

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

VOLUME XXX

CHICAGO
THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY
1916

H44,512

**COPYRIGHT BY
THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY
1916**

INDEX TO VOLUME XXX.

ARTICLES AND AUTHORS.

	PAGE
Allies, The Lies of the. Paul Carus	508
America, The Attitude of. Roland Hugins	222
America First (Poem). Louis Dorn	703
"An Orgy of Cant." Paul Carus	70
Anesaki, M. Art and Domestic Life in Japan	549
Aristophanes, A Message from. Fred. C. Conybeare	41
Art and Domestic Life in Japan. M. Anesaki	549
Backof, Otto C. The Psychology of German Action	746
Bacon Write Shakespeare, Did. George Seibel	193
Bahaism: The Precursor, the Prophet and the Pope. Robert P. Richardson son	617, 657
Bahaism and Persia, American. J. Davidson Frame	126
Bahaists, A Protest from the. Emile Tobler	505
Barrow, Isaac, Portraits of.?	126
Barrow, Isaac: The Drawer of Tangents. J. M. Child	65
Bible, Moral Law and the. Arthur J. Westermayr	531
Bible in Modern Light. G. H. Richardson	479
Boutroux, Emile. The Evolution of German Thought	8
Bramhall, John T. Trebizond, a Lost Empire	329
British Treatment of German Missionaries	183
Browne, C. A. The Thermometer	439
Buonaiuti, Ernesto. Italy and the War	695
Burke, B. U. Erasmus at the Court of Satan	715
Byers, Charles Alma. Sob Sisters and the War	733
Caaba, The. Paul Carus	736
Carlyle and Germany. Medico	719
Carlyle on the French-German War, 1870-71	724
Carmen Sylva. <i>See</i> Elizabeth of Roumania	313
Carus, Paul.	
British Treatment of German Missionaries	183
Centralia: The Outcome of the War	467
Crucifix After Battle	128
Dedekind, Richard	437
Dostoyevsky	381
Ethics of Nature	547
Goethe Rather than Nietzsche	564

	PAGE
Carus, Paul (Continued)	
Leibniz Bicentenary	610
Lies of the Allies	508
Little Russia and Its Claim for Independence	350
Mr. Mangasarian Misunderstands	188
Mr. Mangasarian Again	446
Mohammed's Ascension	765
New Phases of Warfare	60
"Orgy of Cant"	70
Our Thermometer	187
Passing of Carmen Sylva	313
Pictures from the Theater of War	497
Portraits of Isaac Barrow	126
Pushkin, the Poet	362
Rasputin	367
Repin, the Russian Artist	346
Siege of Constantinople in 1453	702
The Caaba	736
The Election	764
Venice and the Dardanelles	572
War Topics: In Reply to My Critics	87
Water-Power Conservation	443
Whitzel on the Resurrection	317
Centralia: The Outcome of the War. Paul Carus	467
Child, J. M. Isaac Barrow: The Drawer of Tangents	65
China, Recent Social and Political Changes in. Frederick Goodrich Henke	449
China, The Political Situation in. Gilbert Reid	308
Civilization, The Danger to. Bertrand Russell	170
Constantinople, The Siege of, in 1453	702
Constantinovitch, Constantine	315
Conybeare, Fred. C. A Message from Aristophanes	41
Crew, Helen Coale. Thon That Hearest Prayer (Poem)	181
Crucifix After Battle, A.	128
Crucifixion and Resurrection. Forrest Morgan	512
Dean, George R. To Uncle Sam (Poem)	768
Dedekind, Richard	437
Dorn, Louis. America First (Poem)	703
Dostoyevsky. Paul Carus	381
Election, The	764
Elizabeth of Roumania (Carmen Sylva), The Passing of	313
Erasmus, Symposium on, from Several Sources	419
Erasmus and His Significance for the Reformation. C. K. Ogden	148
Erasmus at the Court of Satan. B. U. Burke	715
Ethics of Nature, The. Paul Carus	547
Evans, Thomas Horace. Karma (Poem)	566
Evolution of German Thought, The. Emile Boutroux	8
Frame, J. Davidson. American Bahaism and Persia	126
France! Roland Hugins	32
Freemasonry, Voices from German. Ernst Schultze	705
French-German War, Carlyle on the, 1870-71	724

	PAGE
German Action, The Psychology of. Otto C. Backof	746
German Thought, The Evolution of. Emile Boutroux	8
Germany, Carlyle and. Medico	719
Goethe Rather than Nietzsche. Paul Carus	564
Gorham, Charles T. Reply to J. Mattern, 254; A Rejoinder to Mr. Mattern, 561.	
Gorham, Charles T., In Reply to. Johannes Mattern	408
Gorham's Reply to Mr. Mattern. Emil Reach	438
Henke, Frederick Goodrich. Recent Social and Political Changes in China	449
Holm, Frits. A Japanese Author on the Chinese Nestorian Monument ..	686
Hugins, Roland. Attitude of America, 222; France, 32.	
Hulst, Cornelia Steketee. Our Secret Alliance	577
Italy and the War. Ernesto Buonaiuti	695
Japan, Art and Domestic Life in. M. Anesaki	549
Japanese Author on the Chinese Nestorian Monument, A. Frits Holm ..	686
Jewish Subjects, Russia's Treatment of Her. Victor S. Yarros	321
Kampmeier, A. <i>La guerre qui vient</i>	569
Karma (Poem). Thomas Horace Evans	566
Kawaguchi, Ekai. Russia's Tibetan Policy	370
Keasbey, Lindley M. The Money Market of To-Morrow	241
<i>La guerre qui vient</i> . A. Kampmeier	569
Leibniz Bicentenary, The.	610
Lossing, Benson J. The Marriage of Pocahontas	1
Lyman, Benjamin Smith. Natural Morality	513
Mach, Professor Ernst. Obituary	257
Mangasarian Again. Paul Carus	446
Mangasarian Misunderstands	188
Mattern, Johannes. In Reply to Mr. Charles T. Gorham, 408; The Pope and His Critics, 258.	
Mattern, A Rejoinder to. Charles T. Gorham	561
Mattern, Gorham's Reply to. Emil Reach	438
Mattern, J., Reply to. Charles T. Gorham	254
Maxwell, Clerk, Some Verses of	512
Medico (pseud.). Carlyle and Germany	719
Mentality in War Time. Wilbur M. Urban	641
Mohammed's Ascension	765
Money Market of To-Morrow, The. Lindley M. Keasbey	241
Moral Law and the Bible. Arthur J. Westermayr	531
Morality, Natural. Benjamin Smith Lyman	513
Morgan, Forrest. Crucifixion and Resurrection	512
Myth, The (Poem)	767
Nature, The Ethics of. Paul Carus	547
Nestorian Monument, A Japanese Author on the Chinese. Frits Holm ..	686
New Testament, The Fourhundredth Anniversary of the Publication of the First Greek. Bernhard Pick	129
Nietzsche, Goethe Rather than. Paul Carus	564
Noble, Lydia L. Pimenoff-. A Russian View of Germany	511
Ogden, C. K. Desiderius Erasmus and His Significance for the Reformation	148
Parker, W. Thornton. A Chippewa Tomahawk	80

