the burning of the temple, and at least one
 275 instance of a starving mother eating her own child, Titus was
 overcome with sympathy, but excused himself by saying that he
 "had proposed peace and freedom to the Jews, as well as forget-
 fulness of their past insolent practices, but they had persisted in
 sedition; that they first set fire to the temple, and that they de-
 served to eat such food. This horrid action ought to be expiated
 by the overthrow of the country, and men ought not to leave
 such a city upon the habitable earth to be seen by the sun; nor
 could he suppose that such men could be restored to sobriety of
 mind, but they ought to be destroyed for the good of humanity."

512 Being now scattered and without a country or a head, and
 under the ban of prejudice, the Jews suffered great calamities.
 The first to be victims were those at Antioch, the greatest city of
 Syria. A Jew named Anti'ochus apostatized and accused his
 own father, who was governor of the Jews there (they were per-
 mitted to have a separate governor and were not subject to the
 Roman governor) of being at the head of a conspiracy to burn
 the whole city in one night. Antiochus gave the names of many
 leading Jews as being in the conspiracy, and the Roman authori-
 ties not only punished the accused but elevated Antiochus and
 rewarded him for his perfidy, not knowing, however, that he was
 vile. A little later there was an incendiary fire at Antioch, and
 the market buildings were destroyed. Antiochus also charged
 this to the Jews and they were about to be utterly destroyed by
 the gentiles, when a Roman, Cneius Collegas, interested himself
 in the Jews and discovered that the fire had been set by persons
 not Jews, but who owed money to the Jews, and not only sought
 to escape payment of their debts but to destroy their creditors.
 This threw light upon the character of Antiochus, and the Jews
 were spared, though the incendiaries were not punished, so great
 was the prejudice against the Jews.

513 Vespasian, though acknowledged emperor of the Roman
 world, remained at Alexandria, Egypt, until after the taking of
 Jerusalem, when he and his son Titus got all in readiness and
 proceeded to Rome to have their triumphs for their victories over
 864 the Jews. Josephus went with them and witnessed the pageant.

"It is impossible to describe the multitude of the shows as
 they deserve, and the magnificence of them all; such, indeed, as
 a man could not easily think of as performed by the labor of

workmen, or the variety of riches, or the rarities of nature; for almost all such curiosities as the most happy men get by piecemeal were here heaped one upon another, and those both admirable and costly; and all brought together on that day showed the vastness of the dominions of the Romans. There was to be seen a great quantity of gold and silver and ivory, contrived into all sorts of things, and did not appear as carried along in pompous parade only, but, as a man might say, running along like a river. Some parts were composed of the rarest purple hangings, and so carried along; and others represented to the life what was embroidered by the arts of the Babylonians. There were also precious stones that were transparent, some set in crowns of gold, and some otherwise, as the workmen pleased; and of these such a vast number were brought that it was in vain to imagine them to be rarities. The images of the gods were also carried, wonderful not only for their size but for the skill of the workmen; nor were any of these images of any other than costly materials. There were also many species of animals, all in their own natural ornaments. The multitudes of men who carried these shows were dressed in purple garments, all over interwoven with gold, with many ornaments magnificent and surprising. Even the great number of captives were adorned for the luster of the occasion. 344 But what afforded the greatest surprise was the structure of the pageants that were borne along; for indeed he that met them could not but be afraid that the bearers would not be able to support them steadily, such was their magnitude; for many of them were so made that they were on three and even four stories, one above another. The magnificence also of their structure afforded one both pleasure and surprise; for upon many of them were laid carpets of gold. There was also wrought gold and ivory fastened about them all; and many representations of the war, and those in several ways and varieties of contrivance; for there was to be seen a happy country laid waste, and entire squadrons of enemies slain; while some of them ran away; with walls of great height and thickness thrown down and ruined by machines; with the strongest fortifications taken, and the walls of populous cities on the tops of hills taken, and an enemy pouring over the walls; as also every place full of slaughter, and supplications of the vanquished. On the top of every one of these pageants was placed the commander of the city that was taken, 503

and the manner of his capture. After these spoils there passed a great number of men carrying the images of Victory, whose structure was entirely of ivory or of gold. After which Vespasian marched in the first place, and Titus followed him. The last
278 part of this pompous show was at the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, whither when they had come, they stood still; for it was the custom of the Romans to wait till somebody brought the news that the general of the enemy was slain. On this occasion
503 the victim for the sacrifice was Simon. A rope had been placed around his neck and he had been drawn to a proper place in the forum, and had withal been tormented by those who drew him along. Accordingly when it was reported that Simon was dead the crowds made a great shout of joy; they then began to offer those sacrifices which they had consecrated, with the prayers used in such solemnities, and then dispersed for their festivities at their own houses; for this was a Roman holy-day."

514 The Roman empire was at peace except the disturbances made by and on account of the Jews. The Roman governor of Judæa, when sent there by Vespasian, found several strongholds in possession of desperate bands of outlaws who resolved to be exterminated rather than submit. The Mosaic idea that the earth belonged to their race was still so deeply rooted that they
363 could not eradicate it. They would not treat with the Romans. When Vespasian was informed of this rash determination he sent orders to the governor to give land to the soldiers that had been discharged from the army after the siege of Jerusalem and advertise the rest of the lands for sale to others than Jews. If he could not have peace any other way he thought he could have it when Judæa became a Roman settlement. This policy carried out brought the desired result as to Judæa, and in a short time.

515 The Romans did not, however, secure all of the disaffected Jews in Judæa. Some escaped to Alexandria, where the Greek
456 Jews had a temple almost as grand and popular as the one at Jerusalem, and which had been in use for 343 years. The Alexandrian Jews were numerous and prosperous, having been treated well generally by both Egyptians and Romans. But when these disaffected Jews came among them there was trouble at once. The leading native Jews used their best endeavors to keep their people quiet and orderly, but the zealots were like flaming firebrands. The Jews began a sedition, but the gentiles turned upon

them at once. Fifty thousand of them were slaughtered. Men, women, children, infants—all were slaughtered and left in heaps in the houses and in the streets. The slayers looted the houses for reward for their work. This sight was common in Asia. In a few places the Jews were quiet, but the heathen were excited and thought they could not trust their peculiar neighbors, and the innocent suffered with the guilty.

516 Driven from Alexandria, the disturbers went to Cyrené, a prosperous province in northern Africa, where there were many Jews enjoying the Roman protection and some immunities which they highly appreciated. The leading disturber was a weaver named Jonathan. He persuaded a large number of the poorer Jews to go with him into the desert, promising to show them signs and wonders. The Roman governor, Catullus, being informed by the loyal and peaceable Jews of the attempt at revolt, apprehended the deluded followers of Jonathan, when Jonathan himself turned informer and declared that he had been instigated by the leading and wealthy Jews of Cyrené to attempt innovation. Catullus believed him and turned upon the peaceable Jews, hoping to extort wealth from them and obtain credit at Rome for discovering treason and stopping it in its inception. Catullus executed three thousand wealthy Jews at Cyrené and allowed Jonathan to extend his field of operations and make accusation against rich and prominent Jews at Rome and other places. Much mischief was done, but when Jonathan accused Josephus at Rome, Tacitus took up his cause and secured the punishment 520 of the real conspirators.

517 BEFORE CLOSING THIS CHAPTER on the Jews it may be well to give some accounts by Greek and Roman authors. These are important, whether true or false, since they have been read in nearly all ages and countries and have had much to do in forming opinions and prejudices. It is a fact, regard it as we will, 501 that scripture has weight whether true or false. Predilections and prejudices have long life.

518 Herodotos was probably the first Greek to write of the Jews, about 440 B.C. He says that Sesostris (Ramses II.), king 253 of Egypt (about 1300 B.C.), went on a tour of conquest through 255 central and western Asia, even to the Thracians and Skythians 407 in Europe. Herodotos says that this history is probably true for

the reason that the Colchians, on the eastern shore of the Black Sea, had recollection and some characteristics of the Egyptians, or Ethiopians. They were still swarthy and had curly or kinky hair. He said this was not of much significance, since other races had these characteristics, but another trait seemed to confirm the claim. "The Colchians, Egyptians and Ethiopians are the only nations who, from the first, have practiced circumcision. For the Phœnicians, and the Syrians in Palestine, acknowledge that they learned the custom from the Egyptians; and the Syrians about Thermodon and the River Parthenius, with their neighbors the Makrones, confess that they learned the same custom from the Colchians. And these are the only nations that are circumcised, and thus appear to act in the same manner as the Egyptians. But of the Egyptians and Ethiopians I am not able to say which learned it from the other, for it is evidently a very ancient custom. The Phœnicians who visit Greece no longer imitate the Egyptians in this usage." Herodotos wrote before the Greeks had come in contact with the Jews. Josephus admits that this statement is correct except as to Syrians. He says that Herodotos meant the Jews, as no (other) Syrians practiced circumcision.

Very recent findings of Hittite monuments throw light on these and other matters. It is said by some that the Hittites were not Semitics; that the race was old and is not yet ascertained in the modern researches. The Hittites were organized into an empire earlier than were the Assyrians. They were not Aryans, and they borrowed their learning and arts from the Babylonians and Semitics. They were a great nation for many centuries, and their chief city was Carchemish. Herodotos says the Colchians practiced circumcision, and they were in Hittite territory and probably a remnant after the destruction of the Hittite power. The Egyptians of Sesostris were Hyksos. I understand that the former Egyptians did not circumcise, but the Shemites brought the custom from the east, from America. It was a practice among some of the prehistoric races of America, and dates back to the Stone age, as the *modus operandi* shows.

§ 19 Strabo was a Grecian, and author of an extensive work on geography. He lived the latter part of the First Century B.C. and did some writing in the first years of the Christian Era. He says: "An Egyptian priest named Moses, who possessed a part of the country called Lower Egypt, being dissatisfied with the

established institutions there, left it and came to Judæa with a 449
 large body of people who worshiped the Divinity. He declared
 and taught that the Egyptians and Africans entertained erroneous 254
 sentiments in representing the Divinity under the likeness of
 wild beasts and cattle of the field: that the Greeks also were in
 error in making images of their gods after the human form." 362
 Strabo himself was skeptical of gods and oracles and most of the 383
 beliefs of former times. "Moses taught that those who made 526
 fortunate dreams were to be permitted to sleep in the temple, 353
 where they might dream both for themselves and others; that
 those who were temperate and just, and none else, might expect
 good, or some gift or sign from God. By such doctrine Moses
 persuaded a large body of right-minded folk to go with him to
 the place where Jerusalem now stands. He easily obtained pos-
 session of it, as the spot was not such as to excite jealousy; for
 it is rocky and surrounded by a barren, waterless land. Instead
 of arms he taught that their defense was in their sacred things 370
 and their Divinity, for whom he desired to find a settled place,
 promising the people that he would ordain such a kind of wor-
 ship and religion as would not burden those who adopted it with
 expense, nor molest them with so called divine possessions or 369
 other absurd practices. Moses thus obtained their good opinion
 and established no ordinary kind of government. All the nations 418
 around willingly united with him." 465

520 Tacitus wrote more concerning the Jews than any other
 Roman (or Greek) author now extant. There has been a mighty
 effort to unsay what he wrote. While I can not affirm his asser-
 tions I can say that no other Roman historian has been so gen-
 erally accepted as has Tacitus on other matters in his histories.
 When Josephus was accused by Jonathan it was Tacitus who 516
 took up his cause and secured his acquittal. Tacitus not only 848
 interceded for Josephos, but for all of the Jews accused with him,
 so he should not be charged with hatred or prejudice toward
 them. As for his means of information, besides being a personal
 friend of Josephus and many other Jews he had an extensive
 acquaintance with Romans of note who had been stationed in
 all parts of the Roman empire, besides having the opportunity of
 conversing with foreign subjects when they visited Rome. He
 also had the benefit of a public trial before Caius Caligula, when
 there appeared the best scholars of the Egyptians and the Jews

of Alexandria, to determine the validity of the claims of Egyptians and Jews respectively to their traditions. Josephus, in an answer to Apion, one of the Egyptians who argued this cause, gives the statements of several Egyptian and Greek authors, and some of the statements are similar to these by Tacitus.

“The tradition is that the Jews escaped from the island of Crete
 279 when Saturn was driven out of his kingdom by Jupiter, and that
 they then settled on the coast of Libya. An argument for this is
 drawn from their name. Mount Ida is famous in Crete, and the
 neighboring inhabitants are called Idæi, which with a barbarous
 351 augment becomes Iudæi. [In ancient alphabets i and j were one
 382 letter, as were u and v, and c and k. There were no letters for c,
 j and v as now used in English.] Some say they were a people
 very numerous in Egypt under the reign of Isis, and that the
 Egyptians got free from their burden by sending them into neigh-
 boring countries under their leaders Hierosolymus and Judas.
 518 The greatest part say they were Ethiopians who because of fear
 and hatred were obliged to change their habitation in the reign
 of king Kepheus. There is also a tradition that they were a
 heterogeneous band from Assyria, and, being without a country,
 took possession of a part of Egypt, and subsequently settled in
 cities in the Hebrew territories. Others pretend their origin to
 be more eminent, and that the Solymi, a people celebrated in
 Homer’s poems, were the founders of this nation, and gave their
 name to Hierosolyma, the city which they built there.” Tacitus
 seems to think that thus far his story is doubtful tradition. He
 gives more credit to the statements following.

“A pestilential disease breaking out in Egypt, Boc’choris the
 365 king went to the oracle of Jupiter Amun to ascertain a remedy.
 The oracle directed him to expel the infected. A mass of people
 being collected and driven into the desert, utterly without hope,
 they gave themselves up to die. In this crisis Moses, one of the
 exiles, with the courage of despair, undertook to lead his fellow-
 sufferers out of their misery. He admonished them not to look
 360 to gods or men for aid: they had been deserted by both. They
 had some provision, but no water. Moses saw a herd of wild
 asses go up a ravine and guessed that they were going to a spring.
 Following them, he found a marsh and easily got water. After
 a journey of six days they came to a habitable country, expelled
 the natives, and built their city. That his people might be odd



and remain separate from the rest of mankind, Moses prescribed a new form of worship. Whatever was held sacred by the Romans was declared profane; what others held to be unlawful and impure they held to be lawful and good. They sacrifice rams in reproach to Jupiter Ammon. An ox is also sacrificed, which the Egyptians worshiped under the name of Apis. The hog is thought to have been the cause of their leprosy, therefore he is banished and proscribed. They made the seventh day a sabbath because on the seventh day they rested after their hard journey; and afterward, charmed with the pleasure of idleness, they made the seventh year a year of idleness. These rites, by what manner soever they were first begun, are supported by their age. The rest of their institutions are awkward and impure, and got ground by their pravity; for every member of the community brought some contribution, so that the Jewish commonwealth grew in numbers and resources. They are also held together by unalterable fidelity and kindness always ready to be displayed, as well as bitter enmity toward all others. They are a people separated from all others in their food and in their beds; though they be the lowdest nation upon earth, yet will they not corrupt foreign women. They are taught nothing more persistently than to despise the gods, to renounce their [adopted] country, and to hold their parents, children and brethren in contempt; still they take care to increase and multiply, for they esteem it highly unlawful to destroy their children. They all look on the souls of those that die in battle, or are put to death for crimes, as eternal. Hence comes their love of posterity and contempt of death. They derive their custom of burying their dead, instead of burning them, from the Egyptians.

“ While the east was under the dominion of the Assyrians, the Medes and the Persians the Jews were of all slaves the most despicable. After the dominion of the Macedonians, king Antiochus tried to conquer their superstition and to introduce the customs of the Greeks, but he was disappointed. Then the Jews had their own kings, because the Macedonians were weak, the Parthians were not yet very powerful, and the Romans were far away. These kings, when they had been expelled by the common people, and had recovered their dominion by war, attempted the things that kings used to do. I mean they began to destroy cities, to slaughter brethren and wives and parents. But they

still went on in their superstition; for they took upon themselves
 525 also the high priesthood as a firm security to their power."

521 I hope to make it plain that the Jews had no idea of one Almighty God, Creator and Ruler of the universe. The idea of one God, without name, did not originate with them, nor have they ever accepted it. "I am Jahua thy god, and I am jealous in claiming my own: you shall not have my favor if you sacrifice to the other gods." This is the preamble to the covenant. Josephos could write *Deus* and *ho Theos*, the Latin and Greek terms for the old form *El*, God, but he could not write the name of his nation's god. God was vulgar to him, but *Iah*, a god, was holy.

522 Josephus, in his answer to Apion, had to meet the gentile writers on neutral ground. He was writing for gentile readers, and he dropped the former air of confidence and made set arguments. I will now consider some of them.

404 "We do not inhabit a maritime country, nor do we delight in
 269 such a mixture with other men as arises from commerce. We dwell in cities far from the sea, and, having a fruitful country, we take pains in cultivating that only. Since, therefore, we have had a peculiar way of living, there was no occasion for inter-mixing among the Greeks, as they had for mixing among the Egyptians, by reason of their exporting and importing their several goods; as they also mixed with the Phœnicians, who lived
 263 by the sea, because of their love of gain in trade. In this manner it was that the Phœnicians came soon by trading and navigation to be known to the Grecians, and thus the Egyptians became known to the Grecians also, as did all those peoples whence the
 171 Phœnicians in long voyages over the seas carried wares to the
 310 Grecians. The Medes and the Persians, when they were lords of Asia, became well known to them; also the Thracians and the Scythians, by means of those that sailed to the Black Sea." Josephus recites these facts to show how it was that writers in those other countries knew all about each other, but none of them mentioned the Jews, because they were not addicted to trade; did not like it because it compelled them to come in contact with other peoples, when it was their one endeavor to educate their children to be exclusive and not to know the rest of mankind. The Jews might have had a very different experience if they had located further east, had gone east instead of west when they came out of Egypt. But when they were west of the center of civilization

it was inevitable that they should be run over and destroyed if 529
 necessary in covering every nook and corner of territory in the
 march of progress westward. To other races it was a warning
 not to be exclusive, but to the Jews it was an experience to fit
 them for taking the leading part in publishing the divine plan
 that all the earth should be for all the peoples of the earth. Jo-
 sephus did not understand this, nor did anybody else of that day,
 but the plan has been working out and must some day be patent
 to all men.

523 There was contention as to who was the first law-maker. 135
 Josephus presses the claim that Moses was, and says that at the 158
 time of Homer there were no laws in Greece; that the nearest 568
 approach to laws were the maxims of wise men and the decrees
 of kings; but that this is matter of small consequence beside the
 one of making and maintaining good laws. Josephus goes to a
 dangerous extreme when he says: "The excellency of a legis-
 lator is seen in providing for the people's living after the best
 manner, and in prevailing with those that are to use the laws he
 ordains for them to have a good opinion of them, and in obliging 563
 the multitude to persevere in them, and to make no changes in
 them, either in prosperity or adversity." The world has seen the 141
 evil of trying to maintain laws and customs from age to age. 212
 The Jews themselves are an example: they had more grief than 370
 any other people, and after centuries of suffering were compelled 392
 to adapt themselves to laws and customs made by others and
 give up the most prominent of those of Moses. Sacrifices are not
 now offered; the sabbath year is forgotten; tithes and first-fruits
 are not collected, but all contributions are voluntary; slavery is 565
 abolished, so the jubilee is not now observed; usury is now taken 832
 from brethren as rigidly as from gentiles; marriages are single,
 and there is love for children and respect for parents; instead of
 being seclusive and exclusive they are now the salt of the earth,
 and the greatest factor in world-wide trade and commerce. So
 far were the laws of Moses wrong and barbarous that the world
 and the Jews especially have been civilized by taking them for
 savage institutions and getting as far as possible from them.

524 "Some make accusation against us that we have not pro-
 duced men who have been originators of new operations, or of
 new ways of speaking; for others think it a fine thing to perse-
 vere in nothing that has been delivered down by their forefathers,

and these esteem it to be smart when men transgress those traditions; whereas we, on the contrary, suppose it to be the part of wisdom and virtue to admit no actions nor assumptions that are
574 contrary to our original laws; which procedure is a sure sign that our law is admirably constituted; for such laws as are not thus well made are found upon trial to want amendment." Josephus here states the extremes. People who will not change need not learn; while people who continually change for the sake of novelty are fickle and will not succeed at anything, for even success, if it comes to them, will not be appreciated, but will be dissipated in the craze for innovation. The Jewish writers say that their god often changed his mind. If he could learn and get new light, how much more might his people do so, and not be fickle?

525 The questions that arose as to the interpretation of the laws were decided by the priests. Under the Mosaic dispensation, and again after the abolition of kings, the priests were the
520 administrators of justice, and a Jew who would not submit to the
546 high priest was guilty of irreligion. This was the very weakest part in the Jewish institutions. The man of God can not do his duty in pointing out the right way and at the same time act as administrator in meting out justice. When an erring one goes to the holy man he expects to receive consolation in his troubles, even crimes, together with advice how to mend his habits and be reconciled with God and man. When he comes before the judge he expects to make his defense as far as possible without regard to mercy, which he invokes as a last resort. Now if the two offices are combined in one man who is both priest and judge, the culprit has no spiritual adviser, but must meet a hard, stern visage, one that is used to being severe. The man who is not yet a criminal, but has started with little acts which he knows are wrong, may be won back to the path of rectitude by the sympathy and example of the spiritual man; while the hard lines in the face of the priest who is conscious of political and judicial power would aggravate the distemper in the amateur criminal. It is not necessary to draw upon theory to support this view: the history related by Josephus bears it out. So intent were the priests
564 upon gaining the highest dignity that they themselves violated all of the laws and customs which they were supposed to enforce. From deception to murder was but a step, and when they had no respect for each other how could they administer the laws faith-

fully? The idea of superiority, too, created an intense hatred in the minds of those over whom the scheming priests ruled, and for generations there was resistance to the collection of tithes by the priesthood. There were about twenty thousand priests who lived off the tithes and did no other work of any kind but attend at the temple and administer justice among the people. When the people despised them and refused the tithes the priests went to the threshing floors and took their shares, sometimes after heads had been broken.

526 Josephus will be excused for hitting back at the Greeks and deriding their ideas of the gods. This is allowed to all men in fair discussion. In doing this he says: "Greeks have represented their gods as begotten one by another, and that after all the ways of generation one can imagine. They also distinguish them in their places and ways of living, as they would distinguish several sorts of animals; as some to be under the earth, some in the sea; the ancientest of all to be bound in hell; and those who inhabit heaven to have one who is their father, but in his actions a tyrant, whence it came to pass that his wife and brother and daughter made a conspiracy against him to confine him, as he had himself seized upon and confined his own father before. Some of the gods are beardless and young, and others of them old, with beards; some are set to trades; one god is a smith; a goddess is a weaver; one god is a warrior, and fights with men; some of them are harpers, and delight in archery. Seditions arise among them, and they quarrel about men, and this so far that they not only lay hands upon one another, but they are wounded by men, and lament." There is much more of this, and worse, which begets the remark that it is always much easier to find faults in another's religious holdings than to defend our own with logic.

527 Now a few words as to Josephus himself. He did a great work, and at a time when his people did not exert themselves in this kind of work. If he had not composed his histories the world would be lacking in much of its present means of information of the ancients—valuable information, no matter how we receive it—valuable for the faithful insight into the peculiarities of this most peculiar people, as well as the fragments of history of other peoples. It is written about as it was: the good and the bad points of character are drawn to life. The author would like

to dress his people in better garb, but they do their own dressing and he pictures it as it is, to the best of his ability, and this is the mark of the conscientious historian.

“When the city Jerusalem had been taken, Titus Cæsar urged me frequently to take whatever I would of the ruins of my country. I thought nothing else to be of value, so I made request that my family might have their liberty. I had also the
325 holy books by concession of Titus. Vespasian honored me with
398 the privileges of a Roman citizen, and gave me an annual pension.” The books of the temple had had many possessors and we can not know how old the present copies were, but they were probably as authentic and complete as any then in existence.

We may excuse Josephus and believe he was justifiable in saying of himself: “I am bold to say, now I have so completely perfected the work which I set myself to do, that no other man, Jew or gentile, had he never so great inclination to it, could so accurately deliver these accounts to the Greeks as is done in these books. For those of my own nation freely admit that I far excel them in the learning belonging to the Jews. I have also taken great pains to acquire the learning of the Greeks, and understand the elements of the Greek language, although I have so long accustomed myself to speak our own tongue that I can not pronounce Greek with fluency or exactness: for our nation does not encourage those that learn the languages of many
546 nations, and so adorn their discourse with the smoothness of their periods; since they look upon this sort of accomplishment as common, not only to all sorts of freemen, but to as many of
372 the slaves as please to learn them. But we give the testimony of
497 a wise man to him who is fully acquainted with our laws, and is able to interpret them.”

GREECE.

528 ANCIENT GREECE PROPER was very small in territory and more broken and separated into natural districts than any other like extent of the earth's surface. It consisted of the territory now called Attica, Morea and Thessaly. The Ægean Sea is dotted with islands of various sizes but none large, while the main land and all the islands are intersected with arms and bays of the sea. The land is very mountainous and almost any variety of soil and climate may be found between the seashore and the tops of the medium-sized mountains, or the table lands on the sides of the higher mountains. Thus on landing from a vessel one may find low and swampy land; on ascending the slope he may find dry ground and mild air; then he may come to cool breezes, and lastly to the heights where the snow never melts; and he may still be in sight of the harbor.

The lay of the land in Greece would not be supposed to be inducive to working out great results in self-government, or government by the people. The best results would be expected in a country where communication and coöperation could be easily had. Yet in this mixture of land and water, where the land is divided by mountains into small districts, making communication difficult, was the beginning of new ideas of liberty and government, and these ideas have scarcely been improved upon to this day. The Grecians were so thoroughly divided by nature that it was impracticable for one general government to be established. Each community was independent of the rest. Each strove to work out its destiny in its own way.

529 How is it that the prehistoric races fell a prey to the migratory races? Was it always because the former were less courageous or less skillful fighters? No; there were other reasons. The pioneers of the onmoving civilization had just left 522

- the scenes of the greatest energy and advancement and knew what was to follow the introduction of the new ideas. A man, for instance, who had been crowded out of Chaldæa took with him the desire to make for himself fortune and fame in the new west. If he did not scheme for the spoliation of the inhabitants in the new land he knew that other easterners would and he would be called upon to help them in their struggle with the barbarian. So in the general rush for good places and positions the qualms of right and property of the origines were silenced. The barbarians were at a disadvantage. They knew nothing of civilization in its new form and did not wish to know of it; they were wedded to their old ways and had no fear that they would be dispossessed: there was no concert of action, each family or
- 12 tribe feeling safe until its time came to be moved: they could not understand how the invaders worked together while seeming to be careless of each other. If some of the wise ones among the barbarians foresaw the impending danger they were helpless to save their people. The natural incentive and superior contrivances of the new people would give them a great advantage.
- 418 The best that could be secured by the Pelasgi was permission to remain and become a part of the new people, in which event they usually took a subordinate rank, though sometimes individuals by unusual merit or energy acquired a leading position in the state. Then sometimes when a second immigration came the aborigines and the former settlers would both be ousted, and when the Scythians came upon them all were treated alike.
- 264 530 The historians say that Cadmus with a colony of Phœnicians founded Thebes (1580 B.C.) and introduced letters into
- 252 Greece, and that Cecrops with an Egyptian colony founded Athens (1643 B.C.). It is also said that Ægialus founded Sicyon, the oldest state of Greece, in the Peloponnesos, now Morea, 2100 B.C., and that soon afterward Inachos founded Argos. These names and dates, covered with the rime of age, are doubtful. Greece was settled by colonies from Asia and Africa: when they came west they found the lands and rocks in possession of tribes of Pelasgi and some smaller races. Some of the new settlers tolerated the peaceable and unoffending Pelasgians, some destroyed them, some drove them out, and some enslaved them. The new races came from all nations and tribes of central Asia and brought their customs with them. While there was room for

all there was not much fighting for lands and islands, but when they had settled and colonized all the desirable parts there began a struggle for supremacy. In the formative period the different languages were merged into the Greek tongue, which prevailed throughout Greece and the islands, as well as in Asia Minor, with slight variations of dialect.

531 The Pelasgi were not low barbarians. Long before the arrival of the pioneer emigrants from the east these "aborigines" ²⁰⁶ were great builders. Such stones as they laid up into walls, without mortar, have seldom been handled by builders in any historic age. It is highly probable that in the former circuit of ⁷⁸³ the earth the people that inhabited these rocky islands were as far superior to their neighbors as the Grecians were in their time, and for the same reason—the lay of the land. The Pelasgi were found as far west as Italy, indicating that in their days of activity ⁸⁰⁰ they occupied this stretch of territory before losing their autonomy and cohesiveness. Will the inhabitants of Greece some centuries hence be to another race of creative people what the Pelasgi were to the energetic Greeks?

532 If you will look at the map of Asia and Europe you will see that when the Scythians came to the Caspian Sea they were forced to go north or south in order to get around it. This sea extends from about the 37th to the 47th degree of latitude, about 700 miles. This sea is supposed to have been at some time connected with the Black Sea and the Sea of Aral. The waters of all are slightly salty. However this was, at an early day the migrations of the Scythians were deflected to the south or to the north to pass these seas. Likewise the southern movers had to narrow their passageway and go northward when they came to the Mediterranean. This brought the races together at the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles and in the lands to the west, as far south as Thessaly. Of the early migrations that went by water into the Ægean Sea and settled both sides, in Asia as well as Europe, the objects were practically the same. It does not affect the fact that migration was westward. Nor does it matter that sometimes tribes and colonies went across the Ægean into Asia: it is certain some tribes of Scythians did, as the Thracians who built Troy. The trend was westward.

533 Before the arrival of the Shemites in the Mesopotamia there were great nations not only there but in Asia Minor, and

Egyptians at times brought them under subjection, not only in
 255 Palestine but as far as the Ægean Sea. Each arrival from the
 east caused disturbance in western Asia and in Egypt, and the
 old and the new races pushed together to the west. There is
 now little doubt that the Phœnicians and Egyptians under Cad-
 mus and Cecrops were Shemites: the only question left is whether
 they were original Shemites or a modification after long residence
 with the Egyptians. There probably went with them some of
 116 the old inhabitants; there is mention of negroes among the early
 migrants from Egypt, Ethiopia and Libya.

117 534 When the Aryans began to move westward from eastern
 Asia they took a route north of that taken by the Shemites, and
 were forced into contact with the Skythians. They did not get
 much hold in the Mesopotamia until the Persian empire was
 established, but before this time there were migrations into Asia
 Minor and Hellas. From the time of their arrival they seem to
 305 have given to the Hellenes a distinctively Aryan turn, and by the
 800 time of Homer the other races were merged into the Aryan or
 144 were subordinate. The Aryan Hellenes were divided into Dori-
 ans, Æolians, Ionians and Achaïans. The common name of
 Greeks was not known until the time of the Romans and was
 given by them.

535 There is not in all history a fact that had in itself, in its
 far reaching meaning, more significance than that the first war
 of consequence by the Greeks was fought to avenge the viola-
 216 tion of the marriage vow between a man and a woman. The
 355 fact that this was a marriage in high life, of a princess of Sparta
 and the man who was to be king because he was her husband,
 does not much detract from the importance of the war and its
 cause. It shows that a man had a right to one wife and this
 590 right must be respected. If it had been in any of the Asiatic
 monarchies anterior to the Grecian institutions, or then in any
 but a Grecian land, the king would have taken as many maidens
 as he desired and the parents of the wives and concubines would
 have felt highly honored, as they do to this day, to have their
 daughters chosen for the king's harem. Every Greek, high or
 low, might have one wife, and no more. Solomon and Cyrus
 401 could not have maintained their harems in Greece.

536 Herodotos gives several versions of this affair and says
 that it was the beginning of the animosities that led not only to

the Trojan war but to the wars between Persia and Greece under Dari'us and Xerxes. It was charged that some traders from Phœnicia on a visit to Argos, in the Peloponnesus, stole Io, a princess, and some of her attendants. The Phœnicians excused themselves by saying that Io was willing to be stolen, even begged to be taken away, because she had committed an impropriety with one of the Phœnicians and was afraid of the wrath of her father. The Phœnicians did take her away, however, and afterward some Grecians went to Tyre ostensibly to trade, but really to have satisfaction for the taking of Io. They attracted the princess Europa to the shore and stole her. In this case there was no excuse that Europa was willing to be taken: it was open retaliation. They were now even, and the Greeks were next to do wrong. A war vessel went to Colchis on other business, but on returning carried away the king's daughter Mede'a. The king of Medea demanded satisfaction, but the Greeks replied that as the Asiatics had given no satisfaction for Io neither would they give any, intimating that it would be time enough for Greeks to give satisfaction when the first wrong had been atoned. The Asiatics then undertook to play that taking women was a recognized practice. Priam, king of Ilion, wanted a Greek wife for his son Alexander (not Paris, as in other writers), and sent and took Helen. The Spartans demanded her return, and the Trojans replied that the Greeks had made no reparation in the case of Medea, and ought not to demand what they would not grant to others. But the Greeks were not willing to have this practice continue, therefore made war upon Ilion. Herodotus says that the Trojans would have returned Helen, but she never came to Troy, but was carried to Egypt, and she was there during all the time of the ten years' war; that the Trojans told the Greeks she was not at Troy, and had not been there, but the Greeks would not believe them until they had destroyed the city and people. Then when Helen was not found, nor any trace of her, they were satisfied, when it was too late to undo the wrong. The Asiatics said that it was wrong to steal women and men ought not to do it, but that it was foolish to avenge so slight a fault, alleging that a woman would not be stolen if she was not willing. But the Asiatics would avenge the stealing of cattle.

§ 537 The Trojan war has been recounted so many times since the days of Homer, who is the best authority for the story, that

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it has been worn out, yet it can not be spared here; whether such a war ever occurred or not, the story is an introduction to Greek character, life, thought and religion.

Tyn'darus, king of Sparta, had an only daughter, Hel'ené, who, besides being the most beautiful woman in Greece, might transmit the royal prerogative to her husband and their children. She was a rich prize, and all the marriageable princes and nobles applied for her hand. Tyndarus, fearing to offend some, proclaimed that all who wished to take chances should swear an oath to protect the choice of his daughter, and left her free to choose for herself. On a day appointed all the suitors appeared at Sparta, and after the preliminaries had been arranged the several hundred passed in review before the grand stand erected for the occasion. The choice of Helen fell upon Menela'os, one of the last that she would have been expected to choose, and the assembly dispersed.

About this time, or shortly before, Peleus, king of Thessaly, married Thetis, an immortal, and all the gods and goddesses of
366 heaven (Olympos) were invited with the single exception of Discord. Now it would seem a wise precaution to leave her out, since her part of the divine economy was to cause quarreling and trouble. But in this case the effort to insure harmony and a pleasant time was the very cause of the greatest row the Grecian
66 gods and goddesses ever had. Discord bethought herself how she might avenge the insult, and when the festivities were at the height she threw into the ballroom a golden apple inscribed, "For the most beautiful woman." Then Juno in her dignity and preëminence as queen of heaven demanded the apple as hers by right, but Venus, the goddess of love and beauty, and Minerva, the goddess of wisdom, contended for the prize. There was a long wrangle, and it was finally left for Paris, son of Priam, king of Troia, in northwestern Asia Minor, for decision. Each of the jealous goddesses sought to warp the judgment of Paris and secure the decision in her favor. Juno promised that if Paris would decide in her favor she would give him power greater than that possessed by any other mortal and he should be a great and illustrious king. Minerva would endow him with greater wisdom and knowledge than any other mortal had ever had. Venus would give him for a wife the most beautiful woman in the world. Paris accepted the offer of Venus and decided in her

favor. Venus conducted Paris to Sparta, where he saw Helen, who had been predisposed to him by Venus; it was a case of love at first sight; the two guilty lovers planned for an elopement and escaped to Troy; the suitors who had bound themselves to defend her husband enlisted in a war for revenge and restoration, and all Greece was in a state of war.

When the avenging army was collected it numbered a hundred thousand men, commanded by Agamemnon, king of Argos, brother of Menelaus, assisted by Achil'les, Ulysses, Nestor, Ajax and others whose names were made illustrious by Homer. The Trojans were commanded by Hector, brother of Paris, assisted by Paris, Æne'as, Deiph'obus and Sarpe'don. All the gods and goddesses of heaven were enlisted on one or the other side. Venus was the champion of the Trojans; Minerva and Juno assisted the Spartans. The siege lasted ten years, when the Spartans succeeded by stratagem in capturing the city. Priam and his family were slaughtered, but Æneas, according to the Æneid of Virgil, escaped with a few companions, went west, settled in Latium, and his posterity were the founders of Rome. Before Greece was confirmed in her position as mistress of the world a colony went west to found the next great power. The Trojans were the founders of the nation that was destined to conquer the destroyers of Troy. It has not yet been ascertained of what race these Trojans were: Skythians, Aryans and Shemites were scattered everywhere among the prehistoric races.

538 To each man, no matter when or where his birth, it is given to think that his religion is reasonable and true. He may know and recognize the fact that other individuals are superior in many respects—may be brighter, better informed, more intelligent, richer, more fortunate, better furnished with the good things of life, have fewer sorrows and trials—but somehow he feels that after all they lack his consolation of assurance that in some mysterious or inexplicable manner he will be rewarded for his accord with divine will. If he does not quite suffer this feeling as to himself individually he yet suffers it as to his particular cult. The savage that gives up his children to be sacrificed to the gods of the tribe, or volunteers himself to be immolated, follows a natural instinct that can not be overcome by humanity. The most materialistic and esthetic man that can be found or imagined possesses the same bent and will suffer martyrdom for

his ideas of his relation to a higher power, and when he would not think he would do so. Each new cult partakes largely of the ideas of its predecessors, may even have nothing new, yet its devotees will believe that while all the old ones were probably good enough for their day and generation, the new is every way better and more acceptable to the Object of adoration. When the new has fought its way to the hearts and consciences of a large number of people and become established, it in its turn looks with disfavor upon the next new candidate for the honor and responsibility of keeping the consciences of the sons and daughters of men. "There is no new thing under the sun. That which hath been is now; and that which is to be hath already been." Yet, by laying aside a custom or a habit until it has been forgotten it will have all the freshness and life-giving qualities of a brand new thing.

A writer who has a bias toward a particular creed or cult, or against all, may treat of ancient Greek religious matters in a comparative way, may deny to the Greeks some meed of sincerity or verity in order that his own modern form of religion, or its ancient predecessors, may shine more lustrously. In a history of civilization, covering all time and all races, the conscientious author must treat all with respect and rob none for the benefit of others. Each must have its praise and reproof on its own merits and demerits.

539 Before any Hellenes arrived the Pelasgians sacrificed all sorts of victims with prayer, but gave no name to any of the gods. They called them gods and believed they had set the world in order and ruled over all things. The creed was that once the matter of the earth, which to them, as to the Jews, meant the universe, was a useless mass; it was not in a condition or form to permit of habitation or life. Then the gods separated the matter and made a part habitable, surrounding it with impenetrable deserts and endless oceans. The seat of the gods was Mount Olympus, between Thessaly and Macedon. Here they overlooked Greece and administered divine mercy and wrath. Afterward when the names of the gods were brought from the east the Pelasgi asked through the oracle of Dodona, the most ancient and then the only one in Greece, whether or not they should receive them. The oracle answered that the names of the gods should be received, and the Pelasgi erected temples to the gods

and goddesses as individuals, and as the incoming population arrived the names were adopted, if the immigrants did not bring them, and Greece had the religion of the Pelasgians, with the names added.

The beginning of the modern ideas of the gods was in Greece. ²⁷⁹
 It must be remembered that during the long time that civilization was stationary in the Mesopotamia the ideas of the gods was so narrowed that it was believed that every family was bound to its gods, as was the belief in Hellas and Italy before the immigrations wrought a change. All Asiatics that we know anything about, unless we except the Chinese, acquired the notion that certain gods presided over certain districts and each family belonged to its gods. There was no such thing as conversion to a creed. One born to one god could not change to another. The other god would not accept his worship as such, but as an act of irreverence to the god of the worshiper and honor to himself in humbling the rival god and his followers, and would not requite it. The Phœnicians and Egyptians set the custom in Greece by worshiping all the principal gods and goddesses together and with the Pelasgi and other native races. In Greece any foreigner could acquire citizenship and a part in the religion. This reform spread to the Jews, the Romans and others, and inaugurated the change that preceded Christianity. ⁹⁰

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540 The Amphictuonic council was established so early that it is not known just when or by whom it was done. It is supposed that it was a Pelasgic institution and that as the new tribes came in they acquired seats in the council, as the Makedonians and Romans did in historic time. The ideas of the jurisdiction of the gods then prevailing make this view probable. With all the new races pouring into Egypt and dominating the land there were no radical changes of religion or the institutions depending upon it. The Amphictyonic council met twice a year—in the spring at the temple of Apollo at Delphi and in the autumn at the temple of Ceres at Thermopylæ. The council was composed of delegates from independent states and cities. The larger states had a representative each, but two or three smaller states or cities were joined in a representative district. Each delegate had one vote. Certain questions could be brought before this council, and when a decision was rendered all the states were bound to respect it and assist in enforcing it. This was as far as the

Grecians ever went in the way of federal government. It was not the intention to interfere except in matters pertaining to religion, to secure proper respect for the oracle at Delphos and the rites, ceremonies, sacrifices, divinations, feasts, games and other general institutions. This council was maintained until long after the Roman occupation. Augustus Cæsar had a seat in it, and was
 570 as proud of it as he was of being emperor and pontiff at Rome.

541 When the Greeks came to form their traditions they preserved or fabricated stories of great personages, as the Jews did of Noah. Hence it was said that Perseus was the son of the Sun, which was regarded as the principal god and author by all or nearly all Semitics and Aryans. Perseus was said to have been born in Argos, in the Peloponnesos, though some Greeks admitted that he came from Egypt. He was a great traveler and taught the Greeks and others to steer vessels by the stars. Perseus, the same with Osiris, was fabled to have been the progenitor
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 446 of the Persians and to have given them their name. These conceits helped to raise the Greeks in their own estimation, and sometimes enabled barbarians, as they called all foreigners, to flatter them into compliance with requests which otherwise would not have been granted.

363 542 The manner of obtaining the will of the god through the oracle was not always the same, though practically it was. Those
 416 who would consult an oracle went to the temple or grove where the oracle was and performed certain ceremonies, with sacrifices and gifts. They then waited in the sanctuary for the answers to their inquiries. The priestess or pythoness—for men did not enjoy the confidence of the god, or the god could not control their mental faculties to use them, hence used those of women—
 365 then delivered the reply of the god who presided at that shrine. Sometimes the answer was as clear as language could be, while
 179 at other times the recipient was unable to get an interpretation until it was too late to be of use, when he would see, however, that the answer was easily capable of an interpretation agreeable with the outcome of the contingencies inquired about. To help those who wished to consult the oracle, to make the sacrifices and interpret the answers, were priests, whose duty it was to preserve the temple and keep themselves informed of passing events, that their advice might be esteemed.

543 While the oracles could at all times be consulted, yet as

there were but few of them and they were not always convenient 365
 the priests performed sacrifices and received answers through
 divination. When a fowl or animal was cut open the inwards
 were examined, or the bodies were placed on fire and the divina-
 tion was made from the smoke or other peculiar phenomenon.
 To perform these sacrifices priests were employed by kings, gen-
 erals and other notables, and the priests at the temples would
 sacrifice for any person who wished to propitiate the gods or
 obtain their advice or command. There were also prodigies, or 185
 rather when there were prodigies or unusual happenings note was
 taken of them and they were understood to mean well or ill.

544 Man is assisted in his endeavors by the unseen forces of
 the universe, by Providence, but left a free moral agent. If it 10
 was otherwise man would be a mere puppet in the control of
 Providence. It is, beyond all doubt or cavil, a fact that we are
 free moral agents, and that all living things are likewise, to the
 degree of intelligence or instinct possessed by them. We are
 free to do good or evil, and held to rigid account here or here-
 after—not our brethren or posterity, but ourselves—for our acts, 122
 and failures to act. Now the priests and priestesses were not
 always honest and truthful. If a pythoness was wicked enough
 she could retire into the closet and speak as she wished without 365
 suffering herself to come under the inspiration. I shall hereafter 369
 give some instances of this in Greece, but here I will give one in 612
 Egypt. Ama'sis was a poor man who liked to drink and be a 315
 good fellow, and to obtain the means to enable him to do this he
 resorted to stealing. Many times he was brought before the
 oracles and accused. Usually the pythonesses convicted him,
 but some of them sympathized with him and lied to save him.
 Afterward Amasis became king by a revolution, and remembered
 the priestesses. Those who had convicted him were cared for,
 but those who had failed to do so were dropped from his notice
 and had to go out of the profession: they could not be trusted.

545 The Thrakians were peculiar. Their god was Zalmoxis.
 Once in five years they sent a messenger to him to let him know
 what they wanted. They gave their orders to a young man and
 then despatched him with javelins. In time of storms or great
 danger they shot arrows into the air, threatening the god, think-
 ing to frighten him. Their idea was that they were numerous
 and more powerful than one, though a god. Herodotos charges

them with childish ignorance and pride in "thinking that there
363 was no other god but theirs." They were not the only people
who have tried to monopolize deity.

546 The great number of tribes and their peculiarities during
the primitive times render a particular account of them impossi-
ble, from the history and fable preserved, but a general survey
may be attempted.

Each community, or the people living in a territory, large or
small, shut in by water and mountain, had a separate govern-
ment. The king or patriarch was descended from a god, usually
from Jupiter, and this pretension was assented to by the people.
525 The king was responsible to Jupiter as his overlord, but was re-
quired to be skillful in the use of arms and oratory. Indeed, if
another could defeat him in single combat either on the play
ground or in forensic eloquence he lost his standing: he must be
316 a leader, and while he was not required to hold his crown as the
modern prize fighter, to be contested anew with every one who
chose to challenge him to single combat, yet he was on occasions
319 as they arose, and they were not few, required to display superior
skill and dexterity in the use of arms and superior knowledge
and probity in handling questions relating to private life and gov-
ernment. If he failed in this he was not credited with being
divinely endowed, and lost his prestige.

Next to the kings, and enjoying all the privileges except the
royal authority, were the nobles. They were descended from the
gods and were eligible to all the positions of honor. They were
leaders in war, and often the nobles on each side did all the fight-
ing while the common freemen, who were subject to military duty
when called upon, stood by and watched the progress of the bat-
tle. There might be great slaughter of nobles and no encounter
between the common soldiers. The nobility owned slaves, but
the number of slaves in the infant or heroic age of Greece was
never great, and their treatment is said to have been humane.

The second class were the free citizens. They might own
lands, but not slaves. This class was then what it has ever been
since, the life of the state. It set the pace in all matters pertain-
ing to the welfare of the people as a body. The nobility owned
the slaves (the third class), and these two classes, though ex-
tremes, were united in interest, so far at least as the second or
middle class was concerned. The middle class included the free

farm laborers, the tenant farmers, the carpenters and smiths and other tradesmen, the seers, heralds and bards. In those times a man who could use tools and work in wood and metals was an important person in a community. Arms were being improved, the battle often went to the side that had the best arms, and the smith who could make an improved sword or other utensil of warfare was in respect. As the country was improved and better buildings were demanded the carpenter, the mason and the other workmen, in some communities at least, rose in public estimation. These things had happened in Asiatic monarchies, but under other conditions. Here the governments were numerous and small. If an artisan or other free citizen was not well treated he might reach a neighboring community where he was beyond the authority of his former sovereign or chief, while in Asia there was one great and overreaching despotism that could crush individuality in any part of the dominions. The genius of Greece was due to the lack of centralized power. If the land had been level, or even in one body, so that authority and power could have been wielded by one despotic king, or by one despotic city, no matter what the form of government, there would have been a very different story to be written of Greece. In Asia the energy of the people was restricted to the whims and designs of the sovereign. In Greece the communities were independent and public opinion was supreme: whatever the community sanctioned was allowed. In Asia there was practically no society: the authority was independent of and above the people. In Greece there was seldom a government except such as was tolerated by the free people: society was the basis of government: if the free citizens wanted a change in government or governors they usually got it. In some of the petty governments the nobility were more powerful and the second class, the free poor, were treated as in Asia. Greece had all varieties of government and society, but there was an improvement over existing conditions in Asia.

547 AFTER THE TROJAN WAR there was a general convulsion in Greece. Almost every race and tribe changed its habitat, or was greatly affected by the changes around and in it. The most notable event of the time was the movement of the Dorians southward. This people it seems formerly occupied Thessaly, but were driven out by the Thebans and after some while spent

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in prospecting and feeling for weak places in others' possessions they settled in the Peloponnesus. One branch of the Dorians, the Spartans, took possession of the city of Laconia and changed its name to Sparta. This was the beginning of the strongest military power in Greece to the time of Philip of Macedon.

The city of Sparta was situated at the foot of Mount Tau'getos and on the River Eurotas, which described a curve and ran around three sides of the city. The city was twenty miles from the sea, but near enough, since the Spartans had no desire for the advantages of navigation. The territory at first consisted of a valley about twenty-five by twenty miles.

548 The Spartans were of three classes: the real Spartans, who owned nearly all the good land, and dwelt in the fortified city; the Perioikoi, who lived in the towns and villages, owned the rest of the land, and also followed the trades and professions and, as far as circumstances and the barbaric prejudices of the Spartans permitted, engaged in commerce; the Helo'tes or Ilo'tes, who were slaves and cultivated the lands of the Spartans and
751 the Perioikoi, paying their masters one-half of the produce.

549 About 850 B.C. the Spartans became alarmed and cast about for a better system of protection internally as well as to provide for aggressive measures against their neighbors. Lucurgos, a member of the royal family, and who could have usurped the kingdom, but declined it, was chosen to prepare a code of laws. He traveled much and became acquainted with the prevailing institutions in other states and countries. But in drafting his laws he was more rigid and severe than any of the law-makers he had consulted or studied. His laws excited strong opposition from the Spartans, but in the face of their great dangers they acquiesced. A domineering people must submit to the discipline and hardship necessary to prepare it for the task of holding in subjection other peoples. Those who practice despotism must themselves submit to despotic government: a people that have good government and good society at home will not attempt to
297 rob and slay for spoils, or unfair or enforced profits abroad.

550 There had been two kings of Sparta for some eight centuries, and these were continued; but their prerogatives were curtailed. The political power was placed in a senate of twenty-eight members elected for life by the votes of the free citizens. The kings were president of the senate and general of the army.

No measure could have force of law until ratified by the free citizens, but the citizens could not propose anything; their powers were restricted to voting aye or nay on measures proposed by the senate. As a man must be sixty years of age before he was eligible to a seat in the senate there was no chance for a long continuance of an unpopular administration.

551 The institutions of Lucurgos have been criticised by millions of writers and speakers, so that it would seem useless to attempt to say anything new on the subject. The common mistake made by the critics is in taking the regulations of Lukurgos and the customs of the Spartans singly, when they should be taken as a complete system. Singly the laws are not defensible; together they are consistent and well adapted to the people and their intentions in life: they accomplished the purpose intended, and this is usually called success.

552 It was ascertained that there were 9,000 Spartans. The land in the territory of Sparta was divided into equal shares and each citizen received one lot. In the rest of Laconia there were 30,000 free citizens, or Perioikoi. The land was divided into 30,000 parts as nearly equal as possible, and each Perioikos got a farm. The Helotes were required to do all the work for both Spartans and Perioikoi. The Perioikoi paid taxes or tribute to the Spartans.

553 The question of ownership, or of private property, was raised by those who had owned the land, but Lucurgos took the view that I have adopted as to natural rights and private ownership and asserted the right of the people to resume ownership without compensation. The only question was as to whether the people chose to resume their collective right to the land as it was when they drove out the Laconians and took it. If that was right this was right: if that was wrong the present private owners had no title to their claims. The people took chances on revolution and anarchy, but their right to order a new division could not be denied. In a contest, in this instance, the landed aristocracy would have had everything to lose: the landless were in a great majority, and if they could not prevail over their more acute opponents, a contest between them would be disastrous.

554 Sparta was inland. It might some day acquire the territory to the sea and become a trading nation, but Lucurgos had no disposition toward trade and navigation. The Spartans were

masters of a small territory, but by maintaining present conditions they could have the necessities of life without labor on their part. They had slaves to do their work and drudgery. If they broadened their field of operations they would be compelled to trust their affairs to slaves or allies. In any event foreign trade or travel would interfere with their plans. To keep the Spartans
316 at home and visitors out commerce was prohibited.

A people with no trade away from home, especially if that people occupy a small territory, can have any kind of money or no money. It is not surprising, then, that Lycurgus forbade the
585 use of gold and silver as money and declared that only iron should be used as a medium of exchange. The iron money and the prohibition of trade abroad accomplished their purpose: the
404 Spartans stayed at Sparta and seldom received visitors.

555 Further to secure patriotism and equality the people were divided into clans or messes of fifteen persons each and no one was permitted to eat in private. To have the company agreeable among themselves it was decreed that no one could be admitted to a mess without the unanimous consent of the members. Attendance at the stated meal times was compulsory. The provision was furnished by assessment upon the members once a month. The usual store of each individual was one bushel of flour, eight measures of wine, five pounds of cheese and half as many of figs. One could change his mess if he was out of humor with the members, but he must know where he was going or he might be left out. From this requirement even the kings and senators were not exempt. The dress of the citizens was made uniform, that no one might appear more elegant than another, and none be shabby. At each dining hall the oldest man of the mess was the father. It was his part to preserve decorum. For grace he said, "Nothing said here is to go outside."

556 It will strike the reader that Sparta was organized on the model of a military camp. It was on the model of a later day; it was rather like the best camp in the middle ages or in modern times than any that Lucurgos saw in his travels. Not the men only were organized: the women and children were under discipline. The women were subject to the same rules as the men: were forbidden to eat in private; were required to take part in physical exercises, games and sports, and submit to the same rigors in training, that they might be paragons in physique.

557 At this early day in Sparta what was the condition of the women as compared with those of Semitic Asia? I have said that the laws of Lukourgos were consistent and as a whole eminently successful in accomplishing their purpose, which was to bind the people together and make them contented at home and invincible abroad. The relations of the sexes were admirably adapted to this end. In modern states, or in ancient states with more territory or less danger from slaves within and foes without, the Spartan plan would probably fail from want of obedience to law. At Sparta every man and woman was rigidly required to obey the law and those in authority, while the virtue of the citizens was such that a usurper or a libertine was cut off at once.

558 Men were not permitted to marry before the age of thirty, and women must be twenty. There was not much ceremony at marriage: it was an agreement between the two parties. If the husband or wife wished to separate there was nothing to hinder. It was not unusual for spouses to swap partners: this was held to be better for the state than to compel couples to live together when they were not congenial. The idea was that every man over thirty years of age was entitled to a wife, and every woman over twenty was mistress of her own person. This was a good arrangement at Sparta, with the other customs: it might not be under other conditions. It was practically the custom among Skythians. Marriage as known in modern Christian lands is a necessity: it is not rigidly enough adhered to: but it must not be forgotten that it is a part of the conditions of society as organized. Under such conditions as desired and secured by the Spartans, and necessary to maintain their supremacy, the Christian institution of marriage would have been no better than the old 216 Jewish or the Assyrian, though very different.

559 The object of the marriage relation is to secure the proper education and care of children and to secure society, or the state, against the care of orphans and foundlings. If men and women were permitted to follow their unchaste desires and produce children which they had no thought of supporting, the foundlings would be a serious charge upon the state or community. But where a state is organized upon a plan that provides for the support of the children, the parents are not even allowed to bring up 283 their own children, and the charge is upon all alike, married or 526 single, there is no occasion for further regulation than pertains to

the good order of the men and women themselves. Such a system would not be possible if a few were allowed to "own" the "property" or control the natural sources of production.

560 Children were left with their mothers until seven years of age. At birth or at any time during these seven years of infancy the weakly or deformed were destroyed. At seven the children were placed in the common school or gymnasium and kept at the expense of the state. The governors and governesses were chosen from the free citizens as other officers were chosen, and they had full charge over the children. The parents had no part or voice in the education of their children, but assisted in persuading them to undergo the trials and hardships without flinching or whimpering. The object was to make men and women who could endure hardship and physical suffering. Boys were taught to steal and fight, and on stated occasions were flogged in public, when it sometimes happened that they expired under the
281 lash. This flogging was not in punishment, but to toughen them. In their battles they were taught to do each other any violence. These were sham battles, but had the reality: the boys were not armed: they bit, gouged, choked, broke bones. Cowardice, or what we call moral courage, was the one failing the Spartans could not condone, hence physical weakness had no respect.

561 With all of their sober barbarity (for the Spartans were the most moderate of all the Greeks in the use of wine) they
282 might have spared the innocent babes that could not help their
538 weakness or deformity of body, you may think. But think a little further and you will see the consistency of this custom with the others. The Spartans were menaced by the Helotes, whose ancestors had been free citizens. The lands had been divided into shares (this is doubted by some modern scholars, but seems to be proven) and each citizen had one share for his support. If
769 there had been a natural increase of population there would have been no means of support without killing off the Ilotes, and then the Spartans would have been forced to work. Then it was plain that weaklings and cowards were not needed. In times of war there was relaxation of military discipline, and war was popular because it brought greater freedom. When the men were thinned out in battles those who wished could have two wives, until the sexes were about even again. The Helotes were thinned out by outright slaughter, but in their case the reverse

was the custom: the healthy and promising were disposed of. The Spartans wanted only healthy and brave Spartans, weak and cringing Helotes.

562 This is the story of Sparta as found in Greek authors, but no writings by any Spartan have been preserved, if any were ever written. One might expect this. A people with no spirituality, no sentiment, no sense of justice or right, no respect for the human family outside of their own household, but who allow themselves to harden into rigid materiality until they think only of their physical needs and how to be content in seclusion, have no need of education in letters. What was there for them to write? They excluded strangers and ignored the rest of the world, even of Greece, and their own petty affairs, always the old tread, could afford no inspiration for literature.

563 After a trial of the Lycurgon system it was found that 523 there was a little room for jangling. The theory was that if the kings were disposed to be despotic the senate and the people could discipline them: if the senate was headstrong the people would be a check upon them, since no law or ordinance could be enforced until ratified by the popular assembly: if the people in assembly were turbulent and disposed to be fractious the kings and senators could dismiss them and act without them. In this last event, if not in others, there would be likelihood that the laws and regulations would be set aside or infringed.

564 To insure against this contingency there were appointed, or rather elected by the people at the annual meeting, five officers called ephori, who were to hold office for one year. Their duty was to see that all laws were properly enforced and determine when new regulations were constitutionally made. They were innocent and ingenuous at first, but schemers discovered the possibilities of the office and became by degrees the real rulers of the state. When a set of men are clothed with supervisory and administrative powers it is easy and natural for them to follow the bent of their individual dispositions. If they are responsible to some other body or to the people and can be reached by ready means they will endeavor to please their masters. If they can shirk responsibility or work the machinery so as to be secure in reelection, or to secure the election of others of their sect, they will not listen to popular clamor nor to the petitions of the other classes: they will act for their own benefit or pleasure. The 348

525 ephori assumed and exercised the right to preside at the popular assemblies, collected the suffrages, declared war, made peace, treated with foreign princes, determined the number of forces to be raised, appropriated the funds to maintain them, meted out rewards, assessed penalties and imposed punishments. Thus the state of Sparta was at the mercy of five ephoroi, and the most daring were usually chosen to the office. The discipline already endured for several generations had made its impress upon the habits of the people, and reaction was slow, but in time the barriers were broken down. Aristotle says that in 325 B.C. there were only about a thousand landholders.

565 There was also a reaction in the sentiment in regard to money. The iron was submitted to, and then the Spartans quit using money. Taxes were paid in kind and there were no markets or traders. But a people can not live unto themselves. The Spartans had prepared for war, for aggressive war, and whether they extended their boundaries and took in other peoples or engaged in trade, their closeness must be relaxed: they must be like other people, or compel other people to be like them. It is easier for a people to conform with the ways of the world than to bring the world to conform with its ways. This the Spartans learned. When they had conquered some of their neighbors and enlarged their designs they were forced to the use of the money of the world. And when they returned to the use of the world's money they showed that their desire for it had been whetted by abstinence. It was remarked that the Spartans would do almost anything for money, and when money got to Laconia it stayed there. Extremes follow each other.

566 THE EARLY HISTORY OF ATTICA is meager and uncertain. Of course the old customs of the prehistoric races were gradually done away when the immigrants from Skythia and the east came into Attica and neighborhood, but the Pelasgi and other natives were not usually sent away. It is supposed that the first arrivals were Shemites from Phoenicia and Egypt, but there were many additions and new colonies from many quarters, and when Athens emerged from darkness there was a distinct race formed of elements from Asia and Africa, from Ethiopia to Skythia.

This new race, now Hellenic and possessing the language and the characteristics of the Greeks, was remarkable above all the



other Greeks. Being more composite than any of the others, it was natural that the Athenians should possess a wider range of ideas, but even with this expectation at the outset one is struck with admiration when he learns of their forwardness and accomplishments. The Athenians owed much of their greatness to their neighbors and surroundings, but while other cities led in some, Athens was the leader in most particulars.

567 Before the time of Theseus there were only scattered settlements in Attica, each settlement dominated by a chief family. 529 Theseus persuaded the people to give up their homes and move up on a rocky eminence and form a close settlement, a city, that they might be compact and better prepared for defense. This was the beginning of the city Athens. An invitation was published to the world to come and settle in the city, and strangers came from far and near. The city had a rapid growth, though the site was not promising and water was not plentiful.

568 A character that has played an important part in the history of civilization is said by Plutarch to have developed during the reign of Theseus. This king was a hero but not a model of the good man in all respects. When he was away on a very disreputable business an agitator named Menes'thes undertook to be a demagogue. He worked the nobility by reminding them that before they were brought into the city they had affairs in their own hands, but now they were subjects. The common people were reminded that they had been robbed of their country and their religion, and instead of many good and native kings they were now lorded over by one great king, and he a man not of the country (Theseus was born and raised in the Peloponnesos). The agitator or demagogue was the maker of Athens. Without 523 this early beginning, before the people were settled in their ways, I have no doubt the Athenians would have been as submissive as other Greeks, or possibly as meek as Asiatics. It is not important that he agitated any particular reform, but that he begot a disposition to canvass the acts of rulers and oppose the pretensions of the kings to divine appointment. 157

569 Before Theseus consolidated the Attiks there were twelve tribes. Originally the twelve tribes undoubtedly represented as many races from which the Attiks had been derived. They had so far lost their racial distinctions that a change was opposed only from the fear of loss of social or political advantage. The

four tribes in the new arrangement were not required to live together in four quarters or districts, but mingled as the various nationalities do in modern cities. The people were divided into three classes—nobles, farmers, mechanics. In the last class were all the laborers in both city and country. The nobles of all the tribes might live in one neighborhood, and the farmers did not necessarily live on their farms, but probably lived mostly in the city, leaving the labor to hired men and slaves.

570 Why divide the people into tribes at all? Why not set them off into classes and omit the tribal division? There was good reason for continuing the tribes. What modern city is not set off into tribes? Take a city of 25,000 and go to the different church congregations. Will any two congregations mix? No; not even if they are of the same profession of faith, though in such a city there might be a dozen congregations without duplicating. Then there was reason for four tribes or congregations
 88 in Athens. Every family (using the word in the ancient sense)
 119 had its private worship, its sacred relics and memories of a de-
 128 parted hero, and every family likewise held in memory the name
 156 of some hero of the race. When a member died all the family
 354 tried to be present at the funeral. If the member was distin-
 777 guished the tribe would join the family in the apotheosis.

The title of archon has an etymology that is very suggestive. It was brought from the east with the names of the gods. Or-Chon or Chon-Or was a god of Light or meant the Sun, and his priest was called orchon or archon. The patriarch was both
 540 priest and king: he represented the god, was in covenant with him. There were many forms and compounds of Chon and they were common all over Asia and in Egypt. It also meant Ham, another name for the Sun. Theos, Zeus, Jupiter and many other names for the Sun were understood to be synonymous, but each family, tribe and race had peculiar ideals and memorials. Thus the ancestors of the early Attiks may be traced through their
 137 religious nomenclature.

571 Menesthês was successful against Theseus, who was not allowed to return to Athens, but the descendants of Theseus furnished the kings until the time of Kodros, who was the last, 1070 B.C. In a struggle with the Heraclidæ an oracle said that victory would be to that side which lost its king in battle, and for the good of his country Kodrus disguised himself as a common

soldier and suffered himself to be slain. When this was known the Heraklidæ desisted. The Athenians then abolished the title of king (*basileus*) and chose an archon for life. The archons were chosen from the family of Kodrus for many generations, and then the eupatrids or nobility made another change, choosing the archon for ten years only. This was about 752 B.C. About 714 all the nobility were made eligible to the archonship, and in 683 there were created nine archons.

572 Under the rule of the nine archons there arose much discontent. 347 It was a despotic government with nine despots instead of one as with a king or one archon. The first archon was in effect king or president. He presided over the meetings of the archons and administered the government. The second was called *basileus*, but he exercised only the functions of high priest. The powers and duties of king and priest were now separated. The third archon was general of the army. The remaining six archons were nominally legislators; that is, in the absence of written laws their decisions in cases submitted to them had the force of law. The first archon heard cases relating to the family and to widows and orphans; the second archon decided cases involving religion and homicide; the third, disputes between citizens and strangers; and the six others heard all other questions. Each year nine new archons were chosen and the nine drew lots for the order of their standing. An archon-elect did not know whether he was to be political or religious administrator, or general of the army. It will be seen that men were not specially prepared or set apart for the avocations, but were educated alike.

It was not consistent with the dignity of an officeholder to retire from public life, so, having the government in their hands, the archons created a council called the *Areiop'agos*, or *Areios pagos*, because it met on the hill of Ares, a Greek name for Mars. Such of the nobility as had too much energy or influence to be left out of the company of the elect were appointed to this court and all the retiring archons were members *ex officio*. This court of *Areopagos* became celebrated in after years for its just and discriminating decisions. Its origin did not warrant such expectations, but the democracy held it to strict account.

573 When you read the history of Greece you must divest yourself of all knowledge of later times and keep in mind the conditions at that time and previously. If you mind the accom-

plishments of Asia and barbaric Europe in former times, so far as the Greeks had the history or tradition, and not those of Europe in later times, you will not wonder that there were failures of the attempts to get good government, but wonder at the successes. You will not blame the Athenians for being near sighted and adopting theories that worked mischief, but will praise their courage and quickness in moving for a change when the theories and institutions in vogue proved faulty. It is difficult enough to look back over history and point out the mistakes; it is infinitely more difficult to overcome prejudice and the everlasting opposition of the scheming eupatrids and map out and secure reforms that will bring the conditions desired. The Greeks had to begin with
347 no examples, or none that were applicable to their conditions, yet with examples of success and failure, and their causes ascertainable, in every age since the rise of Athens, there have been many times more failures than successes as compared with the accomplishments of the Athenians.

574 There was no anarchy in Athens during the reign of the archons. The government was administered by the nobles for the benefit of the nobles. The nobles had affairs their own way; the lower orders, the baser elements of society, were left out; their opinions were not wanted. The successful, energetic and aristocratic element, the people who should be the most intelligent, were in charge of the government and the courts. Yet
524 while there was no anarchy there was discontent: the demos was not satisfied with a theory of government that demanded
751 obedience without a voice in selecting rulers or passing laws. Agitation for an extension of the franchise was begun soon after the ten (or nine) archons were provided for, and by the year 624
806 B.C. the demand had become so strong that it was necessary to do something to allay the clamors.

810 But aristocracy does not willingly surrender its privileges. In Athens the first attempt was to pretend to give relief while making the burdens greater. Drakon was appointed to prepare a code of laws. There is a division of opinion as to whether Draco originated the laws that were called his or merely codified decisions of the Areopagos. It would seem unlikely that the high court at Athens would in the absence of written laws make all offenses from petit larceny to murder punishable with death, yet that is what Draco did. The aristocratic judges may in instances



have decreed the death penalty for slight offenses, but individuals of good standing were not punished for even serious offenses, and this partiality had caused the discontent. The laws of Dragon left the helpless to suffer death while the eupatrids escaped. The name Drakon or Dragon meant a monster snake. If he had lived a century or two earlier this suggestive name would have caused his identity to be questioned.

575 In 612 B.C., twelve years after the Draconian code went into effect, a nobleman named Kulon sought to take advantage of the discontent and make himself tyrant. Now tyrant is a 599 Greek word and means one who governs without consent of or restraint from a legislature or ministry. As it was understood in Athens it did not mean a bad ruler, nor did tyranny mean bad government. In many instances bad government was overturned by tyrants who administered well and restored the authority to the people. This man Cylon had won highest honors at the Olympic games and married the daughter of Theag'enes, tyrant of Meg'ara, and was in high repute. He laid his plans skillfully, and to insure success consulted the oracle at Delphi, which told 368 him to make the attempt at the greatest festival of Jupiter. But 179 he mistook the Olympic games for the greatest festival when the oracle meant the festival of Dia'sia. He was not supported by 542 the demoï, and the eupatridai drove him from Athens. 790

576 The extremes in government are the kingdom or tyranny and the democracy, and extremes meet in society as in a circle. 12 The tyrant or king is but one executive, and if he makes no distinction among his subjects the nobility and the aristocracy will 81 find their interest with the democracy; while in an oligarchy the nobility is numerous enough and selfish enough to absorb all of 597 the profits and leave the demos helpless. The Athenians were learning this, and also learning to work and wait in patience. 370

577 About 596 B.C. the conditions had become so desperate that something must be done. The people of Attica were then divided politically into several parties. Those who lived in the mountains were very democratic, as mountaineers usually are: they recognized no rights of one class over another. Those in the valleys were for oligarchy: where people are neighborly, live in sight of each other, often meet to engage in small talk, and have common interests, there is not much individuality; one waits for another to take the initiative in public matters and all are too

631 busy or conservative to interest themselves in abstract questions
660 of government. On the seacoast were the merchants: they and
423 their profession were ignored at Athens and they could expect
little from either party, hence tried to keep the Mountain and the
Plain divided and in need of their mediation. In all sections and
callings were those who had been unsuccessful in business, to
put it in the usual language, but who had in fact succumbed to
the inevitable fate that awaits a large part of the people where a
small class has the making and administering of the laws without
direct responsibility to the whole people, or where a small class
prevails upon the administrators of the government to grant them
privileges. Under the rule of the oligarchy such decrees or deci-
sions were made as would give their favorites privileges and im-
munities, and they obtained possession or control of the money
and the land. Under the laws a debtor who could not pay his
debts became a slave to his creditor. The number of free citizens
812 was being gradually but surely reduced, and those who had been
firm for aristocratic government became excited when the full
meaning of it dawned upon them—when they were about to lose
their possessions. Only landholders had the franchise, and the
number was already much reduced.

578 In this crisis all looked to Solon for a solution of the dif-
ficulties, for a code of laws that would secure justice in the future
and relief from present dangers. Solon's ancestors were of the
royal family before the time of the nine archons. In his early
life he met with losses and engaged in commerce to repair his
fortune. His business took him on voyages and travels in all of
the countries of western Asia, and the knowledge thus obtained
fitted him for making laws. In addition to this he was an orator
and had written some verse that entitled him to be called a poet.
600 He was already accounted one of the seven wise men of Greece.

579 Wise and good man that Solon was, he knew that chronic
evils could not be eradicated at once; that the best that he could
do was to reform society and government and give the people a
chance to protect themselves. The oligarchy was bad in its
nature. This irresponsible, self-perpetuating government would
become corrupt and insolent, no matter what restriction he might
now enforce, but if he went to another extreme and placed all
citizens on political equality, with present conditions, disorder
would ensue and more harm than good be done. Solon under-

took to do the best he could without endangering the stability of the state. He divided the landlords into four classes according to incomes. The first class included those whose income was 500 medimni of produce, dry or liquid, as corn or wine. A medimnos is about five pecks. Those whose income was between 300 and 500 medimni comprised the second class; from 200 to 300 medimni the third class, and less than 200 medimni the fourth class.

580 The fourth class, the most numerous, was constituted a general assembly. This was not a representative assembly: it was democratic: every citizen of the fourth class had a seat and a vote. It was called together in annual meeting to discuss the state of the government, pass upon the acts of the administration during the year past, and elect a new administration. Nine archons were chosen from the first class. A council of four hundred was elected to prepare and submit to the commons matters of legislation and to carry out the orders and resolutions of the assembly. Members of this council were chosen from the first three orders, one hundred from each of the four tribes. The fourth order was not eligible, but chose the members from the higher orders. No law framed by the senate was effective until ratified by the commons. What was in effect a jury system was 617 provided; that is, a party to a suit before the archons or the Areopagus might appeal from the decision to the general assembly, the body of the whole people. With appeal to the people to 723 hold it steady the Areopagos became celebrated for the justness of its decisions. Only those who had served as archon were now allowed to sit in this high court.

581 Solon was advised of the workings of the system of Lycurgos at Sparta and understood that the secret of its success was in equalizing the status of the people; it deprived the aristocratic families of their prestige and established conditions that would make it impossible for a few families to hold continuously above others. Lycurgos accomplished this by forcing the rich to give up their property and sources of income and accept the common share. Solon saw that so long as there was a permanent aristocracy at Athens there would be concerted action by a class for favors and emoluments. He saw that the older the family, the longer it had been pampered, the more desperate and 481 unconscionable it was in its efforts to stay at the top. He saw

that by some means he must break existing combinations of families and thus make their interests jangle, that they might be forced to take thought for the general good and not altogether for their private or class aggrandizement. To enact that the present aristocracy should be degraded and another set of families elevated would destroy all chance for better conditions.

If some less astute thinker had been intrusted to legislate he might have made a failure, but Solon arranged the innovation very dexterously. He made income the test of social and political standing. The man who had an income of 625 bushels was of the first class: he may have been of new family; may have been ignorant of his ancestry back of his father; but he had shown ability in business or industry and must be recognized. The man who had an income of 375 bushels entered the second class: he was a knight and in war must furnish a horse with equipment. He of 250 bushels must serve in the heavy-armed infantry. These three classes paid all of the public taxes, in the proportion to their wealth or capital, and not on their income. The wealth of the first class was assessed at twelve times the amount of income; that of the second class at ten times, and that of the third class at five times. The last class was exempt from all taxes, but liable to military duty as light infantry. This broke up existing aristocratic pretensions: if the old and self-respectable families could not come up to the test they dropped to their level. But they and the lowest class now had the satisfaction of knowing that those who were able had to pay the taxes. In this lay the hope of the lower orders: the taxes would tend to lessen the chances for accumulating great riches, and the poor were not afraid of the tithesman.

In all the remarkable ideas of this remarkable people there is not one that showed clearer insight into the very nature of human society and its requirements than this one of Solon. It had been known by tillers of the soil that mixing the soils would make a stronger growth of vegetation. The soil that was thrown up last year needs to be turned under and new earth brought to the top. The mixture and turning under and over must occur at least annually, while the ground is in cultivation. But not too deep, or the soil will be buried. Solon plowed up the society of Athens, but he was careful to keep the soil it had and let new life come in with new soil, with immigration.

583 To give immediate relief to the debtor class Solon abolished all contracts that held persons or land as security, restoring to the debtors their lands and freedom. Some who had been sold and transported to foreign lands were brought back and reinstated. Not only does the bankrupt law date back to Solon, but the homestead law also. It was not enough that the citizens should be freed from present debt and slavery, but it was enacted that thereafter in Attica no man should for debt be liable to lose his land, his dwelling, his means of living. There are two sides to this question: homestead rights are often abused: but stagnation would result in any community if there was law for the enforcement of all contracts without regard to public policy. In Attica the bankruptcy and homestead laws were justified by the other laws of Solon.

584 To relieve those who owed debts which did not involve realty or person Solon changed the value of the money. The mina, which had been counted 73 drachmas, or \$10.37½, was made a legal tender for the amount of 100 drachmas, or \$14 35. The old drachma coins were called in and the lighter ones put out. Plutarch says in his easy way that while those who had great sums to pay were greatly relieved, those who received them were not losers, since the money paid was of the value of the amount due. This fallacy has led billions of people into error and wrong doing since the days of Solon. No amount of sophistical reasoning can undo the wrong of arbitrary change in the circulating medium of exchange and debt paying.

585 Solon was the first man in the known history of the world to debase the currency and make a legal tender. The art of coining or stamping the value on money was new. Before coins were struck it was usual to ascertain the fineness of gold and silver and then weigh out the metal. If the exact weight could not be obtained in the pieces chipping was resorted to until the exact weight was obtained. Coining was not practiced to give a different value to the metal, but to certify to its weight and fineness, and the parties to a transaction were left to determine the value. But Solon arbitrarily changed the value of the coin in its debt-paying capacity. To give a little apparent relief he did a great and lasting wrong. If he had not done this it is probable that some other smart man would have done it afterward, but it is still due to Solon to say that he was the first law-giver or other man

to change legally the value of money for the benefit of a class, and he is morally chargeable with a long train of evils.

586 Solon knew that he was authorizing the compulsory settlement of a debt with a much smaller amount of value than had been agreed upon when the debt was contracted. The process was the same as though coin had been then struck for the first time. If a man had contracted to pay 100 ounces of silver and Solon had given him relief by stamping on a piece of silver weighing 73 ounces the words, "This weighs 100 ounces," there would have been no difficulty in seeing the deception. But by coming to this result in a roundabout way, by making a mina of the value of 73 drachmas a legal tender for 100 drachmas, the fraud was covered up. The value of the metal in the coin was not changed, the law could not do that, but the coin had to be accepted at its new face value. Values change naturally, and
98 this can not be prevented; but arbitrary change is dishonest and fraudulent, and changes by law are arbitrary.

587 The excuse for debasing the coin and giving it an arbitrarily increased legal-tender value had some show of justice. The creditor class had enjoyed privileges that enabled them to exact the earnings of a large part of the people, without rendering an equivalent in service or benefit: they had had favors in the rulings of the constituted or usurping authorities, and had been unscrupulous in gobbling the earnings and patrimony of those who had not favor with the eupatrids. But to declare that a piece of money that had been valued at 73 drachmæ should pay 100 drachmæ of debt could afford at best but temporary relief.
525 If the victims had not had courage or ability to keep up against the odds, would they now with simply a change in the face value of the coin, without any change in the conditions? And if they got into the same trouble again from the same cause would Solon or some other legislator debase the coin again, by declaring that the mina that had been worth 100 drachmæ should pay 200 drachmæ of debt, and so on, every time the sharpers, the privileged class, got the coin and held mortgages on the lands? This is a proper question; for all history tells us that when the currency has been once debased by a people or a despot the same causes or the same course of profligacy brings about a worse condition in a short time and then there is an overwhelming desire for another debasement, until the money of the realm is

destroyed and disaster follows. In this first case there was not a repetition of the folly, because Solon reformed the abuses, took from the eupatrids their privileges and put upon the wealthy the burden of the taxes for the support of the state. He changed the conditions. If this had been done sooner there would have been no occasion for the debasement of the coin.

588 It is natural for a man charged with a weighty matter to consult with friends and receive suggestions, and it is not unusual to give some hint or information of his intentions. Solon did this. He told his friends Konon, Clinias and Hipponi'kus that he was going to abolish debts and not make a division of the lands, and they quietly bought many tracts of land on time and borrowed large sums of money. When the laws were decreed these friends were rich and smiling. They got the lands for nothing and repaid the good money borrowed with the shrunken coin of Solon. This was charged to Solon and he was accused of being a party to the fraud, but he cleared himself except as to indiscretion.

589 A sheep and a medimnos of grain were reckoned of equal value and worth one drachme each. A drachme was supposed to be the value of a sheep. The sheep had been the basis of value, hence the amount of silver in a drachme varied in the different petty states of Greece. An ox was worth five drachmai or five sheep.

590 If a man committed a rape upon a free woman he was to be fined 100 drachmæ; if he gained his purpose by consent, 20; but prostitutes were excepted, because they have their price. An adulterer taken in the fact was to be killed by any one who chose to do it, and we shall see that all friends and acquaintance were required to take up a quarrel and avenge a wrong when they were satisfied of the fact. It had been permitted to parents and brothers to sell a daughter or sister into slavery, but Solon prohibited this except as to those that were dishonored with their consent. Bastards were exempt from support of their father, because, as Solon said, the man who disregards so honorable a state as marriage does not take a woman for the sake of children, but merely to indulge his passion. Nowhere in the pre-Christian civilization was woman held in higher esteem than in Attica.

591 One of the shortcomings of historians is giving laws, decrees and events without giving the reasons or causes. All

the histories of Athens tell that Solon decreed that sons who had not been taught a trade or profession and thus provided with an honorable means of earning a living were absolved from responsibility of providing for their father in his old age; but nearly all historians fail to give Solon's reason for this law. The fact was that there were already in Attica as many people as the agricultural resources could support, yet immigration was as lively as ever. People were attracted by the freedom and security under the laws, even before Solon's reforms, compared with the oppression and indolence in other states.

592 Solon, being a traveled man and merchant of experience, knew that there were only three courses open: the number of people must be restricted by some inhuman means, there must be war for tribute and spoils to support the greater population, or there must be new ways for providing supplies from abroad by means of commerce. Solon wanted to see all Attica as well as Athens grow and prosper. He knew that wars for spoils, besides being wrong, were very dangerous and uncertain undertakings. He knew also that sending out colonies, as some cities did, to lessen the number of inhabitants, was a cowardly and unsatisfactory means of keeping down the population. Naturally, then, his mind settled upon the plan of developing industries to produce articles for export to be exchanged for the supplies needed beyond the ability of the soil to produce. It was with this view that he declared the industrial trades were honorable callings, and, to induce fathers to apprentice their sons in factories and shops, he decreed that if they did not do so, but allowed their sons to grow up without a trade, the sons should not be held for support in old age. At this time there was a struggle between a lazy class who wanted indolence and the glamor of glory and another class who partook of the Phœnician energy and industry and wanted peaceful prosperity instead of tinsel show.