	PAGE
Passion Plays, Modern. Maximilian J. Rudwin	278
Pennypacker, Samuel W. (Obituary)	638
Pick, Bernhard. The Four-Hundredth Anniversary of the Publication of the First Greek New Testament	129
Pocahontas, The Marriage of. Benson J. Lossing	1
Pope and His Critics, The. J. Mattern	258
Precursor, the Prophet and the Pope, The. Robert P. Richardson..	617, 657
Psychology of German Action, The. Otto C. Backof	746
Pushkin, The Poet. Paul Carus	362
Rasputin. Paul Carus	367
Reach, Emil. Mr. Gorham's Reply to Mr. Mattern	438
Reformation, Erasmus and His Significance for the. C. K. Ogden	148
Reid, Gilbert. The Political Situation in China	308
Repin, the Russian Artist. Paul Carus	346
Resurrection, Crucifixion and. Forrest Morgan	512
Resurrection Story, Possible Origin of the. Frank R. Whitzel	301
Richardson, G. H. The Bible in Modern Light	479
Richardson, Robert P. The Precursor, the Prophet, and the Pope, ..	617, 657
Rudwin, Maximilian J. Modern Passion Plays	278
Russell, Bertrand. The Danger to Civilization, 170; A Personal Statement,	766
Russia, Little, and Its Claim for Independence. Paul Carus	350
Russia in War and Peace. Michail M. Victorov	335
Russian View of Germany, A. Lydia L. Pimenoff-Noble	511
Russia's Tibetan Policy. Ekai Kawaguchi	370
Russia's Treatment of Her Jewish Subjects. Victor S. Yarros	321
Schultze, Ernst. Voices from German Freemasonry	705
Secret Alliance, Our. Cornelia Stekete Hulst	577
Seibel, George. Did Bacon Write Shakespeare?	193
Shakespeare, Did Bacon Write? George Seibel	193
Sob Sisters and the War. Charles Alma Byers	733
Stanton, Theodore. Some Recent French Books on the Great War	317
Stuart, C. A. Verrijn. The Economic Aspect of the War	385
Thermometer, Our. Paul Carus	187
Thermometer, The. C. A. Browne	439
Thou That Hearest Prayer (Poem). Helen Coale Crew	181
Tobler, Emile. A Protest from the Bahaists	505
Tomahawk, A Chippewa. W. Thornton Parker	80
Trebizond, a Lost Empire. John T. Bramhall	329
Uncle Sam, To (Poem). George R. Dean	768
Urban, Wilbur M. Mentality in War Time	641
Venice and the Dardanelles	572
Victorov, Michail M. Russia in War and Peace	335
War, Italy and the. Ernesto Buonaiuti	695
War, Pictures from the Theater of. Paul Carus	497
War, Sob Sisters and the. Charles Alma Byers	733
War, The Economic Aspect of the. C. A. Verrijn Stuart	385
War Time, Mentality in. Wilbur M. Urban	641
War Topics.—In Reply to My Critics. Paul Carus	87
Warfare, New Phases of	60
Water-Power Conservation	443

	PAGE
Westermayr, Arthur J. Moral Law and the Bible	531
Whitzel, Frank R. Possible Origin of the Resurrection Story	301
Whitzel, Frank R., on the Resurrection. Paul Carus	317
Yarros, Victor S. Russia's Treatment of Her Jewish Subjects	321

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

Albin, Pierre. D'Agadir à Sarajevo	319
Blondel, Georges. La doctrine pangermaniste	319
Blondel, Georges. Les embarras de l'Allemagne	318
Bourgeois, Emile, and others. La guerre	318
Charmes, Francis. L'Allemagne contre l'Europe	318
Delaisi, Francis. La guerre qui vient	569
Durell, Fletcher. Fundamental Sources of Efficiency	639
Ewers, Hanns Heinz. German War Songs	191
Guyot, Yves. Les causes et les conséquences de la guerre	318
Hale, William Bayard. American Rights and British Pretensions on the Seas	192
Ibsen, Sigurd. Human Quintessence	64
"J'accuse"	444
Jollivet, Gaston. Six mois de guerre	317
Leonard, William Ellery. Socrates: Master of Life.....	319
Lewisohn, Ludwig. The Modern Drama: An Essay in Interpretation ...	572
Mach, Ernst. Principles of the Theory of Light	640
Modin, Bernhard. What is Man	575
Mourey, Gabriel. La guerre devant le Palais	319
Parker, W. Thornton. Personal Experiences Among our North American Indians	639
Problèmes de politique et finances de guerre	319
Rolland, Romain. Above the Battle	576
Stanton, Theodore. "Victor Hugo's Estimate of Germany"	320
"Watchman." Rome and Germany	576

Period 120

The Open Court

HARVARD
THEOLOGICAL LIBRARY
JAN 10 1916
HARVARD
UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER.

VOL. XXX. (No. 1)

JANUARY, 1916

NO. 716

CONTENTS:

	PAGE
<i>Frontispiece.</i> Marriage of Pocahontas.	
<i>The Marriage of Pocahontas</i> (With Illustrations). The late BENSON J. LOSSING	1
<i>The Evolution of German Thought</i> (With Editorial Comments). EMILE BOUTROUX	8
<i>France!</i> ROLAND HUGINS	32
<i>A Message from Aristophanes.</i> FRED. C. CONYBEARE	41
<i>New Phases of Warfare</i> (With Illustrations)	60
<i>Book Reviews and Notes</i>	64

The Open Court Publishing Company

CHICAGO

Per copy, 10 cents (sixpence). Yearly, \$1.00 (in the U.P.U., 5s. 6d.).

Entered as Second-Class Matter March 26, 1897, at the Post Office at Chicago, Ill., under Act of March 3, 1879
Copyright by The Open Court Publishing Company, 1916

Socrates: Master of Life

BY

WILLIAM ELLERY LEONARD

A popular yet first-hand study, by an American scholar, poet and thinker; comprising a critical examination of the Greek sources, a lively and picturesque review of the career of Socrates in its political and social environment, and a subtle and sympathetic analysis of his ideas and of his personality.

Cloth, \$1.00. Pp. 120.

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY

122 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE, CHICAGO

The Fragments of Empedocles

By WILLIAM ELLERY LEONARD

A reconstruction of Empedocles's system of creation. Greek-English text.
"There is no real creation or annihilation in the universal round of things.
There is only the Everlasting Law."

Cloth, \$1.00

Aesop and Hyssop

By WILLIAM ELLERY LEONARD

Fables adapted and original, in a variety of verse forms, picturesque, lively, and humorous in phrasing, with a moral, fresh in wisdom and succinct in expression, pleasingly appended to each. Profitable for amusement and doctrine in nursery and study.

Cloth, \$1.50

The Open Court Publishing Company

Chicago, Illinois

Cloth, \$1.00. Pp. 120.

OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY

122 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE, CHICAGO

Fragment of Empedocles

By **WILLIAM ELLERY LEONARD**

Fragment of Empedocles's system of creation. Greek-English text.
Real creation or annihilation in the universal round of things.

Cloth, \$1.00



MARRIAGE OF POCAHONTAS.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

VOL. XXX (No. 1)

JANUARY, 1916

NO. 716

Copyright by The Open Court Publishing Company, 1916

THE MARRIAGE OF POCAHONTAS.

BY THE LATE BENSON J. LOSSING.

DURING the lovely Indian summer time, in the autumn of 1608, there was a marriage on the banks of the Powhatan, where the English had laid the corner stone of the great fabric of Anglo-Saxon empire in the New World. It was celebrated in the second church which the English settlers had erected there. Like their first, which fire had devoured the previous winter, it was a rude structure, whose roof rested upon rough pine columns, fresh from the virgin forest, and whose adornings were little indebted to the hand of art. The officiating priest was "good Master Hunter," who had lost all his books by the conflagration. History, poetry, and song have kept a dutiful silence respecting that first English marriage in America, because John Laydon and Anne Burrows were common people. The bridegroom was a carpenter, among the first adventurers who ascended the Powhatan, then named James in honor of a bad king; and the bride was waiting-maid to "Mistress Forrest," wife of Thomas Forrest, gentleman. These were the first white women ever seen at the Jamestown settlement.

Almost five years later, there was another marriage at Old Jamestown, in honor of which history, poetry and song have been employed. The bridegroom was "Master John Rolfe, an honest gentleman, and of good behavior," from the realm of England; and the bride was a princess royal, named Matoa, or Pocahontas, the well-beloved daughter of the emperor of the great Powhatan confederacy on the Virginian peninsula. The officiating priest was Master Alexander Whitaker, a noble apostle of Christianity, who went to Virginia for the cure of souls. Sir Thomas Dale, then Governor of the colony, thus briefly tells his masters of the Company in London, the story of Pocahontas: "Powhatan's daughter I

caused to be carefully instructed in the Christian religion, who, after she had made a good progress therein, renounced publicly her country's idolatry, openly confessed her Christian faith, was, as she desired, baptized, and is since married to an English gentle-



POCAHONTAS.

lives civilly and lovingly with him, and, I trust, will increase in goodness, as the knowledge of God increaseth in her. She will go to England with me, and, were it but the gaining of this one soul, I will think my time, toil, and present stay, well spent."

So discoursed Sir Thomas Dale. Curiosity would know more of the princess and her marriage, and curiosity may here be gratified to the extent of the revelations of recorded history.

The finger of a special Providence, pointing down the vista of ages, is seen in the character and acts of Pocahontas. She was the daughter of a pagan king who had never heard of Jesus of Nazareth, yet her heart was overflowing with the cardinal virtues of a Christian life.

"She was a landscape of mild earth,
Where all was harmony, and calm quiet,
Luxuriant, budding."—*Byron*.

When Captain Smith, the boldest and the best of the early adventurers in Virginia, penetrated the dense forest, he was made prisoner, was conducted in triumph from village to village, until he stood in the presence of Powhatan, the supreme ruler, and was then condemned to die. His head was laid upon a huge stone, and the clubs of the executioners were raised, when Pocahontas, then a sweet girl, ten or twelve years of age, leaped from her father's side, where she sat trembling, clasped the head of Smith with her arms, and implored his life.

"How could that stern old king deny
The angel pleading in her eye?
How mock the sweet, imploring grace
That breathed in beauty from her face,
And to her kneeling action gave
A power to soothe and still subdue,
Until, though humble as a slave,
To more than queenly sway she grew."—*Simms*.

The emperor yielded to the maid, and the captive was set free. Two years after that event, Pocahontas again became an angel of deliverance. She hastened to Jamestown during a dark and stormy night, informed the English of a conspiracy to exterminate them, and saved the colony. Captain Smith was grateful.

promise of a copper kettle, to betray Pocahontas into his hands, to be kept as a hostage while compelling Powhatan to make restitution for injuries inflicted. The emperor loved his daughter tenderly, agreed to the terms of ransom gladly, and promised unbroken friendship for the English.

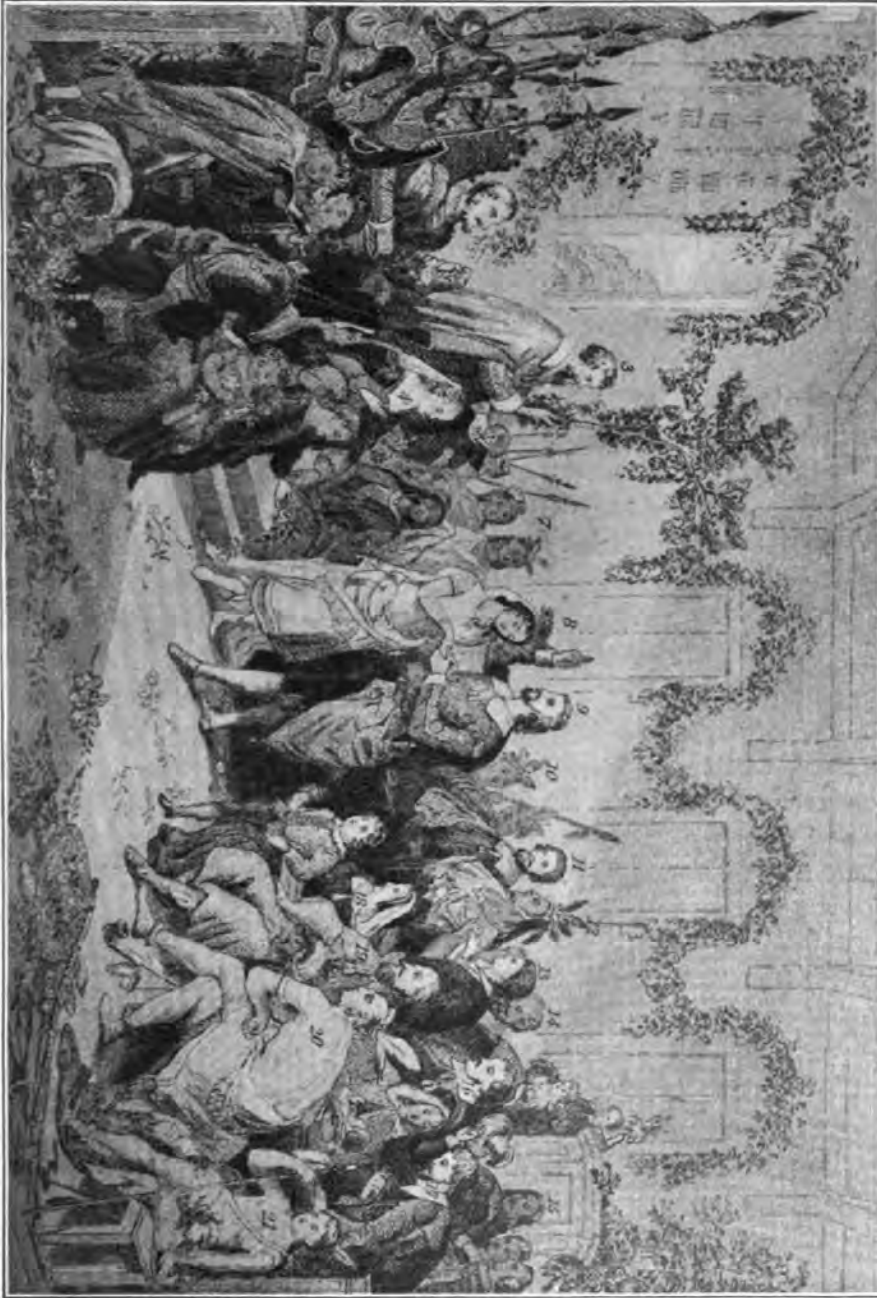
Pocahontas was now free to return to her forest home. But other bonds, more holy than those of Argall, detained her. While in the custody of the rude buccaneer, a mutual attachment had budded and blossomed between her and John Rolfe, and the fruit was a happy marriage—"another knot to bind the peace" with Powhatan much stronger.