Solon's action at this time was opportune. Athens was not such a trading center as was Sidon or Tyre, but the trade was large and afforded honest and remunerative employment to thousands of men who else must have been supported by disreputable means or have left the city. Not only this, but many trading colonies had gone out from Athens, not in the way of shipping out criminals and paupers, but in the normal way of extending navigation and trade.

593 Exportation of products of the soil was prohibited, except as to oil. Attica had little farming land and could not produce enough to support the citizens of Athens. It is probable, however, that this restriction upon the land owners was to offset the advantage of the homestead act. Being a merchant himself, and desiring his people to engage in industry and trade, Solon would not without good reason have hindered any trade.

594 The code of Dragon was repealed except as to murder, which was still a capital offense. One found guilty of theft was mulcted in twice the value of the article he had stolen. Abusive language in public, of the living or of the dead, was punishable. Giving a marriage portion with daughters was prohibited: they were to take only three suits of clothes and household goods of little value. The people were allowed to make wills and dispose of their wealth as they chose at death. This had been denied them, the property going to relatives, that families might have the benefit of the property of bachelors and those without issue. 88
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The oddest provision of Solon's laws was in reference to public and private quarrels. Every citizen was required to have a preference and take one side to a dispute. This was to secure the attention and coöperation of the people in the settling of political questions. Where two persons had a quarrel all others within sight or hearing must take side. In most cases this would be quicker and more satisfactory than the slow process of law: the crowd would arbitrate the matter in dispute at once and forever. 590

595 I will summarize the remainder of the laws. Let not the guardian live in the same house with the mother of his wards. Let not the tuition of minors be committed to him who is next after them in the inheritance. Let not an engraver keep an impression of a seal he has engraved. If an archon is taken drunk let him be put to death. Let him who refuses to go to war, runs or behaves cowardly be debarred the precincts of the forum and places of public worship. If a man surprises his wife in adultery and lives with her afterward let him be deemed infamous. Let him who visits the house of lewd women be debarred from speaking in the assemblies of the people. Let a pander be pursued, and put to death if taken. If any man steal in the day time, let him be carried to the eleven officers; if in the night, it shall be lawful to kill him in the act, or to wound him in the pursuit and carry him to the eleven officers: if he steals common things, let

him pay double, and if the convictor thinks fit, be exposed in
102 chains five days; if he is guilty of sacrilege let him be killed.

596 The most striking difference between the systems of Lukourgos and Solon was in the status of foreigners. Lukourgos made no provision for their entertainment at Sparta, but made their stay almost impossible, while Solon provided for them at Athens. They were invited, but not allowed to remain unless they had employment or business. Solon would not countenance idleness, and was as severe with citizens as with strangers. Citizens were flogged for idleness, while strangers were given notice to leave. Lykurgos and Solon both went abroad for ideas and information. Lycurgus repaid courtesies by refusing a return of them to foreigners who might wish to visit Sparta. Solon repaid the courtesies by extending an invitation to all to come to Athens and have the protection of the laws of the land. Those who brought their families could be naturalized and become citizens. But only those who belonged to the four tribes were eligible to
614 office or to the general assembly.

597 While Solon was at work upon his laws he was visited by Anacharsis the Skythian, who ridiculed the idea of restraining
158 avarice and ambition by written laws, which were like a spider's web, and would entangle and hold the poor and weak only, while the rich and powerful would easily break through them. Solon replied: "Men keep their agreements when it is an advantage
465 to both parties not to break them; and I shall so frame my laws
576 that it will be evident to the Athenians that it will be for their interest to observe them." Plutarch was of opinion that the event showed that Anacharsis was nearer the truth in his conjecture than Solon in his hope. But when one imagines what the Athenians must have been with no written laws, but trusting to chance and a conscienceless aristocracy, and then recalls their really glorious achievements with their laws, he must take the view of Solon, that wise and just laws will be observed because it is to the advantage of all parties to see that they are obeyed. Solon did not speak for law merely as law.

598 An episode in the travels of Solon after giving his laws to Athens is interesting. Plutarch doubted it, but commended it as
178 characteristic. Cræsus, king of Lydia, invited Solon to visit him at Sardis, his capital. Kroisos was immensely rich and had a court that probably outshone even the Persian. In all his travels

Solon had seen nothing to approach the splendor of Cræsus. Solon mistook several court flunkies for the king, so magnificently were they decorated. When he at last came to the king an attendant was instructed to show the court treasures to the philosopher, that he might be dazzled by the sight. But Solon, while he could hardly believe it possible that so much treasure could be amassed by one man, was not carried away. When he returned to Cræsus he was asked whether he had ever seen a happier man. Solon said that he had—one Tello, a plain but worthy citizen of Athens, who left enviable children behind him; who was above the want of necessities during his life, and died gloriously for his country. Cræsus asked him whether after Tello he knew another happier man in the world, when Solon mentioned two young men who were poor and drew their mother to Juno's temple because their oxen could not be got there in time. They had the blessing of their mother and the praise of the people, and died in the night, without sorrow or pain. "Well," said Cræsus, "and do you not rank us at all in the number of happy men?" Solon replied: "King of Lydia, as God (Zeus) has given the Greeks a moderate proportion of other things, so likewise he has favored them with a democratic spirit and a liberal kind of wisdom, which has no taste for the splendors of royalty. Moreover, the vicissitudes of life suffer us not to be elated by any good fortune, or to admire that happiness which may change. Futurity carries for every man many various events. He, therefore, whom Heaven blesses with success to the last is in our estimation a happy man."

Æsop was an appendage to the court of Cræsus at this time and heard the uncourtly replies of Solon. Feeling that a little friendly advice might be accepted, he gave it to Solon in these words, "A man should either not converse at all with kings, or say what is agreeable to them." To which Solon answered, "Nay, but he should either not do it at all, or say what is useful to them." Æsop was then a slave, and Cræsus was afterward.

599 When Solon had finished his labors he obtained a promise from all parties that they would obey his laws and give them ten years of trial at least, and then left for Asia, that he might be free from importunities and the danger of having the laws fail from familiarity with their maker. Soon after his departure the factions began their bickerings again, and when he returned at

the end of the ten years, in 560 B.C., he found the state in a turmoil. His cousin, Peisis'tratos, the leader of the Mountain, was
 575 ready to assert himself as tyrant, but on the appearance of Solon
 384 was disconcerted. Soon afterward, notwithstanding the warnings
 and sturdy opposition of Solon, Peisistratos succeeded.

600 At a conference of the Seven Wise Men of Greece the question was asked, "Which is the most perfect government?" "That," said Bias of Prie'ne, "where no one is superior to the law." "That," said Thales' of Mile'tos, "where the inhabitants are neither too rich nor too poor." "That," said Anacharsis the Skythian, "where virtue is honored, and vice always detested." "That," said Cleobu'los of Lindos, "where the citizens fear blame more than punishment." "That," said Chilon of Sparta, "where
 344 the laws are more regarded than the orators." Solon's answer was, "Where an injury done to the meanest citizen is an insult to the whole state." Then it does not matter what is the form of government, but it does matter how the government is administered. Good laws may be badly administered, and tyrants may govern well without laws.

601 For six years Peisistratos the tyrant faithfully administered the laws of Solon. Then the Shore and the Plain united and drove him from the city. Six years he was banished, but in 548 the Shore and the Plain quarreled and the Shore invited him back. He in turn quarreled with the Shore and in the second year was banished again. After ten years he returned with an army and regained authority. The Athenians made little resistance. This time he was tyrant ten years and administered the
 488 laws with impartial justice. He was a liberal patron of learning and art. For the first time the poems of Homer were written
 608 and arranged for recital at the twelve days' festival of Athené, the patron goddess of Athens. In every way Peisistratos sought to improve, polish and refine the Athenians. He died 527 B.C.

602 Peisistratos left the government to his two sons, Hip'pias and Hippar'chos, who for fourteen years gave as general satisfaction as their father had given. Athens grew by leaps and
 495 bounds. The land tax was reduced from one-tenth to one-twentieth, and other reforms and improvements made the people prosperous and contented. The tyrants were good rulers because
 581 everything conspired with their dispositions to keep them busy and in the line of duty. Then Athens had a sudden awakening.

A feud rising between the tyrants and two noble citizens, the latter resolved to assassinate the former. They despatched Hipparchos, but lost their own lives. Hippias then became a bad tyrant. He put to death all that were suspected of complicity in the plot, and became suspicious of all parties. Taxes were enormously increased, the complaints of friends and foes alike were slighted—the people were brought to realize their helplessness 719 under a tyranny.

603 The Alcmaeon family, who had been banished on the last return of Peisistratos, now returned with some allies and deposed 612 the tyrant Hippias. It took some fighting and scheming, but they succeeded in 510 B.C., when Hippias and his family were 636 banished forever. For fifty years the city had been under tyrant rule, but on the first occasion of misrule the Athenians banished the tyrants and returned to democracy. Their experience was not soon forgotten. It taught them a lesson they might have learned more disastrously some years later, and, as they were making original experiments in the art of government, they were 647 excusable. One thing they had determined: despotic government was despotic government; when a good family ousted a bad tyrant it must remain good or be ousted also.

604 THE CORINTHIANS, of all the Grecians, says Herodotos, 318 allowed least honor or respect to workmen and tradesmen and most to the military heroes. How the Corinthians could despise industry and yet have the means to keep their position among the states of Greece we find in Strabon's Geography. Cargoes between Asia Minor and Italy had to pass Cape Malea, between the Peloponnesos and the island of Crete, or be unloaded at the east of Corinth and carried across the isthmus and loaded on other vessels in the bay of Corinth. The waters around Cape Malea were always rough and dangerous, and the tyrants of Crete, from Minos onward, were little better than pirates. They 269 levied tribute—tonnage or "customs" dues—upon all vessels 730 passing the strait between them and the mainland, except in cases where states took summary measures for protection to their shipping. The Corinthians were thus given the monopoly of passing merchandise through Greece, and exacted heavy tribute. The revenues from this highway robbery were enormous. The Spartans may have been led by detestation of this barbarous custom 180 of the Corinthians to detest commerce and navigation.

519 605 Strabon also shows how this unholy revenue was used in a manner to bring other revenue of a like bad character. A temple of Venus was built and magnificently furnished. More than a thousand women were consecrated to the goddess. These women would outside have been called courtesans, but their vocation was protected by the cloak of religion for the sake of
 590 the gains to the state. On account of this multitude of harlots at Corinth, and attracted by the festivities of the place, strangers resorted thither in great numbers. Merchants and soldiers were quite ruined, so that hence arose the proverb, "Not every man can go to Corinth." A virtuous woman once reproached one of these priestesses with dislike for work, when the priestess excused herself with the reply, "Though I seem to be idle I have already finished three histoi," the Greek word histos meaning a skein of web for weaving cloth, a ship's sail, a sailor.

92 Thus was the first levying of tribute on commerce in Greece coupled with the most flagrant sin against virtue and religion.

606 On the north side of the Gulf of Corinth was Phokis, a little independent state. From the gulf to the Euripos was a longer distance than across the Isthmos of Corinth, yet commerce would have taken this route to escape the exactions at
 16 Corinth if the Phokians and their eastern neighbors, the Boiotians, would have allowed it. In Phokis were the oracle and temple of Delphi, and this shrine brought much travel through the state from the east and from the Peloponnesos. The Phokians were made the guardians of the oracle, the temple and the great treasures deposited there by the other states and the Amphictuon. Phocis was set apart as religious headquarters for all of Greece and held to be holy ground. No other part of Greece was so free from attack. The Phocians took advantage of their position to lay heavy customs taxes upon all merchandise passing through their country and almost stopped traffic, but those who consulted the oracle and made gifts to the temple at Delphi were mulcted in large taxes, really robbed. Notwithstanding these exactions the devotional spirit of the Greeks led them to make pilgrimages to the shrine of Apollon, and when the offer-
 349 ings had grown to a fabulous amount in value the Phocians robbed the treasury of the temple. The Amphictuoni compelled the restoration of a part of the plunder, but the Phocians continued their depredations.

When a people become so corrupt and lost to all sense of right as to resort to the levying of "customs" taxes or tribute for the purpose of gain aside from legitimate revenue, or enough to pay for the protection of the goods against theft and robbery, thus preventing the exchange of products between outsiders, or between their own people and outsiders, they must cut loose from all moorings in propriety and enter upon a career of robbery and shame. They may for a time prosper, or seem to prosper, but when the sufferers are forced to become independent of them, or to punish them, they will suffer the penalty that selfishness and robbery deserve. And in the day of their great danger they will be hopelessly divided: the section that gets the benefit of the robbery will excite the envy and jealousy of the sections that get the blame and not the benefit, and the latter will not espouse the unjust cause of the former. Both the Corinthians and the Phocians were often punished, but the evil became chronic and was the cause of other wars, until Greece was almost depopulated.

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607 In early times, before the invention or introduction of letters, there was education in Greece. Education does not depend on letters or books. The most that books can do is to contain what men have learned. Some of the greatest minds have been illiterate. The Egyptians and others carried mathematics and other studies almost to perfection with a very rude system of writing and ciphering. The ancient Greeks, the adult men, were educated in the knowledge obtainable. When letters came into use the education of boys began. The first branches taught were music and poetry, with physical training. These refined the manners and secured the retention of tradition. Only the sons of landlords were at first educated, and it was probably as late as the time of Solon when the free citizens who were not landholders were admitted to or were able to secure education or any of the advantages of the privileged classes. Each youth was accompanied to school by a pedagogue, a slave whose duty it was to carry the books and writing materials of his protégé, as well as the food for the noon-day meal. The teacher was not permitted to punish the student, but the pedagogue was. The pedagogue, though a slave, was the representative of the father. The friendships which thus grew between the gilded youth and their pedagogues were in strong contrast to the relations between master and slave at Sparta. It is plain that the pedagogue shared with the young

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master in all his studies and pleasures and that his condition was better than that of the poor free citizen. The latter could not associate with the eupatrids, but the former was a necessary individual wherever his master went in Greece, though probably not in foreign travels. The pedagog was made loyal and trusty by the fear of being degraded to the working class of slaves. There was then an aristocracy of slaves as well as of freemen. In later days the educational institutions and ideals were like the earlier, since the higher sciences and philosophy were tolerated only so far as they made a life of leisure worth living—furnished pastime and mental pabulum to those who were not permitted by eupatrid
297 etique to engage in commerce or industry. Astrology never had a footing in Greece, and astronomy was not much in favor. Even in later days music was considered necessary. The books were largely written in verse, committed to memory and sung on
601 occasions. The verse of Hesiod and Homer was not committed to writing until centuries after their time; it was set to easy music and sung by men who learned it and taught it to others. Women were never permitted to go from home to study. If a father wished to instruct his daughter he would do so, or a husband might instruct his young wife, but otherwise they had few opportunities.

608 Solon either established or retained a high school or university at Athens. All children of free citizens now attended the common schools, but only the sons of the wealthy could give their time and bear the expense of the high school. They entered this school at fourteen or sixteen and studied gymnastics and laws to their eighteenth year, when all free sons were presented by their fathers for admission into the state. These two or four years spent in the gymnasium entitled the young gentlemen to eligibility to public office. Some think that this was a shrewd scheme on the part of Solon to retain in the hands of the old aristocracy the prerogatives and privileges they had enjoyed, but I think that is not warranted. When the common people were determined to have full part in the state it was easy to undo the exclusiveness of the gymnasia. I think that Solon enlarged the ruling class and wittingly left conditions that made other enlargements easy if not inevitable. If it was the intention of Solon that only the graduates of the gymnasia should hold office he did not intend that the eupatrids should have the monopoly, for he made a new basis and broke their aristocratic exclusiveness.

609 ATHENS AND SPARTA were the leading cities. The numerous smaller statēs, many of them consisting of only one leading family and its dependents, but independent and separate, looked to Athens as their ideal, so that in any matter not involving their immediate dependence they were friendly to her. Sparta, though the strongest military power, was so different from the rest of Greece in military discipline and in disdaining the arts of peace and refinement that the little states allied themselves with her only when the exigencies of their situation demanded it. The jealousies that afterward caused continual strife between the two leading cities had not risen when the tyrants were banished from Athens, but that event was their occasion.

610 Athens had from 70,000 to 90,000 inhabitants—about 20,000 free citizens; 10,000 strangers or visitors, many of them permanently located but not enfranchised; 40,000 to 60,000 domestics and slaves. The paterfamilias of the Greek family was a king to all his household. The stranger under his protection could depart when he chose, but while he stayed he was under the rule of the head of the family, and must pay what was de- 345
manded if he conducted business on his own account. All of these dependents, even the slaves, had an appeal to the courts if inhumanly treated: there was an asylum from which slaves could not be taken. So the individual paterfamilias was subject to the ethics of the whole body of paterfamilias, and a standard was established and then modified by decisions and appeals. The Greeks did not observe a seventh-day sabbath, but there were ninety holy-days in the year, the feast days of the greater gods, when all work and business were suspended.

611 At each innovation at Athens, whereby the supremacy of the aristocracy was weakened, Sparta made an effort to assist in checking the rising democracy. Sparta was so constituted that the success of democracy, and especially at Athens, was a direct menace to her. If it became the fashion to allow all the people a share in the government where would the demoralization end? One thing was certain, the Perioikoi would acquire equality with the Spartans, and the Helotes would have relief, if not equality. In that event the Spartans would be compelled to work or engage 644
in business. Horrors!

612 Clisthenes, the paterfamilias of the Alkmaionidai, while in exile deceived the Spartans by bribing the priestess or priests of 544

603 the oracle at Delphi and secured their aid in ousting Hippias the
626 tyrant. With the Spartan aid Athens was attacked. The first
invasion was a failure, but a second attempt was successful.

613 Clisthenes was then in position to be whatever he chose :
he was in possession, could count upon the support of any class
at Athens, and, if the Spartans were not offended, on their alli-
ance. But when he could have been tyrant or despot he chose
to ally himself with democracy. Whereupon an aristocratic poli-
625 tician, Isag'oras, a friend to Cleom'enes the Spartan, espoused
the cause of oligarchy and opposed all changes. If Clisthenes
had declared for existing institutions Isagoras would have advo-
cated a restriction upon democracy, but with Clisthenes clamor-
ing for freer institutions Isagoras was content to oppose changes.
Around these two leaders the political elements were gathered
and the campaign was begun. There was no military power to
terrify the people into submission or to suggest or incite riot.

614 During the thirty years of tyranny not only the repre-
sentative senate but the democratic house had become subservi-
ent to the tyrant. The senate got into the habit of submitting to
the house for approval only such measures as were favorable to
tyranny or aristocracy, and the lower house had lost the courage
to demand popular action. The citizens eligible to the house
were dissatisfied with themselves. There was now another big
596 element to be considered. The people who had come to Attica
to reside were free citizens otherwise, but had no political power.
Many of these were wealthy, and altogether they would make a
good showing for intelligence and patriotism when compared
with the Attics who were native and to the manner born. Clis-
thenes proposed to extend the suffrage to these citizens, and to
accomplish this purpose proposed to abolish the four tribes and
divide all Attica into ten districts. He did not propose to inter-
fere with the tribes in a religious or social way, but to make the
new division for political and judicial purposes.

615 The issues were thus made up. Clisthenes secured the
introduction of the reform measure in the senate, but Isagoras
and his friends crushed it. All the old pictures of democratic
197 misrule and failure were drawn by the aristocratic speakers.
The peace and prosperity of Athens, the reverent respect for the
heroes of the past and for the gods who had watched over the
370 city, were declared to be invaded by the demagog Clisthenes,

and it was freely admitted by all the wise aristocrats that red-handed anarchy would supplant peace and order if the franchise was extended to the citizens who in fact were the life and hope of the industries and commerce of the state. Clisthenes at once appealed to the democracy and they, the franchised and others alike, made a united and orderly demand upon the senate to reconsider its action and do the will of the people. The senate had to obey or engage in a hopeless contest with the people, who were, and always are, the state. The bill then passed the senate and was ratified by the democracy. 660

616 The territory of Attica was divided into ten districts, the senate was increased to 500 members, and each district chose 50. Each district was subdivided into ten demes and each deme had a magistrate and democratic assembly. There were then a hundred magistrates with powers similar to those of the archons, except that the jurisdiction was restricted to the district, and a hundred popular assemblies that chose the magistrates and exercised jurisdiction over them. If the eupatrids now lived together in a neighborhood they had small chance for office.

617 The people also took into their own hands the judicial machinery. Under the laws of Solon six archons held court for the trial of offenses not belonging to the court on the Areopagos or the special courts of the other archons. There were now drawn 6,000 citizens every year to sit as jurors in the inferior courts held by the six archons. Each district chose 600 jurors. The jurors were arranged into ten panels of 500 each and the other 1,000 jurors were reserved to fill vacancies caused by sickness or absence. At each term of court, after the causes had been assigned, the archons drew lots to determine which panel of jurors should sit, and in what court it should sit. This did away all chance of packing juries. The preliminaries were made before the jury was drawn, and the jury was ready to step into the box, having been previously sworn to uphold the laws and do justice. 580 572

618 The archons were relieved of the command of the army. Each deme chose a strategist whose term was for one year. These ten strategists had full charge of the military forces and operations, the supreme command being exercised by one for one day, each taking turn, the other nine obeying the orders of the chief strategist. 637

619 The Areopagos was retained, with indefinite powers and

jurisdiction. Its decisions became so celebrated for probity and justice that causes from abroad were brought to it. It lived on the virtue of its members and in the protection of democracy.

620 The archons, shorn of military command and responsibility, were free to give their time to general affairs. Even the aristocratic elements did not resist a proposition to make all citizens eligible to the archonship, and this was done.

400 621 Athens had now a democratic government, the first that
195 we know of, and almost the only. Some small tribe may have
347 had no divinely appointed governors, but no organized and intelligent state had tried democratic and human government. But something was yet lacking: the Tyrians had a better system.

622 It is interesting to study the growth of the democracy in Attica. First there were patriarchs, then a chief patriarch, the basileus being supreme as king and priest. The tribes were small, so that the patriarch easily knew every person, and the first basileus knew every subordinate patriarch and most of his meaner subjects. Then thirteen tribes were reduced to four, and
574 nine archons were chosen. The aristocracy of landowners then began a systematic scheme to weed out the smaller proprietors and establish a close oligarchy. Then Solon, a landowner and merchant, with the support of the small landholders and other free citizens, enacted a homestead law and abolished all taxes except on big incomes. With this freedom a class of merchants and working people grew up and were enfranchised. Then the
711 property qualification for officeholders was abolished and all free
344 citizens were eligible to office. Only one great evil remained:
762 the Athenians never abolished slavery.

623 From this time in Attica there were two branches of aristocracy and two kinds of democracy. The landed proprietors were born aristocrats, with the presumption that the earth was for their private use and control and all other men were born to obey. The merchant aristocracy, those men of enterprise and courage who sent away the surplus products of Attica and got in exchange the necessities and luxuries not produced at home, making it possible to maintain in comfort several times as great a population as could have been supported by the poor lands of Attica—these merchants despised the narrowness of soul of the
404 landed aristocracy, yet had to bear insult and loss from interference in their trade. The democracy employed by the merchants

and in the industries was likewise distinct from the workers on the lands. Three of the classes were in interest opposed to the landlords, yet the old aristocracy was cunning in keeping every- 790
thing possible and magnanimously accepting privileges from the merchants and the democracy when the latter did not agree.

624 To make tyranny impossible, Clisthenes instituted the ostracism. If the senate and the assembly thought there was danger from the presence of any man in the state they ordered a secret vote by shells or pieces of pottery on which the name of an individual was written. If 6,000 ballots were cast the man whose name occurred oftenest on them was banished. There is, however, a contradiction in the authorities as to whether 6,000 ballots established an ostracism, or it was necessary that one name be voted 6,000 times. The term of banishment was at first ten years, but it was afterward reduced to five years, and when it became a means of banishment of good men through the connivance of those who were really dangerous it was abolished. The object was to avoid the formality of a trial, which could be managed in the interest of tyrants. Many citizens of distinction were 656
banished while the law was in operation. The fear of it had a restraining effect upon the landlords.

625 The history is now for a while conflicting. It seems that Isagoras invoked the aid of the Spartans against Clisthenes; that 613
Sparta felt sore over the part she had played in the war against Hippias, but now, while offended at Clisthenes, she was undecided as between Isagoras and Hippias; that Sparta lent an army to Isagoras, who drove Clisthenes and his family out of Athens; that the Alcmaionidai soon returned, drove out the Spartans, and reëstablished the democracy. There is no question but this last event was due to the people. While it was a quarrel between two men the demoï might be knocked around, but they were ready to fight all Hellas if necessary to save democracy.

626 One account now says that Hippias went to the Persians 612
for help, promising to make Athens tributary and subject to Persia, and another that Sparta determined to reinstate him, but gave up the project when all the other states refused to join her in it. Then we read that the Athenians applied to the Persians for aid against Sparta and Hippias and Isagoras. Another story is that 388
when Hippias went to the Persians the Athenians sent some men to counteract his designs.

Whatever may be the facts, whoever or whatever party of Greeks applied to the Persians and entangled Persian and Greek politics, one fact is certain, that when Sparta undertook to unite the other Greek states against Athens she was deserted as soon as it was known that her animus was directed against the rising democracy. Then Athens turned upon the allies of Sparta in her neighborhood and gave them a severe drubbing. The Thebans were subdued, and Chalkis, the capital city of Eubœa, on the Uripus, was taken and colonized by 4,000 citizens of Attica, thus gaining command of the Uripus, only 120 feet wide at Chalcis. Athens was now in the lead of Sparta. Her democratic institutions gave stimulus to industry, art, science, navigation, trade. She was not overbearing, but jealous of Greek honor.

Meantime there were commotions in Asia Minor. The conflict between Asiatic and European civilization, between the old and the new, was inevitable.

627 DURING THE FIRST YEARS of the tyranny of Peisis'tratos at
178 Athens the Persians under Cyrus conquered all of the Greek states in Asia Minor. The governors placed over these provinces were despotic, of course, and the natural love of freedom led the Greeks to make many attempts to throw off the yoke.

628 When Darius came to the Persian throne and made an
206 incursion into Skythian Europe the Greeks in Asia Minor made an effort in his absence to free themselves, but through lack of
208 harmony and the treachery of some there was no gain. Darius not only got possession of Thrace, but strengthened his hold on Asia Minor.

629 Aristag'oras, the leader of the Asiatic Greeks in revolt, visited Sparta for the purpose of exciting sympathy and to ask for aid, but the king of Sparta thought it too big an undertaking. At Athens Aristagoras had better success. A navy was fitted out and some men and supplies were sent. When the movement
210 proved a failure Darius had good cause for war against Athens, but, thinking it not necessary to make several wars, he determined to subjugate all of Hellas at once. In preliminary, as was the Persian custom, he sent ambassadors to demand "earth and water," in token of submission. The other Greek states submitted, but Sparta and Athens offered insult by casting the ambassadors into a well or spring to get the water and into a gully to get the earth.

630 The jealousies between Athens and Sparta were now laid aside for preparations for the war. Sparta, as being the most thoroughly military power, was accorded the leadership. Providence works in a mysterious way. It is difficult to find any reason for the existence of this barbarous people in Greece unless to be a nucleus around which the less military though brave peoples might form to resist an attack that would seem irresistible, yet must be met and repulsed or the civilization of Europe be blighted in the bloom. The Greeks stood between Asiatic despotism and European democracy, and the Greek state around which the Greeks rallied was the most undemocratic in all Hellas.

631 In the Saronic Gulf, west of Athens, were two islands, Aigi'na and Sal'amis. The latter had belonged to Athens since 1200 B.C. Ægina had maintained independence and by reason of its position and the enterprise of its people had become a commercial entrepot. The Aigine'tes did not lack in patriotism, but, like the Phœnicians, thought commerce and navigation more noble than military conquest. Though their island contained only forty square miles, was rocky, and had only one good harbor, their trade was immense; in fact their commercial navy had command of the Ægean Sea. When the ambassadors from Persia came into Greece to demand submission, with the Aiginetes it was not altogether a question of patriotism, but how they might dispose of the danger. They knew the disparity of numbers and supplies even if all Greece was united, and they knew that all the states north of Attika and many in their neighborhood had submitted or would do so on demand. Aigina therefore, weighing the chances of union and success against the great loss she must sustain in failure, submitted.

632 When the determination had been made by Athens and Sparta the Athenians set upon the Æginitans for revenge for their base submission. Athens presented her charge at Sparta and Sparta adjudged that Athens should demand ten of the leading citizens of Ægina to be punished as traitors. Ægina resisted and captured an Athenian vessel bound for Delos to offer sacrifice. War followed and the Aiginetes were worsted. Athens punished Ægina no further at this time than to force her into the league and place her shipping at the service of the Greeks in the coming contest.

The time between the threat by Darius and the close of the

war with Xerxes is said to have been the most prosperous yet seen in Greece. Jealousies and animosities were allayed and the people visited and traded with great freedom. This would not
 152 have been possible with the old aristocratic or oligarchic institutions, with the "vested rights," nor would the democracy have
 197 tolerated justice but for the restraint of the aristocracy, enlightened and humane because held in check by democracy.

633 The fighting part of history is easily found. All histories detail the particulars of wars and battles, the destructive forces of nations. The arts and accomplishments of peace are given in niggard pittances, but when the historian comes to deal with the glories and carnage of war or with a king and his illustrious belongings the pen moves along so facily that the pages are soon filled. With few exceptions wars have been unnecessary, have caused more ills than they were intended to remedy. They have been for the enrichment of a few men, directly or indirectly, while the fighters on both sides have fared almost alike. What
 124 had the millions of slaves in the Persian army to hope for in victory more than in defeat? The Persian military discipline might be relaxed, or it might be tightened—they could not tell. In the majority of cases it has been made harder, because the despot
 211 has been inflamed with self-pride and desire to conquer the earth.
 750 If the Greeks were victorious—what then? We shall see that it was a dear victory, and, with all the probabilities at stake, with all the evils of Asia stayed, it is questionable whether it was ultimately for good or for evil. There had been few wars in Greece since the destruction of Troy. Athens had grown in peace and the democracy was yet disposed to be fair.

634 Persia possessed the Asiatic side of the Ægean Sea and some islands, and in Europe the territory of Thrakia, while the
 212 Greeks possessed only that part of Greece south of Makedonia, Albania being almost unexplored, as indeed it is to this day.

635 In 492 B.C., a year or two after the restoration of Asia
 197 Minor, Darius sent an army and a navy across to Europe. The navy was destroyed by a storm and the army ran against the
 271 Bruggians, a tribe in Thrakia, and almost destroyed. Mardo-
 697 nius retreated back into Asia without seeing any Greeks. But Thasos was occupied, and Makedonia added to Persian territory. Makedonia was barbarous. The Persians made a great mistake in taking it. The Makedonians, being aroused and acquainted

with scientific warfare, without refinement or civilizing influences to restrain them, soon developed into a vast military power, though they took little part in the present struggle.

636 Dareios charged this ill luck to the elements and the Barbarians, but took two years to prepare another expedition. His best general, Datis, was placed in command. Ere'tria, in Eubœa, 194 had been as guilty as Athens in assisting the Asiatic Greeks, so the orders to this expedition were to destroy Eretria and Athens 210 and bring their inhabitants to Persia. Datis proceeded to Eretria, destroyed it after a siege, took its inhabitants in chains, and sailed toward Athens. He landed at Marathon, about twenty miles from Athens, with 600 ships and an army of 120,000 men. Hippias was with the Persians, with appointment from Darius as 602 military satrap of Attica, and probably of all of Hellas. 640

637 Milti'ades was one of the ten strategists of the Athenian army. Aristi'des thought it would be bad policy to change commander every day, so gave up his right to command and 618 persuaded the other eight to do likewise. Thus Milti'ades was 655 invested with sole command.

The ancestors of Miltiades were Athenians, and had been banished by Peisis'tratos. Afterward one of the family was chosen tyrant of Dolon'ki, in the Thrakian Chersonesos. Miltiades was the third tyrant, and was acting in this capacity when Dari'us made his invasion into European Skythia. He was the leader in trying to persuade the Greeks to destroy Darius' bridge across the Ister and declare for Greek independence. His counsels were adopted by the Ionians, but too late, and Darius restored his 209 authority. Miltiades escaped to Athens, where he rose to high honor, and was now general of the Athenian army. 715

638 Athens and her near neighbors could muster only 10,000 men, and many of these were slaves. But while the Persians had 607 eleven or twelve men to one, the difference between the soldiers gave the chances to the Greeks. In the ancient warfare, with no firearms, but when strength, dexterity and valor won the day, numbers did not always, nor often, decide the contest. Every Greek was a hero, a king, measured by the Persian standard. Sparta had promised aid, but it was contrary to Spartan religion to set out for war before the full moon, and the Persians would have time to sack Athens and get out of Greece before the Spar- 454 tans would arrive. So the battle must be decided without them.

639 Miltiades chose the position. This he could do by going to meet the Persians. The broken, hilly country did not afford many roads, and the advancing army must be the aggressor.
695 Miltiades chose a narrow pass between two hills. He felled trees
701 to protect his flanks from the Persian cavalry, which he knew had a habit of wheeling around to the rear of the enemy. Miltiades had no cavalry and must provide against the Persian cavalry by manœuvering. This disposition of the forces gave Miltiades the advantage: the Persians must come up in long column and the number that could engage with the Greeks must be small. But Datis was confident in his numbers, and ordered an advance.

640 If one man should threaten to whip a dozen men each of whom thought himself able to whip the one man, the dozen would despise the one. If the one man should get rash and start to carry his threat into execution the dozen would probably regard his excitement as madness. Miltiades made his wings strong and left his center weak. When the charge was given the Greeks rushed upon the Persians so intrepidly that the Persians thought them a band of lunatics. Before the Persians recovered from their surprise the Athenians had penetrated their ranks and were doing effective work. But they were working on a big and solid body of men, and the work was hard. The Greeks had no bows, and closed in to avoid the arrows of the Persians. The Persians had made their effort on the weak center of the
651 Greeks, in charge of Aristi'des and Themis'tokles, two of the bravest and most patriotic men of Athens. They fought heroically, but were on the point of being overpowered when the wings drove the Persians back, as had been planned by Miltiades, and the two wings, resting on the hillsides, began to close in on the Persian column between them. The Persians saw their danger and became stampeded, when the Greeks ran among them and cut them down. The Persians were not used to this kind of fighting: they did not like to close in, but stood off and shot arrows and threw javelins. They broke ranks and started for their boats, and the Greeks went with them. Many of the boats were set on fire and burned, but the Persians escaped and left the field of Marathon to the Athenians. The Persians lost 6,400 besides those burned in ships. The Athenians took seven ships.
640 It is thought that Hippias was slain in this battle. The Greeks lost 192 men.

Datis set sail for Athens, thinking to find the city unprotected, but Miltiades by a forced march was at the beach with his army when the Persians arrived, and they went on to Asia.

641 The Persians had brought chains with which to bind the Athenians to take them into Asia, but did not take them out of the boats, so the Athenians did not get them for a trophy. But the marble that was brought to make a statue to Victory the Athenians secured, and Phidias fashioned it into a statue to Nemesis, the goddess of retribution and justice.

642 This was the first time Greeks had met an alien foe, at least since the Troian war. Now they had tried their mettle with the foremost power of the east, and felt reasonably proud of their work. It is remarkable that a little Greek state should gain such a victory, but more remarkable that Athens, and not Sparta, did the fighting. War was the business of Sparta, yet democratic Athens did the fighting. 532

643 From the battle of Marathon to the invasion by Xerxes was a period of eight years. While this period witnessed great prosperity in Greece it also gave valuable lessons in politics and economics. Humanity is liable to the extremes of fickleness and conservatism. The one would keep the world barbarous; for if there was continual change of purpose and running after new ideas, with no individual or communal steadiness, nothing would be accomplished: civilization results from action, but action must have a purpose; enterprises must be followed out and small beginnings must lead to great endings. The other extreme would stop progress and let the state stagnate; for if people do not improve their conditions they must grow backward.

644 The Spartans, though they had had no part in the battle of Marathon, held the same place as before in the councils of the Greeks. Their courage was not doubted: it was not necessary for them to seek occasion to show it. They had no fear of death or of anything else but work. They would be masters and have slaves to do their work or they would die. 612

645 Why is it not possible for civilization to go on developing in one place or one part of the earth? Why must the seat of empire move westward, leaving the cities and lands that have received the highest care man is capable of bestowing upon them? Why must each leading people be of a new race, unlike any that preceded it, yet composed of elements of many former 54
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49 races? Why are there innumerable worlds instead of one, great and compact? Why are there many hundreds of millions of men instead of one immense man capable of enjoying this earth? Why is man's life limited to a few uncertain years instead of being everlasting, or at any rate several times longer than it is? Why should it be necessary for people in the prime of life to give their best thoughts and hardest labor to rearing and providing for their successors in the earth? and how are they predisposed to this? Why should man be overtaken by death or misfortune when he is about to succeed in an undertaking which seems to promise great good for humanity? I submit that any one of these questions is as sensible and proper as any other, and that all of them are proper. We may not answer them satisfactorily, but we may get from them some suggestive ideas.

24 646 That this earth with its opportunities is for spirits of a certain status, to afford them a chance for development, seems to me plain. That we spirits that inhabit this earth are free moral agents seems equally certain. If, being placed here for development, we should be allowed to walk in beaten paths and live mechanically we would not improve, and would have no benefit of the opportunity. There must be change of scene, of surroundings, of society. We see from the necessities of man and the great number of individuals that it is not the purpose of Providence that a man shall live unto himself. The successful man is
10 one who thinks and works to supply the needs of others. The man who selfishly tries to produce or acquire what he desires with no thought for the needs or wishes of others will have few comforts, if indeed the bare necessities: he is savage.

122 647 Man being here for development, then, a free moral agent, and not permitted to remain in a state of rest, what should he
504 expect of Providence? Certainly he should not expect Providence to act as his constant guide. If the son should always
604 have an indulgent and provident father he would never develop any manly character. The son on arriving at manhood takes unto himself a wife and acts on his own judgment, maintains his own establishment, and in every way acquires self-dependence. The father watched over him in childhood and inspired him with manly notions, which he must now put in practice. Is not the family the type of the nation or the race? Then as the father watches over the children in the family why not Providence look

after the pioneers in the new country and inspire them with the ideas that may lead them to found a race that may afford an asylum for civilization when the old civilization decays?

648 After years of instruction and example the good parent may fail of reward: his son may follow other counsels and turn out a bad or useless man. Likewise with incessant inspiration, and repeated warnings, Providence may not lead the young and favorite race into the way in which they should go. They may rely too much on their Benefactor and invite destruction from the old civilization; they may with the aid of Providence gain independence from the old power in the east, and in turn seek to destroy it, making this the all-absorbing aim of their existence. In many ways they may dissipate their opportunities and not only degenerate themselves but, from the necessities of the case, drag down all the world: for, as there can be but one leading race—nay, one leading people—in a part of the earth just west of the last flourishing people, the welfare of the world is in the keep of this people for some ages. If its policies are of a character to elevate the industrial, social and ethic standard the other races of the world will be made better; but if it seeks glory and magnificence, which always engender envy and hate, the better instincts of its own citizens will be blunted and the world will have no good model from which to copy, but will copy from the model, and partake of its imperfections. 592.

649 While these remarks are for any people in the formative state, in any age of the world, they are especially meant for the Greeks from their beginning to the loss of the leading place in the world. I do not believe that the stories of the revelations from the *elohim'* and the *daimones* are altogether myths. I believe that Providence took an active interest in these tribes, as well as in the Jews and all other races, and for the same reason: that they might be built up for the occasion when they should bear the responsibility of the burden of civilization for the whole world. I do not believe that a single individual in Greece was forced by any means to do the will of Providence, but I do believe that individuals who were strong in mind yet tractable and desirous of doing the right were inspired with ideas of right and of good policy, and their counsels usually though not always prevailed; for sometimes Providence had to work negatively and teach the Greeks by means of adversity. When Greece became 370
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741 powerful the inspiration grew faint, because it was disregarded or used to further ambitious conquest and oppression. The gods never weary of helping them that help themselves, for in this they help the whole human species and the spirit world; but they get out of patience when one people tries to build itself up by tearing down or checking others.

650 The life of Greece was in Athens. As Athens advanced Greece advanced. Athens was the seat of learning and political progress. The wise and ingenious of other states looked to Athens as the place where they could acquire fame or riches. It happened, then, that the successful men of Athens were not all Athenians born. The metropolis can not be narrow and mean: the people from outside must bring brains, energy and material wealth, and in requital must be granted freedom to suggest, even to direct if they demonstrate superior ability.

497 651 Before the invasion by Darius there appeared in the polit-
640 ical arena at Athens two young men, Themistocles and Aristides. Around these two men may properly be grouped all the other public men and the achievements of Greece from the battle at Marathon to the expulsion of the Persians. Many men must coöperate in enterprises as great as those we are now considering, but in a multitude of counsels there is confusion, while one despot can not cement men in a common cause, though he may organize them. There was one man, Themistocles, who had the genius to perceive the needs and to originate and carry out the reforms necessary to place Greece in a position for defense.

652 The family of Themistokles was poor and obscure. He was in Athenian parlance illegitimate, or half-breed; that is, his father was Athenian born and his mother an alien. He was therefore denied association with the legitimate or full Athenian youth. Outside the city was a temple to Herakles. This temple was placed outside the city because among the gods Herakles
526 was accounted illegitimate, his father being a god and his mother a mortal. At this temple was a wrestling ring where the half-breed youth were required to take their exercises. Themistocles could not obtain permission to exercise in the games of the legitimate youth, but he did the next best thing, he persuaded the legitimate youth, or some of them, to go with him to the ring of the Herakleion and test their skill and strength with him. Thus early he displayed ability to accommodate himself to circum-

stances and prejudices in order to gain a point. When a boy he was full of spirit and fire, quick in apprehension, inclined to bold attempts, ready in expedients to extricate himself where other boys might have been defeated or disgraced. In his hours of leisure he was not idle, but composed declamations, the subjects of which were the impeachment or defense of his school-fellows. His teacher said to him: "Boy, you will be nothing common or indifferent. You will be a blessing or a curse to the community." Moral philosophy and the polite arts he learned slowly, and not from choice: political knowledge and the administration of affairs he acquired far in advance of his years. He cultivated his genius and neglected the polite arts: he appeared ill in society, but he could hold his own in debate or in planning for the state. He allied himself with the democratic party, not so much from the associations of youth as because he perceived that freedom of the state depended upon freedom of the citizens, and the ascendancy of the aristocracy would endanger popular freedom, if not return Attica to the conditions that prevailed before the time of Solon. 462

653 Not much is known of the youth of Aristides except that he was of the same tribe as Themistocles and the two boys were play-fellows. It is said that a love affair in which they were rivals first caused antagonism. Whatever the cause, during the greater part of their lives they were at opposites. Aristides was of mild temper and great depth of character; was just to friend and foe alike; could not use art to ingratiate himself with the people, but was strictly careful that whatever people thought of him he should be able to think well of himself, and that without egoism or self-indulgence. He allied himself with the aristocratic party, believing that Lukourgos was the greatest law-giver, yet had a friendly feeling with Clisthenes, who, though of the democratic party, was not a demagog. He also recognized the fact that some demagogues were not democrats: an aristocrat could be the worst demagogue: so Aristides did not think that a 463 man had to be a demagog to succeed with democracy.

654 Themistocles was public treasurer, and allowed his subordinates to pilfer the public funds, if he did not do so himself. Aristides made this appear when Themistocles rendered his accounts. So afterward, when Aristides as public treasurer made his report at the end of the year, Themistokles and his friends retaliated by distorting the items to make it appear that Aristides

was also dishonest. It was with great difficulty that Aristides saved himself from the false accusations. Then for the only time in his life he relaxed his rigid policy and the following year, being treasurer again, allowed his subordinates to steal (or in polite language "embezzle") the public funds in various ways. He pretended not to know that the pilfering was going on, but he kept account. The subordinates, finding him easy with them, praised him and worked for him for another term as treasurer. When the assembly had been deceived and he was about to be passed this time without question he rose to protest. "While I managed your finances with the fidelity of an honest man I was loaded with calumnies; and now when I suffer them to be a prey to public robbers I am become a very good citizen. But I assure you I am more ashamed of the present honor than I was of the former disgrace. It is with indignation and concern that I see you esteem it more meritorious to oblige bad men than to take care of the public revenue."

637 655 On the field at Marathon Aristides resigned his share as strategist and persuaded eight others, among them Themistocles, to do likewise, that Miltiades might carry out a plan of campaign. This generosity, together with his bravery and willingness to forego personal advancement, as shown on many occasions, won for him high esteem, and at the next annual election he was chosen chief or first archon.

That Providence takes oversight of human affairs, and in emergencies, when the welfare of humanity is involved in a single city, as it now was in Athens, interposes or influences men to do the necessary thing, should seem to the most pronounced materialist to be plainly indicated in the events of these eight years in Athens between the Persian invasions. Aristides was the man to take the helm and restore quiet and order. This was a time when military heroes might have usurped the authority and for present gain and glory have destroyed the energies and virtue of the people. Aristides was straightforward and inflexible. He was aristocratic, but loyal to the institutions of the state as he found them. His administration of justice invoked so much praise that Themistokles was obliged, in order to get himself advanced, to attack him for his very justice and the great reputation he enjoyed. This Themistokles did, and secured the banishment of Aristides for ten years, by the ostracism.

656 The Athenians had some reason or fear or they would not have sent Aristides away. Most historians leave one with the impression that the envy of Themistokles led him and his partisans to accomplish the banishment. The fact is that there was ground for fear that Aristides would engross the powers of government and become tyrant. Peisistratos had risen in that manner, and at no time in his years of scheming did he have the personal respect now shown to Aristides. Themistocles charged that Aristides had abolished the courts of judicature by drawing the arbitration of all causes to himself, and thus was insensibly gaining sovereign power, though yet without guards and other signs of it. Given that Aristides did not meditate such a stroke, there was still danger; for when government becomes involved in one man it is difficult to transfer it to another, and immensely more difficult to restore it to the democracy, where it resides by the divine law of individual responsibility: the *demoi* are responsible, have to pay the bills and suffer from mismanagement, and it is their duty as well as their inherent right to pass upon all matters of government. A despot so arranges matters that the conservative members of society will support him on the theory that no one else can run the government. The Athenians were wide awake. They did not wish to do Aristides wrong, but they were afraid of him.

657 Themistocles, bold, aggressive, vain, not honest, heady, but far sighted, quick to see, was now archon and leader without opposition at Athens. Would Providence assist in bringing such a result? Undoubtedly. Themistocles was endued with genius. The other Athenians had talents: had been carefully taught in the ordinary way, their minds kept in one channel. Themistocles, independent in thought and action, perceived the present conditions and could prepare for the future. Athens had schools that could hardly be equaled in modern times, but the boys were subject to a set course of study without regard to their individual tastes or the fact that society needs a variety of instruction to fit young men to the various callings, since the education that will fit one for one calling will spoil another for his proper calling. Genius was reduced to talent, and all the talent was of one cast. The only chance for originality was with the self-educated man.

658 Themistokles plunged into dissipation and extravagance, though his means were not great. He gave entertainments and

spectacles that vied with the wealthiest. It is stated that he once asked a wealthy man for a gift or contribution and was denied, when he openly threatened to bring ruin upon the man if he did not comply. This was one of his methods of raising money for his personal use. Yet the public business was attended to with promptness and in a manner that escaped censure: he was tireless in thought and action.

659 But why should Providence raise up such a man to con-
 404 duct the affairs of Athens? Because just such a man was necessary after recovery from the Persian invasion. Themistokles was the only Greek who foresaw that Persia would make another attempt upon Greece, and a more formidable one. He was given the gigantic task of preparing Greece for the onset of Asia, and he must do it without betraying his purpose, because the Greeks then thought all danger from Persia had passed.

660 The Persians were strong on land: they had immense numbers of men and the best equipments and arms that Asiatic art had been able to supply. Greek courage and skill were of a superior quality, and Greek arms were an improvement upon the Asiatic, but the numbers that Persia could bring would be invincible. Themistocles obtained advice from Aristoni'ke, priestess of the oracle of Apollo, that the hope and safety of Athens were in wooden walls, which he rightly interpreted to mean ships, and not a board fence around the city. Athens had not given atten-
 615 tion to shipping. Some of the inhabitants on the shore, the
 577 Hippothoöntidai, at the Peiraius, the port of Athens, had been addicted to navigation, but had not received encouragement, in
 270 fact had been the weakest element in the state, and subject to the impositions of the other families and orders. Themistokles said nothing about the dangers from Persian invasion, but revived the
 632 ill feeling between Athens and Aigina. He had no personal ill will toward Aigina, but his plans demanded an Athenian fleet, and the way to get it was to embroil Athens in war with a naval power. This he did, and the income of the state from silver mines in Laurium, formerly divided among the Athenians, he appropriated to the building of a navy. The war was long, but Athens overpowered Ægina and was mistress of the Ægæan Sea. The Aiginetes had built many vessels for this war, and now Athens had a respectable navy.

661 It will be seen that in the preparation for this contest the

only really commercial people among the Greeks were paralyzed. The Phoenicians were forced to send their ships manned to aid 301 the Persians on the water. The Carthaginians and other Phœnician and Grecian colonies in the Mediterranean were deceived, intimidated or hired, and took no active part. The commercial world was either fighting against itself or inactive. It had to give way to the inevitable and trust to the future.

662 One feature of statesmanship or politics is understood by few people. A man of clear perception and retiring disposition can gain more satisfaction by working through others than by entering the arena and contesting the honors of leadership himself. The man of action can not see all the possibilities: he is dependent upon others for information and suggestion. Thus the man in the shadow is able to direct the policy of the actual leader. Another feature, better understood because oftener seen, is called "the power behind the throne." In this case a man has or can have the power, but puts another forward, or gets a hold upon the man who has the position of power, and directs him. Sometimes Themistokles was in one position, sometimes another, but from the time of his elevation to the archonship he directed when he thought best, and allowed others to lead and seem to direct when he could trust them.

663 Xerxes is represented as having been a young man of good sense on ascending the throne, but soon ruined by flatterers and the wealth and power in his hands. His first experience was in Egypt, where he was successful, and he thought the Egyptians a much more powerful people than the Greeks: they had had many wars with Asiatics, knew more about war, had more men and better arms. He inherited his father's idea of one great king 212 who should rule by divine right, and wanted to check this new 434 kind of government, in which the ruler was responsible to the people. Had it not always been the divine plan that the king should govern the people? Then the Greeks were impious and deserved destruction. There can be no question but this was the strongest incentive to his undertaking. If this democratic spirit got strong in Europe it might spread and undermine the divine government of Persia. He owed it to the gods if not to his family to crush the life out of Grecian democracy or win them back to piety and submission to royal authority. Still he did not undertake the war alone: he called a council of courtiers, who mostly advised him to it, knowing that he wanted such advice.

664 From Susa Xerxes issued orders to all the nations of central and western Asia to furnish their quota of men and supplies. He himself set out for Sardis, in Lydia. Here the army collected in the spring of 481 B.C. The soldiers represented all
202 the races from India to the Ægæan Sea and from Skythia to Egypt. All these peoples were dressed in the costumes of their respective countries and generally commanded by their native officers. When the army was massed it moved to the Hellespont and joined the navy. A bridge of boats was made across the Hellespont, but before it could serve its purpose a storm swept it away. Two others, and of surprising construction, as we look back to that time, were put together, and the army and baggage passed over.

665 The number of men in Xerxes' army when it crossed the Hellespont and received some reinforcements from Thrace, Macedonia and other sources was, according to Greek historians, above 2,100,000. The fleet consisted of 1,327 vessels carrying 200 men each, or 265,400 men. There were 2,000 smaller vessels with supplies. The army was said to contain about 2,500,000 men. Besides the army proper there were as many sutlers, slaves and women, so that the whole number in the aggregation was put down at 5,000,000. Modern skepticism doubts these figures, as given by the Greeks. But two things are certain: Persia could have turned out such an army, and the army must have been formidable. The bridges over the Hellespont were as wide as a boat was long, and the boats carried 200 men besides the rowers, with room for action, yet it took seven days and seven nights for the passage, the men being scourged to keep them running on one bridge, while the baggage crossed over on the other.

666 When the army and the navy were got together in Thrace the march was begun. Mount Athos, in the Chalcidian Chersonesos, in Makedonia, stood between two inland bays. The outer point of land made necessary a long detour, and this is the place where the Persian fleet formerly met disaster. Xerxes had
309 prepared beforehand against this danger by digging a canal a mile and a half long through the mountain to give passage for his vessels. The fleet kept along with the army, that the Greeks might not fall upon one and destroy it alone, and also that Xerxes might enjoy the sight of his vast military and naval aggregation, the greatest ever assembled, and give orders in person. In

Thrakia, Makedonia and Thessalia the march was as peaceful and pleasant as that of Bakchos through Asia, except for the 324 cruelty with which the soldiers and sailors were treated and the havoc wrought upon eatables along the line.

667 Themistokles had kept himself informed of the movements of Xerxes and planned just as far ahead as the situation dictated. He did not plan a campaign: he was master of expedients. He did not stir up the Greeks until the actual danger faced them. He made no open effort until the Persians were ready to march upon Europe, that the first burst of enthusiasm and patriotism might not have time to give way to indifference or fear. Then with the aid of Chileos of Arcadia, in the Peloponnesos, he soon persuaded the jarring states to lay aside their jealousies and unite in the common cause.

668 A meeting of the patriotic allies was held at the Isthmos of Korinthos to devise means and choose commanders. Who should be commander-in-chief? Themistokles did not wish to be general if another capable of the duty could be found: he thought he might be of much more service if another was in command, as then he could use his influence to strengthen the general, and could step in in an emergency: but when the capable men had declined and Epicúdes, incapable and unpatriotic but fond of money and honor, was about to be chosen, Themistokles used the means necessary and got the command. He had to bribe Epicúdes to decline the honor. Themistokles thought it better 676 for him to bribe the scoundrel than allow Xerxes to do it.

669 In a war with Sparta the Argives had lost a considerable part of their fighting men, and had reason to believe that the Spartans meant to exterminate or subjugate them. So when the ambassadors of Xerxes came they found a discontented people. They recalled the tradition that Perseus was an Argeios. The Argeioi consulted the oracle at Delphi and received answer that they should make no alliance, but "keep on the watch, and guard your head." However, they said they would join the confederacy on two conditions: that the Spartans should make a peace with them for thirty years and that Argos should furnish the commander for the army or the navy. They made these conditions knowing that they would not be accepted. They had been a considerable part of the Peloponnesos. The Spartans attacked and thinned them out as they did the Helótes. The Spartans did not want the land, but would not have a strong neighbor.

670. Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse, made a like reply. He would come with an army if the allies would give him command of army or navy. He was not disposed to help Greece; he had had hard fighting to secure his government and Sparta and Athens had refused help. He did not mention it, but he was anticipating attack from the Carthaginians if he stirred. Herodotos says that on the day of the battle of Salamis the Carthaginian general Amilcar attacked Gelon in Syracuse with an army of 300,000, and that Gelon gained a great victory.

671. The Corkuraions assented heartily and manned sixty ships and sent them with instructions to watch the course of events and report for duty to the winning side as soon as the contest was settled, with excuses for not arriving sooner. The Cretans did not send assistance: the oracle told them not to do so.

680 672. Themistocles went with the army to Thessaly, but when it was decided that no position north of Thermopylæ could be held, he returned to Athens, leaving Leonidas to hold Thermopylæ until all the forces could be brought together there. The Athenians had not been willing to make the great effort on the water, had not been willing to make any in fact, believing that they would have no show there, but Themistocles now persuaded them to send the boats to Artemisium, near Thermopylæ. It being so decided, the Spartans insisted that the admiralty should be accorded to them, but the Athenians thought that as the navy was mostly theirs they should name the admiral. There was about to be a serious dispute, when Themistocles, thinking he could manage any Spartan, surrendered his authority and persuaded the Athenians to give up their claims. Eurubides, king of Sparta, was then placed in command and the fleet departed for Artemisium, where it was the intention of Themistocles to have a decisive engagement on both land and water, or at least to keep the Persian fleet from landing troops south of Thermopylæ.

655 673. Themistocles had 11,000 men and 178 vessels. These
685 forces were nearly all from Athens and Sparta. The exiles from Athens were recalled, and Aristides was restored. An oracle had said that to secure safety to Greece a king descended from Herakles should perish. Leonidas was such a king, and volunteered to take the command at Thermopylæ and sacrifice himself to his country. Thessaly would have come into the league if it could have been defended, but the pass at Thermopylæ was thought to be the first defensible position.

674 The pass of Thermopulai was about twenty-five feet wide between a high mountain wall and a marsh that extended to the sea. This range of mountains is the Pindus, which separates Macedonia and Thessaly from Albania, then turns abruptly eastward and separates Thessaly from Hellas. The mountain comes to an abrupt ending at Thermopulai (the hot springs), and all travel between Thessaly and Hellas is through this pass. Here Leonidas took position with about 6,000 men, only 300 of whom were Spartans, the rest being Boiotians, Corinthians, Arcadians, Phokians and others. Xerxes was greatly surprised to find this handful of men ready to dispute his march. He pitied them, then offered them bribes, and waited four days for them to find their senses. Getting impatient, he sent to demand their arms, when Leonidas made the famous answer, "Come and take them." When the Persians threatened to darken the sun with darts the Spartans replied, "Then we shall fight in the shade." Xerxes called for all the soldiers who had lost a relative in the battle at Marathon to take revenge upon the Greeks, but when the charge was made they were repulsed with great loss, and when there were no other Persian soldiers who could stand before the Greeks he ordered out the Immortal Ten Thousand, his body guard, the chosen men of the Persian army. But they fared as the others had. After two days of unsuccessful attack a Malian, named Ephialtes, informed Xerxes of a path over the mountains, and the Ten Thousand were led over the defile in the night. Leonidas had stationed the Phocians in his command, a thousand in number, on the mountain to guard this path. This force with the courage of Spartans or Athenians would have held the path against the whole army of Xerxes, but the Phocians had neither the courage to stand nor the judgment to send word to Leonidas when the Persians fronted them. They retired to the top of the mountain, where they were cut off. This is the usual reading; but it is said there was another pass, and that it was through this that the Persians entered.

675 When Leonidas was informed that the Persians were in Hellas he called together the captains for a council. It was the opinion that further fighting was useless, but Leonidas said that since the oracle had declared that either a king of Sparta or Sparta itself must fall he would obey the laws of his country and remain at his post. He then dismissed all that wished to go.

The Spartans (300) and the Thespians (700) remained, and Leonidas forced 400 Theban hostages to remain, so that he had 1,000 heroes and 400 other men with whom to give the Persians a spectacle of Greek warfare. That morning the Spartans leisurely prepared and eat breakfast, combed and arranged their hair, and seemed to be taking a Spartan holiday. When the Immortals came up in the rear Xerxes ordered a charge from the front. The Greeks waited till the Persians came to close quarters. The Thebans asked quarter and were taken alive. The Greeks fought till their spears were all broken and they were exhausted, when they quit work and died. They had killed 7,000 Persians.

676 Eurybi'ades was not of the mettle of Leonidas. He got to Artemisium in time to have a skirmish with the Persian fleet on the same day that the fighting on land was finished. When he first came in sight of the Persians he was frightened and was going to retreat at once to the Peloponnesos, saying there was no use trying to make a stand where he could not be supported by the army. The Euboians were dismayed and appealed to Themistokles to prevail upon the allies to make an effort to protect them, to give battle and have the matter settled before northern Greece was given up. The Euboians gave Themistokles thirty talents (probably about \$30,000) to hold the fleet there until they could get their wives and children away. Themistokles took the
668 money and used a part of it to bribe Eurubiades and the Corinthian commander, but he kept the larger part of it and prevailed upon the cowards by threatening to drown them if they offered to desert him.

Themistokles did not think that the Greeks could succeed there, after the destruction of Leonidas and the loss of the pass, but they could hold the Persians in check, and by encountering them in skirmishes learn their weak points. The Persian fleet moved slowly, to keep with the army, but there were many narrow friths where they could not spread out, and Themistokles thought that in one of these was his opportunity. Indeed, only the elements prevented here the battle that afterward took place at Salamis. The Persian fleet undertook to hem in the Grecians in the long and narrow strip of water between Eubœa and the mainland. Two hundred vessels were sent around the island to head off the Grecians from retreat at the southern exit, while the fleet was to make an attack from the north. The Greeks would

have been in a pocket, but a storm wrecked the Persian vessels in the open sea. When the attack was made the Greeks fought awhile and then withdrew in good order, but not until they had captured thirty vessels.

677 The Athenians now wanted to go to the help of Eubœia with the army, but the Peloponnesians would not consent: they were all for retiring to the Isthmus of Corinth, building a wall across it, and defending the Peloponnesos. This short-sighted and selfish policy was in keeping with their narrowness of soul. If Attica and all the country north of it were given up the source of half their supplies would be gone and the people would look upon the struggle as lost. It is plain that the historians thought that the Spartans and other Peloponnesians rather liked the idea of Athens being destroyed. Then they could save themselves with her aid, or they could make terms with Xerxes.

678 Themistocles had to work at cross purposes. If he lost the confidence of the Athenians he could not hope to manage the allies, yet he had to devise a new expedient at every turn and be on the watch for an opportunity to strike a decisive blow. The allies were determined to go, and the Athenians refused to leave the city. Both must be persuaded or forced to change their purpose. First it was necessary to get the people out of Athens. Themistocles worked upon their reason, and did not forget that religion was stronger. He persuaded the priests of Minerva to give it out that the goddess had left the city and offered to conduct the Athenians to the sea. He persuaded them that the wooden walls which were to save them were the ships. The parting from the old and familiar scenes was affecting, but the citizens moved out and went by boats to Troizen, Aigina and Salamis, where they were received and provided for. Schools were continued, that the children might lose no time in their studies, the books say, but it is more likely that the object was to keep the women and children quiet, that their husbands and fathers might not be disturbed in their patriotic duties.

679 Many great destroyers have had the surname of "Great" with the renown that should be given to men of the stamp of Themistocles. At times the world seems to go by contraries. It may be right somehow; there may be a reckoning sometime; the really great men may receive their reward. If Themistokles had not prepared Greece for this contest and foreseen the needs in

300 this hour the rising civilization of Europe would have been blasted. The Athenians would have been in their present plight with no hope but in abject submission.

680 When the Athenians were out of the city, except a few old men too feeble for the trip and a few enthusiasts who still held that the board fences were to keep out the Persians, the next concern of Themistokles was with the allies in the navy. The Peloponnesian part of the land forces seem already to have
672 retreated to the isthmus, if indeed the larger part of them had ever moved north of it, or out of their own bailiwicks.

681 The conference, or war of words, between Themistocles and Euribiades on this occasion is interesting as showing the sentiments of the two parties and the difficulties which Themistokles had to overcome. Eurybiades, out of patience with Themistocles for opposing the admiral and the majority of the allies, said, "Do you not know, Themistocles, that in the public games, such as rise up before their time are chastised for it?" This was accusing Themistocles of two faults—of risking an engagement with only the fleet and a small part of the land forces, without giving all the Greeks who had entered the lists against Persia a chance to have a part in the exercises, in the manner and at the time and place appointed; and, if such engagement should end in victory, which of course Eurybiades did not think possible, of taking all the honors to himself and the few who were engaged. Themistocles retorted, "Yes; yet such as lag behind never gain the crown." The answer of Themistocles was also pointed. It directly charged that the isthmus had not been selected as the place for the decisive contest, but that each position that they might successively take up was to be the scene of the best effort they could make, and that the Peloponnesians were lagging behind and in disgrace. Eurybiades lifted up his staff, as if to strike, when Themistocles said, "Strike if you will, but hear me." The Spartans, admiring his command of temper, told Themistocles to speak what he had to say. He began to explain himself and state the situation, when one of the officers interrupted him
700 and said, "It ill becomes you, who have no city, to advise us to leave our habitations and abandon our country." Themistocles was ready for this mean reproach. "Wretch, we have indeed left our walls and our houses, not choosing, for the sake of those inanimate things, to become slaves; yet we still have the most

respectable city of Greece in these two hundred ships, which are here ready to defend you, if you will give them leave. But if you forsake and betray us a second time, Greece shall soon find the Athenians possessed of as fine a city and as productive a country as that which they have quitted." This speech brought even Euribiades to see the situation and the duty of the allies.

682 The conference ended with an agreement to remain at Salamis and engage the Persian fleet. But scarcely had this understanding been reached when the Persian fleet began to appear, and Eurybiades and the other Peloponnesians were filled with their old fears, and they resolved to set sail for the isthmus that night. Here there is doubt whether a whole day or more elapsed or the events fitted close together. I can not decide.

The country around swarmed with Persians and the water seemed covered with their big boats. With any further advance they would inclose the Athenian women and children.

683 The Greeks and the Jews had oracles and prophets, and all the ancients had communication with the spirit world, and paid more or less heed to oracles and prophets. No people had more faith than the Greeks, but Greeks were sometimes skeptical. The leaders among the people paid heed to oracles, while kings, despots and oligarchies, because of their pretensions to divine origin, paid only so much attention and respect to them as agreed with their designs. Hence it is that Themistocles had faith in the oracle and believed that the "wooden walls" were to save Athens. And what was Athens? Not the insensate buildings which were already destroyed, but the women and children ready to be taken by the enemy. So he was not going to the isthmus, nor allow the allies to go, whatever means must be used.

684 Themistocles had a slave named Sici'nos. This Sicinos was of Persian extraction, had been taken in war, was much attached to Themistocles, and so far trusted as to be tutor to his children. Themistocles now sent Sikinos privately to Xerxes to tell him that the commander of the Athenians, having espoused his interest, was the first to inform him of the intended flight of the Greeks; and that he exhorted him not to suffer them to escape, but while they were in this confusion, and at a distance from their land forces, to attack and destroy their whole fleet. Xerxes took this information kindly and immediately ordered his officers, with two hundred ships, to close all the passages, that

none of the Greeks might escape, and then follow with the rest of their ships at their leisure.

673 685 Themistocles had to trust to Xerxes to keep the allies at Salamis: he had no means of knowing whether the outlets were closed or not. But Aristides had not yet returned: he was in the island of Aigina, yet outside of the Persian cordon of blockade. He saw the Persian movement and understood its import, so as soon as it was dark he made his way among the enemy's boats and reached Salamis, where he at once found Themistokles and told him of the designs of the Persians. Themistokles then told him of the mission of Sicinos and that this was of his own bringing about. Aristides was charmed with the foresight and resolution of Themistocles and the two were as harmonious in the engagements that followed as though there had never been a misunderstanding between them.

686 Time was precious. Themistocles at once sent Aristides to inform Eurybiades of the situation and urge upon him the necessity if not the advisability of a sea fight, knowing that Aristides would have more weight with the Spartan admiral. A council was at once called and it was agreed to make the fight at Salamis on the sea and at the isthmus on land. Themistokles was not concerned with the land fighting: he knew that the naval engagement would make or lose the final victory: he got the sea fight at Salamis and let the army rest at the isthmus in command of Cleom'brotes of Sparta, brother of Leonidas. That day the Persians had occupied Athens and destroyed everything destructible, and with their vessels had put their soldiers in all of the little islands and juts of land, to be ready to help the fleet if the engagement was had. The Greeks had only 180 vessels with 18 men each, while the Persians had 1,207 vessels with 200 men each and as many more men as they could want.

687 Aristides left Aigina for Salamis after dark, he and Themistocles called the council that night, the decision was made, and Aristides went to work at once. A little island called Psutalia was full of Persians, and Aristides with the strongest and bravest men he could select, in the smaller transports, made a descent upon them. The Persians were not looking for attack, and the Greeks cut them down as they would weeds: only a few of the principal persons were spared, and it is said these were offered in sacrifice to Bakchos that night or the next morning by

Euphrantide the diviner, under direction of an oracle. It is not known that these men were sacrificed. If they were this was the only occasion on which Athenians ever did such a thing. 282

688 During the night Xerxes had information that the Greeks had been bagged by his fleet and in the morning he seated himself on an eminence to watch the maneuvering. The ships on both sides were ready, but the Persians, hoping that the Greeks might be overawed, waited for them to make the first move. Themistokles waited till a certain hour in the forenoon when a breeze would blow toward the enemy, and when the breeze got strong and made the water rough he ordered the onset. The Greek vessels were low and not affected by the waves, but the high Persian vessels rocked in the water. The strait was so narrow that the Persians became blocked and jammed in their haste to get to the Greeks. Still the great number of the Persians made the work of the Greeks desperate and hard. The Greeks lost forty ships and the Persians two hundred (sunk), besides a number taken by the Greeks. When the victory was seen to be with the Greeks, many of the vessels of the Persian allies sailed away for their own country.

689 In ancient writings of all races are many relations that are passed over almost without a thought by moderns, and many readers wonder why they are preserved, since nobody pretends to believe them. In the accounts of this battle of Salamis we read that while the battle was raging a great light appeared, as from Eleusis; and loud sounds of voices were heard through all the plain of Thriasia to the sea, as of a great number of people carrying the mystic symbols of Bacchos in procession. A cloud, too, seemed to rise among the throng that made this noise, and to ascend slowly till it fell upon the galleys. Other phantoms, and apparitions of armed men, they thought they saw, stretching out their hands from Ægina before the Grecian fleet. These they believed to be the Ajakidai, to whom they addressed their prayers before the battle. Aiakos (Ajax) was a son of Jupiter and Aigina, and had been the first king of the island Aigina, named after his mother. He was remembered for his justice and virtue, and believed to be one of the judges in hades. These voices were heard in Attica some days before the battle, when the Persians were ravaging the land. The Athenians were educated and intelligent, and they believed these things. 305

690 After the battle Xerxes awoke from his dream of easy conquest, but the Greeks were not relieved from their danger. The Persians could still overrun Greece by sheer force of numbers. But Themistocles was in charge now, ably assisted by Aristides. Themistokles asked Aristides his opinion of going with the fleet to the Dardanelles and destroying Xerxes' bridge. "Until now," replied Aristides, "we have had to do with an
192 enemy immersed in luxury; but if we shut him up in Greece, and drive him to necessity, he who is master of such prodigious forces will no longer sit under a golden canopy and be a quiet spectator of the proceedings of the war, but, awaked by danger, attempting everything, present everywhere, he will correct his past errors and follow counsels better calculated for success. Instead, therefore, of breaking that bridge we should provide another, if possible, that he may the sooner get out of Europe." Themistokles
289 thought this a good policy, and finding among the captives one of Xerxes' eunuchs, sent him to his master with the information that the Greeks had resolved to go to the Hellespont and destroy the bridges, but that Themistokles would endeavor to hold them back and give him time to pass over into Asia.

691 When the message came to Xerxes he was already discouraged. He called his advisers around him, or allowed them to approach and talk with him, and was himself in the mind to
635 hurry out of Greece. Mardonios represented that it had been the luck of the Greeks that gave them their victories, but this could not last always: if Xerxes would leave him with 300,000 Persians he would subdue all of Greece. Xerxes had not much hope of this, but was charmed with the idea of leaving Mardonios to hold the Greeks in check while he escaped. The army went together as far as Thessaly, where Mardonius chose his troops and went into quarters for winter. The navy was brought up to a neighboring harbor.

Xerxes hurried into Asia. The vast concourse of soldiers and camp followers got back as they could. Water was scarce on the way and food was not supplied. Everything edible, even the bark and leaves of trees, was devoured. The path was strewn with the bodies of the dead, and a pestilence broke out. Of the vast army that seven months before had crossed the Hellespont only a small part reached it on the return, and many of them died from overeating when they reached Asia Minor.

692 There were more Greeks in Xerxes' service than in the patriot army, so that without a man except his Greek allies he ought to have conquered Greece. With the disparity in numbers was it possible for the patriotic Greeks to win without the help of Providence? This great army had not the patriotic fire of the Greeks, but it had ambition and pride. Every man in Xerxes' army wanted to distinguish himself. The Persians were proud of their military reputation and wanted to maintain it. The other nations were not so skillful, but they knew that "the king" would remember every act of bravery. Many of them had strong prejudices against the Greeks. No; the Greeks did not win the battle, and they did not claim the victory. They were a religious people, and obeyed the gods: the trophies went to Delphi.

693 As soon as the Persians were out of Attica Themistokles took the fleet and visited the islands that had refused to join the league. It was his idea that they had received as great benefit as had Athens, and should bear their share of expense and loss. He levied and forced them to pay large sums of money, which he kept to himself, and thus began a wild career which led to his downfall. But for the time he was petted by all of Greece. 755

694 In the following spring (479 B.C.) Mardonios began by endeavoring to detach the Athenians from the rest of the Greeks, promising to assist them in rebuilding their city, to leave them to govern themselves under their own laws, and to give them the government of all Greece. The Athenians indignantly refused all proffers, and he began his march southward. The Spartans and other Peloponnesians acted the part of the year before; the Persians occupied and destroyed Athens a second time; Athenians were scattered again; the time had come for a second naval engagement at Salamis to complete the repetition. This time Aristides was archon. He went to Sparta with the ultimatum that if the allies did not at once come to their help the Athenians would join the Persians and be masters of Greece: they were not going to make all the sacrifices this time, when without sacrifice they could become masters. This brought at once an army of 5,000 Spartans and 35,000 Laconians, Perioikoi and Ilotes, with other Peloponnesians. 289

695 When Mardonius learned that the Greeks were united and advancing to meet him he retired north to Boiotia, where he could have a big piece of level ground on which to fight. He 681

had seen one defeat in the passes of the mountains and witnessed the naval defeat in the narrow seas.

696 When the Greeks were marshaled it was found that they
 711 numbered 70,000, the greatest body yet assembled. Pausanias, a Spartan king, was chosen leader, though Aristides was respected as greatly as the general. It was decided to follow the Persians and engage with them when a favorable opportunity arose. Mardonios halted on the banks of the River Asopos, in Boiotia, and the Greeks halted in the hilly country.

697 Let us pay a little heed to the oracles and omens now. Greeks and Persians had been told, in the manner of their inquiries,
 179 that victory would be with that side which did not begin the fight, but stood on the defensive. To the Greeks this was as certain as fate, and the Persians liked to be on the side of the omen. Mardonius did not inquire about the ground, but trusted his own judgment.

698 The Greeks were an extremely religious people. They consulted oracles on all important occasions, that they might know the will of the gods. Tisa'menos of Elis, who made the prophecy on this occasion, had been promised five victories. The Spartans had desired him for their diviner, and obtained his services by making him and his brother full citizens of Sparta, the only instance of foreigners being made citizens of Sparta. But Aristides would not trust to the Spartan diviner alone, and sent to the oracle at Delphi. From this oracle the information was: "The Athenians shall be victorious if they pray to Jupiter, to Juno of Kithairon, to Pan, and to the nymphs Sphragitides; if they sacrifice to the heroes Androkrates, Leukon, Pisander, Demokrates, Hupsion, Actaion and Poluidios; and if they fight only on their own territory, in the plain of the Eleusinian Ceres and of Proserpina." This perplexed Aristides. The heroes to whom he was to sacrifice were ancestors of the Plataeans, in whose country they then were, and the plain of the Eleusinian Ceres was away
 444 back in Attica. Then Arimnestos, commander of the Plataians,
 278 dreamed that Jupiter the Preserver, not the Jupiter of the oracle, asked him what the Greeks intended to do, and when he replied that they were going back to Attica to fight the barbarians, the god replied, "They quite mistake the meaning; for the place meant by the oracle is within the environs of Plataiai, and if they seek for it they will find it." When Arimnestos told this dream

the Athenians set about to discover the facts, and found that near Husiai, at the foot of Mount Cithæron, there was anciently a temple of the Eleusinian Ceres and of Perseph'óné. Aristides was conducted to the place and found that it was fit for his purposes. The next difficulty was that the Athenians should fight on Attic soil. To obviate this the Platæans set their boundaries back and freely gave the Athenians the land to a point beyond the desired battlefield. Moderns pass over these old beliefs and wonder how the Athenians could be so superstitious. After a like lapse of time the moderns hereafter will undoubtedly have the same sentiments concerning our present customs and beliefs. They will wonder how we could accept some Semitic writings and reject those of all other ancients, though better attested.

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699 The gods having done their part and the ground for the battle having been chosen, the next thing was to dispose of the various little commands. The Tegetai wanted the position given the Athenians, and each tribe had to find fault about some slight it had suffered. Aristides settled the dispute by saying that the rest might choose positions and the Athenians would go where they were needed: they did not think there was more honor in one position than in another. When all were placed they sat down to await the Persians.

700 Themistocles was not in the army. Aristides had always acted with the aristocrats, and he was now in command of the Athenians. This fact, or their desperation, led some of the aristocrats to meet privately in a house in Platæa and plot for the overthrow of democracy at Athens. The wars had caused many to lose their property, and they thought that the quickest and surest way to recover their dignity was to usurp the government and disfranchise the common people. They could then shift the burden of taxes upon the poor and landless, while they would relieve themselves and enjoy the revenues. They were pledged to make terms with Mardonios if necessary to accomplish their design. Aristides gained knowledge of the conspiracy and at once proceeded against the conspirators, courageously but very cautiously, knowing that a great uproar, such as they could instigate, would give great encouragement to the enemy. He caused eight persons to be apprehended, six of whom were discharged on the promise of good behavior. The other two he brought to trial, but even they escaped. Aristides dared not overlook the

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sedition, but went no further than to break it up. While the
289 common people with little to lose were enlisted to save the state
622 and the property of the "best families" the "best families" were
681 plotting to raise themselves at the expense of the common people.

701 Mardonios, to try the Greeks, sent his cavalry to harass
639 them. The wings were on the hillsides, as at Marathon, and the
center in the valley, a little broader. The Megarensians were
exposed, and suffered much. When they were about to be anni-
hilated they sent to Pausanias for help. Pausanias would will-
ingly have led his Spartans into the field, but with their heavy
arms they could not fight cavalry, and he tried to send out oth-
ers, but all declined except Aristides, who charged with three
hundred picked Athenians. Masistius, general of the Persian
cavalry, seeing them coming, turned and ran toward them. The
Athenians wounded his horse, which threw him, and he was an
easy victim. The cavalry, seeing their general killed, retreated.
This gave the Greeks courage, since their greatest fear had been
of the Persian cavalry. The Persian loss was small, but Masis-
tius was second in command to Mardonius.

363 702 The prophets on both sides continued to assure the com-
504 manders that the aggressors would be totally defeated, but the
situation of Mardo'nios was becoming critical. If he could hold
out, the Greeks might get into a row among themselves, but his
provisions were becoming scarce, and the Greeks were receiving
reinforcements every day. When he had about exhausted his
supplies he made preparation for a surprise of the Greek camp at
daybreak. He gave orders after night, that his intention might
not be discovered. But Alexander, king of Macedon, rode over
to the Greeks in the night and apprised them of the intended
move. Pausanias rearranged his line by placing the Athenians
where they would receive the cavalry. When Mardonius saw
that this had been done he made a change, and both sides made
other changes, consuming a whole day. Mardonius had com-
mand of his men, and thought to get the Greeks to quarrel.

703 The Greeks were broken up and separated when the Per-
sians began the battle. It had been decided the night before to
give up the first position, the one marked out by the oracle at
Delphi, because good water was not convenient, but the Spartans
would not budge out of their tracks. They said they had lost
too much time already, and would not retreat. The other Greeks

went to Plataea and took position. The Athenians were willing to go or stay, but wanted the Greeks together.

704 We will now mind the Spartans. This is the first time they have met a foreign foe, excepting the brave Leonidas, and he and his men had no chance but to die. Pausanias had given the order for moving the camp, but Amompha'retos, leader of the Lakonians, had refused to go. Pausanias was trying to persuade them to go when the Persians began the charge. He was surprised and confused, but began the sacrifices commanded by the oracle and customary among the Greeks. The Laconians were not even in ranks, but standing around in knots awaiting orders. Pausanias offered sacrifices, but, seeing no auspicious token, he commanded the Laconians to lay down their shields at their feet, to stand still, and attend his orders. He offered other sacrifices, the Persian cavalry still advancing. They were now within bowshot, and some of the Spartans were wounded, among whom was Callic'rates, a man that for size and beauty exceeded the whole army. Dying, he said he did not lament his death; he came out to die for his country; but he was sorry to die without having drawn his sword against the enemy. For some minutes the Spartans stood unmoved and received the missiles of the Persians. Pausanias, extremely afflicted, while the priest offered sacrifice upon sacrifice, turned toward the temple of Juno, and with tears trickling from his eyes, with hands uplifted, prayed to ³⁶⁰ that goddess, the protectress of Cithæron, and to the other tutelar deities of the Plataeans, "That if the fates had not decreed that the Greeks should conquer, they might at least be permitted to sell their lives dear, and by their deeds shew the enemy that they had brave men and practised soldiers to deal with." While Pausanias was uttering this prayer the tokens desired appeared in the victims and the diviner announced victory. Orders were at once given for the Laconians to come to action. The ranks were closed up and the Spartan phalanx all at once had the appearance of some fierce animal, raising his bristles and preparing to exert his strength. Moving forward in a compact body, they fell upon the Persians, and forcing their targets from them, struck them with pikes in face and breast. Even when down they laid hold on the Persian pikes with naked hands and broke them, and springing up, were again ready for action.

The Athenians meanwhile were awaiting the Laconians at the

new position, but when they heard the noise and knew that the Laconians were engaged in the midst of the Persian army they started back to their relief. On the way they ran against the Theban contingent of the Persian army and almost annihilated it. When they had fought their way to the Spartans the latter had driven the Persians into their fortified camp and were trying to break down the walls. The Spartans were not practised in this, it was too much like work, and they were not making headway, but the Athenians soon broke through, and the slaughter was begun. The Persians found it well nigh useless to resist. Of the 300,000 men that Mardonios had, only 40,000 escaped, under command of Artaba'zos. History does not say what became of these men.