April, in the Virginia peninsula, where the English settlers first built a city, is one of the loveliest months in the year. Then winter has bidden a final adieu to the middle regions of America; the trees are robed in gay and fragrant blossoms; the robin, the blue-bird, and the oriole, are just giving the first opening preludes to the summer concerts in the woods, and wild flowers are laughing merrily in every hedge, and upon the green banks of every stream.

It was a day in charming April, in 1613, when Rolfe and Pocahontas stood at the marriage altar in the new and pretty chapel at Jamestown, where, not long before, the bride had received Christian baptism, and was named the Lady Rebecca. The sun had marched half way up toward the meridian, when a goodly company had assembled beneath the temple roof. The pleasan odor of the "pews of cedar" commingled with the fragrance of the wild flowers which decked the festoons of evergreens and sprays that hung over the "fair, broad windows," and the commandment tablets above the chancel. Over the pulpit of black-walnut hung garlands of white flowers, with the waxen leaves and scarlet berries of the holly. The communion table was covered with fair white linen, and bore bread from the wheatfields of Jamestown, and wine from its luscious grapes. The font, "hewn hollow between, like a canoe," sparkled with water, as on the morning when the gentle princess uttered her baptismal vows.

Of all that company assembled in the broad space between the chancel and the pews, the bride and groom were the central figures in fact and significance. Pocahontas was dressed in a simple tunic of white muslin from the looms of Dacca. Her arms were bare even to the shoulders; and, hanging loosely towards her feet, was a robe of rich stuff, presented by Sir Thomas Dale, and fancifully embroidered by herself and her maidens. A gaudy fillet encircled her head, and held the plumage of birds and a veil of gauze,

while her limbs were adorned with the simple jewelry of the native workshops. Rolfe was attired in the gay clothing of an English cavalier of that period, and upon his thigh he wore the short sword of a gentleman of distinction in society. He was the personification



MARRIAGE OF POCAHONTAS.
(Key.)

of that period, and upon his thigh he wore the short sword of a gentleman of distinction in society. He was the personification

of manly beauty in form and carriage; she of womanly modesty and lovely simplicity; and as they came and stood before the man of God, history dipped her pen in the indestructible fountain of truth, and recorded a prophecy of mighty empires in the new world. Upon the chancel steps, where no railing interfered, the good Whitaker stood in his sacerdotal robes, and with impressive voice pronounced the marriage ritual of the liturgy of the Anglican church, then first planted on the western continent. On his right, in a richly carved chair of state brought from England, sat the Governor, with his ever-attendant halberdiers in brazen helmets at his back.

There were yet but few women in the colony, and these, soon after this memorable event, returned to native England. The "ninety young women, pure and uncorrupted," whom the wise Sandys caused to be sent to Virginia, as wives for the planters, did not arrive until seven years later. All then at Jamestown were at the marriage. The letters of the time have transmitted to us the names of some of them. Mistress John Rolfe, with her child, (doubtless of the family of the bridegroom); Mistress Easton and child, and Mistress Horton and grandchild, with her maid servant, Elizabeth Parsons, who on a Christmas eve before had married Thomas Powell, were yet in Virginia. Among the noted men then present was Sir Thomas Gates, a brave soldier in many wars, and as brave an adventurer among the Atlantic perils as any who ever trusted to the ribs of oak of the ships of Old England. And Master Sparkes, who had been co-ambassador with Rolfe to the court of Powhatan, stood near the old soldier, with young Henry Spilman at his side. There, too, was the young George Percy, brother of the powerful Duke of Northumberland, whose conduct was always as noble as his blood; and near him, an earnest spectator of the scene, was the elder brother of Pocahontas, but not the destined successor to the throne of his father. There, too, was a younger brother of the bride, and many youths and maidens from the forest shades; but one noble figure—the pride of the Powhatan confederacy—the father of the bride, was absent. He had consented to the marriage with willing voice, but would not trust himself within the power of the English, at Jamestown. He remained in his habitation at Weroworomoco, while the Rose and the Totum were being wedded, but cheerfully commissioned his brother, Opachisco, to give away his daughter. That prince performed his duty well, and then, in careless gravity, he sat and listened to the voice of the apostle, and the sweet chanting of the little choristers. The

music ceased, the benediction fell, the solemn "Amen" echoed from the rude vaulted roof, and the joyous company left the chapel for the festal hall of the Governor. Thus "the peace" was made stronger and the Rose of England lay undisturbed upon the Hatchet of the Powhatans, while the father of Pocahontas lived.