705 Early in the battle Mardonios was slain by a Spartan named Arimnestos, who broke the general's skull with a stone, as the oracle of Amphiara'os had foretold. Mardonios had sent a Lydian to consult this oracle. The Lydian, while sleeping in the temple of Amphiaraus, dreamed that he saw a minister of the god approach him, commanding him to be gone, and when he stayed, threw a great stone at his head, so that he believed himself killed by the blow. Mardonios had also sent a Carian to consult the oracle in the cave of Tropho'nios. The priest of Trophonius answered the Carian to the same effect as the other.

706 Now if one will for a minute lay aside his own beliefs and ideas, whether he be orthodox church member or of the world, materialist if you please, and pay strict heed to these oracular communications to Greeks and Persians, he must be struck with the agreement and purpose of the intelligences from which the oracles proceeded. Observe that the oracles foretold total defeat and destruction to the side that began the conflict, and to the army that began the battle. It is evident that the gods used all their endeavors to restrain both sides from aggression, and confused the aggressors while assisting the defensive side when they were divided and quarreling. Yet men are free agents and not bound to obey the gods.

707 On the same day of the battle of Plataea the Greek fleet landed at Mycalé, in Ionia, Asia Minor, and gained a signal victory over the Persian army and navy that had escaped from Greece the year before, together with reinforcements from Asia Minor. The Spartans were led by Leotu'chides and the Athen-

ians by Xantip'pos. The Greeks had only the men in their ships, while the Persians had more ships, besides a land army. The Persians lost their general, Tigran'es, and 40,000 soldiers.

A remarkable incident is related of these two battles. The one at Plataea was fought in the morning and the result was known at Mycalé in the afternoon, before the engagement there, though the distance requires a journey of several days across the land and the sea. This is affirmed by the historians, though they do not venture an explanation.

708 ALL GRECIANS EVERYWHERE were now freed from Persian restraint. While cut off from the rest of the world, neither conquerors abroad nor afraid of a foreign conqueror, they had taken on a hardihood and a practice of virtue which prepared them for the struggle with the eastern invader when he might think them or their territory worth an effort. Their primitive state, their childhood with its little squabbles and reconciliations, was now passed; measles, mumps, whooping cough, scarlet fever, scarlet rash and the other infantile infections had been endured. They were now in the position of the young man starting out in the world with a goodly patrimony. The policies and tactics that brought success before, however, were now out of date: new circumstances and a wider field demanded a corresponding enlargement of ideas. They must now take a position among the races of mankind and lead the world in new ways; make the world different, whether for better or for worse. This is the critical period when the nation, as well as the man, begins to take on habits for mature life.

709 The Athenians at once began the rebuilding of their city. Themistocles was allowed to plan the public buildings and improvements. He made everything bigger and better, and built strong walls around the city. He also built a strong wall from the city to the Piræus, the port on the sea, and made a town there; also obtained a decree that twenty vessels should be built every year at the public charge, for a navy, while giving immunity to ship-builders and workmen who would come to Athens. He planned for a greater city, for commerce and industry, and for a navy for protection. Sparta made strenuous objection to the fortifying of Athens and the establishment of a navy. And why not? Nations do not make preparations for war without intending war, and aggressive war.

710 The student of Grecian history usually passes over the early days, down to the defeat of Xerxes, as tradition concerning people at best half barbarian, and begins with admiring heroes, statesmen, generals, artists and orators of this and succeeding ages. The traveler who visits the land of the extinct civilization admires the ruins of the massive and expensive structures which the age of architecture produced. The artist will scour the earth over to find remains of that classic Greek art which has not been excelled, if equaled, to this day. The scholar will make himself a recluse and try to believe that he has fathomed the Greek sentiment when he has conquered the Greek idioms. Such students are denied the benefit of the true wealth of Grecian history. The architecture of Kimon and Pericles, the art of Phidias and Apollodo'ros, the literature of Ais'chulos and Aristoph'anes, together with the reasoning of the philosophers and sophists, are but the husks, the dead shells, which show that there was once life in Athens. That life departed from Greece, but not from the world. The interest of the student of civilization is with life, and when he gets an understanding of Greek life and character he is through with Greece. He cares not about the grandeur of Athens or the asceticism of Sparta. He is not satisfied with sitting in front of
 332 the stage and seeing the tricks of the magician: he wants to get
 212 at the secret of the seemingly impossible accomplishments. The Grecians were many centuries preparing to be a great people. During these centuries there was hope for the future, the people were growing and gaining, and they were virtuous and happy. When the hopes had been realized, and Greece was master of the world, the present possessions and the possibilities of the future were squandered in luxury and internecine strife. While the grand temples and magnificent public works were in construction the virtue of the citizens and faith in the gods, the mainstays of a free people, were being undermined. To give a detailed account of the decline would take from the age of industry and economy its luster. I shall show how decay was hastened, and stop.

711 Aristeides, on his return to Athens, found that the demoi were intent upon having all distinctions abolished. He compromised with them by securing a decree making all citizens eligible
 622 to the archonship.

712 After the first Persian invasion it was impossible to arouse the Greeks to think that there would be another. Now that the



Persian power was broken, all Greeks were ready to provide an army and a navy for operations against the barbarians, as they called all peoples not admitted to the Amphictuonic Council. At the first general assembly after the battle of Plataea it was decreed that a general levy should be made of 10,000 foot, 1,000 horse and 100 ships, for the war against the barbarians. Pausanias was made general, and soon developed into a martinet. His services and reputation saved him for a time, but when the allies attempted to hold him in some check he boldly plotted to turn Greece over to Xerxes and become military satrap. He starved to death in an asylum to which he fled to escape arrest.

Athens was then given the leadership, and Aristides was appointed to apportion among the states, by assessment upon property and opportunities, the amount necessary to pay expenses of army and navy. Aristides gave satisfaction and Athens was in high honor among the confederates. But a bad policy may give satisfaction at first, when in control of virtuous men, and afterward give great trouble. The levy made by Aristides produced 460 talents (\$460,000); Pericles increased it almost one-third, and after him it was slowly increased until it reached 1,300 talents (\$1,300,000). Not because wars grew more expensive, but the Athenians found other uses for the revenue. Taxes grow imperceptibly and drain the profits of trade and industry; that is, the taxes that are laid for patriotic purposes: schemers get behind them and shield themselves with a thin veil of patriotism and protection: taxes that are proper and necessary may be watched; the other kind are too patriotic and sacred to be questioned.

713 When Themistokles had finished the work for which he was set by fate he was not needed at Athens, but, unable to forget his great deeds, he presumed to stand in the way of others who had the ear of the people. His gigantic undertakings were once popular, or were made so by his expedients, but now they were unpopular and he had not the address or cunning to make them so. Becoming unpopular and then obnoxious, if not dangerous, he was banished for ten years. The story of his life from this time would bring paleness to the best fiction. He first went to Argos, but being charged with complicity in the conspiracy of Pausanias, he fled to Corcyra, from thence to Epi'ros, and being still pursued by the Athenians and the Spartans, he escaped to Molossos, whose king, Admetos, had sworn a deadly enmity

against him. He prevailed upon Admetos to shelter him and give him safe conduct to Asia Minor, where he was in great danger, since, besides the efforts by the Athenians and the reward offered for his capture, Xerxes had a standing offer of 200 talents for his body, quick or dead. He went to Aigai, where only Nicogenes, a man of great wealth, knew him. With Nicogenes he remained a few days, until he was recognized by the tutor of Nicogenes' boys. Nicogenes at once secured him safe transit to the Persian court at Susa. This was not difficult. The Persians
216 were so jealous that their women—wives, concubines, slaves—
736 were not trusted to the sight of other men. It was customary to send them from place to place in closed carriages. Nicogenes sent Themistocles in this manner, and he arrived at Susa safe, the driver and guards thinking they were conducting a woman to the capital city. In Susa, he applied at the palace to see the king. The attendants reminded him that the Persians adored their king as the image of the deity who preserves and supports the universe. It was, after much parley, allowed that he should have audience with the king, he consenting to prostrate himself and do all the homage usual with the Persians. Themistocles would not betray his name or business to any but the king. When brought into the divine presence he went through the forms of worship as he had been taught them by the attendant flunkies, and then in a neat speech disclosed his name and appealed to the king for forgiveness and a place in his kingdom. But that which probably had greatest influence was an oracle that directed him to go to one who bore the same name with the god: this Themistocles
683 said he could not understand to mean any but Xerxes, since both were called great kings. The king was surprised, of course, but, admiring the courage and bearing of the great democrat, and being reminded that Themistokles had saved his life by secretly
684 sending him word of the intention of the Greeks to destroy his
690 bridges at the Hellespont, he received him into his favor. Xerxes had found his bridges destroyed, and crossed the Hellespont in a small boat, but a storm had done the work, and no Greeks were there to molest him in his flight. Themistokles got the credit for this. He and his family, which followed him, were provided as munificently as if they had been of the nobility. A few years afterward the king wished to employ him in an expedition against Athens. He could not refuse: he could not not fight against Athens: he took poison and died at sixty-five.

714 The league organized by Athens against Persia included the maritime state of Ionia, the islands of Rhodos, Kos, Tenedos, Lesbos, Miletos, the Greek towns of the Chalkidian peninsula and Byzantium. The members were under liability for vessels or money, which on their own motion they paid yearly in money, leaving Athens to build and own the vessels, and she was bound to protect them as well as herself against Persia. This arrangement was disagreeable to Sparta, who wanted to maintain the supremacy on land, having no use for vessels, as she neither visited nor allowed visiting. There were several great defects in this arrangement, besides the constant menace which it engendered in Sparta. Athens had the fate as well as the treasuries of her dependents in her hands.

715 The next man to get the confidence of the Athenians was Kimon, son of Miltiades, who had been put to death for squandering the means of the state and wasting the lives of many men in a fruitless effort to take the island of Paros, which had aided Persia. Kimon was coached for public affairs by Aristides, and is said to have possessed the justness of Aristides, the protean character of Themistocles, the courage of Miltiades. He invaded the Persian possessions in Asia Minor and the islands (475 B.C.) and won many victories, reaping a rich harvest of spoils, which went to beautify, adorn and strengthen Athens, to the envy of the other states in the league and to the hatred of Sparta. 637

716 Very few men at Athens held the reins of government until their death, and in a government of the people this is not to be wondered at. A man may be never so great a statesman, he will not be able to keep abreast with the times and prepared to carry out a policy agreeable to the people. In absolute monarchies the people are not consulted: they must obey the sovereign, good or bad. In a democracy the ruler must be the servant of the people: he can not do his will, or the will of his friends, but must know what the people want, and do it, or be so strong in his own purposes all the time as to keep the confidence of the people.

717 While Kimon was out with the fleet working for spoils another young man was using winning tactics to gain public favor. Perikles, though of aristocratic lineage, a descendant of Peisistratos, joined the democracy and flattered the people until he had a strong enough following to contest the leadership with

Kimón. Kimón was wealthy and made gifts to the people to buy favor, and Perikles, not having enough of his own, lavished the public revenue in such manner as to destroy the virtue and self-respect of all classes while gaining popularity for himself. When Kimón returned to Athens Perikles watched for a convenient occasion and secured his banishment by the ostracism. In a war with Sparta four years later Kimón's partisans so distinguished themselves that they compelled Perikles to consent to Kimón's recall. Perikles did this, but with the understanding that Kimón should be kept abroad with the army or the navy, and this Kimón did not dare to contest, then or afterward, and died in an expedition intended to bring Kupros under the domination of Athens.

718 The allies, and many Athenians as well, the latter with apprehension of reaction, objected to the use to which the money contributed for defense against Persia was being put. The reply of Perikles has been iterated and reiterated by a school of demagogic and short-sighted politicians, who have thought themselves statesmen, in every age since.

First, as to the right of tax-payers (the citizens of other states except Attika) to say to what use the revenue paid by them should be put, Perikles took the ground that the Athenians were not obliged to give the allies any account of the sums received, since they had kept the barbarians at a distance, and effectually defended the allies, who had not furnished horses, ships or men, but only contributed money, which was no longer the property of the giver, but of the receiver, if he performs the conditions on which it is received. This was fair on its face, but it was not the intention when the league was formed that any state should be made rich or poor, but that each should pay its share of the amount needed for defense, and no more.

Second, that the state being supplied with all the necessities of war, its surplus revenues should be laid out on such works as would be eternal monuments of its glory, and which, during their execution, would diffuse a general plenty; for as so many kinds of labor and such a variety of instruments and materials were requisite to these undertakings, every art would be exerted, every hand employed, almost all of the people would be in pay, and the city would at the same time adorn and support itself. This picture of wealth, beauty and prosperity captivated the Athenians,



and for many years they did not see their error, if they ever did. Such as were of proper age were wanted in the army and the navy. Mechanics and laborers had plenty of work and good wages, and their consciences were clear: they earned what they got, and labor was honorable. The different materials furnished employment to carpenters, masons, braziers, goldsmiths, painters, turners and other artificers, at home and where the supplies were obtained. The conveyance of materials by sea and land gave employment to merchants, contractors, sailors, wagoners, wheelwrights, carriers, rope-makers, leather cutters, paviors and iron founders, and every art had a number of laborers in subordination to it. Thus by the exercise of these different trades plenty was diffused among the people of every rank and condition, and the wealth and prosperity were kept within the states in the league. There was every appearance of plenty and prosperity. This was the golden age of Athens.

Would that Sparta, the black beast of Greece, of no other use but to humble the pride of Athens when she became too haughty to be endured, had united the other states, broken the league, and reduced Attica to her own resources, in the beginning of the demagog's ascendancy, and saved the world from the example of apparent prosperity in violation of the laws of nature.

20.

719 Athens was well situated for commerce and navigation. Merchants from her port would, if allowed, have extended their trade over the known world. But they were taxed to supply means to carry on this work; when the robbery of other states caused retaliation their cargoes were confiscated and their ships pressed into the navy. Capitalists would have engaged in manufacturing, but the energies of the state were engrossed in building edifices which have since been the admiration of esthetic incompetents and professors with high-sounding titles who have mistaken them for monuments of civilization. They did not make men civil, but very uncivil. Not only did Athens thus, in her power, when she was standard and model for the world, corrupt the fountains and sources of true greatness and prosperity, but her military and naval exploits destroyed other states and cities which encouraged the arts of peace.

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720 The number of families to be supported by public charity or in the erection of costly buildings simply to adorn the city and gratify pride became so great that Perikles found it necessary to

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provide other means for quieting them. If the spoils had continued and he had followed his policy of public improvements he and his successors would have covered all Attica with the magnificent and massive monuments. But he turned his attention in other directions. He sent out sixty galleys every year, manned for eight months, with a complement of young men who were paid for their service and taught to handle ships. This was not to encourage peaceful navigation, but to prepare them for service in time of war, to destroy commerce. This did not answer, and he sent a colony of 1,000 men to the Chersonesos, 500 to Naxos, 250 to Andros, 1,000 into the country of the Basaltai, in Thrakia, and others into Italy. By this means he not only cleared the city of the useless multitude, but thought to keep the allies in subjection by placing colonies, like so many garrisons, in their neighborhood.

721 After the death of Kimon the aristocratic party chose Thuku'dides for their champion, but Perikles was shrewd as well as a fine orator, and when the time came for one of them to be banished by the ostracism it was Thykydides that went. Then Perikles changed his manners. If he could prevail as formerly he was content; if not, he put his designs into effect by force. He was not archon, but army and navy, colonies, revenues—all were under his control: he was practically tyrant: all classes were afraid to attempt to banish him, and all feared him.

722 In the latter part of his life Perikles gave way to personal resentments and involved Athens in a war with Sparta. It is said that he wanted this war because the Athenians were about to prosecute him for malfeasance and impiety. So long had he conducted affairs that in troublous times there was nobody else capable of the administration. He stirred up the war, there was fear of a siege, the people of Attika were brought in and shut up in the city, a plague broke out, many died, the people were more incensed against him than ever. His age and the death of all his legitimate sons and many relatives caused the people to relent, and he soon afterward died of the plague.

723 From the time of the laws of Lukourgos and Solon there was always an appeal from any decision of court or senate. At Sparta the ephori became so powerful that they overrode the general assembly, but at Athens and in most of the states this appeal was respected even by tyrants. Pericles did not set aside

the general assembly, or deny appeal to it, but managed to give it plenty of other business, that it might not have time to investigate his acts.

724 Perikles died in 429 B.C. and Alkibi'ades in 404. Into these twenty-five years were crowded many great military and naval achievements, all tending to the glory and ruin of Greece. Alkibiades was hot headed and indifferent to the public weal and to private rights. He was in early life under the care of Socrates. The instruction he received from the philosopher put him in command of language and oratory without softening his vanity and barbarous instincts. When he fell under the ban at Athens he fled to Laconia, and acted against Athens. After other changes, always thinking of stirring up strife to make his services necessary, he went over to the Persians. Showing to Persia that it was to her advantage to keep the Greeks fighting among themselves until they destroyed each other, he turned the Persian gold and navy against Athens and Sparta alternately until the Athenians recalled him and made him tyrant. Too inconstant and quarrelsome to hold this honor with the Athenians excited and factious, he was again forbidden the city. Then the Laconians took Athens and partially destroyed it. The walls were torn down, that the city might not be defended. Thirty tyrants were appointed to rule arbitrarily. During this period the Laconians 316 branched out in every direction. They acquired a navy and 564 scoured the seas for spoils.

725 Sparta now (399-394 B.C.) thought herself strong enough to retaliate upon Persia and sent an army to conquer the empire. Persia was cunning enough to separate the Greeks again and force the recall of the Spartans. Athens being too weak to offer resistance, the Persian king supplied the Thebans with money and they organized a league, including Athens and Corinth, to oppose Sparta. After long fighting the Greeks came to a peace (387 B.C.), the terms of which were dictated by Persia.

726 When this peace was secured and the Persian influence neutralized the Spartans became harder masters than ever. To take revenge of the Thebans they attacked Thebes without cause and took possession of the citadel. They also went into Thessaly and destroyed a confederacy organized by the tyrant Olynthus. This league of cities was not menacing Greece, but stood between Greece and Macedon, and its destruction was a sorry piece of work for all of Greece.

727 PHILOSOPHY was brought into Greece by Athenag'oras, a
 722 Clazomenian, during the age of Perikles, who himself studied
 with the philosopher, notwithstanding the frowns of the staid folk
 of Athens. Philosophy gained converts from the aristocracy, and
 Socrates was the first great leader.

728 Philosophy was then an inquiry into the very nature and
 essence of things. Abstract theories and problems were carried
 to their last solution. Man, or the mind of man, for instance, is

Between the acting of a dreadful thing
 And the first motion, all the interim is
 Like a phantasma, or a hideous dream:
 The Genius and the mortal instruments
 Are then in council; and the state of man,
 Like to a little kingdom, suffers then
 The nature of an insurrection.

—*Shakespeare.*

made up of mental entities, as
 the body is of physical partic-
 les. These constituent men-
 tal elements on occasion take
 counsel on the welfare of the
 whole man, the unit, the sum
 total, the general assembly of
 mind or spirit. The man, the
 aggregate, is what the elements unite in making him. If the ele-
 ments are about equally divided in sentiment the mind is not firm.
 If there is no organization or agreement of the elements the mind
 is fickle. The difference between a well ordered and a disordered
 mind is the difference in degree of organization of the elements.
 When a man gives rein to passion he loosens his hold upon the
 elements of his mind. He may become excited and still retain
 control of the corporate elements, but the danger of losing con-
 trol is great. And as every considerable change in mind is the
 result of reorganization of the elements, or the winning over of a
 majority of the elements brings a change of mind, it is necessary
 to undergo excitement to have a new mind, or creed, or purpose.

These mental elements—what are they? Are they composite,
 and each one subject to its ele-
 ments? We see that in animal
 life there is no end to the subor-
 dinate existences, and this is by
 analogy the case with spirit. If

The little fleas have other fleas
 To sting 'em and to bite 'em;
 Those little fleas have smaller fleas,
 And so ad infinitum.—*Anon.*

the mind is freed by philosophy from the restraints of tradition it
 645 will raise these questions and attempt to answer them.

Then while the phenomena of nature and the interchange of
 ideas among men produce changes in the individual or unit
 24 mind, and this is normal and enables men to grasp new ideas and
 provide for new contingencies, there is always need of guarding

against dissipation of the elements. Herein is the strength of philosophy: it prepares us against surprise and confusion. 80

A new proposition is presented by one mind to another. The elemental entities of the receiving mind discuss the elements of the new theory and individually arrive at a conclusion. If a small minority are convinced the mind will determine that there may be some reason in the theory, but on the whole it is undesirable. If a bare majority of the elemental entities are won there will be a nominal acquiescence. If a large majority of the elements are convinced the mind will be decided in accepting the proposition and firm in maintaining it. The presiding Genius 123 may desire to keep out the new and probably despised idea, but if the Genius allows freedom to the elements they may persuade him to it. Every mind believes against its wishes, on evidence which the major part of the counselors accept as conclusive. But the Genius, the Self, may be a despot and not submit propositions to the elements his subjects. He is a free agent. Then the elements become sottish and incapable of solving problems, and the Self loses his spirituality.

Abraham taught that deity was a unit, as I here present the 351 unity of the mind of man, or as we might conceive of the mind 445 of Earth if we imagined that Earth was a unit of mind and we 487 mortal spirits the elements. Socrates reached the same philosophy at Athens. It was not popular and he suffered death rather than recant. In the case of Socrates there was a strong political undercurrent, and the same was probably true of Abraham, since he was ambitious for dominion and wealth.

Theos originally meant Zeus or Jupiter. The genitive or possessive case of Zeus in Greek is Dios. In the age of philosophy 305 the form Theos came to be used of deity as a unit, as man is now 539 used for mankind, and this was called atheism because it rejected 467 all the gods but one and gave him only a generic name. There 521 was no denial of the gods, but it was asserted that there was a 526 unity of mind and power.

729 Plato, a pupil of Socrates, was the strongest light in the 340 Socratic school. He studied mathematics before and after his philosophic studies, and afterward traveled much. In instances he did some service in opposing despotism, but this was a local and temporary benefit. It may seriously be asked whether his numerous books have made the world better or been a positive

5 hinderance to practical science and industry. Plato was a slave
 96 owner; was taken by Dionusius, tyrant of Syracuse, and sold into
 slavery in Ægina; was ransomed by admirers; returned to Athens,
 and continued to own slaves; and the greatest effort in his
 writings on the condition of man in society was to prove that not
 344 only is slavery right, but the greatest happiness the common folk
 can hope for is good masters. Before the time of Solon there
 was an aristocracy of birth; Solon instituted an aristocracy of
 wealth; the next was an aristocracy of art; now there was an
 aristocracy of philosophy. The wealthy held their heads above
 all; then the artists and architects formed a new and fastidious
 set; now there was a school of philosophy that soared above all.
 So esthetic was Plato that he would not admit into his academy
 any who had not acquired the theorems of geometry, yet he
 could not bear the idea of using or allowing his pupils to use
 their knowledge in any practical work or occupation. The sci-
 ences should be ethereal, not worldly. When it was impossible
 to solve some problems by pure science without mechanical ap-
 piances or demonstration by the use of matter he raised his
 hands in horror and protest against the resort to any methods
 that required labor, even the placing of one stick against another
 or the stretching of a line between two points. With all his
 studies, travels, writings and teaching, and notwithstanding the
 great space given to his name in the literary world since, he
 added very little to the stock of knowledge of the world, but he
 perverted thought and inaugurated a kind of reasoning that has
 led men from the very things they sought to gain from his works.
 Yet he was highly honored, before his death was called divine,
 and afterward actually worshiped as a demi-god by those who
 could not comprehend his massive and obscure ideas.

730 THEBES was colonized by Kadmos ("the Easterner") with
 a colony of Phœnicians about 1580 B.C. These colonists were
 driven into Thessaly and then went away, but returned. Being
 again forced to fight or leave, they returned to Phœnicia. Their
 269 successors were a sturdy people but not considered bright by the
 604 other Greeks. They had not the troubles of most of the Greek
 states with the changes in government, but underwent the early
 changes as in Attica from a king to a democracy, and seem to
 have had no experience with tyrants.

731 Sometimes it is possible to accomplish a great undertaking when a small one would be impossible. The Thebans saw no way by which to soften Spartan rigor but by breaking the power of Sparta. But Thebes was only one city, a weak one, governed by tyrants from Sparta, with a strong garrison of Lacedæmonians, while all Greece was in like condition and bound to obey orders from the ephoroi. When the Spartans by a trick had taken the citadel of Thebes not a state dared to object. Pelopidas and some other Thebans who opposed the occupation were banished, and when they went to Athens the ephori notified the Athenians that they must not harbor the fugitives. Athens was afraid to disobey, yet delayed. 767

Pelopidas was the moving spirit. He prevailed upon nearly all the fugitives to make an effort to redeem their country. It was arranged that Pelopidas and twelve young men should return to Thebes in a manner not to betray their identity or excite suspicion and murder the tyrants in the night; then, with the aid of the Thebans, open the gates in the morning and let in the others. This plan was successful, and Athens and the cities of Bœotia sending aid, Pelopidas had some 14,000 men, with whom he took the citadel and forced the Lacedæmonian garrison to surrender.

Epaminondas had not been banished from Thebes: being a poor man and theretofore quiet, he was not considered dangerous. But Epaminondas was as great a man as Pelopidas, and never were two men truer to each other than these.

When the Spartan army came to punish the rebels the Athenians repented and wanted to turn against the Thebans; but the latter induced Agesilaos, a half-witted Spartan commander, to invade Attica, and the Athenians sent to the subjects of Sparta to enlist them in an effort to gain independence (378 B.C.). Several states responded, but the success of the movement was due to Thebes and her leaders. Pelopidas was the first commander who defeated a body of Spartans with fewer men. When he had done this there was a new era in Greece.

732 Athens became jealous of Thebes and made peace with Sparta in 371 B.C. Thebes, or Boiotia, was left alone to fight Sparta, and all Greece shuddered at the dreadful retribution in store for her. Thebes had never before taken an independent stand. In the wars between Athens and Sparta she had sometimes been with one, sometimes with the other. It would seem

that Thebes, from her position near Athens, and on the other side from Sparta, would side with Athens all the time, but, though Boiotia had formerly been a part of Attika, the demands of Athens were sometimes outrageous.

Epaminondas was archon and commander. Pelopidas was captain of the Sacred Van of three hundred young men sworn to stand with each other as long as any were alive. When the men were collected they were found to number only 6,000, while the Spartan army coming against them had three times that number. The usual omens were observed, first unfavorable, then favorable. While Epaminondas was not discouraged by the former, his men were much encouraged by the latter. The question then was, whether to move out and meet the enemy or await the enemy in Bœotia. Four of the seven leaders favored moving out, and the army moved to Leuctra, where they met the Spartans.

733 The battle of Leuctra is one of the famous battles in history, not only because of the great interests at stake, but because of the skill of Epaminondas and Pelopidas. Epaminondas set his men in a wedge body to pierce the Spartan center, while Cleombrotos the Spartan maneuvered to turn their flanks and surround the Thebans. Epaminondas parted the Spartans, as he had planned to do, and when one column attempted the flank movement Pelopidas with the Sacred Band fell upon it and put it in disorder. The Laconians had always been the best drilled soldiers in Greece and able of themselves to change their base and knit together again with precision, but the Thebans broke through them, so that they could neither gain their present purpose nor regain their former position. Still the Spartans might have reformed and given battle, but Cleombrotos was dead, and the allies, seeing the Spartan phalanx broken, withdrew. In this battle the Spartan loss was about 4,000, of whom 1,000 were Laconians and 400 Spartans. The Theban loss was 400.

Epaminondas and Pelopidas soon afterward set out with an army for the Peloponnesos. The power of Sparta being broken, the spirit of her dependents returned and the Thebans gained recruits until their army numbered about 70,000. In this expedition they united all of Arcadia into one body, drove out the Spartans who had settled in Messenia and called back its former inhabitants, and repopled Ithomé. Sparta had never been visited by an army, hostile or friendly. The Spartans had gone



from home to fight, and had come home alone, not even allowing their friends or allies in Laconia. Now the women of Sparta saw what war was. On their return the Thebans met an Athenian army at the isthmus and defeated it.

734 Sparta and Athens now joined against Thebes, and, not trusting to their combined strength, applied to the king of Persia for help. The Thebans also sent to Persia, and the king refused to help Sparta and Athens.

During the few years of their supremacy the Thebans were drawn into the arbitration and settlement of disputes between the Thessalians and their northern neighbors. To secure good faith they took hostages from Perdiccas, king of Macedonia. Among these hostages was the king's brother, Philip, a lad of fifteen. He was placed with Epaminondas, who gave him an education; he was a bright scholar, and observant. He took notes of the military operations and tactics of Epaminondas and Pelopidas.

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Pelopidas was sent into Thessaly to straighten out some matters of dispute, when Alexander, tyrant of Pherai, put him into prison without cause. There was some jealousy at Thebes and Epaminondas was not sent with assistance; the generals who did go were defeated. Then Epaminondas went with an army and liberated Pelopidas. Soon afterward Pelopidas was sent with an army to punish the Thessalians. He defeated the tyrant, but was himself slain. Thebes then extended her boundaries to the borders of Macedonia (363 B.C.).

Meantime there was continual fighting in the Peloponnesos, simply for the exercise, it would seem. In 362 B.C. Epaminondas went there to assist the Theban allies, and both sides prepared for a decisive battle. It is said that the greatest armies yet used by Greeks were brought into the field, yet the Thebans had only 30,000 foot and 3,000 horse and the Laconians 20,000 foot and 2,000 horse. Epaminondas had the glory of walking on the sacred soil of Sparta again, but in the battle of Mantinea he was slain. He would have had a great victory if he had been more careful of his own safety, but he was as daring as any man in his army. His tactics here were the best yet displayed.

A peace was now agreed upon by all except Sparta, and she kept it because it was not possible to stir up another war without uniting all Greece against her. Even in this season of intolerable dullness to her at home she found some excitement by sending

an army into Egypt to help one faction there against another, and then turned side and helped the other faction.

744 735 During this interval of peace, six years, Athens outdid the legendary Gotham. The craze for pleasure was so rife that the revenues of the government were squandered on theaters, music halls and other public resorts. The Greek drama was carried to its height, and art and literature were cultivated abnormally. Trade, industry and navigation were engaged in only as means of satisfying the morbidly esthetic taste of the pampered aristocracy. Slavery was very degraded, and the common people were worse off than the slaves. They had supported the policy that brought them to degradation and now were powerless.

Music may have "charms to soothe the savage breast." If it has, it should be used for that purpose. It is possible that the noble savage, who is ignorant of the ways of polite society, yet endowed with natural respect for human life except where his fear or his necessities lead him to take it, can be softened by harmonious music into a plastic condition in which he will be susceptible to gentle influence and suasion. It is quite possible that whole races have been reclaimed by the entrancing melody of simple music produced upon instruments that would have grated harshly upon the ears of these esthetic Athenians. But when one imagines an Athenian audience carried away by the strains of the lyre and the harp and the trained chorus, as melodious to them as modern instruments are to moderns, he needs to ask himself seriously whether he thinks the music had a good effect upon the thousands of rich and poor who repaired daily and nightly to the halls to hear it. It is probable that the Athenian audiences would compare favorably with modern esthetic audiences; it is said that Athens at this time was like our modern cities, but very different from anything after it until this century. But how about the Athenian audience drawn together to hear the soulful music? The majority of the auditors, those who had the good seats and the places of honor, were men and women who had never done a day's work. They did not get their wealth by
296 engaging in honest business or industry, where, though a man may never do manual labor himself, he does better: by employing his money in producing articles needed by others he gives employment to other men and the community is benefited; by building or running vessels he may do incalculable good by dif-

fusing necessities and comforts of life throughout the earth, and, though he does no work himself, yet is a blessing to the world. These esthetic Athenians who went into ecstasies over music went no further than to permit the exhilaration of their nerves. The slave that neglected the slightest command or mistook the whims of master or mistress was liable to stripes, or death. The fine feelings and esthetic sensitiveness of these eupatridai would not permit of contact with the grimy hand of the toiler, whether of slave or demos. Music begat no fellow-feeling in the auditors. Then is music of God or of the Devil? Of both, and the lovers of the art of melody should know which kind they are enjoying.

The drama we may treat in like manner. If the playwright portrays the human character and passions in an instructive way, the while attending to the historic correctness of his parts and scenes, his vocation may be classed with that of the priest, as it was among the Greeks, when the same building and vestments were used and the same persons performed the religious ceremonies and the plays. The drama should be looked upon as one of three great educators in modern times and should have equal respect with the pulpit and the press. In Athens it was one of two. The stage and the pulpit did the work now done by the press. One went to the theater in Athens to hear comments on the political actions of the day. It need scarcely be remarked that the realistic presentation of a drama wherein is worked out the ultimate results of crime or a mean act has had the effect to transform the character of an auditor who meditated the perpetration of such an act. To such direct and immediate good we should add the effect upon those who have not contemplated a violation of the laws of society, but who are strengthened in their habits and made better and more enlightened citizens. The seeing of a strong play of a historic cast will fix in the mind not only dates, but costumes and habits, so that afterward the beneficiary will better understand what he reads and hears. Thus in many ways the stage is a teacher and civilizer, when held to a standard of propriety and not allowed to degenerate into that low current which may properly be called the ethical gutter. But did the Athenians visit the theater to be instructed and improved? The plays may have been written by master minds, but the auditors were not there to be taught their duty to fellow-man, nor to get the lessons of history. They were there to admire the art of the

player and the gorgeousness of the accessories. A combat between swordsmen was glorious sport. No matter about the point of honor in the play; the skill of the players was the drawing card. If the scene was affecting, if the hero or the heroine made a pitiful appeal to the gods for relief from the villain, the esthetic auditor might be moved to tears, and often the whole audience were so moved. But that was abnormal. The martinet was still a martinet, and the master who had flogged his slave for spite might after this flow of tears kill him to ease his conscience of the self-imposed charge of being effeminate. The stage is like other things in this world, good or bad as we use them. The stage was degenerate because the Athenians were degenerate.

713 736 Athens did not even now tolerate the harem as it was in
355 Asia, but the ladies of quality had many maids of honor, and these might as well have been members of a seraglio in Persia as concubines in Athens.

751 737 YOU WILL OBSERVE by looking on the map that Thrace, Macedon, Greece proper and Greek Asia Minor form nearly a square block of land and water. The southern half of this block has been the scene of action thus far. The northern half has been dormant. The Makedonians and the Thrakians were Barbarians when Darius visited them, and the Thessalians were not much improved. They were awakened and taught to fight. The lead being transferred to Makedonia, I will follow it, but only far enough to show the connecting links between the Greeks and the Romans, the state of the Greek world when the Romans took it and transferred the lead another block to the west.

734 738 Philip escaped from Thebes at a time when his services were needed in Makedonia. His brother Perdik'kas had been killed in a battle with the neighboring Illurians, who thought to subjugate Makedonia. The Paionians were also in arms and had made several raids into Macedonian territory. The Thrakians wished to place Pausanias on the throne in Makedonia, while the
720 Athenians were supporting with vigor the claims of Argaios. Philip, as guardian of Amyntas, the fourteen-year-old boy of Perdikkas, was viceroy and general of the army, and to give more force to his authority the leading citizens persuaded him to take the royal dignity outright, when he was twenty-four, fourteen years after going to Thebes, and 359 B.C.

739 Epaminondas gained by his manner of placing his men in phalanx much of his success in war. Philip understood this, and when he came to organize the Macedonians he made a further improvement. The Makedonian phalanx became invincible and brought great success to Philip. This phalanx was in the form of a long square. The theory required 8,000 pikemen, sixteen deep, with 500 in front. The long pikes rested on the shoulders of the men and locked them together in a solid body. The ranks were compact, and the pikes from the fifth rank extended three feet in front, thus making a barrier of sharp steel supported by a body of men almost as solid as one immense being.

740 Philip used money and other arguments to secure temporary peace with his nearest enemies and then began upon the stronger ones. Argaios and his Athenian allies were defeated. Then Philip went against the Paionians and subjugated them, and followed up his success by adding Illuria to his kingdom. The Illyrians were subjugated so quickly that they were added to the Macedonian empire before most of them knew that Philip was in their country. The Athenians had supported Argæus with the understanding that they were to have Amphip'olis, on the Strumon, the boundary between Macedonia and Trace, a strategic position. Philip let this matter rest until he had disposed of his enemies, but now he took this city, as also Potidaia. Pudna was taken from the Athenians by stratagem without a battle. The Olynthians were too strong to be treated as he had others, but Philip set himself to take this strong city with as little loss of life as possible.

741 At this time two things effected a great change in the policy of Philip. He changed the name of Crenides, a city of Makedonia, to Philippi, and in improving it he discovered a rich mine of gold. At the same time he got a message through an oracle, or said he did, advising him to use money instead of arms in making conquests, and he made this his policy.

742 The Medes had from time unremembered followed a simple form of religion, but when they became the first power in Asia the aristocracy invited the Magi from India to introduce their philosophy and mystic rites and make an elaborate ceremonial to awe the credulous and ignorant bourgeois. Thus the chasm between orders in the state was made so wide that there was nothing in common between ruler and subject. Philosophy and fetichism succeeded, and the gods moved west.

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Before the introduction of philosophy into Greece the religion
 683 was simple and democratic. The meanest citizen, nay, the slave,
 could understand and participate in the rites and enjoy the immu-
 nities. The slaves were not treated ill. There was one religion
 for all, and king and master felt the weight of the gods when they
 were harsh. Now that the religion was elevated and made aris-
 tocratic by the introduction of Asiatic philosophy the common
 people were denied participation. The aristocracy hired philoso-
 phers to instruct their youth in the mysteries of rights and duties,
 while the common people were taught by precept and coercion
 that their duty was to obey their masters and rulers. The chasm
 280 between classes was so wide that the gods could not through the
 oracles direct the people to their edification. God, the gods, the
 invisible spirit world, Providence—whatever we may imagine or
 363 call the Source of inspiration—is democratic. A king is a man,
 767 a slave is a man; the gods know only men. They will help men
 350 if conditions are such that men can be helped and men will try to
 649 help themselves. Such conditions had ceased to exist in Greece,
 137 and the gods had moved west.

743 Philip of Macedon cared nought for religion: he wanted
 to be king of the world, and was ready to use any means to fur-
 ther his ambitious designs. The philosophic aristocracy cared
 nothing for religion: they wanted wealth, honor, ease. It was a
 new thing in the history of Greece to go to war to avenge an
 insult to a god, but that is what happened. Somebody charged
 somebody with sacrilege, and nearly all of Greece was drawn into
 a religious war. Philip encouraged it, and quietly extended the
 bounds of his kingdom. When he had taken all he could with-
 out exciting alarm he persuaded some of the contestants to get
 himself invited to settle the difficulty and punish the guilty ones.
 In this way he acquired a footing in Greece. After a short time,
 when he had secured himself, he assisted in stirring up another
 religious war, and took some more territory. He was now a
 member of the Amphiktuon, to which he had not before been
 admitted because he was not a Greek. He suddenly became a
 Greek when he became so powerful that he could not be denied,
 and moreover was made sheriff and allowed alone to enforce the
 decrees of the council. He was Defender of the Faith, and thus
 master of Greece.

744 When Philip began to absorb the Athenian colonies in

Thrace and the northern islands Demosthenes headed a strong party at Athens to oppose the dismemberment of the Athenian autonomy. He used his great powers of oratory rather than good sense or just reasoning. Oratory won the day, it being wrongly thought that the orator who had the best cause could make the strongest appeal, so in fashion were art and philosophy. This is not saying that Demosthenes was wrong and that Demades and Huperides, who openly defended Philip in his pretensions, were right. Nobody at Athens was right. The revenues 866 paid by the allies and the colonies for use in defending all had been used first in beautifying and building up a great city, and then in supporting the idle citizens and supplying them with amusements and entertainments. The fund for war expenses had for a long time been appropriated to pay admissions to the theaters for the free citizens whose votes the politicians wanted, and 735 now they were not willing to forego their pastimes. There was no way to get revenue for defense but by levying new taxes, and here was an insurmountable obstacle. Those who were able to pay refused, and to force taxes from the middle and lower orders caused so much opposition that it was useless to attempt it: the common people knew that if they once submitted to taxation, whatever the pretext or occasion, they could not again shift the burden upon the property and wealth and those who received the 759 big incomes, whatever the issue of the war. But Demosthenes and his party secured ordinances for raising armies, which were sent out with poor arms and no supplies, and when they foraged upon the country where they went, and were unsuccessful, the generals were charged with incompetency and disloyalty. Demosthenes held out in his speeches that it was the hereditary right of the Athenians to obey no man, but, sword in hand, to impose laws on others. He berated the Athenians for degenerating from the glory of their ancestors. But Athens had had too much glory.

745 Pho'kion was untiring in trying to persuade his countrymen that there was nothing to preserve; that between existing conditions and submission to Philip the choice was anarchy or despotism: but if they would restore the commonwealth to its 574 early purity there would be something to strive for. He fought for Athens against Philip, but with Philip's gold in his purse he had no hope for success. 759

746 Then there was old Diogenes, the cynic philosopher, who wandered through the camps of both armies on the eve of the great battle of Chærone'a. Being taken by the guard to Philip, he was asked by the king whether he was there as a spy. The cynic, utterly regardless of danger, answered, "Yes; I am come as a spy upon your vanity and ambition, who thus wantonly set your life and kingdom to the hazard of an hour."