Months glided away. The bride and groom "lived civilly and lovingly together," until Sir Thomas Dale departed for England, in 1616, when they, with many settlers, accompanied him. Tomocomo, one of the shrewdest of Powhatan's councillors went also, that he might report all the wonders of England to his master. The Lady Rebecca received great attention from the court and all below it. "She accustomed herself to civility, and carried herself as daughter of a king." Dr. King, the Lord Bishop of London, entertained her "with festival state and pomp," beyond what he had ever given to other ladies; and at court she was received with the courtesy due to her rank as a princess. But the silly bigot on the throne was highly incensed, because one of his *subjects* had dared to marry *a lady of royal blood*, and, in the midst of his dreams of prerogatives, he absurdly apprehended that Rolfe might lay claim "to the crown of Virginia!" Afraid of the royal displeasure, Captain Smith, who was then in England, would not allow her to call him "father," as she desired to do. She could not comprehend the cause; and her tender, simple heart was sorely grieved by what seemed to be his want of affection for her. She remained in England about a year; and, when ready to embark for America with her husband, she sickened, and died at Gravesend in the flowery month of June, 1617, when not quite twenty-two years of age. She left one son, Thomas Rolfe, who afterwards became quite a distinguished man in Virginia. He had but one child, a daughter. From her, some of the leading families in Virginia trace their lineage. Among these are the Bollings, Murrays, Guys, Eldridges, and Randolphins. But Pocahontas needed no posterity to perpetuate her name—it is imperishably preserved in the amber of history.

THE EVOLUTION OF GERMAN THOUGHT.¹

BY EMILE BOUTROUX.

IT is a cruel fate to be reduced to talking and philosophizing whilst the destinies of France are being decided on the battlefield. Where, at such a time, are we to obtain the detachment necessary for correct analysis and for the right choice of word or phrase? Still, perhaps the repugnance we feel is misplaced, for the war now being waged is something more than the clashing of material forces. The France of the Crusades, of Joan of Arc and of the Revolution, faithful to her past, is fighting for ideas, for the higher interests of mankind. The armies of the Republic are struggling for justice, the right of nations, the civilization of antiquity and Christianity, against a power which recognizes no right but force and claims to impose its laws and culture on the whole world.

The close union of action and thought, valor and reflection, is a dominant characteristic of the mental state of our soldiers. We all notice it. The young men whose studies I have the honor to direct, who but a few months ago were wholly devoted to scientific or literary research, now forward to me, during a halt between battles, letters in which they philosophize, after the fashion of Plato's characters, on the connection between infantry and artillery, on trench war in general. Let us also reflect, and consider the moral aspects of the events taking place. Thus shall we maintain a true fellowship of ideas and feelings, as we ardently wish, with our dear brothers in the field.

German thought: how indispensable it is that we should know and understand it well if we would faithfully interpret the facts of this war, its causes, the way in which our enemies are conducting it and the results at which we must aim! The task is no easy one, for opinions on the question are strangely divergent.

Because of the extraordinary methods pursued from the out-

¹ Authorized translation by Fred Rothwell.

set by our enemies: scorn for treaties, conventions and laws, massacre of women and children, regulated and useless incendiarism, systematic destruction, unreasoning bombardment of the sanctuaries of religion and science, of art and national life, some have attributed it all to a sudden fit of madness or of collective insanity. How could the Germany of Goethe and Beethoven, except as the result of a pathological aberration, delight in cruelty and barbarism?

Deeper inquiry was made into the history of German thought, and we were amazed to find that, long before the war, German writings and actions showed tendencies quite in conformity with the excesses of to-day. For some time past, German philosophers and historians have been teaching the cult of force. German thinkers deified the Prussian state and the German nation, considering other nations as destined by Providence itself to be dominated by Germany.

Going farther and farther back into the past, certain minds imagined that the germs of this pride and brutality were to be found even in the most ancient representatives of German mentality, and they came to this conclusion: Germany has not changed; it has always been, in tendency if not in actuality, just as we see it to-day. Where we regarded it as different, it was simply prevented by circumstances from manifesting its true character.

The Germans themselves also declare they have not changed. They affirm that they are still the idealists, the apostles of duty, the devotees of art, science and metaphysics, the privileged guardians of high culture symbolized by the illustrious names of their thinkers and artists. "We shall carry through this war," exclaimed the official representatives of German science and art, addressing themselves to the whole world in October, 1914, "to the very end, as the war of a people of culture, to whom the heritage of a Goethe, a Beethoven, a Kant is as sacred as their home and country." And if it seems to us that the genius of Goethe, in order to win the world's admiration, has not needed the support of Prussian militarism, or again that the way in which the Germans are now carrying on war is more worthy of the Huns than of a civilized nation, then such judgment simply proves that we cannot understand German thought, and that our bad faith is on a level with our ignorance and imbecility.

Even in these days of trial, unique in our history, as we listen to the wounded and the refugees telling us of the horrors they

thought, that France is the country of Descartes, the philosopher who taught us that everything great and progressive in civilization, even all the virtues, are illusory unless based on inviolable respect for truth.

I.

Let us take a general view and try to reveal the main aspects of German thought in modern times.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the general character of German life is particularism, a parcelling out, an absence of national soul. The treaty of Westphalia was an effect as well as a cause. So persistent was this character that Goethe, in that luminous and far-seeing vision of the German soul concealed beneath the pleasant idyll of Hermann and Dorothea, shows us, at the beginning of the wars of the Revolution, the inhabitants of a small town on the right bank of the Rhine, bringing succor and help to the fugitives without ever reflecting whether there existed any other bond between themselves and these unhappy beings, than that which unites together all human beings. "How deserted the town is!" says the inn-keeper of the Golden Lion to his wife. "How everybody has rushed out to watch the fugitives pass by! What will not curiosity do!" (*Was die Neugierde nicht tut!*) The inhabitants of each town, content with their local occupations, attached to their own customs, disposed to suffice unto themselves and regard the inhabitants of neighboring towns as strangers, know no other fatherland than their own district.

Still this narrow life is far from being the only life offered us by Germany at this period. By a remarkable contrast, along with a restricted external life there is found an inner life of strange amplitude and profundity. The connection is not easy to grasp between these two existences, the one visible, the other invisible; they seem to be two personalities coexisting in one and the same consciousness.

Such is the religious life of a Luther, so intense and ardent, but whose characteristic is a veritable breach of continuity between omnipotent faith and works, wholly ineffective from the point of view of salvation. In the artistic, philosophic and poetic order, great minds, admired even at the present time by the whole world, create original works, the common feature of which is perhaps the effort to grasp and reveal the divine, primal and infinite source of things.

Wo fass' ich dich, unendliche Natur? "Where can I lay hold on thee, infinite nature?" exclaims Goethe's Faust, stifling in prison,

all filled with dust-covered pamphlets and shutting out the light of heaven, in which scholasticism has buried him.

Goethe discerns the ideal hidden away beneath the real, and sees the real gradually mould itself upon this ideal the more it comes under the influence of divine love:

“Das Ewig-Weibliche
Zieht uns hinan.”