This Diogenes played a double character. In early life he was
 300 banished from Pontos, in Asia Minor, for uttering spurious coin.
 175 He had conceived the idea that the stamp made money of the
 metal, and that any metal would do the office of money if it was
 585 properly stamped. Being naturally public spirited, and thinking
 181 that the people would be more prosperous if the volume of the
 currency was increased, he coined metal which was cheaper than
 that in use by the commercial world and put it into circulation.
 The merchants made complaint, the people did not defend him as
 a benefactor, as he had anticipated, and Diogenes was banished.
 He moved to Athens and entered the philosophic sect of Antis-
 thenes, a disciple of So'crates. Antis'thenes was the founder of
 the cynic school which disdained all worldly glory and honor and
 taught that virtue, the only good, was more likely to be found
 among the poor and unknown than among the wise and lucky.
 Diogenes had probably not changed his early ideas of honesty
 761 or his intentions toward the common people, but his plans had
 miscarried and he was soured. Dio-genes means "begotten of
 395 Zeus," though the name was probably not given him with an
 idea of its fitness.

747 Philip was yet a young man and making preparation to
 conquer Asia when a divorced wife persuaded a man to assassi-
 nate him. His son Alexander made no secret of his joy at the
 death of his father, whom he could not forgive for dishonoring
 748 his mother for the fresher charms of a young woman.

289 748 Alexander of Makedonia was twenty years of age when
 he succeeded his father Philip. He had been carefully educated
 by Aristot'eles, the renowned philosopher. When Alexander
 assumed the reins of government most of the states that had sub-
 mitted to his father thought to throw off the yoke, but he very
 soon taught them that he had all the cunning of his father with
 more activity and daring. In 336 B.C., two years after his acces-
 sion, having reduced to submission all of Greece except Sparta,

he crossed into Asia with an army of 30,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry. If there had been occasion or need for the subjugation of Asia, if Asia had then been threatening Greece, we might read with admiration the prodigious victories of this young officer with an army of old men, most of whom were past fifty and beyond the time of life when glory can be captivating. In partial extenuation of his egregious folly it is related that he opened new roads to commerce and navigation. But he took special vengeance of the greatest, quietest and freest commercial nation known to the Greeks, Phœnicia. If all the commercial entrepôts he established had been maintained they would not have equaled as civilizers the one city of Tyre which he thought he had utterly destroyed after a siege of seven months, during which the Tyrians maintained a defense that has not been surpassed for bravery or endurance. It may be said that he destroyed the licentious Persian court and introduced Grecian customs and manners into Asia. But he was so puffed out with arrogance and pride, so carried away with self-importance, so given to self-indulgence and cruelty, that Asia was made worse. He died at thirty-two, yet he had already shown that he would have rivaled the Persian king's harem of three hundred women if he had lived to forty.

749 Alexander had no religious notions that conflicted with boundless ambition. It was a common assumption of Grecian kings that they were descended from the gods. In early times this conceit was harmless, but in these latter days it led to the commission of great follies and crimes. Philosophy as now taught led to unity. One source of divine power, one source of authority, one king, one master—everything tended to centralization of thought. Plato was the author of this fad. Alexander spared the Jews and was allowed to sacrifice in the temple at Jerusalem. He flattered them with the opinion that their idea of unity of deity was philosophic and better than the old belief in many gods and no central divine power. He went right on into Egypt and marched his army across the sandy deserts to the temple of Jupiter Amun and intimidated the officiating priest into declaring him a son of Jupiter and speaking of Philip as his natural father and of Jupiter as his divine father. He would be a Dio-genes with accompanying authority.

750 The worst thing about the exploits of Alexander was the train of evil that followed in the wake of his glorious career. On

451 his deathbed he was asked who should be his successor, and he
458 replied, "The most worthy." He had fought and won glory
regardless of human life and suffering, and his last words awoke
633 ambitions that would not suffer peace to return. If he had lived
he would have attempted the conquest of Italy and Carthage, but
his successors had enough to do in dividing Asia, Egypt and
Greece. Intrigue, war, poison, assassination—these were com-
mon means employed by the usurpers to wrest provinces and
states from each other, and the destruction of cities and depopu-
lation of countries, selling whole peoples into slavery or killing
the men and taking the women for concubines, were the fortunes
of war. To such an end came the Grecian civilization.

751 OF COURSE the warriors considered only the men and the
means to gain battles; they had a keen eye to discover the best
men for soldiers. But there was a class of statesmen or politi-
cians, or philosophers, who considered the propriety as well as
the means, and persuaded themselves that the world should be
737 reclaimed from barbarism by force. These men advocated war,
or excused it, on the plea that the end justified the means. They
said that it was better to subjugate the barbarians and establish
law and order, and extend navigation, than to leave the barba-
rians in possession to hinder the spread of civilization. Strabo
was of this class. He says (II. v. 26): "The Greeks, though
dwelling amid rocks and mountains, live in comfort, owing to
their economy in government and the arts, and all the other
appliances of life. The Romans, too, have taught the arts of
commerce to many who were formerly in total ignorance and
leading a savage life, induced by the rockiness of their country,
or want of ports, or severity of the cold, and thus have they
spread civilization among the most savage. Where the climate
is equable and mild, nature herself does much toward the produc-
tion of these advantages. As in such favored regions everything
tends to peace, so those which are sterile generate bravery and a
548 disposition to war. These two races receive mutual advantages
574 from each other; the one aiding by arms, the other by husbandry,
arts and management. Harm must result to both when they fail
to act in concert, but the advantage will lie on the side of those
accustomed to bear arms. Europe is favored in this respect, the
plains being interspersed with mountains, so that everywhere



husbandry and hardihood, the foundations of civilization, lie side by side." He also says (VII. iii. 7): "When we consider the amount of fraud connected with trading speculations even among ourselves, what ground have we to wonder that Homer should have designated as the justest and most noble those who have had but few commercial and monetary transactions, and, with the exception of their swords and drinking cups, possessed all things in common, and especially their wives and children, who were cared for by the community? The manner of life among the Greeks has spread almost everywhere, and wrought a change for the worse—effeminacy, luxury and esthetic fads, inducing extortion in many ways. Doubtless much of this corruption has gone even unto the countries of the nomades, as well as those of the other barbarians; for having once learned to navigate the sea, they have become depraved, committing piracy and murdering strangers; and visiting and trading with many different nations, they have imitated both their extravagance and their dishonest traffic, which may appear to promote civility of manners, but doubtless corrupt the morals and lead to deceit, in place of the genuine sincerity we have before noted." After such a course, and the Greek can not be charged with insincerity in stating the sentiments of his age, it is no wonder that Strabo, writing in the time of Augustus Cæsar, should admit that "Some define right to be the interest of the strongest." And no wonder that he was forced to say, as the result of the Greek philosophy and worship of glory, that in his time more than half of the habitable land of Greece was barren of inhabitants. The endeavor to civilize the barbarians by force reacted upon the civilized community.

Writers in all ages since have tried to have the blame laid at the door of democracy, saying that if the aristocracy had been allowed to control they would have managed the senseless mob and maintained order. But the enfranchisement of the demoi in Attica saved civilization from decay in the time of Solon and from destruction by Darius and Xerxes. The gods were on the side of democracy and Greece was fortunate. The demoi made one fatal mistake: they should have demanded freedom and enfranchisement for all men. While the land belonged inalienably to a few families and was stocked with slaves the poor demoi were open to the constant intrigues of the few who controlled all the natural resources. Industry, trade, navigation—all

could be paralyzed by the land and slave monopolists when their selfish interests demanded it, when they wanted to terrify the democracy into submission. The people may not always be able to govern, but an oligarchy will not allow justice or prosperity to the people.

753 The Phœnicians understood the problem of feeding and clothing a people without growing and producing their own supplies. They had not the ground on which to raise their food and could not get the materials for clothing at or near home, so made long voyages to sell their wares and buy food for the workmen
257 in their shops. They had no trouble with a landed aristocracy. Attica might grow grain for a population of 50,000, but Athens was ambitious and invited men with families from everywhere to come and be citizens. Thus far she was progressive, and with a proper regard for the rights of others—if she had encouraged industries and navigation—she might have maintained a much greater population than 300,000 without incurring the envy and hate of the other Greeks, who would have imitated her and made Greece the emporium of the trade of Asia and Europe. The Athenians might have become much more wealthy without the effeminacy justly chargeable to them: when other sources of supplies had been found the landed aristocracy would have lost their monopoly and become industrious and self-supporting citizens instead of idle and mischievous drones. But the shortest excuse that can be given for the blind and repulsive policy of the later
182 Athenians is that it was learned from the Persians, from whom the Greeks copied unconsciously. And the man who was most chargeable with the degeneracy was Plato.

CARTHAGE.

754 THE CARTHAGINIANS were of the Semitic race, kindred direct with the Phœnicians, who were Canaanites. The first settlement was by Elissa, also called Dido, with a colony of seceding Tyrians, about 869 B.C. The site of the city Carthage was a promontory of land extending into the Gulf of Tunis. Utica, Hadrumetum and some other colonies had already been established on the northern coast of Africa, and the natives, seeing the benefits of commerce, were friendly to the Phœnicians.

The government was aristocratic: it was not a monarchy or a democracy; it was called a republic, but was an aristocratic oligarchy, with magistrates chosen for life.

755 At first the Carthaginians were peaceable and sought to make friends, as the Phœnicians had done. By consent of the natives they acquired the territory now comprised in the state of Tunis, and inducted the natives and some of their own people to engage in agriculture and horticulture. Becoming ambitious for supremacy, they used various means for acquiring the rest of the coast from Tunis to the Atlantic. The other colonies were domineered by Carthage, but never quite surrendered their independence: they wished the protection of Carthage, but feared that the Carthaginians would be so overbearing as to rob them of all advantages; and Carthage was not willing to allow them a share in the government.

The early policy of the Carthaginians, like that of the Phœnicians, was to acquire only such territory as was reasonably safe from invasion. Islands were more easily defended and were preferred, but in some instances possessions on the continents as distributing points, and later as strategic points in military operations, were obtained. As the struggle with Greeks became more determined the army and navy were increased and placed upon as firm a footing as though the first business had been war.

756 The first aggressive act away from their neighborhood was the acquisition of the western part of the island of Sicily. Then the Canary and the Made'ira islands and Sardinia were conquered, while colonies were established in the Baliar'ic islands of Maiorca, Minorca and Ivi'ca, and later in Corsica and Spain.

757 The Phœnicians were a strictly industrial and commercial people. They never engaged in war except in self-defense, and then only when every means to avert it had been exhausted. They submitted to the suzerainty of Assyria, Babylonia, Egypt and Persia, and suffered affronts from Jews and Greeks. When the Greeks, the Tyrrhenians (Etruscans) and others were overbearing and demanded the possessions of the Phœnicians the latter usually yielded and moved to other quarters, among the barbarian or autochthonic races. Their mission was to civilize, not to conquer and destroy under the pretext of teaching law and order. When they did choose to resist they made a gallant fight :
 22 the fighting peoples did not like to fight them. But the Carthaginians, while patterning after their ancestors in commerce and navigation, were disposed to meet force with force and contest their claims with the Greeks and others.

In early days the Phœnicians made a settlement on the western coast of the island of Sicily. Having been first to colonize there, they had the best claim to the island. The Greeks afterward founded the city of Syracuse, in the eastern part, and in the Greek fashion claimed all the island. When Carthage superseded Phœnicia in the commerce of the western Mediterranean she determined to enforce her claims to all of the island of Sicily.
 664 After a long series of contests the great struggle between Greece and Persia seemed to offer an opportunity, about 480 B.C. But
 670 the Greeks were strong enough to defend themselves in the west as well as in the east, and the Carthaginians were defeated with
 694 great slaughter; that is, their army of mercenaries was almost destroyed: the Carthaginians carried on war for conquest as they did their other business; they hired soldiers and marines and
 286 employed them in fighting for spoils.
 631

758 All the history of the world hangs upon a few threads. Men and undertakings trifling of themselves have been the occasion of the great turning points in history. An example is given in the history of the times now under review. One man in one campaign set in motion the series of events which made and

unmade nations for many centuries. Pyrrhos, king of Epi'ros (Albania), on the eastern coast of the Adriatic, was possessed of great executive ability and military skill, and was also taught in the philosophy which led to unity, and thought that the world should have but one king, and that one himself. He had all the love of adventure of Alexander of Macedon, and if he had also made his wars in the east, or understood the difference between the old east and the young west, he might have been a great conqueror as well as scientific destroyer. He made the mistake of Xerxes; he carried his wars into the west with the idea that the barbarians had nothing and knew nothing. Entering Italy with a considerable army drilled in the Macedonian tactics, and at a time when the Romans had been weakened in a contest with the Carthaginians, he thought to make an easy conquest of Italy, then take Carthage at his leisure, and thus become the greatest monarch since Alexander. But the Romans were not conquerable. They had not had a great war: the little ones with their neighbors had not called for great military skill, and even the first war with Carthage had not been on a great scale. 742

When Purrrhos invaded Italy on the invitation of some Greek colonies, in 280 B.C., the Romans were roused to the height of patriotism. Purrrhos gained victories, but with great loss of his Greek veterans, and the Italians learned from him the art of war. It was apparent that his intention was to use Italy as a base from which to attack Carthage and her possessions, so Carthage and Rome became allies against Purrrhos and the other Greeks. Purrrhos was driven back into Epiros and shortly afterward all the Greek cities and colonies in southern Italy passed under Roman authority.

The Etruscans, in northwestern Italy, were the earliest resident navigators in the Italian seas. They were not naturally warlike, though they were brave, and were the strongest rivals of the Romans. Indeed, they could have destroyed the Romans any time during the first two centuries of Rome if they had exerted their strength. When they had any advantage they would listen to terms of peace, for they were a trading people, and thus Rome was spared to conquer her neighbors.

The victories over the Greeks and the Etruscans, together with their new knowledge of warfare, made the Romans ambitious, and in the year 244 B.C., thirty-four years after the defeat

of Purrhos, the Etruscans were brought under Roman authority. The western Mediterranean was between Rome and Carthage.

196 759 To the other evils of oligarchy must be added those of
348 division and indecision. A rich and powerful class can not agree
161 upon a policy. In Carthage all the aristocracy were ambitious
for wealth and honor, but some wanted peace and some were for
war. There never was a time, however peaceful the relations
419 with other peoples, when there was not a party clamoring for
war, or for preparation for war, and there never was a time when
war was not strongly opposed by another party. Hannibal made
aggressive war against Rome, and when he was in need of arms
752 and men the opposition at Carthage hindered the government
from aiding him. When the Romans carried the war into Africa,
and Hannibal was forced to give up his acquisitions in Italy and
return to defend Carthage, the opposition even then refused sup-
plies and turned upon Hannibal and blamed him with the reverse
of fortune. He was the cause of the misfortune in that he had
attacked Rome, but he had the majority of the aristocracy with
him, or he could not have begun the war. When the Romans
had been satisfied and Carthage was left to arrange her affairs,
Hannibal on his own motion instituted an inquiry into the condi-
581 tion of the public accounts, the taxes and revenues, and learned
654 that the administration had systematically embezzled a large part
of the revenues, so much, in fact, that when he stopped the leaks
the exchequer was in better condition after paying the tribute to
the Romans than though no tribute had been paid and the steal-
ings had continued. The common people were unorganized and
347 knew nothing of the public affairs, there was no tyrant with
authority to control the oligarchy, and each family in the aristo-
cratic circle got all it could and did not dare to entertain charges
against another. Hannibal thought his prestige would sustain
744 him against the resentment of the oligarchy, but he found that
there was one way to unite them, and that was to attack their
privileges and prerogatives. They first tried to poison the public
opinion by charging that he was ambitious to be dictator, and
when this did not succeed, because the army and the common
385 people rather liked the idea of a tyrant in place of the irresponsi-
ble oligarchy, they charged him to the Romans with meditating
745 another war. The Romans were ready to believe this, or one
party at Rome was, and Hannibal had to fly to Asia to save him-

self. This did not save Carthage from suspicion at Rome, however, but rather strengthened the party that wanted Carthage destroyed. So the aristocracy, being divided and not responsible to a tyrant or to the people, by their intrigues brought on the wars and the destruction of Carthage. *Oligarchia carthaginiensis delenda est, devm et hvmanvm nomine.* 763

760 All the writings and records of the Carthaginians having been destroyed by the Romans, not much is known of their government, but from what can be learned from the Romans and the Greeks it seems to have been altogether aristocratic. The Phœnicians had kings and not much government of any kind. But at Carthage the kings or chief rulers had not much power: they were chosen by the aristocracy and could have no control over their creators. The highest offices were put up and sold, but the money paid was under the control of the purchasers and was not used for the common good.

761 The Carthaginians carried their trade much further than the Phœnicians had gone; at least toward the west and the south. 311 They went far south on the Atlantic coast of Africa, as well as to the British Isles, and it is thought even to Iceland. They also organized caravans and established routes in Africa from Egypt west, as the Phœnicians and others had done in Asia. They also 171 went through Spain into Gaul and founded trading routes and stations. In Spain they worked the mines opened by the Phœnicians and opened others. These enterprises were great civilizers, but the benign effect was marred by the grasping nature of the aristocracy and the means they used to obtain monopoly. 302 Treaties made with the Romans and others show that the Carthaginians were ready at all times to form and enforce alliances 315 that would bind the other parties to trade with them only. 793 They wanted monopoly, with or without reciprocity: they were not 405 willing that other trading peoples should have a chance. Their 164 "money" had no intrinsic value, and would be worthless if they 253 could not or would not redeem it, and this was a part of the 746 means employed to force the nations to employ them as merchants and carriers. This was one great and just cause of the 768 Greek hatred. The Greeks were not so fair as the Phœnicians, but fairer than the Carthaginians.

762 In their early days the Phœnicians had slaves, but found 344 that an industrious people had no use for them. They afterward

dealt in them as commodities, bought them from one people and sold them to another, but made or kept none for service among themselves. The Carthaginians restored slavery. They bought and sold slaves and kept them for service in the city and on farms. They also enslaved captives in war, and engaged in kidnapping the black Africans and selling them in Europe. The
 254 Ethiopians were the most valuable slaves on the market, and the
 764 Carthaginians found the trade in them profitable. In every way the Carthaginians were degenerate from their ancestors. And
 622 this, too, before contact with Greeks and Romans: they inherited their institutions from the aristocratic seceders from Tyre.

763 All the institutions of Carthage tended to undo the good work of civilization begun by the Phoenicians. The Phoenician aristocracy had always engaged in industry and commerce. The
 297 rich Tyrian gave his thought to business: he did no manual labor himself, but he watched over his affairs and was not too good to labor if it was necessary, and was in touch with the workmen of
 345 his guild. The rich Carthaginian engaged in esthetic and philosophic studies or spent his time in useless employments, leaving to overseers or agents the conduct of his farm or mine and the collection of revenues. The wealthy employed principally slave labor. Business was conducted on a grander scale, but men who worked became machines, or animals, and there was no community of interest. There were great corporations: capitalists united to control industries and markets. In every way the man at the bottom of the ladder of fortune, though a free citizen, was held to his position: industry, thrift, merit, even genius, could scarcely break through the artificial barriers erected by the aristocracy to
 154 keep themselves up and others down. In the name of gods and
 759 men the Carthaginian oligarchy must be destroyed.

764 As part explanation of or accounting for the degeneration of the Carthaginians from their noble ancestors I must state what
 5 seems to be a natural law. I insert this section somewhat reluctantly, since I do not admit its full force, and would like to deny
 139 it altogether. The Phoenicians, if we consider their neighbors
 405 and opportunities, arrived at about as high a state of goodness as was possible. Not that they were angels such as are supposed to inhabit heaven, but in comparison a people of greatest industry and virtue. Having reached the height of enterprise and
 762 fairness, their successors declined from the paragon which they
 768

had for example. "For goodness, growing to a pleurisy, dies of his own too much." Many a people have risen by slow and steady degrees from despotism and oligarchic misrule to a condition of prosperity. From the worst conditions they start to find a better: they have not an ideal good society or government in view, but an ideal bad state of affairs which must be left behind while they are seeking better conditions. On the other hand, the people who have inherited good institutions keep them in mind while the oligarchic schemers are at work undermining them, and when the evil has gone so far that some of the people begin seriously to feel the changes for the worse the most of them are lulled to quiet by the siren song of the schemers, who never tire of repeating the old patriotic and high-sounding praises of the country and its inhabitants. In the case of the downtrodden the man who aspires to be leader reminds the people of their past and present evils and suggests in plain language the remedy he proposes. In the other case the ornate speaker, the rhetorician, the orator, says little of evils to be corrected, but dilates in a histrionic way and in vague language upon the sufficiency of present and tried policies. He does not propose to improve, to keep up with the times and the needs of the people, but appeals to past prosperity as evidence that no change is needed. He means to make changes if he has the power, but as they will be changes for the benefit of the classes, the oligarchy, he discreetly covers up his intentions in vague and flowery language. Anyway the condition of the common people was very good at Tyre and very bad at Carthage.

765 The Carthaginians too late learned the bitter lesson that business people must not quarrel with their customers; that fair dealing may win, but injury to or repression of a rival will not only exasperate his friends but cause others to suspect; that they injured their own trade when they undertook to injure the trade of others. The Greeks were not the people to let an enemy take territory or trade from them if they could protect it. And when Rome became ambitious, strong and flushed with victory and spoils, she too looked upon Carthage as both a dangerous rival in war and a rich prize for the Roman arms. Rome then cared little for commerce, and Carthage stood before the world in the character of conqueror rather than that of trader.

766 Counting the years of Phœnicia from 2700 B.C. to the

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overthrow by Nebuchadrezzar I. in 585 B.C., the nation lasted 2,100 years. But notwithstanding this and other overthrows the
350 city of Tyre was flourishing when Carthage was obliterated, and continued to flourish till it was 4,000 years old. Yet Tyre was the richest prize to the conqueror and was well known to all peoples. The people were rich, and numerically they were weak. Counting the time of Carthage from 870 B.C., the earliest date
873 admissible, to 146 B.C., when the city was utterly destroyed and no people left to bear the Carthaginian name, it is 704 years.

767 LET US SUPPOSE that after this life there is an accounting of all the deeds done in the flesh, and that the ancient belief of heaven is or was right: that each people has an assigned location in a body, good or bad, relatively, according to their deserts. Let us suppose, then, that the Romans came before the Judge to plead their cause, and that the other peoples preferred the charge that the Romans involved all the world in their ambitious wars and conquests.—The first complaint would be by the tribes in the vicinity of Rome: that they were once free, but ambition led the Romans to subjugate them and force them to obey laws which they had no part in making. The Romans could answer that
731 they were in such company that they must conquer and control or remain barbarians.—The Greeks would rise to say that they had planted colonies in Italy and meant to introduce and spread their superior civilization, but the Romans had forced them to submit to laws made by barbarians with scarcely any refinement or esthetic art. The Romans could answer that the Greeks had ever been a fighting people; that their refined and esthetic society was supported by slaves and spoils and tribute; that the Greeks had come with an army to subdue them, but that instead they
742 were subjugated by the Romans, and ought not now be heard to complain.—The Carthaginians would then be heard, and would move the Judge to give them first place. They would say that the Romans were not minded to make the world civil, but destroyed their more energetic neighbors in Africa. The Romans could answer that before they were sufficiently advanced to take any part in the affairs of nations the Carthaginians forced them to stay at home and trade only with them; that by reason of this inhibition they had no resource but agriculture; that when they got stronger the Carthaginians would yield none of their over-

bearing, monopolizing policy; that if they could have had a chance earlier, before they were forced to build up a military and naval system, they would have been a peaceful people.—Then the Gauls or Celts in western Europe would have a great deal to say. They could draw a horrible picture of sufferings at the hands of the Romans. Their country was visited and overrun without provocation and they were ruthlessly slaughtered. The Romans would here have to make their best defense: the Gauls had attempted to overrun and possess the Roman territories in the days when the Romans had not yet become warriors, and if they had succeeded the Romans would have been blotted out; these same Gauls had then moved on west and dispossessed the prehistoric races, and had suffered only what they had caused others to suffer.—The Carthaginians then, in pressing their own claims, could refer to the improvements given to western Europe. The seas and the ocean had been explored and the benighted inhabitants made acquainted with the highest civilization of the age. The others might in chorus reply that the Carthaginians had been extremely selfish and repressive in that they sedulously endeavored to keep to themselves all the knowledge they had acquired of new lands and coasts, and when others had attempted to be pioneers and discoverers the Carthaginians had fought them back and confined them to their own neighborhood. Romans and Gauls might for the time unite and charge to the Carthaginians that they had been the first civilized people to begin conquest in Gaul for dominion and spoils. The Gauls had followed the gods west in search of a land to occupy and improve; but the Carthaginians undertook the subjugation of the Gauls in Spain when the Gauls were willing to admit them to navigation and trade, even to prospect for mines, and to excavate and work them when found; that the Carthaginians had first taught the western world to disregard the laws and rights of others; that they not only strove to dispossess and enslave the savage and the barbarian but also the civilized neighbors in Italy and Sicily, and they had not treated less ruthlessly other colonies of the Semitic race in Africa and the Mediterranean; that they had the example of their ancestors in the better way of taking only unoccupied lands or islands or making satisfactory terms with the possessors, but instead of profiting by the instruction they had practiced a policy of spoliation and repression of their neighbors and those who might have been peaceable customers and friendly rivals.

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313 768 There is another and the worst charge to be preferred against the Carthaginians. The Semitic knowledge of America was in their keeping. They visited America for some generations, but jealously guarded the knowledge from others. Phœnicia had given the trade west of Carthage to the Carthaginians, and the development of the west was with them. The Greeks had rimy records or tradition, but the Carthaginians had visited South America and knew much of it. Selfishness and jealousy persuaded the aristocracy to compel their people to abandon the trade with America and as far as possible keep the knowledge of the great continent from the other peoples. What the Romans, after amalgamation with the Tuscans, might have done with the knowledge of America, and a little more peaceful turn in their affairs at the critical time, we can not imagine, but few Greeks would have ventured so far. The Carthaginian aristocracy, however, were more jealous of their own subjects than of Greeks and Romans, and stagnated the world in the vain effort to own it.

761 When the Spaniards visited Peru they found the people using fiat money, while gold and silver had little value and were used as other metals in art and industry. This was probably because the Carthaginians had introduced their leather money and accustomed the Peruvians to it until enormous amounts were in circulation and then left off their visits to avoid its redemption. The Peruvians then probably imitated the Carthaginians in issuing fiat money and repudiating it, and did not think of using the world's money again, being shut off from the world.

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509 769 THERE ARE PEOPLE who profess to believe that everything is for the best; that everything will work out right in the end; that "the people" are always right and what they do is right, though individuals may do wrong. Let such read the history from the crippling of Phœnicia by Alexander in 332 B.C. to the peace of 1609 A.D. and ask themselves whether the reign of violence and sloth for more than twenty centuries was suffered for the good of the human race. Let them ask themselves seriously whether this reign of terrible darkness was unavoidable. Nor may they answer that "the people" could not help themselves. After the world had been thrown into a state of war they were almost helpless in the hands of adventurers, but in the beginning
592 the people had much more power than they had afterward, and

in the beginning the people welcomed war and thought only of glory and spoils. And when war became the settled state of the world the people were usually willing to engage in it, though kings and classes oftener made wars for personal ends. During this time of general war and hate millions of people starved to death besides the millions that were killed in battles and feuds and massacres. One people would rejoice when they learned that another was suffering famine and pestilence, and instead of lending a helping hand in time of distress would cut off sources of supply whereby the sufferers might be relieved; and this when the two peoples had no other cause for animosity than prejudice and hope of opportunity for conquest. National prejudice was accompanied by internecine strife and partisan rancor; neighbor was turned against neighbor until human life and property were nowhere safe. Was this surfeit of woe a visitation of Providence? Was Providence chargeable with it? Would Providence visit 297 such calamities upon the innocent? Could all have been guilty and deserving of such punishment? No; man plans his own destiny: he must take the consequences, good or evil; he can not 406 reap wheat where he has sown grass seeds.

The individual is a part of society; the individuals composing society must share the fate of society; they must be honest and refrain from acts that would disturb society in another place, near 92 or distant; for an injury to society in one place is an injury to 25 society in all other places. The Carthaginians made war upon 757 the Greeks in Sicily and upon the Romans in Italian waters. 792 These wars were local, but the Greeks and the Romans were drawn into a struggle for supremacy, and the successful Romans then retaliated upon Carthage; the war fever spread; like a prairie fire set to clear a small plot, it got beyond control and swept over a vast territory, taking everything in its course and burning as long as there was inflammable material within reach. This scourge was a visitation of the consequences of injustice. Men began to oppress each other and began to feel the effects; they did not investigate and stop the oppression, but allowed it to be aggravated, and the evil consequences became greater and more irritating. But Providence did not lead men to acts of oppression. If men had chosen to follow the paths of peace, and do unto others as they would have others do unto them, they would 126 have had prosperity and plenty and the world would have gone

forward instead of backward. If they had given to agriculture the energy they gave to making arms there would have been no occasion for starvation. If they had built merchant ships instead of war ships the food could have been distributed and sold for money or other supplies, and all nations could have been prosperous and peaceful. If the time and means given to the invention of new engines of destruction had been given to inventing new processes and machines for producing the necessities and comforts of life the world could have supported a population ten times as great as it did at any time for twenty centuries, and supported it better than the small population was supported. There
281 would have been no occasion for the barbarous refrain that wars
447 are necessary to kill off the surplus population and keep down
561 the number to what can be supported.

770 Nor may it be said that the "bad element" in society did this great wrong; the "better element" then as now had the controlling interest in affairs; the king, the priest, the statesman, the philosopher and the eminent citizen encouraged war; the pirate, the highway robber, the sneak thief, the anarchist, the vagabond and the slave were not consulted when the question of beginning war was up, and the free working men were of these "bad elements" or subject to military duty with no choice but to obey. The aristocracy went wrong and all suffered the consequences. Carthage and Greece had the highest education, and they began the hostilities. Education, then, is not a bar to bad politics. Education may be on wrong lines and the rising generation may be taught the lessons which will lead inevitably to disruption, and by those who are conscientious and patriotic. The welfare of society is with society, not with government. Society makes government, or should, and considers means for the common welfare. Society chooses its law-makers and directs them in what it wants. If society is intelligent, whether educated or not, it will be fair and harmonious. If society is prejudiced and factious the makers and administrators of law will be cruel and corrupt. Society was divided and inharmonious, and the dark ages
138 resulted. Society may at any time start again on that road.

ROME.

771 **ITALIA** is not nearly so cut up by water and mountain as Greece, yet it is long and narrow, in the shape of a boot, with the Mediterranean and the Adriatic all around except on the north, where the Alps stretch almost from the Gulf of Genoa to the Adriatic. Narrow as the peninsula is, it is divided about the center lengthwise its whole length, including Sicily, which forms the toe of the geographic boot, by the Apennine Mountains. There are also mountain spurs and rivers which further divide the land, and in ancient times made the small communities reasonably safe from attack. There are not many harbors, though a few are good.

772 There is much to show that once the range of mountains running through Italy extended further southward. Also that the other side of the globe, now Siberia, has been in the tropics 130 since any great change has occurred, while the indications on the 217 Italian shores are that the land has been in the arctic cold.

If the changes of the earth's position were slow the prehistoric races were driven northward by the advancing heat of the equator. If there was a violent change the inhabitants were probably destroyed and the Pelasgi and other prehistoric races must have come from the east in the usual and natural course of migration. This is self-evident: the land to the west of Italy would move south; the temperate zone would be carried to the equator or south of it, and the land left in the temperate zone would be fresh 74 from the arctic regions.

773 The name Italia came from a tribe called Italii, in the southern part. They were a barbaric people, while the most forward were the Etruscans. Another people mentioned favorably was the Venetian, on the Adriatic. There were many small tribes, separate and distinct in their characteristics before any

immigrants are known to have come from the east, or before the arrival of the energetic immigrants who made for civilization.

774 Of Rome nothing is known before the time of Rom'ulus, and his origin, even his existence, is questioned. One thing is sure, there was a beginning. If tribal existence and development were not necessary to account for the presence of the Romans in the historic age, modern critics, until very recently, would have denied the whole fabric of tradition as preserved by the Latins.

775 Names, dates and events have been considered uncertain until the time of Cato, who died in the year 149 B.C. He was the first to write in the Latin language. But the researches of archæologists, the discoverers and restorers of the history and monuments of forgotten peoples, have placed the tradition upon at least as good a standing as the accepted history. So far is this true that with the findings of twenty years the present books will be out of date, as most books now ten years old are.

776 In the Roman commonwealth the family was the unit; the individual had no standing. The paterfamilias was supreme head of all that lived under his roof or in his tribe. His sons in his life never ceased to be infants. Grandchildren owed allegiance to the paterfamilias; their father and mother being infants, they were infants in respect to parents and also to the paterfamilias. The slaves were for the service of the family, but were actually the property of the paterfamilias. There were free people, afterward called plebes, who had no family. They were not subject
352 to any particular paterfamilias, but must be under the protection of one, and while living in a family they and theirs were subject. The pleb must fight for the family at the demand of his patron. This was a good arrangement in the tribal state.

156 777 Each family being a kingdom on a small scale, an absolute monarchy, the paterfamilias was priest as well as king. The
319 family had its altar at which the chief presided as priest. If he offered prayer or sacrifice to obtain favor with the god of the
570 family all the members were supposed to say amen. Each family had its private god, and in the apartment devoted to worship were preserved busts, artificial faces or mementoes of departed chiefs. It is related that at funerals the members of the family wore the faces of deceased members, so that it was made to seem that the long deceased were themselves present to conduct the

funeral of the newly deceased. On such occasions the history of the family was rehearsed, and thus the traditions were preserved. At these funeral orations it was not customary to allow members of other families, so that each family was able to encourage its members to noble deeds without exciting envy from others. It has been remarked that the Italians did not often speak of death, but used other expressions, and inferred that it was because the future was dark and hideous. The use of the faces and other appearances of the departed were rather to show that in their minds there was no such idea as death. What seemed the end of life was only a change: the spirit was not dead, though it had departed, had left its material habitation, and was not only sensible of these marks of respect but able to assist its human friends. The faith and sincerity of these barbarians gave way to philosophy in historic time, and the terms to denote change and departure were probably then used in cowardice, but they were used in faith to express conviction by the barbarian.

778 From these conditions in Italy arose the organization of families that resulted in the Roman people and government. Some tribes or families came into close neighborhood and it was necessary to have some kind of understanding among them. To unite the families would not answer. The families must maintain their separate existence and government, but there must be a king, a priest, or an association of chiefs, to settle disputes between families. An association of chiefs, however, could not administer justice. There must be one man with the right and duty of exercising authority for all concerned. Thus a king was elected or acknowledged. The families being religious, it would easily and naturally follow that the king should also be priest for the kingdom, as the paterfamilias was for the family. We can easily see how these organizations probably occurred in Italy, and that they were different from the beginnings in Greece, where the customs were direct from the seats of civilization and only slightly modified by the prehistoric institutions. In Italy the immigration was slower, and scattered, and when the time came for organization the new people were barbarian in habits, though retaining their traditions. 539

779 Religion is a Latin word, and was constructed from two simple words or roots in this prehistoric age. It was constructed to supply a need, to define an idea. It was used in its primary

184 or real meaning. It has in modern times come to mean practi-
 742 cally nothing, and does harm by supplying the place of a term
 which might define the idea of worship as now entertained by
 most people. In the times when the word was constructed the
 same person was chief ruler and high priest. There was a league
 or contract between him and his subject-chiefs. He engaged as
 395 king to protect his people from enemies, and as priest he engaged
 to ascertain the will of the gods of the tribe and in all things see
 158 that their demands were satisfied, that they might watch over
 367 their people faithfully. The king-priest was to be protector from
 all harm, and for this he was to have the submission of his sub-
 jects. Religion, then, meant all the phases of the relations of
 protector and protected. The agreement from the secular view
 was a *ligio* or binding; from the superstitious view it was a *re-
 ligio* or binding again: there was a two-fold agreement. *Ligio*
 may have referred to the agreement between the people and the
 king and *re-ligio* to that between the families or kingdom and
 the gods. Or *ligio* may have meant the league between the
 family and its god and *re-ligio* the additional league between all
 the families and all of their gods, the *ligio* of the commonwealth.
 This is very probable; for there was a *ligio* before there was a *re-
 ligio*, and the *re-ligio* suggested its name; whereas there would
 not be a *ligio* between the *paterfamilias* and the family and after-
 ward a *re-ligio* between him and the family god. Then *ligio*
 meant the worship or cult of the family, in the family apartment,
 while *re-ligio* meant that of all the families in the temple of the
 tribe or nation, under supervision of the king-priest.

780 The beginning having thus been made by the union of
 families, growth was natural. Other families, being single and
 weak, were added by subjugation or treaty. Immigration added
 to the number of people and to the variety of ideas and employ-
 ments. Whether the immigrants settled as families or became
 plebs, or slaves, they would change the manners of the old stock.

781 This seems to have been the course of events in Italy.
 There was not a policy: everything was for temporary advantage
 or purpose. There was no thought of founding a great nation:
 every new opportunity or necessity for enlarging the boundary
 was a surprise. Some families and some tribes were subjugated
 by the Romans and treated with rigor; others, taken in the same
 way, were given a share in the government. Some who were

admitted by treaty were allowed to become a component part of the Roman people, while others were denied citizenship. The whims of the Romans could be ascertained only by actual experience. One habit of the Romans was invariable: they would not make peace while they were losers in the war.

782 The Roman priesthood was subordinate to the military and civil power at an early date and so remained throughout the life of Rome. Sometimes political hacks and friends of politicians were given high offices in the priesthood, and sometimes these offices were stepping stones to ambitious adventurers, but the Roman priesthood was as little mischievous as any unless it was the Greek, which was always quiet and retiring. 801

783 There was one god whose worship differed from all the rest. Saturn was represented as a man of great piety and justice; under him there was an age of felicity; when as yet there were no laws, no servitude, no separate property; when the earth yielded everything spontaneously for the good of man. He brought mankind from their foul and savage way of feeding to a mild and rational diet. He was usually represented as an old man with a scythe, teaching to sow and reap, yet was supposed to be capable of returning to childhood.

One writer, Martial (40-104 A.D.), speaks of him as a *great king of a prior world*. The notions of his great antiquity, his returning to childhood, the keys in his hand, the snake forming a circle and ready to bite its tail, his connection with symbols of both land and water travel, lead me to believe that the Romans traced his individuality to a great king that had ruled in those parts many thousand years before their time, when the wave of civilization of that time was over Italy, called by another name, but a name yet preserved in mythology. As the energetic races moved westward his memory was venerated, and when the immigrants returned through Asia to Italy they found the barbarians worshipping their god Saturn, not necessarily under the same name, for he is sometimes confounded with Janus. These two races, the new and the old, could learn from the Egyptian priests the true genealogy of Saturn, and the two traditions were thus probably united, making it easy to add the idea of rejuvenation. 531 3 123 329 236 241 305

784 There is another tradition that might be explained by this theory. Notwithstanding the good character given to the aged god it is said that he had a habit of eating his children. He had

119 wounded and dethroned his father Heaven (his mother was
 278 Earth) and had a prescience that a like fate awaited him when a
 son was grown up, and he eat his sons as they were born, that he
 might not be superseded. But his wife Rhea saved the infant
 279 Jupiter and gave Saturn instead a stone. This is probably his-
 tory in the guise of mysticism. Some event was the occasion of
 the custom of sacrificing children. This sacrifice was provided in
 282 the Mosaic code. Before Saturn's worship got back to Italy this
 was abandoned. In the case of Abraham and Isaac a sheep was
 substituted, but in India and Asia Minor a stone.

785 Like all the other principal gods, Saturn was connected
 with the Sun. His great feast occurred at the time now called
 449 Christmas, and was to celebrate the same season, the turning of
 the Sun in his course from the earth. The festival lasted seven
 days, and Rome gave up to joy unconfined. Wine and wit were
 free and everybody tried to do honor to the occasion. These are
 the occasions that knit a people together in religion, patriotism
 and social confidence. The Saturnalia made Rome, then helped
 to destroy it.

In worshipping their other gods the Romans veiled their faces,
 but they approached Saturn unveiled. They were familiar with
 him: he was an old acquaintance.

154 786 The Germans were of Skythic origin, if not pure Skyths.
 They inherited the traditions and customs of the Skythians of
 Asia. Yet they brought with them to Europe a knowledge of
 Saturn. They called him Seatur. They represented him stand-
 ing upon a fish with a wheel in one hand and in the other a
 vessel of water filled with fruits and flowers. He was to them a
 leader by land and water, leading them around the earth, teach-
 ing them to cultivate the earth and sail on the seas.