“Self-devoting love, the eternal feminine, draws us away to the heights.” Thus ends the tragedy of Faust, the German Titan.

“All artistic creation,” said Beethoven, “comes from God, and relates to man only in so far as it witnesses to the action of the divine within him.”

The trend of the German mind during this period is the sense of the dependence of the finite on the infinite. Man is capable of transcending himself by submitting to the influence of absolute being. The German word *Hingebung* well expresses this state of mind.

During this same period the Germans investigate and adopt, without thinking it possible for them to forfeit anything thereby, what they regard as good in the ideas of other peoples. “There was a time,” writes Kant, “when I imagined that science, of itself alone, could sum up the whole of human dignity, and I despised an unscientific people. Rousseau led me back into the right track. The prestige of science faded away; I am learning to honor humanity worthily and I should regard myself as more useless than the meanest artisan, did I not henceforth use such knowledge as I possess in reestablishing the rights of mankind.” Such a sentiment does not stand alone; at that time German thinkers willingly accepted suggestions (*Anregungen*) that came from other countries.

The German soul was still divided in this way between two separate worlds: the world of phenomena, as Kant calls it—a shapeless, inert mass; and the world of noumena, a transcendent domain of the spiritual and the ideal, when there took place those great events of the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, the Revolution and the Empire.

reaction. Luther had said: "What matters it if they take everything from us, property and honor, children and women; these things will not benefit them. The Empire must remain ours." Fichte introduces the revelation which is to turn this prediction into a reality. The thing he announces is that the supreme principle of creation and unity which the German mind sought in some transcendental world without, really dwells within itself, that the absolute self, the source of all activity, thought and being in the universe, is none other than the German self, the German genius, the *Deutschheit*, the kingdom of God within you. The character of the German tongue which alone is pure, primitive and living, as compared with the Latin tongues, made up of dead residua, is the sign and warrant of the quality of a primitive people, the first-born of God, *Urvolk*. Germany, compared with other nations, is spirit, life and good struggling against matter, death and evil. Let Germany but attain to self-knowledge and she will rise and overcome the world. The first thing is to understand that "for the time being, the combat of arms is over, and the combat of principles, morals and characters is beginning." It is a moral reform that is to bring about the resurrection of Germany. The revolution that is to be effected comprises two phases: (1) the German people must recover possession of itself, i. e., become aware of the primitive and autonomous power of creation which constitutes its essence; (2) it must spread German thought throughout the world; the self, in some way, must absorb the not-self, and thus effect a complete transformation of the human race, which, from being terrestrial and material, will become German, free and divine.

Such is Fichte's teaching. It aroused in the German soul the loftiest ambitions for independence and action, though it supplied few indications as to the concrete ends to pursue and the means to employ in realizing these ends. These gaps were filled, from the theoretical point of view, by Hegel, the principle of whose philosophy was the radical identity of the rational and the real, the ideal and the positive.

Spirit, to Hegel, is not only an invisible, supernatural power; it has created for itself a world within this world of ours and attains to supreme realization in a certain force, both material and spiritual, which is none other than what is called the state. The state is the highest of all realities; above it in the world of existence there is nothing. Its function is to organize liberty, i. e., to abolish individual wills and transform them into one common will, which, through its mass and unity of direction, will be capable of making

itself inevitable. The state, supreme intermediary between the world and God, spirit moulding into force, is the divine instrument for the realization of the ideal.

But how will this immanent God account for his concrete destinies and the precise ends toward which he must tend? Hegel answers this question by his philosophy of history. History, he teaches, is not the recital of events that have marked out the lives of human beings; it is a reality which exists *per se*, the work wrought in the world by universal spirit, destroying those creations of the human free will of which it disapproves and maintaining and causing to triumph those of which it approves. *Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht*. "The world's history is the world's tribunal." The victors and the powerful of this world are the elect of God. Hegel, having lost his fortune during the war of the Empire, summed up his impressions regarding this period in the words: *Ich habe die Weltseele reiten sehen*, "I have seen the soul of the world ride past," referring to Napoleon.

Thus there is no obscurity regarding the moral value of the various existing institutions and the divers ends in view. That state is the noblest and the strongest, that policy the loftiest which acquires empire.

Imbued with these theories, which became increasingly positive and definite, the Germans, after Leipsic, after Waterloo, and after the treaties of 1815, were anything but satisfied. The genius of history in the year 9 B. C., by making Hermann victorious over the three legions of Varus, had inspired in all of German race the idea of eternal vengeance on Roman insolence.

Germany became more and more conscious that its material power was out of all proportion to its spiritual greatness and aspirations. The admiration which the world professed for its philosophers, poets and musicians, the widespread influence of its thought in the nineteenth century, was now but a vain delusion; it must have visible force and power, dominion over land and sea. This mental condition was expressed by Heine in the following four lines which were speedily in every one's mouth, and which, in a country where maxims possess great influence, still further increased the desire for vengeance and conquest:

"Franzosen und Russen gehört das Land,
Das Meer gehört den Britten:
Wir aber besitzen im Luftreich des Traums
Die Herrschaft unbestritten."

"The French and the Russians possess the land, the sea belongs

to the English. But we Germans in the aerial realm of dreamland hold undisputed sway."

Now, whilst German ambitions thus became more and more urgent and precise, especially as regards the situation regained by France, it came about that three successful campaigns, those of 1864, 1866 and 1870, suddenly and as it were miraculously raised Germany to the very front rank among the military and political powers of the world. What influence was this to have on German thought?

After the reconstruction of the German empire, or rather the creation of a unified empire, armed more powerfully than ever before against its neighbors, Germany was not content to exist for itself alone, and it speedily transformed Fichte's thought along the lines of the change that had taken place within itself. To realize in all its fulness and plenitude the idea of Germanism, to regenerate the world by bringing it to pass that the divine will should be done amongst the nations as it was in the elect people; such was German thought. No longer, however, as with Fichte, was it a question of substituting a strife of principles and morals for armed combat: actual events, as well as theory, had shown that force alone is a potency effectual toward realization; consequently it is by force that Germany must Germanize and recreate the world.

More than this: Leibniz and Kant admitted that different nations, differing in genius, had a like right to existence. The cobbler philosopher, Jacob Boehme, had long ago told men that God delights to hear each bird of the forest praise him in its own particular melody.

Now a victorious Germany, on the contrary, will regard German thought as exclusive of all other thought. To find room for Germanism, nowadays, means the destruction of that which, along the lines in which other nations think, appears incapable of being brought within the limits of German thought.

To determine these limits would involve the attempt to trace the main lines of that German culture in whose name Germany is now waging war.

The first object of German culture is force. The ideal without the real is but a misty vapor, moral beauty apart from power is but deception. Germany must acquire force, so that it may unhindered unfold all its possibilities and impose on the world its culture, the superiority of which the various nations, in their ignorance and

depreciate only because they are afraid of it and cannot enroll it on their own side.