In Greece Saturn was called Kronos. In Italy he was also
 called Sator, which name came from Egypt, where it was Sait-
 224 Our. Upper Egypt was called Sait after him.

787 The site of Rome was not chosen for its adaptability, but
 from necessity: it was the best in the possession of the founders.
 Their successors, before historic times, did wonders in cutting
 through rocky hills and filling valleys to make roads to the sea-
 port and into the country in all directions. Aqueducts brought
 water in rivers, and the sewers arched with hewn stone were like
 underground thoroughfares. In the early times there was not

much endeavor to make the city beautiful; streets were narrow and crooked and the houses so poorly built that they often fell.

788 ABOUT 406-396 B.C. the Romans gained a victory over the Etruscans. While the Gauls menaced the northern parts of Tuscany the Romans besieged and took the important city of Veii, near Rome. The citizens of Veii could not alone defend themselves and the strength of the rest of Tuscany was not sufficient to stay the Gallic invaders. The gain by Rome, however, resulted in far greater loss, for the time. The Etruscans being too weak to resist them, the Gauls pushed through their territory and took Rome (390 B.C.). Their march could not be stayed here: they went all the length of Italy to the southern coast and then returned, destroying improvements and exacting ransoms. The Romans lost heavily, but all others lost in proportion, and the Roman power was fated to be the ultimate gainer. Everything seemed to work for Rome. 414
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789 It was during this war against Veii that the army was placed upon a permanent footing. Previously the whole people were organized into militia and levies were made each time an army was wanted for a campaign. When the campaign was ended, or always at the end of the season, the army was disbanded. Their neighbors had a like custom. Now the Roman armies were made permanent and taxes were levied to pay and supply them. The change wrought also a great political reform. All men liable to military duty had been organized, and these military organizations had been recognized as "the people." To them had been submitted all political and constitutional questions for decision, whether for the time the patrician element was supreme or whether, as at some periods, the plebeians exercised a share in the government. These organizations now changed their nature from militia to civic bodies possessed of all the political power of the state.

790 At all times the greatest danger to Rome was from her own citizens. When the Romans were united and harmonious they were invincible: even in defeat they were powerful; they could gather their strength and strike decisive blows when their enemies thought them destroyed. But as soon as the alien foe was disposed of the domestic quarrel raged. The patrician class was heartless. There was no form of oppression that they were 575

not always ready to adopt. There was no choice for the plebes
 166 but to fight the patricians or be their abject slaves.

After the destruction of the city by the Gauls the patricians united to oppress the plebes and take all the land and property in both city and country. If we can trust the history obtainable the plebes were allowed to use materials wherever found for one year, but the work could not be done in one year, and some money or its equivalent must be borrowed. The scheme was to seem to encourage the unfortunates to build for themselves when the patricians intended to confiscate the improvements and the land as well, under legal pretexts of which the plebes were ignorant. Those of the plebes who suspected the intentions of the patricians remained outside the city, mostly at Veii. Those who built houses in the city were ready to revolt, and the patricians were not willing to abate any of their demands. Marcus Manlius interested himself and tried to reconcile the classes, but the patricians wanted no reconciliation, and killed him. Licinius Stolo, a consul (376 B.C.), sought to give relief, and among other things proposed that all payments of usury should be applied to the payment of the principal; that is, that usury should be abolished. To provide present means of living to the poor and prevent a recurrence of unavoidable poverty he "made a law" that the public lands (those taken by conquest) should be subject to entry and settlement; that no man should be permitted to own or control more than 500 iugera (300 acres), and that farms should not be cultivated by slave labor alone. There were not then any lands affected by the "law," or none which the patricians cared
 623 for, and slaves were not yet numerous in Roman territories, so
 806 this did not excite opposition from the patricians.

Manlius was a patrician and Stolo a plebeian. Some patricians were poor and some were fair and patriotic, but the latter were hated by the rigid patricians with an intense hatred. When I say that the patricians were heartless I use that word because I can not find a stronger one. They were so selfish and bigoted that words fail in the attempt to do them justice. They deserve
 574 any vile epithet but that of anarchist. They were not anarchists.
 15 They had a holy respect for the laws which they made, and were
 796 content with the laws made by the more respectable plebeians if they could have the administration of them.

791. About 343 B.C. two Roman armies were sent into Cam-

pania, in west-central Italy, to help the Campanians against the Samnites, neighbors to the east in the mountains. The Campanians volunteered to become allies and help to subjugate the Samnites. The Romans undertook this war with enthusiasm, but the oppression of the patricii in the absence of the plebes in the army became so great that the soldiers returned to Rome to fight their real enemies. The plebes would now listen to nothing but the granting of their demands, and the law of Licinius was enforced, in appearance at least, and temporarily. The plebs had forced some respect from the nobles: they had been admitted to eligibility to all the public offices except that of senator; they had secured the abolition of an old law that forbade marriages between patricians and plebes: now they secured a provision that while both the consuls might be plebes, both could not be patricians.

792 In 304 B.C. the Samnites were subjugated. They were in south-central Italy and had been greatly benefited from trade with the Phœnicians and connexion with the Greeks. They were called Greeks. The Samnites did not submit tamely, but soon afterward drew into an alliance against Rome almost all the rest of Italy. In addition to the forces thus secured an army under Pyrrhus came from Greece (282 B.C.). The Greeks were the best soldiers in the world. The Romans were several times defeated, but Pyrrhus wasted his army gaining glorious victories, and his skilled soldiers could not be replaced. While the Romans were losing battles they were learning the science of war.

793 It was Pyrrhus who introduced the Greeks and the Carthaginians to the Romans. The Greek colonies in Italy had had little to do with other Greeks politically, and though the Carthaginians had long warred with the Sicilian Greeks they had had no wars with Romans or other Italians, so far as the records show, though there are remains of treaties unfavorable to Rome, indicating a struggle at some earlier time. Pyrrhus espoused the cause of the Italian Greek colonies and their allies, and when he had been almost ruined and had become despondent he went on invitation to help the Syracusans in their struggle against the Carthaginians and their Sicilian allies. Rome and Carthage were thus naturally made allies against Pyrrhus. The Carthaginians drove him out of Sicily and the Romans did not let him tarry in Italy. When the Greeks were forced to surrender all control in

Italy (265 B.C.) the Romans were left in possession from the Macra River (between Liguria and Etruria) to the Strait of Messina.

794 This period in the history of Rome is the happiest. The plebeians had arrived at their greatest freedom and respect, and had not begun to degenerate into lazzaroni. The barriers between plebes and patricii had apparently been broken down. A pleb might now enter the senate, and there is no question but a few rich plebes did. The new provinces opened to settlement afforded lands to the landless and there was employment for the industrious. If the Romans could have enjoyed their possessions without coveting the rest of the earth, and if the rest of the world had been willing to do likewise, the Romans might have had a long season of peace and prosperity. But those that take up the sword shall feel the keen edge of the sword.

795 The title of "citizen of Rome" now meant much, though just what it meant to an individual in a certain locality and under certain conditions it may be hard to say. Every Roman was proud of the name Roman. Already the civilized world began to respect the name, and this respect grew with every generation.

796 THE FIRST WAR WITH CARTHAGE was begun by a sudden attack, and without warning, upon the Carthaginians and Greeks in Sicily, about the year 264 B.C. After a year or so the Greeks, with their capital at Syracusæ, made peace with Rome and left the Romans and the Carthaginians to fight it out. The war continued without intermission for twenty-four years, but there is little to interest the reader who is not an admirer of brute force, courage and slaughter. The results are all that pertain to this story. The scene of war was first in Sicily; then the Romans built a fleet and carried the war into Africa, into the rich country where Carthaginian wealth had turned barren waste and savage wilderness into the finest cultivated country the world had seen. The Semitics had expended all their military care upon the city of Carthage, had forbidden their subjects and dependents all defenses, so that there was no walled city or other fortification to hinder the Aryans from ravaging the country. The Carthaginians had employed mercenary soldiers, and were now no match for the Romans. They had the best war vessels yet built, and thought it would be useless for the rude Romans to attempt any-

thing on the water, yet ingenuity, original wit, led the Romans to build out of green wood and with inferior tools a new kind of vessel with which they were soon masters of the sea. Yet the war was protracted through delays and miscalculations until the Carthaginians found a general, Hamil'car, who was able to win victories and turn the tide against the Romans. He carried the war back to Italy. This turn of fortune was a result of incompetency of Roman navigators, fleets being lost in storms and in other natural ways. Then Rome made one supreme effort and brought the Carthaginians to ask for terms. The treaty of peace gave to Rome Sicily and other islands near her shore. Carthage paid heavy indemnity also, and Rome was left mistress of the Mediterranean. Rome did not include Sardinia in the treaty: the patricians wanted that to stand in reserve while they parted Sicily. When they had secured Sicily they quietly divided Sardinia. And then Corsica. 790

797 Between the first and second Punic wars there was an interregnum of twenty-two years. How did the two nations fare during the peace? There had been constant military operations for nearly a generation, and the immense number of men in the armies had forgotten the ways of peace. To disband the armies would be worse than to keep them employed and in pay. 162

798 The Carthaginians had no use for an army: they were prohibited by the treaty from making war without the consent of Rome. The conscienceless oligarchy, moreover, refused to pay the wages due the mercenaries and muster them out of service, but huddled them into a by-town and left them to starve. The mercenaries chose leaders, made war upon Carthage, and did almost as much damage as the Romans had done. When the mercenary war was ended Hamilcar was made general and sent into Spain to build up a country that would be a base of operations in a future contest with Rome. 759

799 Rome did not disband her armies. She had use for them. They went north and subjugated the Etruscans and the Gauls as far as the Alps. They went across the Adriatic and with the aid of the navy made great inroads into Greek territory. Rome made so great an impression that she was already able to arbitrate in Greek quarrels. Wherever the Roman arms went roads were made, the best roads the world had seen, so that from the capital of each province there was a public highway to Rome. 163 765

In the seas around Italy the pirates were exterminated, not in the interest of navigation and commerce, but in furtherance of Roman supremacy: nothing was allowed to hinder what Rome licensed: nothing was allowed to exist but by Roman license. Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica were each placed under the government of a proconsul who received authority and instructions from the senate. Sicily and much of the other islands were given up to rich slave owners, who purchased the slaves taken in the wars and wore them out. The Romans wanted the conquered lands
767 for colonies, and had no other use for the conquered races of all classes and conditions but to sell them to the highest bidders and turn the revenues into the treasury of the senate. To encourage high prices for the slaves the senate surrendered to the masters all control over them, and the masters hired hardened characters for overseers and colonized the slaves to get the greatest returns.

In this Rome had great glory, and has since been extolled by those who admire glory. Rome patrolled the earth, forcing the peoples to equality and common interest, and this was a good thing to do; and if it could have been done in no other way this
261 way was justifiable. There was a better way, but the peoples had sneered at it, and now were suffering the penalty of exclusiveness, bigotry, narrowness, dishonesty, robbery, piracy, prejudice, self-elevation, oppression—in a word, inhumanity. Those
304 who had not admitted visitors to their country had been driven
25 in herds through strange lands to the slave market at Rome. Those who had been cruel masters now served cruel masters.

800 We may imagine the difference in civilization had the Etruscans instead of the Romans taken and held the lead in Italian affairs. The Etruscans were stronger than any other Italic people, and had the best government. They once controlled nearly all the northern part of Italy, as far south as Rome. The Etruscan civilization is supposed to date as far back as 1400 B.C. It had some resemblance to the Phoenician, to the Assyrian and
305 to the Egyptian, though in many respects it was unique. It has
531 by some been supposed that early migrants settled here and mixed with a branch of the Pelasgic race that was found in
534 Greece, and which is known to have moved westward about the time of Semitic immigration into Hellas. However this may be, at the earliest mention of the Etruscans they were possessed of many industries and a foreign trade and navigation. They made

excellent pottery and remarkable masonry, and were first to use fortifications in war, as distinguished from the walling of cities. They erected towers on the coast and invented trumpets, which they sounded in the towers to warn pilots, keeping persons in the towers for this purpose, and probably were thus the originators of lighthouses. It is not probable that they were the first to use towers for this purpose, but when they began the practice it was new in the Mediterranean. Their trumpets were of metal; others had used horns and shells. The towers were called Tur-Aini, and the country Tur-Ainia, from the name of their god Jupiter or Saturn, and from this came the other name for the people, Tur-rhenians.

801 These lighthouses, as with the Phœnicians and other seafaring peoples, were temples, in the charge of priests. The Tyr-rhenian priesthood was probably as intimately connected with navigation and industry as any other except the Phœnician. It must be apparent to the reader that much depended upon the priesthood. The priests could lead their people to industry, navigation or other peaceful pursuits, or they could lead them to sloth or war, or encourage them to it. It has always been thus. The priest has greater responsibility than any other citizen. He can have control, or he may neglect his duty and allow others to lead his people into wrong. The Etruscan priests seem to have been alive to duty.

802 There was some friendship between the Etruscans and the very early Romans, because of the trade of the former with other Italic peoples. This peaceful habit of barter and exchange was the real civilizer, the only civilizer, in Italy, as otherwheres. In recent times, since the era of investigation and recovery of buried monuments and history, many plausible theories of the beginning and growth of Italic society and government have been put forth by scholars and ingenious thinkers. I have given the best of these theories, but think that they lack the vital element. I can not believe that human beings can be drawn together and held in peace and civil respect by any other tie than self-interest and exchange of benefits. Society can not be cemented together by a government of force or military or class despotism, nor can it be held by such means when the benefits that accrue from free exchange of commodities are withdrawn. There may be submission to force: there may be a mistake in diagnosing the evils

489 that cause discontent, as when a man gets toothache from wet and cold feet and treats his head, where the pain is, without a thought for his neglected feet, where lies the cause: but when exchanges are obstructed, or where for any reason they do not take place naturally and freely, there can be no community of interest, but instead a savage and repellent disposition.

The barbarians of Italy needed society and government, but they could not invent the institutions that would bring them; these must come by gradual growth, and there must be object-lessons and soothing influences to lead the barbarians to forget the old ways and learn new ones. Even a barbarian would appreciate an instrument which would enable him to do more work, and a vessel that would hold his liquid food, or one in which he might cook his food. When a friendly stranger offered him a bargain in a trade he would not stop to think that the trade was more profitable to the stranger: to him it was very profitable, and he would be grateful. With the benefits from the trade of the Tyrrhenians the barbarians would be more tractable, knowing that if they killed or robbed the visitors they would be deprived of the trade. The Tuscans also understood that trade was more profitable and satisfactory than military conquest and control, hence followed a policy of peace.

803 At least one of the early kings of Rome was an Etruscan, and there is no doubt that the two peoples visited each other and profited by the interchange of ideas as well as of commodities. The Romans admitted that they received from the Etruscans "their augury, their religious ritual, their robes and other insignia of office, their games and shows, their early architecture and masonry, their calendar, their weights and measures, their land surveying," etc. When Etruria came under Roman domination her arts and industries were destroyed. Some day the researches may discover the origin of this interesting people. It may happen unexpectedly. Yucatan and Java have not been worked.

804 THE SECOND PUNIC WAR began in 219 B.C. and lasted eighteen years. This time actual hostilities were begun by Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, though it made little difference who began, when war was inevitable. Hannibal is the prominent figure in this war. He was one of the greatest generals of the world. Scipio, who at the last beat him, was not so great a gen-

eral: he had the advantage of the misfortunes of Hannibal and the driveling policy of the aristocracy at Carthage. Hannibal was the only great general the Carthaginians ever had, though his father Hamilcar was a good one. But the only question now is, how much evil was done; for there was no good to be done.

805 The Romans were a hard set to deal with, yet it is hard to believe that they were worse than the Assyrians. The Tyrians were content to submit to the Assyrians, and prospered until 285 their utter destruction was undertaken, when they made a good 294 fight, in self-defense. If the Tyrians had had a great general like Annibal they might have made Assyria feel the force of the arms of mercenaries, but they would not march away from their own little territory to find an enemy. I can not but believe that such a policy would have been as successful at Carthage. If the Carthaginians had never had a war vessel I believe that the city would have lasted longer and been more prosperous. If they had been only a trading nation they might have invited the covetousness of the Romans, but this would have been a mild kind of invasion. Annibal was the aggressor, and played the part of a Tiglath-Pileser or an Assur-bani-pal. He marched an army over the Alps, from Spain into Italy, a feat that was thought impossible, and still looks impracticable. His skill well nigh wrought the ruin of Rome directly, and indirectly did ruin it: the political and social evils were so intensified that remedy was impossible. As hard as Annibal pushed Rome, so much harder were the terms of peace when Rome could dictate them. 162 294

806 About the year 177 B.C. the foreign wars were brought to a close and a peace of about twenty years ensued. Rome was left to suffer the ravages of peace, as disastrous to her citizens as her conquests had been to many of the conquered. While the wars were in progress the Roman youth were enlisted. First there was a dearth of labor; then the captives were brought in and sold into slavery; the slave market was overstocked in the eagerness to get the high prices; the price of slaves fell; lastly, when the Roman soldiers returned they found their places in all the occupations taken by the slaves they had made. The land 162 was smiling and happy and the peaceful citizens were elated: the battle-scarred veterans, proud of the battles they had won, were not wanted, were not needed; their presence was dreaded. This was a natural course. If this result had been foreseen it was by

574 the aristocracy and a few rich plebes who used the occasion to
790 ally themselves with the old patrician families. Contrary to the
752 laws the aristocracy held large tracts of land which were cultivated by slave labor.

807 In Sicily (134 B.C.) there was a rising of the slaves and free workers in a common cause, and 300,000 men were in open
816 rebellion for two years. The aristocracy in Italy were threatened with a like rebellion. They could not rely upon the army; the soldiers in arms would not fight to reduce their late comrades and their kindred to slavery.

808 In this emergency Tiberius Gracchus, one of the tribunes
553 (133 B.C.), proposed to take from the landholders the land unlawfully held and make a division among the poor and landless.
370 The aristocracy would not yield. There were ten tribunes, each
463 having a veto power, and one of them, Octavius, interposed his veto, and the proposition to violate the "vested rights" was dead.

809 Readers of Roman history generally express strong opinions on this incident. Gracchus is charged with communism and demagogery or exalted as the champion of law and order. But it is a case on which judgment should be passed with great caution. The Roman people—the plebeians—with political power
504 in their hands, had allowed this state of affairs to mature. While the Roman arms were successful and the spoils and tribute were making the soldiers and the free citizens prosperous they did not care if a few were acquiring control of the avenues to power and wealth: they did not look around them, but thought that each batch of captive slaves made them richer and stronger. Glory and excitement shut their eyes to the trend of affairs at home. When there were no more wealthy countries to be despoiled the common people awoke to the fact that they had lost their own country. The soil was in possession of an insatiable aristocracy.
344 Slaves, where treated at all well, were in better plight than the
546 free and enfranchised plebes. Three generations at least had winked at violation of the agrarian laws.

810 When Octavius stood out against the measures of Gracchus there were only two courses left for the champion of the plebes: to raise a tumult and oust Octavius or wait until the next election and take chances on securing ten tribunes who would be favorable to the enforcement of law. The latter course would usually be preferable, but here it was not practicable. The need

for action was urgent. Several hundred thousand persons in Rome alone were at the point of starvation and ready to enforce the law notwithstanding the anarchist Octavius. To wait would be as dangerous as to proceed irregularly against Octavius, since there was not only the danger from insurrection in the meantime but a probability that in the election at least one tribune unfavorable to law would be chosen and the plebes be defeated again, when bloody revolution could not be longer averted. So Tiberius Gracchus appealed to the people to fight anarchy with anarchy by deposing Octavius, and the people in their constitutional assemblies willingly obeyed their leader. The tribes then by vote declared for distribution of land. 553

Gracchus, his brother Caius Gracchus and father-in-law Appius Claudius were intrusted with the division. This was a hard task. The anarchistic aristocrats made all the opposition possible, and the disinherited plebes wanted much more than they could get. Tiberius proposed to use the wealth of the kingdom of Pergamus, one of the recent acquisitions of the Roman arms, to provide the new and pauper landholders with means to stock their farms. The aristocrats were not averse to despoiling the treasury of Pergamus, but were unwilling that the plebeians and veterans should have the benefit: they wanted it themselves. Gracchus also wanted to extend the franchise and rights of citizenship to all inhabitants of Italy. 574 622

When the time came for another election the aristocrats used all means to secure the defeat of Gracchus, and when they saw that he would be successful they assassinated him and his nearest followers. 574

811 Caius Gracchus was in Sardinia. After the death of his brother he returned to Rome and took charge of the distribution of the lands, and carried the work forward faster than had Tiberius. In addition, to relieve actual distress, he provided granaries at which corn was sold at half the usual price, and to those who were unable to pay it was given free. This was the most calamitous thing ever done at Rome. The really destitute who had been willing to earn their bread were now made helpless paupers. The country around was relieved of its idle masses and Rome was filled with them. These indigents became the property of the politicians who bought their votes and in turn made fortunes by robbing the state and the tributary provinces. Caius sought 584 823 821

to relieve the congestion of idle paupers by sending out colonies to territories conquered and depopulated, but the idlers were not anxious to leave for new countries where they would have to rely upon their individual exertions, and in place of those who did leave Rome there were recruits from outside and additions
846 by birth, so that the numbers grew; also the turbulence.

812 THE ROMANS were once on the way to fair government. The plebeians had wiped out all class distinctions. If there had been then a long interregnum of peace they might have had their own. What would be the history of the world had this happened? We can not imagine. Taking note of the prejudices and narrow dispositions of the peoples at that time, the oligarchies and despotisms of the east and the barbarism of the west, it is hard to form an opinion and assume that the world would have acted more sensibly than it did. If Rome could have been firm and strong, yet more humane—if she could have governed her own people and been a model of order while exercising power and authority over other peoples—certainly she would have been a great power for good, and she must have been immensely more prosperous as well as more peaceful. But when the plebeians were ready to reform abuses at Rome and demand and get a share of the benefits of the wars and the sacrifices they had made for their country, then it was that the aristocracy took a tack and started a policy that should forever make equitable conditions impossible. To rid the city of the idle hordes—idle because all opportunities were closed to them by the slave masters who had
577 “acquired” the land as fast as conquered—to get rid of them new wars were planned. New armies were organized, at lower wages now, because men were desperately indigent, and further conquests were entered upon. Cato (150 B.C.) had a daily habit of repeating in the senate, “Carthage must be destroyed—blotted from the face of the earth.” Other senators and those who were in the way to receive a great share of spoils or employment in an official capacity in the conquered provinces worked up sentiment for other wars. These same vagabonds who were ready for riot were sent out to depopulate other lands to be given to favorites of the senators. These poor Roman citizens were to subjugate and make slaves, that the landlords might have them to cultivate their princely possessions.

813 While the Roman armies were carrying out the will of their masters in Greece, Egypt and Asia Minor, the final and complete destruction of Carthage was begun in 149 B.C. This 500 occupied three years, not because of equality of forces, but the senate made no effort to accomplish the work sooner. They knew that Carthage would be theirs, and sent such forces as they wished to keep out of the city. When Carthage was destroyed other employment would have to be found for the soldiers.

814 Notwithstanding the much that is known of the Romans of these times, that which is not given, and can not be supplied, is much more, and would if known be more interesting to us. We know that the people were divided into families and clans; that these groups made up the state; that there was rivalry among the members in the groups and rivalry among the groups; that the groups fought for honors and spoils, and the members of the groups looked to their leaders for supplies; that occasionally there was a patriotic faction that sought to reform the administration and restore justice, while the majority were for spoils, however obtained, and the reformers were destroyed, with their clans; that the defeat and unpopularity of a clan was almost as disastrous to it as subjugation was to a foreign foe. But we do not know the private life of any class of citizens; their social relations; how the women fared when the men were forced into the army, were killed in riots, banished suddenly, or fled to escape death. We can understand how a great number of men might risk everything and suffer the worst without affecting the daily life of the people in so great a city as Rome already was; but these men usually had families. These disturbances were frequent and great numbers of women and children must have been left without male protectors. Were they received into other clans and provided for, or were they made slaves? Or did they join the army of domestics, that class that stood in rank between plebes and slaves? There are instances of mothers who had means raising their boys and preparing them for active politics, and it may be inferred that less favored mothers served as domestics and raised their boys to be free citizens, plebs. But at every turn in the political tide, spite of all the chances and heroic struggles, there were very many women and children left with no honorable means of support. There were a few factories, but they were controlled absolutely by the clans, and only men were 824 employed.

547 815 ABOUT 113 B.C. OCCURRED one of the unaccountable peri-
 odic movements of the Scythians toward the west and south.
 153 Centuries before this time the Skythians moved down into Asia.
 Now apparently the same hordes were present to harass the
 southrons of central and western Europe. From Italy to the
 873 Atlantic the Cimbri, the Teutones, the Germani and other races
 of Scyths, as if by concert of action, attempted to move their
 families and effects into the southern lands and dispossess the
 claimants. The Romans at first thought little of the danger, but
 after the defeat of several armies they perceived that their best
 energies must be taxed. It took thirteen years to destroy the
 Barbarian armies and reestablish the boundaries. The net result
 of these wars was the lessening of the number of enfranchised
 citizens, as well as of the allies and dependents in Italy and the
 provinces, and a great increase in the number of slaves, as all the
 prisoners were as usual sold into slavery. This of course made
 prospects better for aristocracy and worse for the plebeians.

816 The great addition to the number of slaves brought down
 their market value again, and, their lives not being worth much,
 they were worked hard, poorly fed and not cared for. So bad
 807 was their condition in Sicily that, hopeless as was their cause,
 they rose in revolt. They were much more numerous than their
 masters and the free citizens, and assistance had to be sent from
 Rome. This servile war lasted three years.

817 AN ATTEMPT BY THE ARISTOCRACY to regain the political
 and judicial supremacy the patricii had once enjoyed by disfran-
 823 chising the plebes brought on a civil war in 90 B.C., and all the
 Italians took a part. The people outside of Rome organized a
 826 confederacy to overthrow the Roman government and establish
 an Italian confederacy instead: one in which all the Italic prov-
 inces would have equal rights and opportunities, with a repre-
 sentative senate chosen by the votes of all the free citizens of
 Italy. This war was successful. The Romans were not sub-
 dued, but to save themselves they had to make concessions that
 were practically a surrender. The senatorial party did not grant
 this demand willingly, though there was in Rome a strong party
 favorable to the change. The war ended in 88 B.C. The meas-
 ure granting the suffrage to the Italians was called the Julian law.
 The Roman army in this war was composed mostly of subjects
 from provinces outside of Italy!

818 The newly enfranchised citizens outnumbered the old, and the aristocratic party wanted to distribute or district them in such manner among the old tribes that they could not be of service to the popular party. When this was strenuously opposed by the popular party the aristocracy raised another civil war. An ordinary commotion, such as had sufficed to cause rioting at Rome, would not now reach the new citizens throughout Italy, and movements on a gigantic scale were set on foot. War against Mithridates in Greece and Asia Minor was declared. Whether or not this war was deliberately planned with reference to the situation in Italy, it was handled with great advantage to the aristocratic party. Sulla kept a great army busy winning victories from Mithridates for several years and then returned to Italy and defeated all the armies of the popular party and took control of the government. He appointed three hundred senators and instituted several reforms, all against the plebes and the new citizens, though in some particulars they were not pleasing to the aristocracy. He said the people were too corrupt for self-government, and took all authority in his own hands. He advanced his friends and killed his enemies. He was rigid and bloody. 833

819 A NEW ERA IN ROMAN HISTORY began with Sulla. The government may be said to be by successful adventurers. Only successful generals and remarkably bright lawyers had a chance for preferment, and they had no peace: there was no respect for law or authority, but only for force and cunning. The conditions were worse than in a state of barbarism; for then there would be no machinery for systematic oppression and robbery. The faction that obtained the "machine" killed or banished the former operators and ran it until another faction could treat them in like manner. There was one remedy: a tyrant who could establish and maintain himself might restore order by treating all impartially and enforcing such laws as he thought best for the time. Sulla had the power and the opportunity, but he was intensely partisan. He made conditions worse by attempting to restore one-sided government, an oligarchy.

820 Iulius Cæsar was born in 100 B.C. His father died and left him an orphan at sixteen, when his mother continued his education. His family was not of the aristocracy, though well connected. At an early age he was appointed to the priesthood,

probably by Sulla to win him to the aristocratic party. At seventeen he married Cornelia, daughter of Cinna, a political opponent of Sulla. Sulla did not like this, and ordered Cæsar to divorce her. Cæsar refused, and Sulla took from him his priestly office, also his property and the dowry of his wife. Cæsar went into voluntary banishment to save his life until his friends could secure his pardon. Sulla then permitted him to enter the army. Cæsar gained reputation rapidly in the army, and did not return to Rome until Sulla's death in 78 B.C. He practiced law for a while, but the aristocracy were united against him and in defense of their privileges, and he went to Rhodes and studied rhetoric for a year. The war with Mithridatés again in Asia Minor gave him a chance to develop his military abilities, and a year afterward he was elected pontiff, a high religious office.

821 So far as his circle of acquaintance reached, Cæsar was already popular, and he used every means to gain partisans. He borrowed money from the usurers, who had no security but his
 811 personal honor and prospects. By judiciously using this money and his salary he was elected one of the tribunes of the soldiers. The tide was now turning from the aristocratic party, who had
 503 no other means of carrying an election but by organizing the
 823 useless element and deceiving some and intimidating others of the plebes. In 68 he was made quæstor, in which capacity he was treasurer and paymaster of one of the consuls, and judge, or prosecuting attorney, as we would say. These duties took him to Spain, where he got additional reputation. On his return to Rome he became friendly with Pompey and won him over to the popular party, for a time, by defending him against his enemies. In 65 Cæsar was elected curule ædile, and had charge of all public
 827 buildings. By lavish use of money he was next elected chief pontiff, and then prætor, or chief magistrate. His aristocratic enemies tried in many ways to break his hold upon the people, but failed, and Cæsar was made general of the army in Spain. His creditors now made such a clamor that he might have been disgraced had not Crassus and some other wealthy friends come to his assistance.

822 Once at the head of an army Cæsar's fortune was made. He got enough money in a short time to pay his debts, and in 60 he secured his election to the consulship, notwithstanding the most strenuous opposition of the aristocrats. Then he formed a

coalition with Crassus and Pompey and the three generals took the honors and responsibilities of the government. Then, to make a long story short, Crassus was killed in a war with the Parthians in 53, Pompey went back to the aristocratic party and attempted to ruin Cæsar, but was defeated in a short campaign in Greece, and CAIVS IVLIVS CAESAR, as he wrote his name, was master of the Roman world in 48 B.C. It was during the eight years from 58 to 50 that Cæsar subjugated Gaul.

823 Cæsar was tyrant, to make Rome what he wished and could with the means and the conditions. The great majority of the people were infatuated with him, and well they might be. Rome had suffered less from all-around anarchy while he was acquiring supreme power than she would if he had not attempted it, and now there was good ground for believing that society and government would be quieted and reduced to system. The aristocracy would not be able to raise the Italians in rebellion by levying upon them tribute to be distributed in Rome to win the votes of the lazzaroni, nor would they be able to bring in foreign soldiers to coerce the Italians when they revolted.

Cæsar made some changes at once for the benefit of his partisans, but it is remarkable that he spared the lives of all enemies who submitted. He confiscated the property of Pompey and some other aristocrats who took arms against him after he had been made tyrant by the people. In every way Cæsar showed that he was a great man. Notwithstanding his military genius and constant activity he acquired knowledge that would fit a man for a professorship in several departments of a university. His mind was stored with a great variety of accurate knowledge, and he could read men and their intentions better than could any other man of his time. If he had been spared to a good age he must have been a savior to the Roman people and a benefactor to the world. The dark ages might not have occurred.

824 In 44 B.C. a coterie of aristocrats who would rather see the world baptized in blood than surrender one jota of their pretensions, who had little respect for aristocracy and detested common humanity, who were constitutionally anarchists, assassinated Cæsar and threw the world into anarchy again. The people had been so coddled and deceived, so neglected and starved, so disorganized and confused, that without a leader who could by his presence and individuality, his magnetism, his inspiration, unite

and lead them and civilize them, they were the playthings of aristocratic adventurers, anarchists. There might be a hundred good statesmen and patriotic politicians in the popular party, but the very number, with prevailing conditions, would cause division and leave the people a prey to the aristocracy who were united by interest. When a republic or a democracy is established and there is respect for constitutional authority, it is difficult enough then to guard against the attempts of the aristocracy, or the class that would like the privileges of aristocracy. There is always a
168 class who want to care for and protect the people from harm, and
182 that they may do this they ask for privileges and class laws. In a land where an unprincipled aristocracy has enjoyed privileges it is almost impossible to bring the people, or a working majority of them, into union to demand and get their rights and restore equality before the law, yet this must be done before any good can be accomplished. Let the aristocracy bring the people to a
181 state of dependence and they can keep them there. Reformers may waste or lose their lives in trying to organize and educate the masses, but the chances are very great that no good will be done, or if there is it will be after a bloody revolution. Men lose faith in men and the aristocratic element can cite their own cunning and faithlessness as examples of human pravity and untrustworthiness. They will disarm all patriotic and humane efforts by remarking with a knowing sneer that if the demagogues were successful they would become harder masters than the present aristocracy. This would probably be true, since the common people would not be intelligent and courageous enough to take advantage of the opportunity when it offered. As I have shown, the Roman plebes sinned away their chances some centuries before this time. They allowed slavery, and the slave masters took the land; they allowed trade to be restricted and prohibited, and
405 the senators and their favorites controlled it; they allowed taxes
453 to be farmed, and the publicans became insolent masters in their
814 districts; trade being controlled, materials could not be had for
847 industries: they allowed every opportunity to be monopolized, became helpless, and then lazzaroni.

825 After the assassination of Julius Cæsar the conditions were a little different from what they had ever been. Successful adventurers had broken through the serried ranks of the aristocracy and established their families. Leaders had changed alli-

ances from one party to the other and most of the old aristocratic families had been connected by marriage with successful plebes. The contention was now for power and control, and strong men could gain allies as long as they had promise of success. The wealthy were as exclusive and grasping as ever, and the plebes as helpless from the lack of information, organization and a common cause or standard. Civil wars were frequent. There were numerous aspirants to supreme authority, and each raised an army on his private account. The senate had no army, but was with the pretender who could for the time maintain himself at Rome or in its neighborhood. There were many combinations, at first by the friends and enemies of Cæsar, and then by the triumvirate (Antony, Octavius and Lep'idus) against the conspirators (Brutus, Cassius and others). When the conspirators had been ruined and the armies absorbed by the triumvirate the contest was renewed among them. Lepidus was first got rid of, and then the great and final struggle came between Marcus Antonius and Caius Octavius. This was decided in favor of Octavius, and he was master of the known world. The gates of Janus were closed, in sign that there was no war anywhere. The Roman people again had one tyrant to govern them. One man might do it, but two or more could not. Caius Octavius took the name of Caius Julius Cæsar Octavianus, and the further title of Augustus was given him.

826 IN THE REIGN OF AUGUSTUS a tax of one in the hundred, or one per cent, was laid on all sales of commodities. This was a general law, and applied to all who were licensed to trade. The exactions from provinces continued to be various, as well as the customs dues where inter-provincial trade was permitted.

When Tiberius became emperor there were many petitions for the remission of the one per cent tax. He replied that he could not remit it, as it was from this tax that the soldiers were paid, but afterward he reduced Cappadocia to a province (it had been subject to Rome, but allowed to govern itself) and by levying heavy tribute upon it received enough additional revenue to spare half the tax on trade, and reduced it to one in two hundred, or one-half of one per cent. In the second year of the reign of Nero the duty of four in the hundred upon the sale of slaves was repealed. Afterward, on the frequent demands of the people for

841 relief from the oppressions of the tax-gatherers, Nero "deliberated about the suppression of all duties, and thus bestowing the fairest gift upon the human race," as he is reported by Tacitus, who says the senate "restrained his rashness," saying "that the dissolution of the empire must follow a reduction of the revenues that sustained it: if duties were abolished, the abolition of tributes
402 must be conceded to clamor. That the companies for farming the revenues were for the most part instituted by the consuls and tribunes, during the republic, and the provisions which followed were so adapted that the calculation of income and the necessity of expenditure should correspond." Thus trade was to be hampered and the provinces pillaged because the companies for farming the taxes had "vested rights," and, having the machinery of taxation in their control, were superior to senate and emperor. Nero, however, by advice of the senate, "ordained that the rates of impost, which had till then been kept secret, should be published. That the publicans should revive no omitted claims more than a year in arrear; that at Rome the prætor, and in the provinces the proprætor or proconsul, should adjudicate summarily in suits against the tax-gatherers; but the soldiers should still be exempt, save those that trafficked, with other regulations highly equitable," which were, as Tacitus says, observed for a short time and then forgotten. Think of this when you read Roman history: the tax-payer never knew the lawful rate; the tax-gatherer might assess what he pleased, and revive old claims or invent new ones; and the military power was at the service of the tax-gatherer. You know that there was good ground for revolts.

827 With the magnificence and voluptuousness of the Roman aristocracy one would not suppose there would be an effort to secure sumptuary laws or in any way to seek to restrain the nobility in the enjoyment of their wealth. Yet in the early part of the reign of Tiberius, before he had been ruined by flattery, some of the senators proposed to revive the sumptuary laws of former times and add some penalties to secure their enforcement. The senate referred the matter to Tiberius, and the reply by the emperor should stand for all time as an answer to the periodic
334 craze for sumptuary laws. "What is it that I am first to prohibit, what excess retrench to the old standard? Am I to begin with that of our country seats, spacious without bounds; and with the number of domestics from various countries; or with the

quantity of silver and gold? or with the pictures, and statues of brass, the wonders of art? or with vestments, promiscuously worn by men and women? or what is peculiar to women, those precious stones for the purchase of which our coin is carried into foreign and hostile nations? Nor am I ignorant that at entertainments these excesses are censured, and a regulation is demanded; and yet, if an equal law was made, if equal penalties were prescribed, these very censors would loudly complain. As bodily diseases grown chronic can not be cured but by potent and violent remedies, so the morbid fire which rages in the mind, corrupted and corrupting, is not to be quenched but by remedies as strong as its own flaming lusts. The many laws made by our ancestors have only rendered luxury more secure; for when we covet a thing yet unforbidden, we are prone to fear that it may be forbidden; but when once we can with impunity overleap prohibited bounds, there remains afterward nor fear nor shame. Why did parsimony prevail of old? It was because every one was a law unto himself—it was because we were then the citizens of one city; nor afterward, while our dominion was confined to Italy, had we the same incentives to voluptuousness. By foreign conquests we learned to waste the property of others, and by civil wars to consume our own. How small is the evil of which the ædiles (chiefs of police) warn us; how lightly does it weigh in the balance with others! It is wonderful that nobody lays before the senate that Italy stands in need of foreign supplies; that the lives of the Roman people are daily exposed to the mercy of uncertain seas and tempests. Without our supplies from the provinces would our groves and our villas maintain us?"

828 The curse of sumptuary laws is that the people who procure them always have in mind the domestic affairs of others. If the promoters would look to their own expenses, earn a living honestly and modestly enjoy it, no fault would be laid to them: but when they overlook their own affairs and deeds because too familiar with them to be interested in them, and look beyond to the domestic economy of others, they become doubly offensive: they not only put themselves up for paragons of virtue, and thus excite ridicule, but they interfere in the affairs of others and become justly blamable as meddlers, if not as actual miscreants attempting to hide their own sins by charging sins to others. Tiberius has the wit to see this, hence begins by asking what

luxuries are to be inhibited, and suggesting the very things that the ædiles or the senators would least be willing to give up, and which were yet the luxuries that were doing most to undermine virtue and character and wreck the state. The country seats were great tracts of land taken from use and devoted to the pleasures of the nobility. Would they give them up and restore them to the people? for they once belonged to the people, and these possessors never bought them with money they had earned. If they kept their villas would they be willing to turn out their servants whom they had bought or taken captive in foreign lands? Even if they calmed the qualms of conscience and determined that the slaves were property, had the possessors taken them or paid for them, or had they claimed them as the lion's share of the booty taken by the common soldiers who could not
508 leave the army, so had no use for them? Would they give up the silver and gold for which they had no proper use, and which they kept out of use? Even if they had earned it honestly they had more of it than they needed for proper purposes. Would they obey a sumptuary law and turn the surplus into the public treasury, and thus enable the emperor to abate the onerous taxes that made the poor yet poorer and despondent or riotous? To suggest such a proceeding would discover the hollowness of the pretensions of the reformers.

829 "If an equal law was made and equal penalties were prescribed these very censors would loudly complain." Tiberius knew very well that they did not demand an equal law and equal
496 penalties. He knew that they wanted a law which would reach others and leave themselves in the enjoyment of their refined pleasures: what they liked and were possessed of they would consider proper to their station in life.