Force is superiority according to nature: this is a supreme and inviolable law. Force is the principle of everything that exists in reality and not simply in the abstract. It is the basis of all laws and contracts, and these become nothing when it is no longer there to sanction them.

Force is the basis of German culture. It is vain, declares the famous manifesto of the ninety-three "intellectuals," to claim that, in resisting our militarism, you respect our culture. "Without German militarism, German culture would long ago have disappeared from the face of the earth."

The second object of German culture is organization, without which there is no effective force. Organization is essentially German. The other nations believe in the efficacy of the solitary effort of a man of genius, or in the duty incumbent on the community to respect the dignity of each of its members. German organization, starting with the idea of the All, sees in each man a *Teilmensch*, a partial man; and, rigorously applying the principle of the division of labor, restricts each worker to the special task assigned to him. From man it eliminates humanity, which it regards as the wheelwork of a machine.

Hence education is something essentially external. It is training and not education in the real meaning of the word, *Drill*, not *Erziehung*. It teaches men to act as anonymous parts of ever greater masses. The bond between individuals, which, according to the Greeks and Romans, was reason, regarded as the common essence of all men (*ratio vinculum societatis*) is here purely external; it is the coordination of various functions with a view to the realization of a given end.

Organization, thus understood, is the means of obtaining force: it is also, in itself, according to German thought, the highest form of being. Thus it is Germany's mission, after having organized itself by German ideas, to organize the whole world along similar lines. The kingdom of God on earth is the world organized in German fashion by German force.

The third element of German culture is science. This comprises all those methods which, by the appropriation of the forces of nature, multiply the force of man *ad infinitum*. Since 1870,

Science, however, as a whole, constitutes that title of honor which Germany specially values. German science is self-sufficient; it is the source upon which all other science draws.

Besides, German science has characteristics of its own. German workers in the physical sciences aim at coordinating the results obtained by workers all over the world. It is their mission to organize scientific research, as they do everything else, to state problems, classify results and deduce conclusions. Science, in its strict meaning, is German science.

The physical sciences have their counterpart in the historical sciences, whose object it is to set each human event in the place which belongs to it in the whole. This task, also, can be perfectly accomplished only by Germany. It alone indeed can strip the individual of his own distinctive value, to identify him with the all of which he forms a part. Itself is the great All, the realization of which is the end of this universe.

Such then are the characteristics of German historical science. Learned specialists, under the direction of a competent master, first collect documents, criticise texts and develop their meaning. Then the German genius effects a synthesis, i. e., sets forth each fact in the history of the progress of Germanism, this history being regarded as that of humanity. That the historian's attention may not be diverted to unimportant facts the Kaiser recommends him to adopt the lobster method, *Krebsgang*, i. e., to proceed backward, taking the present function of the Hohenzollerns in the world, the culminating fact of history, and going on to those facts which, even as far back as the creation of the world, have prepared and announced that phenomenon.

Force, organization, science: these are the three principles of German culture. The more they develop the nobler a life do they make possible for the German people and for the world.

After 1870, material life in Germany became transformed to an extraordinary degree. The simple, modest habits of past generations were followed by an effort to live the most modern and luxurious life, to procure the maximum of wealth and enjoyment.

The arts date back to the forms most purely German or even to the pre-classic forms of a hoary antiquity which, in their primitive colossal character, are evidently indebted to the genius of Germany. Why then pretend to be sorry at the fact that masterpieces of French and Flemish art have been ruined, to no purpose, by German shells? To restore—and more than restore—their original beauty, they only need to be restored or rebuilt by German artists.

And lastly the *chef-d'œuvre* of German culture, that which really, according to the Kaiser's definition, makes it a culture, and not simply an external polish, such as is found in the Latins, is the moral formation of man, the total abolition of the idea of right and its substitution by the sane, virile and religious idea of duty. The German is a man who obeys. He regards the whole of moral life as consisting in obedience to authority. From the German point of view, whosoever obeys his superior is free from reproach, and this is so right up to the emperor, who, as William the Second said in 1897, "is responsible to the Creator alone, without this awful responsibility ever being, in the slightest degree, shared either by ministers, assemblies or people."

Every order given by a chief, or by a functionary however inferior, emanates from the emperor, i. e., from God. Hence we see how absurd it was to use the word "atrocious" to designate the conduct of German soldiers in the present war, as the Allies have had the audacity to do. German soldiers are disciplined above all else, consequently their acts could never be branded as atrocious; they are deeds of war; the emperor alone is responsible for them, and that before God alone.

II.

We have endeavored to reveal some of the main traits of German thought during the three periods of the modern history of Germany. Let us now see what answer we can give to the question which every one is asking: "What connection is there between the Germany of the present and the Germany of the past?"

We cannot say that Germany has not changed. It is contrary to fact either to claim, as the Germans do, that Germany remains faithful to the idealism of Kant, Beethoven and Goethe, or to identify the Germany of these thinkers and artists with the vandalism which present-day Germany glories in exhibiting.

There can be no doubt of it; Germany *has* changed. Ever since 1870 any one who has observed German life has seen this very clearly. Before that date, and especially before 1864, it was possible for a Frenchman to reside in Germany without his national dignity being assailed; after 1870 this was not so.

The periods 1806-1815 and 1864-1871 are clear demarcations of the new tendencies of German thought. The Germany to which

to rule and regenerate the universe. What else can we see but a veritable moral revolution in the claim that Germany henceforth set up that it will suffice unto itself, whereas formerly it quietly submitted to foreign influence or divine inspiration?

Fichte's speeches marked the advent of a spiritual Germanism; the wars of unification, as the Germans now call the three wars of 1864-1870, establish the transformation of this spiritual Germanism into a material Germanism. Whilst attending the classes at the University of Heidelberg in 1869 I found a radical divergence in thought on this matter. *Einheit durch Freiheit*, "unity through liberty," was the formula of Bluntschli, the professor of international law. This meant that Germany, above all else, was to maintain itself free and attain to unification in a federative sense, not in a spirit of hostility toward its neighbors. The other formula: *Freiheit durch Einheit*, "liberty through unity," was upheld by the historian Treitschke. It meant that Germany was to aim, above all else, at unity pure and simple, a unity imposed by force and which also gives force, to obtain which it must fling itself into the arms of Prussia, and this latter country would realize this unity through war with France.

The program of Bluntschli tended to the continued independent status of Germany, that of Treitschke to its abdication into the hands of Prussia. The war of 1870 ended in the definite conquest of Germany by Prussia and the indefinite postponement of liberty in favor of unity and force.

That the transition from each of these phases to the next was not necessary and inevitable, that, from the one to the other, Germany effected a veritable change, is proved by the part which certain external causes played in this development.