830 The reference to chronic diseases and the drastic remedies necessary to reach them might have been inspired by the evils which were already apparent from the horde of informers then infesting Rome. When the republic was destroyed by Augustus the *lex maiestatis* (law of majesty) was enacted to preserve the emperor by prohibiting the people from showing any kind of disrespect for him. Under Augustus this statute was invoked against real offenders, but Tiberius allowed his friends to bring sweeping accusations against wealthy citizens for the purpose of taking their lives and property by the same process. If one had

a grudge against a wealthy person or a rival he had but to whisper to the emperor that the victim had in language or otherwise shown him disrespect. The intended victim seldom escaped. The practice was continued for generations, until it became so intolerable that emperor and people were forced to unite to suppress it. One man thus rose from poverty to be the richest in Rome: all feared him yet courted him in the hope of escaping his covetousness. He finally suffered at the hands of a rival and rising informer. The informer got one-fourth of the property and the emperor the rest. Tiberius was not willing to surrender the prerogative which he enjoyed, and he was not willing that the same club should be placed in the hands of the *ædiles*; for with the sumptuary laws that were demanded they could confiscate the property of any citizen.

831 When Tiberius had considered what the plaintiffs did say, and shown them that they did not want just laws, but such as would be troublesome and disastrous to others, he reminded 503 them of the things which they had not thought of. There were then from five to seven millions of souls in the city Rome. To feed and clothe this number required immense and steady supplies of food, clothing and materials. To draw these supplies from the provinces required some coddling as well as force. The provincials might be forced to contribute grain and animals, but to secure a supply of many articles which had become a necessity a high degree of skill was requisite. If the Romans should 161 shut off the market for these luxuries they would discourage the skill that produced many articles that were needed—articles that a people like the Romans could not well dispense with. Tiberius seems to have had an idea of the benefits of industry and commerce. He also reminded them of the dangers of navigation. Mariners undertook voyages for gain. They did not make great profits on the common necessities: a large part of these was carried for the government: but the luxuries and articles of virtue were a separate line of trade; they were small in bulk but very valuable, and the profits great. Take away this source of profit and the carrying trade would languish: owners and masters of vessels would retire from business and their crews be added to the army of vagabonds that infested the city. Tiberius was a despot, and later in life a debauché, but he was wise, and with a narrower range for his vices and whims might have passed for a

fairly good ruler. He could not reform government or society, so gave up and allowed affairs to settle themselves.

832 If a man has a sum of money which he has earned, or which is his by law and by right whether he earned it, found it or inherited it, he ought to have a right to keep it until he willingly parts with it. If he has no present use for it and some one wants to borrow it, or hire it, is it anywise different from the borrowing or renting of any other effects or property? It would seem not. If real estate, which represents cash money, may be hired or rented for a consideration why not the cash which would buy real estate, or goods that may be sold at a profit? This matter seems plain enough, yet in all ages there have been people who have cried out against usury, the price or hire paid for the use of money. In early Roman times there were rebellions and
 523 riots over the collection of usury (using the word in its proper sense—interest should never have been substituted for usury). The lawful rate of usury was fixed at one per cent per annum, afterward reduced to one-half of one per cent, and then usury was forbidden. In the time of Tiberius the law was revived, for it had
 585 been openly and generally violated for a long time. A great number were involved and they were granted eighteen months in which to settle their accounts and quit their violations of the law. All debts were called in and there was a scramble for money to pay with. There was also a law which made it obligatory that a man should have two-thirds of his wealth in lands in Italy and not more than one-third in money. These laws may have been enacted with good intentions and their enforcement demanded in well meaning, but the debtors who complained of usury were put to sore straits to raise the money to pay their debts, whereas if they had kept quiet and redeemed their contracts they could have saved trouble and loss. So many debtors offered their property for sale that values shrank out of all proportion to what had been ruling. The creditors held their money and demanded payment: the debtors could get no money and were forced to sacrifice their possessions. Great distress followed, and after the excitement usury was demanded again.

833 During the republic the senators were appointed by the consuls, and afterward by the censors: they were never elected by popular vote. Romulus made the number 100, Tarquin Pris-
 791 cus increased it to 200, during the republic it was 1,000, and in

the time of Tiberius it was 600. Under the Cæsars the senators were supposed to be appointed by the censors, but the emperors assumed the appointment of both senators and censors.

834 To be eligible to senatorial honors a man must be possessed of great wealth. First only Romans were eligible, then Italians, and under the Cæsars provincials were admitted. The candidate must be influential as well as wealthy; that is, he must commend himself to the appointing power. Senators were appointed for life, but might be summarily executed for treason or because a rival wanted them out of the way. They might also be degraded and expelled if they failed to keep up their state of wealth and show. In the civil war many of them were killed, and Augustus turned out others whom he did not like, appointing his favorites to fill the vacancies to the number he wanted, as many as he thought he could manage without constant degradation and decapitation. Tiberius followed the example of Augustus. Some who permitted their fortunes to fall below the mark he allowed to resign, some he forced to resign, some whom he could not spare he helped with his private revenues. Thus constituted, it required a great effort upon the part of the senators to oppose the emperor. In troublous times, when the emperor was threatened by a rival for the crown, or when the emperor found or dismissed a favorite, the position of senator was one of intense anxiety; if he favored the wrong side his head was forfeit. 496

835 Tiberius was not a bad emperor in the first half of his reign, but in the latter half he went from bad to worse. He gave himself up to debauchery and left the governors of the provinces in office whether they were good or bad. His excuse for this negligence was plausible, however, for the time: that every man appointed to office would tax and confiscate until he became surfeited with wealth; if frequent changes were made the subjects would be continually pillaged, but if the governors were left in office after they had become rich they would give the people a rest from exactions and also spend some of the wealth they had. To enforce this view he cited the case of a man who lay wounded, the wound covered with flies. A sympathetic passer by was about to brush away the flies, thinking the man did not do it because of exhaustion; but the wounded man raised his hand and said: "Nay; do not do that. Those flies are satisfied with my blood and now give me ease, while if you brush them away a new set will come, starved and ravenous, and give me fresh pain."

836 Caius, nicknamed Caligula (a little boot), succeeded Tiberius, A.D. 37. Caius was a promising young man, and brought upon the Roman aristocracy some part of the miseries they and
501 their predecessors had visited upon others. Tiberius had taken from the people the right to elect magistrates and now the common people had no voice in the government. Retribution must come sooner or later: the condition of the people appealed to the gods though the people themselves were patient in their bonds. Caius brought desolation to the households of the wealthy and aristocratic. He was generous to the army and to the common people. He found vast sums of money in the public treasury, and when he had given this out in largesses to the army and distributions among the vagabonds in Rome and other places he got more money by destroying wealthy citizens and confiscating their property. He even allowed slaves to accuse their masters under the *lex maiestatis* and obtain the informer's share of the spoils. In these trying times a master knew not how to manage his human chattels to get profit out of their labor. The idle pleasures were somewhat abated, but to give them up entirely was a sign of fear and an invitation to the informer. A few conspirators assassinated Caligula. If one can forget or not know the actual conditions he may sympathize with the writers of the time. Their appeals have the tone of patriotism and suffering innocence, but the liberty they wanted was the old libertinism of a rapacious and cruel oligarchy.

513 837 Josephus got his information during his residence in the city, and from Romans, while yet the actors or their immediate successors were alive. He was himself a strong believer in oligarchy, though he deluded his mind into the belief that govern-
460 ment by a privileged class, and not by a tyrant, was a democracy. Yet he sympathized with the plebeians, and gave the sentiment at Rome at the time of the assassination of Caius as fully and as honestly as any could, apparently, and I will follow his account.

838 At first, when there was only a rumor that Caius had been slain, the women and children of his household, many of the soldiers, and indeed a good part of the citizens, did not believe it; for Caius had declared himself to be a god and these people be-
493 lieved the impious fraud. His statues had been erected in all the temples of the empire and the people were required to give them divine worship. There are always many women and some men

who accept anything, however absurd or derogatory to true worship, if it comes from those who are set apart to declare the object, form or manner of worship. When to these are added those who acquiesce from a sense of interest or hope of advantage the number is often the major part of the people. In Rome there were many who acknowledged the innovation out of fear. 332

839 When the news was confirmed and it was known that Caius was dead, so that none need fear to speak their sentiments, the slaves were sorry, because they were by Caius allowed to accuse and despise their masters, and they could have recourse to his assistance when they affronted them; for he was easy in believing them, even when they accused their masters falsely; and if they would discover their master's riches they might have both riches and liberty, because the rewards of these informers were [at this time] one-eighth part of the criminal's substance. The plebeians, and some of the higher orders who had not had a share of the political power, were friendly to tyrants because in no other way could the haughty temper and flaunting licentiousness of the senators and their favorites be curbed. The senators, the oligarchic party, including the equestrian order, were very glad when they heard of the death of Caius; they would now be free from restraint, and could tyrannize over slave, soldier and pleb at will. If these civilians might have had their way there would have been at once an oligarchy. But there was another element, and in this crisis the most potent. The soldiers in the city at this time were mostly Germans, who, as Iosephus says, 815 acted from a savage temper, without regard to the good of the public. That savage temper seemed to animate the Roman aristocracy, and the Germans did no more than draw the winning hand in the game in which under the rule any trick was allowed. The Germans had not enlisted in the Roman army from choice, but to escape slavery or destruction. Their country had been ruthlessly ravaged to satiate Roman greed and lust of power. Finding themselves now masters in Rome, they had the sagacity, Barbarians though they were, to see where their interest lay for 873 the while. They seemed to come immediately and unanimously to the opinion that a tyrant would treat them well, as Caius had done; would give them largesses and endeavor to hold their good opinion by showing them kindnesses; that a tyrant would do this because, being but one man, and opposed by hundreds of men his

equal in mental vigor and cunning, he must keep the army faithful to him: whereas the nobility, with all power in their hands, would treat the soldier as a dog. Faithfulness to a tyrant might
759 be rewarded, while one would never know what to expect from a numerous oligarchy vying with each other for supremacy: they would kill and degrade each others' favorites.

840 While these sentiments were being entertained a meeting of the senate was at once convened, and Cneus Sentius Saturninus addressed the senators. He recounted the steps by which the democratic form of the early Roman government had been superseded by one change after another until it had reached a tyranny. Then he made a glowing appeal to the senators to
745 declare for a democratic government and forever banish tyranny, and so on. He prated about a democracy, but he meant a close oligarchy, and the most hateful kind of oligarchy. He was supported by the other senators, and a democracy was declared! But the German soldiers were ahead of the senators. They had instituted a search for Claudius, uncle of Caius, and when they had found him they took him in consternation, for he did not know their intentions, and declared him emperor before he realized his change of fortune. When the senate sent a committee to wait upon Claudius and request him to refuse the honor and be of them they were too late. Claudius understood that if he backed out he would be put to death as soon as the senate had the power, and he obeyed the army. His first act was to bring to capital punishment all that had been in the conspiracy against Caius Caligula.

The greatest sin of Claudius was assuming a responsibility which he was not capable of discharging. He held to the honor while the state drifted into lawlessness, if the former lawlessness would permit the expression. Messalina his wife disgraced his house by lewd practices and wanton effrontery, and when she had been put to death Claudius violated decency by marrying his niece, Agrippi'na.

Claudius had a son, Britan'nicus, and a daughter, Octavia. Agrippina poisoned Claudius and secured the crown to her son Nero. Britannicus being entitled to the elevation, Nero poisoned him to save contingent trouble.

841 So long has Nero been execrated, and so intensely, that it would be useless to recapitulate here the horrors connected

with his name and family. There is another side to the terrible picture of his life, a lesson which should not be lost from sight in casting up his deeds. The people had been so corrupted that an honest man, a man of integrity, was in greater danger than one who winked at the wickedness of others while working for his own aggrandizement. The nobles were striving for mastery, not for the common good; the common people were helpless, and the nobles meant to keep them so. In this condition of society and government the man who could reach the ear of the despot could wield a part of his powers, hence Nero was surrounded with desperate companions and advisers. Bad as the evils were, the fear of a change held men from taking steps to remedy them. There was no place to begin at: every department of government and every element of society was permeated with chronic pravity. 826

842 The great event in the life of Nero was the burning of the city Rome. After the burning of the city by the Celts in 389 B.C. it was rebuilt without order or regard for streets and sewers. Nero found a compact city with streets narrow, crooked and short. It was impossible to direct a person to a building in any locality with which he was not familiar. Nero was ashamed of his city and thought he could build a better one, so engaged a band of desperadoes to set out fires and prevent the citizens from extinguishing the flames. For six days the old rookeries burned, until about two-thirds of the city was in ruins. Then Nero took upon himself the clearing away of the rubbish, and confiscated all the valuables found. For himself he chose a large tract for palace and gardens and the rest he laid out in order and helped the people who built, paying the bills for work and materials on what was done within a year. He also set apart other lands for occupation by those who had been deprived of sites. This outlay of means drained his fortune and revenues, and he levied new contributions upon the provinces. Thus the city was improved. The Romans forgave him, but the provincials did not. 788

843 Was Nero justifiable in this act? Millions who have condemned him without stint have in their way and to the extent of their speculative enterprise been subject to a like bent of mind. In Rome the condition was aggravated by the very great number of poor and improvident, but in every modern city the same class of spiritless humanity is found; also the next class, those who are industrious, and have some ambition, but are unable to reach a

self-sustaining position, one which will afford a living when the weekly wages or small salary stops for a time. In every city there are districts barred to these classes, and indeed to the next higher class, those able to own a moderately expensive home, and who can stand lapses of income without suffering. In these districts a poor man or a man off color can not buy a lot: the owners want a select neighborhood. Now moderns who create these divisions according to wealth without regard to character mean no whit better than the Roman aristocracy. Then as the counterpart of Nero, who burned the miserable sheds in which the refuse of humanity huddled, I would cite the modern speculators who buy in the cheap properties occupied by the very poor, tear away the buildings, and send the working people out several miles, compelling them to walk to and from work every day, and walk past vacant lots held out of their reach. This may be excused in various ways, but any excuse for the modern will be as good for Nero. There is no doubt but the city was in better dress after the fire and in less danger from another fire, and the poor had more room, air and sunshine.

844 The most conspicuous crime of Nero was the persecution of the Christians. When he was believed to be the author of the great fire and the general feeling was rising against him he charged it to the Christians, already becoming numerous in the city. He had them butchered for the amusement of the people, even assisting in the horrible cruelties. But Nero should not be blamed for this in greater degree than for other butcheries. The Christians happened to be unpopular: he could murder as many of them as he wished; and when it was not uncommon to take Romans indiscriminately from the audience at the circus to have them kill each other or be killed by wild beasts it did not excite unusual comment when the Christian converts were taken for the same spectacular death. If the Christians had not been at hand
508 some other class would have been sacrificed to popular clamor. There was a plenty of people: nothing else was so cheap as human life. Tacitus, it will be remembered, said that the senate
769 turned Nero from his "rashness" when he proposed to abolish all taxes and hinderances on trade; and Tacitus excused Nero from blame in killing the Christians. He said that they deserved death for their obstinacy in heretical practices.

845 Nero became tired of sacrificing cheap humanity: he must

have men of noble race and high position. Senators, wealthy citizens, his own relatives and others at Rome were immolated, and he began upon the generals of the armies. Corbulo, of the Armenian army, was accused and executed. Rufus and Scribonius, in Germany, took their own lives when they saw that they were marked for sacrifice. The other commanders in desperation united upon Galba, governor of Hither Spain, and declared him emperor. The parasites that had enjoyed the friendship of Nero at once deserted him. He fled from Rome and the next 503 day hired a slave to kill him to escape capture.

846 How COULD FIVE MILLIONS of people live in this ancient 811 city? We can understand how supplies could be levied and collected from the submissive provinces: we can understand how these supplies could be brought into the city by those charged with the transportation, under authority of the government: but 850 how could they be distributed? how did the families and individuals obtain the money with which to buy? In a city conducted on a much more normal basis it is a matter for wonder how all the people live; it is almost beyond belief that supplies were distributed at all in Rome. The aristocracy were above engaging 297 in trade or industry. The planters employed slave labor, as did the wealthy in the city in their household. Rome had few industries. Commerce was closely restricted on the theory that trade engenders strife; that as soon as men begin to swap articles they quarrel. In commercial and industrial centers there is employment for labor and capital; the raw materials come in, are made into goods and wares, and sent out to find a market; articles are brought from one quarter for distribution in many directions; there is pay for handling and working over, and all parties taking part may get wages or profit. In such a center, where trade and industry are free from interference of restrictive laws, there needs 141 to be little violence or suffering. But with an abnormal basis, such as obtained at Rome, it is difficult to understand how the individuals of the lower free orders made a living—how they got food and clothing. There were a few factories or work shops in the city, and the trades were followed, but there were few exports and most of the fine cloths and other articles for the wealthy 171 were imported. Arms and accoutrements for the soldiers were 859 made in Rome: the Romans were afraid to have them made else-

where. But all these employments would use only a small part of the men if kept at work regularly. Soldiers were received into the army for a term of twenty years, and if not killed might be mustered out at about forty, but they were not pensioned, and
 853 if they saved some pay it would not support them in Rome the rest of their days: they were not fit for work after their army service. One thing was in favor of the Romans: they had little weather which necessitated fire or warm clothing; if they had a roof over them they could be comfortable; if they had no roof they might still be comfortable if the weather was dry.

847 Why were all these millions of people in Rome? Why
 720 did they desert the farms and villages and flock into this city? A commercial city attracts people to engage in business or seek employment. Trade seeks central locations: a commercial city is a distributing point: men go there to found industrial plants because a market is afforded: the dealers in the territory covered by the city trade go there to buy supplies, and if the factory was located somewhere else the market would be in the central city: and because it is a center of industry the laborers go there to get work. But it was for other reasons that these people left home to go to Rome. In the beginning there was only a band of outlaws who sought an asylum: there were only men. The band of outlaws was perpetuated, and the recruits were mostly men. When the Romans ravaged and laid waste a land and then levied tribute upon it to help support the citizens of Rome the individual would naturally say to himself: "There is nothing more for me here. I don't know what Rome is like, but it seems to me that it is better to go where all the plunder is going than to stay here where men are robbed of their produce and no plunder ever comes." The denizens of this center of war, where industry and
 824 commerce were prohibited or protected to death, were adventurers without a single purpose in life beyond the day in which they lived. If they lived another day they let that day bring its evil: they would not burden the present with plans or anticipations.

848 In a "Dialogue Concerning Oratory" Tacitus introduces three speakers and does not betray his individual sentiment, since the several speakers do not agree, but it is evident that he wrote the dialogue partly to state the position occupied by oratory in
 520 the Roman economy and partly to give some historic data in a pleasing form. He says: "Though our modern orators [end of

First Century] have achieved as much as was possible in a settled, peaceable and happy state [sic], yet their predecessors had manifestly a wider scope in times of turbulence and license, when all was promiscuous confusion, uncontrolled by a single moderator, and when he who had most influence over a restless crowd was deemed the ablest orator. Thence came incessant multiplication of laws, promoted by popular cries. The more a man signalized himself by his abilities in this art, so much more easily he opened his road to preferment, and maintained an ascendant 744 over his colleagues, at the same time that he heightened his interest with the nobles, his authority with the senate, and his reputation with the common people. The patronage of these admired orators was courted even by foreign nations; magistrates, setting out for the provinces, took pains to show them the highest marks of honor, and as studiously cultivated their friendship at their return. Prætorships and consulships were bestowed on them without solicitation on their part. Nor were they even in a private station without great power, as their advice and influence swayed both the senate and the people. In truth, it was an established maxim in those days that without eloquence no man could either acquire or maintain any high position in the state." 546

It seems that it was deemed hainous for an orator to sell his eloquence; that a fee was a bribe. Claudius had the decision of a case in which orators were charged with taking a fee, or extortion, and was disposed to deal harshly with the culprits, quoting "the examples of the ancient orators, who esteemed the praises of posterity the fairest reward of eloquence: otherwise the most dignified of all accomplishments would be debased by mercenary services; nor would even faith remain inviolate where the greatness of the gains was regarded. But if suits were matter of gain to none, there would be fewer of them; whereas now, enmities, accusations, animosities and wrongs were fomented; so that, as the prevalence of diseases brought fees to physicians, so the corruption of the bar was a source of revenue to the pleaders. Caius Asinius and Marcus Messala, and more lately Arruntius and Eserninus, arrived at the highest dignities by a life unblemished, and eloquence unbought." Claudius, however, allowed a rejoinder, and Suilius, Cossutianus and the other culprit orators said in their defense: "Where is the man so presumptuous as to anticipate lasting fame? Eloquence forms a useful resource

in the ordinary transactions of life and in public affairs, to prevent any man being trampled upon by his superiors; neither is eloquence acquired without pains and expense; they who profess
 97 it neglect their own domestic concerns to apply themselves to the business of others. Many support themselves by the profession of arms, some by the cultivation of lands, but no man devotes himself to any pursuit except with a foresight of the advantages it produces. Easily might Asinius and Messala, enriched as they were by the fruits of the war between Antonius and Augustus; easily might the Esernini and Arruntii, heirs of wealthy houses, assume that lofty tone. We too are furnished with precedents in the large remunerations which Publius Clodius and Caius Curio received for their oratorical exertions. The prince should con-
 100 sider the men of plebeian extraction who rose to eminence by forensic occupations; if the rewards of liberal pursuits are abolished, the pursuits will fall into decay." Claudius could not break the force of this argument, and fixed the maximum remuneration in a case at 10,000 sesterces=\$400 or less.

849 In the earlier times the slaves of the Romans were treated as their masters severally pleased, and always by gaining the good will of their masters they might secure mitigation of the hardships of their lot. The number of manumitted slaves was ever increasing. But the very numbers of the slaves made their presence a terror in many districts. In the reign of Nero it was enacted that if a slave killed his master the whole number of slaves on the estate should be summarily put to death, in order that all of them might be anxious to inform on those who might meditate the death of their master or any free citizen. This law was warmly debated in the senate. It was urged that all of a man's slaves could not be guilty; some of them were obedient, and their loss to the family would be great. But the opponents were silenced by the fears of a servile rising. Thus the sentiments of humanity were stifled by the exigences of an inhuman system. Vested rights demanded the exercise of natural rights
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 152 by those charged with the preservation of lawful rights.

Tacitus wrote of a "settled, peaceful and happy state" just after the scenes depicted in my next division. He was born in 56 and was therefore twelve years of age when Galba went to Rome as emperor. Surely nothing more is needed to convince one that
 113 men become inured to bad conditions and lose the ability to per-

ceive that they are bad, or conceive of better. There had been no real reform when he wrote his books.

850 GALBA WAS SEVENTY years of age when he was made emperor in 68. He was of illustrious family and as a private citizen was exemplary. His friends had always believed him capable of filling the highest office. In early life he served in the army in Germany; later he was proconsul in Africa, and at the time of his elevation he was governor of Hither Spain, all of which duties were performed with as much integrity as the times permitted. But his term as emperor was short and inglorious. He began to reward friends and decapitate enemies as soon as he knew he had been declared emperor. On his way to Rome he summarily dealt with a consul and a consul elect whom he disliked: they were taken unawares and executed. His entrance into Rome was signalized by an order to massacre several thousand soldiers who had not readily espoused his cause at the first proposal: they changed sentiment as soon as the choice was confirmed, but Galba thought they should have done so while yet there was 594 danger. When he thought he had made enough of examples to terrify the anarchistic elements and indicate his policy he set himself to the task of reforming the state. Every department of the civil and military government was subjected to rigid reform. The extravagance of the people was not forbidden, but he set an example for popular economy by retrenching the expenses of the government. At an earlier time his policy might have been very highly commended, but Rome and the armies were not now in a mood to be reformed in this manner. A large part of the rabble of Rome had come to be dependent upon the lavish extravagance of Nero and his companions for support, and this being 846 shut off, they were desperate. The armies had been promised 720 largesses (distribution of money in addition to pay) and they were instead disciplined.

851 Otho wanted to be emperor. He was a friend and once companion of Nero, who appointed him governor of Lusitania in exchange for his mistress, Poppæa, whom Otho had taken from another man, whom Nero afterward killed when he became troublesome. Otho at first favored Galba, in expectation of being his successor, and when Galba named Piso for successor Otho was very wroth. Otho was of a kind with Nero, and the kind of man the armies demanded for emperor.

500 852 In a speech to his soldiers Otho said: "My heart recoils with horror when I recall the disastrous day on which Galba made his public entry into the city; and that his only victory, when, after receiving the submission of the suppliant soldiers, he ordered the whole body to be decimated in sight of the people. And what has since been the glory of his reign? Sabi'nus and Marcellus have been murdered in Spain; Chilo in Gaul; Cap'ito in Germany, and Macer in Africa. Add to these Cingonius Varro, butchered in his march; Turpilianus in the heart of the city, and Nymphidius in the camp. Is there a province, is there in any part of the empire a single camp, which he has not defiled with blood? or, as he will tell you, reformed and amended? What all good men call a deed of barbarity passes with him for a correction of abuses; while under specious names he confounds the nature of things: calls cruelty justice, avarice economy, and massacre military discipline. Since the death of Nero not more than seven months have elapsed; and in that time I'celus, his freedman, has amassed by plunder more enormous wealth than the three famous rich men under Nero were able to do."

853 Galba and his partisans were exterminated, as was customary on such occasions, and Otho's soldiers were in possession of the city. Otho had promised them more than he could give them, so neither he nor their officers could repress violence and pillage. The centurions had long been in the habit of granting the common soldiers leaves of absence on payment of a stated price, which they took for themselves. It was usual when the soldiers could be spared to allow one-fourth of them to buy furloughs for a short time. The soldiers when thus free foraged and pillaged to obtain the means to pay for what they wanted or to buy further exemption from duty. Where an army was station-
 846 ed the people were in dread. If a soldier saved his pay the centurion put upon him heavy duties and work to induce him to buy exemption. Matters were in a very bad shape now: the soldiers had been maltreated for a long time and had been murmuring loudly. Galba promised relief; Otho promised relief. Galba had made no effort to fulfill his promise: Otho undertook to pay to the centurions the amount of the unjust fees they had been collecting and have them remitted to the soldiers; for he dared not alienate the centurions. This did not quiet the complaints: one bounty led to another demand; and this one stopped with the centurions, or would as soon as discipline was restored.

854 Vitellius was commander in Gaul. Before Otho made a move to supplant Galba, and when there was at Rome no thought that there would be opposition to Galba, the armies in Germany and Gaul had declared for Vitellius and raised the standard of revolt, and without consulting Vitellius. While the Vitellians were perfecting arrangements and sounding the armies of Germany and Gaul, Otho made a sudden move and gained the prize. But this did not disconcert the Vitellians: they cared not who was emperor; they cared little for Vitellius: what they wanted was civil war. The soldiers thought they had had hard service and no share of spoils. If there was a civil war the officers could not manage them: the officers would be powerless to lead them where they did not wish to go, or to restrain them from going where they wished. They had lately experienced the pleasures of rioting in rich territory in revolt, and wanted a chance in the rich districts of Italy. These sentiments were not confined to secret thoughts or whispered words: they were openly expressed, and were not checked by the generals. 791

855 When Vitellius was ready he started for Rome. The Gallic provinces that offered resistance were at the mercy of the legions, and even those that submitted and espoused the cause of Vitellius were not treated well. The soldiers wanted to plunder, and if there was no pretext they made one. The armies of Otho and Vitellius came together in northern Italy, at the town of Bedri'acum, near Cremona. The soldiers in each army had been solicited to desert and join the other, so the generals were not certain of their men. The men, too, suspected their officers, and at every mishap mutineered and charged the leaders with treason. But a few battles were fought, a few thousand men were slain, the Vitellians were victorious, the Othonian soldiers joined the Vitellians, and the insolent aggregation marched upon Rome. Otho had enjoyed the delights of chief ruler for three months, and had shown himself of the disposition of Nero. He committed suicide and Rome was left to an emperor whose characteristics were drunkenness and gluttony. 864

856 The western half of the empire had now set up three military emperors in less than a year. They were all chosen by the armies, and all from the provinces. There had been two departures from old ideas: the army chose the emperor, and chose him outside the city. The senate and the citizens of Rome had no voice in the election. The army was unmanageable.

857 While Vitellius was slowly making his way to Rome, trying to eat as much as his army did, the Romans were in dread of their fate. The country was foraged as the army advanced. What was not eaten was destroyed, and then the army was dissatisfied and muttering vengeance on everybody and everything. In Rome there was no attempt to preserve order. Vitellius had promised a donation and knew that he could not distribute it, for he had not the money. But he squandered immense sums in games and feasts and permitted his favorites to appropriate the public revenues and extort private contributions. The soldiers murdered and robbed the citizens and fought among themselves.

858 Vitellius was emperor about eight months. He was the occasion of many thousand deaths in gaining the position, and of several times as many deaths in trying to hold it so long. Before he had reached Rome the generals and principal Roman officials in the east, as well as the kings tributary to Rome, and one or two who were independent, as the king of the Parthians, took counsel and settled upon Vespasian for emperor. At first Vespasian, who was sixty years old, would not listen to the suggestion, but acknowledged Vitellius as emperor, but on persuasion he consented. His sons, Titus and Domitian, were also popular among the easterners, and Vespasian had more regard for their future than for his own.

859 Vespasian was declared and acknowledged emperor in
504 Egypt and Syria and preparations were at once made to prosecute the war against Vitellius with vigor. The armies were got together and supplied for the march westward. This was not merely a revolt or insurrection. Factories for making arms and
846 accoutrements were built, coins were struck and taxes levied by Vespasian and his officers as if there was no other Roman government. All of the vessels in the east were collected into a fleet to act with the army. An item in Vespasian's favor was Egypt,
500 whence a great part of the food for Rome was obtained. By
253 shutting off the supplies of grain the city would be forced to desert the cause of Vitellius.

860 Rome and Italy had not seen such horrors as this civil war brought. Vespasian sought to avoid the useless spilling of
297 blood, and ordered his generals, Antonius Primus and Licinius Mucianus, to hold their forces in check while the Vitellian army was starving out, in the hope that they would abandon Vitellius;

and this would probably have happened, since the Vitellian forces were in bad humor and ready for mutiny. But Antonius was ambitious to push forward, strike a decisive blow, break the force of the Vitellians, and take to himself the glory of the war. His rash proposal was agreeable to his soldiers, who wanted to sack and pillage all Italy; and being in front, out of reach of orders from Vespasian, he executed his own ideas. Licinius would probably have done the same, for he was also thoroughly unprincipled and selfish of glory and notoriety, but he was in the rear, and made pretense of being of a mind with Vespasian.

861 Antonius was in Italy. Vitellius had summoned all the troops that could be spared from Spain, Gaul, Britain and Germany, but they had not arrived, and his forces were inferior to the Antonians. Antonius therefore determined upon immediate action. He had better discipline than Cæci'na, the Vitellian commander, could enforce, yet he allowed his soldiers to forage and pillage in order that their brute courage might be increased in the hope of spoils. Near Cremona the two armies met. Antonius was well nigh defeated, but saved his army by coolness and bravery. The Vitellians retired into Cremona, a strongly walled and fortified city. The soldiers were from long hardship and deprivation more like hyenas than men. There was a prospect that Cremona would capitulate, since the garrison were distrustful of Vitellius and their officers, and the citizens wanted to be spared the wreck that would come with a siege. But the Antonians would not listen to delay: they wanted to sack the city. "Cremona, they said, was situated in an open plain, and might be taken by assault. The darkness of the night would abate their courage, and afforded greater latitude for rapine. If they waited for daylight, terms of peace would be proposed, entreaties would be resorted to, and for all their toil and wounds the only recompense would be praise and glory, while the wealth of the citizens would go to the prefects and generals. When a town is carried by storm the booty belongs to the soldiers, but if surrendered it goes to the generals."

508

862 When the soldiers were on the point of breaking away from their officers and making an attack upon Cremona it was learned that reinforcements had come to the aid of the Vitellians and an attack was to be made upon their camp that night. Then they listened to Antonius and were got in readiness to receive

the enemy. The Vitellians were stronger than the invaders, but were without a general and not in military order. They were as eager for a fight and as indiscreet as the Antonians. It was a dark night at first and neither side knew well the lay of the land. After fighting with varying fortune for some hours the moon appeared. It was at the back of the Antonians, and while the Vitellians were clearly seen they mistook the long shadows of the Antonians for their bodies and wasted their arrows. This gave an advantage to Antonius and he gained the victory.

863 The soldiers now invested Cremona. Whether to take it by storm or reduce it by slow process was the question. It was strongly fortified and well garrisoned, and the soldiers in the two factious armies had been used to the same tactics. Antonius was not allowed to settle this question: the soldiers cared not for danger; what they wanted was plunder and excitement; what they were in no mood to think of was delay and patient work. Their desire for plunder was stimulated by the knowledge that a fair was in progress and visitors were present from all parts of Italy. It seems unaccountable that at such a time a fair could
 506 attract a concourse of people to a city in the line of march of the invaders. True the leaders had done a great deal of loud talking that did not mean much, but the Italians had had recent experience with their armies and knew that they were destructive in the most peaceful times. But if they waited for security they would never go to a fair.

864 Tacitus says: "Forty thousand armed men poured into Cremona. The number of drudges and camp-followers was still
 23 greater, and they were more abandoned to lust and cruelty. Nor age nor dignity served as a protection; deeds of lust were perpetrated amid scenes of carnage, and murder was added to rape. Aged men and women who had passed their prime, and were useless as booty, were the objects of brutal sport. If a mature maiden, or one of comely appearance, fell in their way, after being torn in piecemeal by the rude hands of contending ruffians, the fragments at last were the occasion of the brutes turning their swords against each other. While eagerly carrying off money or
 507 massy gold from the temples, they were butchered by others stronger than themselves. They forced the owners to discover their hidden wealth, and dig up their buried riches. Numbers carried flaming torches and set on fire the gutted houses and

temples. In an army differing in language and manners, composed of Roman citizens, allies and foreign auxiliaries, all the diversities of passions were exhibited. Nothing was unlawful. 9
 Four days did Cremona minister to their rapacity. Everything 421
 within the walls was leveled in the conflagration." To show their disfavor to the soldiers and camp-followers the other cities of Italy resolved to refuse to buy any slaves or plunder taken at 12
 Cremona, but the soldiers began to murder the captives, and the 344
 Italians hastened to buy or ransom them. Such was the morale of the Roman army. It is not necessary to recite other instances of rapacity during this civil war, when bloodshed and rapine were expected on all hands. Of course these scenes had been enacting in foreign lands and in the outer provinces, and the Italians had 5
 been ready to excuse and encourage them. To have the women 733
 of a captured city was the strongest incentive to the Roman soldiers. On this occasion Rome suffered severely, though all the city was not looted.

When all opposition had been silenced Vespasian and Titus moved to Rome and had a triumph. It was not allowed to have a triumph over Romans, but they could and did celebrate a triumph over the Jews. 513

865 Vespasian had first obtained military glory and wealth in Britain, during the reign of Claudius. He was parsimonious and did not court great popularity, though he maintained his state in Rome in a becoming manner and commanded respect. By Nero he was sent to Palestine to conduct the war against the Jews. For his times he was an exemplary man except for the one fault of avarice. He liked money, and took advantage of his powers and prerogatives to levy and collect taxes, tribute and "contributions." He used the wealth of the state, as well as his own, in rebuilding Rome after the destruction caused during the two years of civil war from the death of Nero to his own accession.

866 FOR ABOUT A CENTURY, from 96 to 180, Rome enjoyed a season of peace and comparative prosperity. The authority of Rome was obeyed throughout the empire. Two or three generations grew up with no other knowledge of war than the rebellions of the Jews and a few minor outbreaks on the frontiers. Some historians have called this the golden age of Rome. Free citizens of the various provinces could visit Rome or other parts 286

of the empire. Here the time of the millennium seemed at hand. The peoples who had been brought under the Roman institutions learned the Latin language and esteemed themselves happy in the peace and enlightenment of the pervading systems. Yet
744 something was lacking: there was a general feeling—it was not
confined with the intelligent or the envious—there was a general
93 feeling and apprehension that existing systems must be broken
330 into disorder. Some, probably, read the signs of the times with
a degree of clearness, but the greater number were harassed by
vague fears: they knew or believed that great changes were to
come in the near future, but the vast ramifications of the political
and social systems were too complicated to admit of clear percep-
tions. The great majority of the people of the empire gave no
thought to the future, and those who did were necessarily disor-
12 ganizers: they were individually powerless; their numbers, scat-
tered position and variety of ideas could but lead to disorder.
153 Rome had sought greatness, and had become a great obstruction.

867 The wonder now is not that the Roman government fell
in pieces: it is that the overreaching rulers held it together as
long as they did; that the people suffered it to last. The govern-
ment was built up by military power, was militant, was adminis-
tered in a military spirit. Taxes were levied in the same manner
as when the nation was yet at war with the elementary parts;
the provinces were subject to whatever exactions Rome might
levy; the revenues were bid off to speculators who collected for
themselves fortunes in addition to the amount paid into the treas-
ury; senators and other high dignitaries sold positions of honor
and profit, and gave authority to favorites to control and monop-
olize industry, trade and navigation; in time of peace, when taxes
should have been reduced they were increased; the government
did not need the revenue, but the privileged classes thought the
revenues their private gain and made taxes higher in proportion
as the people were able to pay.

868 The enormous wealth of the government and the individ-
uals who could command it led to the lavish expenditures in
works of architecture and art. It was mostly during this century
of peace that Rome was embellished with the massive and stately
710 structures that have been the admiration of the generations since.
Palaces, amphitheatres, public highways, aqueducts—everything
that a cultivated and refined taste could desire. The nobles vied

with each other in providing pomp and show for the plebeians. In all the contrivings of the nobility the plebeians were kept in mind: they must have the benefit of the great works. The baths 718 provided for the lazzaroni were more sumptuous than any the world has since had. The poor man who had not earned a dollar in all his life was given rations from the public crib and had free access to the marble baths. That was not enough; he must not be left to roam the streets in aimless idleness; the circus and the amphitheater were not built for the nobles; they were made big enough to accommodate the plebeians as well, and the paupers could go there and be amused with gladiatorial combats; could see hundreds of men who had been unfortunate enough to have an idea out of consonance with the conservative ideas of the age butcher each other; sometimes, to vary the amusement, women were thrown into the ring to be attacked and devoured by wild beasts. The plebeians had nothing to do but enjoy the sports furnished by the patrons of genius and art. Once in a while it was necessary to declare a preference among men for places in the government, but that was easy: they voted for the candidate who offered or promised most plunder, and the place-holder did the rest.

869 The Romans were intuitively a warlike people. In early times the Italians were agriculturists, and when a war ended in a decisive battle they returned to the plow. They had not discovered a simpler means for obtaining food and other necessities. But in these last days the Romans drew upon their victims for supplies and for slaves to do their work: even the lazzaroni were aristocratic, and aristocrats must not labor. They were still a 789 military class, and as their occupation was out of favor they were utterly useless. The invasion by the Barbarians was not only 152 inevitable but necessary in the interest of humanity.

870 When the seat of the Roman empire was translated in 330 to Byzantium, afterward called Constantinople, the greater part of the shipping followed the power which might protect it if subservient and would destroy it if carried on independently. The government at Constantinople was changeable in its policy. First it laid excessive taxes on every description of property on land and on sea, but afterward relieved navigators and shippers and placed the burdens upon the merchants. Government was meddlesome and unstable. The emperor would levy tribute if

the trade would bear it, and encourage shipping after it had been taxed almost to death and there was likely to be a dearth of supplies. Commerce could not exist under such a policy, or lack of policy, and without commerce there can be no civilization.

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729
3 871 Never at any time was there such abject degeneration at Rome as occurred in the eastern empire of Constantine and his successors. Italian and Greek cities were robbed of treasures of architecture and art to make Constantinople magnificent. Theaters, public and private baths, porticoes, granaries, palaces, circus, churches, aqueducts, reservoirs, capitol, besides thousands of residences for the aristocracy, were built as fast as thousands of artisans and a host of laborers could carry on the work, and made as superb as the architects of the world could suggest. The riches of the richest parts of the earth were at the command of the cultivated and philosophic brutes who ruled by force and fraud. The Egyptians sent as tribute the grain to feed this corrupt horde, while the rest of the supplies were gathered from other peoples. This abnormal condition was for several centuries paraded as the highest type of civilization. It was the reign of philosophy and law, without conscience or civility.

164 872 The admirers of strong government may cite Phœnicia and Carthage as examples of the weakness of a people who seek trade instead of conquest and tribute. But they are fronted with the historic fact that governments built upon conquest have no
724 peace or prosperity. They invite retaliation from all the world.
253 When their enemies are subjugated or silenced there is certain to be oppression and rebellion among their subjects.

23 873 Trading Tyre lasted 4,000 years. Carthage maintained
350 an existence of 543 years. The earliest date for Rome is 752
766 B.C. and Constantine deserted Rome in 330 A.D., so that the extreme length of the strongest military power in ancient time is 1,082 years. If we extend the time to the extinction of the western empire by the Barbarians in 476 the extreme length is only
815 1,228 years. If we further extend the time to the fall of Constantinople in 1453 the length is only 2,205 years. But the time
839 should be counted from about 400 B.C. to the fall of the western empire, or about 876 years. That is longer than the Assyrian or the Medo-Persian empire lasted. Surely the gods did not
143 favor military government.
769

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