Circumstances assuredly played at first a considerable part in the evolution that came about. Jena and Sedan are not two logical stages in the inner development of German thought. The influence of these two events was certainly decisive. Jena determined in Germany a reaction, of which, left to itself, it was incapable. Sedan made it definitely impossible for Germany to recover its independence.

Certain men, too, by the might of their personality, contributed to the evolution of German thought. Fichte electrified his listeners in 1807-1808 by his energetic will even more than by his learned deductions. Bismarck plunged his nation and king into war, giving this war historical significance by the way in which he provoked it and the object he had in view. Treitschke, a converted theorist of

Prussian absolutism, was an orator of amazing passion and violence, as I verified for myself when I heard him in the large Aula of Heidelberg university in 1869. Napoleon, above all, became a mythical hero substituted for the real man, a genius too big for the little nation to which he thought he belonged, the bearer of the idea and of the very soul of the world, as Hegel said. Just as the French were the custodians of Latin thought, so the German people is the true heir and executor of the thought of Napoleon, the genius who, directly or indirectly, created German unity and dictated to Europe its task, that of driving back the barbarians of the East and ruining the merchants of the West. The soul of Napoleon is the soul of the German people; his star goes in front of the German armies and is to lead them to victory.

In a word Germany is now largely the product of an external phenomenon, i. e., of education. Ever since Fichte education has been employed most methodically and energetically in moulding the human consciousness as well as the human body. Instruction of every kind, religion and history, grammar and geography, dancing and gymnastics, must contribute mainly in forming Germans who speak and act, almost by reflex action, along the lines of an increase of German might. The examples given in grammar books inculcate scorn of the "hereditary foe." By playing with colors and the orthography of names, atlases annex countries which ought to belong to Germany. Historical treatises, in conformity with Fichte's theory, set forth the Latins as being Germans corrupted by an admixture of Roman blood. Philosophers still speak, in stereotyped fashion, of internal development, of the awakening of thought and personality. In fact, however, instruction is essentially a mechanical training: it aims at making men serviceable (*brauchbar*), by establishing the principle that the first end to pursue is to create an enormous war-machine in which minds and arms unhesitatingly obey the word of command.

By instruction, collective action, books, speeches, songs, personal influence, attempts are made in Germany to inculcate certain doctrines; it would seem that clear-cut formulas and speeches are more effective in this land than in any other. It is amazing to find exactly identical theories in the words and writings of Germans of

Does this mean that there is no connection between the two, and that the contingent character of this development implies a complete breach of continuity?

A profound analysis of Germany's intellectual and moral past proves that this is not so, but that, on the contrary, very characteristic germs of the mental state now manifest existed in the past. The phase of thought that has come about has not been a metamorphosis, the substitution, for a given being, of an entirely new one; it has consisted in the increasingly exclusive unfolding of certain parts of the German character which, in the past, were tempered by others. What was in the background has passed to the front, or even thrust back all the rest to such an extent that it now appears to exist alone. It is like some characteristic which, present in a child and attracting but little attention because it is of secondary importance, becomes exaggerated in the man under the influence of circumstances and the will and finally controls the entire nature.

It is assuredly strange that Germany has passed from worship of God to worship of itself. Scholars however have discovered in the German character as it has revealed itself from the beginning, such a substratum of arrogance as we find few examples of in history. The Germans have a rare propensity to identify their own interest with that of the universe, and their point of view with that of God. Hence that narrow and insolent dogmatism which they themselves regard as an important trait in their character. "Do not forget," we read in a collection of poems intended for the German soldiers of 1914, "to put into practice that famous saying: *Nur Lumpen sind bescheiden*, (Only louts are modest)."

Not only in the German character generally, but also in the teachings of philosophers, is to be discovered a singular tendency to put the self, the German self, in the place of God.

German philosophy, along with Kant and Fichte, tends to include those things which our simple good sense considers as existing apart from ourselves as imaginary processes unconsciously performed by our intellectual powers. The external world, says Kant, is an object constructed for himself by the subject, that he may become conscious of himself by contrasting himself with it. And Fichte adds that the self creates this object as a whole without borrowing anything from an external world which does not exist. When at Heidelberg in 1869, attending Zeller's lectures, I was amazed to hear the professor once begin with the words: "To-day we will construct God."

Is it any wonder that the mind which attributes to itself the

power to construct God should come to regard itself as God? and since Fichte, after Jena, saw his transcendental deduction culminate in the conception of the German genius as a foundation of the absolute self, is it not logical that this philosopher came to identify Germanism with divine Providence?

Thus the present deification of Germanism is connected with the history and philosophy of Germany. It may seem a more difficult matter to discover in the idealistic Germany of the past the mother of the realistic, materialistic and brutal Germany of the present.

And yet it may be remarked that in German thought the idea of power, force, war, destruction and evil has always held an important place. In vain did the old German god Wotan cause the death of Ymir, the ice giant; in vain perished the giants of old, drowned in the blood of Ymir; one of them escaped death and from him was born a new race of giants to fight the gods. On the other hand, it is with the various parts of the wicked giant Ymir's body that Wotan and his brothers built up the world. The powers of evil did not cease to haunt forests and deserted spots. The erl-king, hiding in belts of clouds and in dry leaves, snatches children from their fathers' arms.

Moreover let us not forget that the Prussians, the master nation, were not brought into Christianity until the end of the thirteenth century, by Teutonic knights who succeeded in reducing them only after fifty years of warfare. It is not to be wondered at if the pagan element tends to assert itself and sometimes represents the God of the Christ in a form that would be more suitable to the Moloch of the Phenicians.

It would seem as though the teachings of the philosophers form a counterpart to these popular beliefs. In them we find evil occupying quite another place from that it holds in Greek teachings.

This line of thought starts with the principle, indisputable in itself, that to will the realization of an end is to will the means without which this realization is impossible. In the application of this principle, however, the Germans tended to admit that none but mechanical means, those forces which as a whole constitute matter, are efficacious, and that there is no effective potency in idea as such, in good will, in justice or in love. Aristotle's god was intelligence and goodness. Apart from himself was material force which, in a wholly spiritual way, he permeated with desire and thought. The principle of being, on the other hand, according to Jacob Boehme, the old "Teuton philosopher," has for its basis non-

being, night, endless desire, invading force, contradiction, pain and evil. According to the fundamental law of being, he says, nothing can be realized except by being set over against its opposite; light can be born only from darkness. God can come forth only from the devil. *Die Finsterniss, die sich das Licht gebar*, "Darkness, the mother of light," said Mephistopheles.

The optimist Leibniz himself said that good can be realized only by acknowledging the power of evil. Kant shows us that thought is incapable of being stated unless it be set over against a material object. And whilst he seeks for the means of leading men toward a perpetual peace, the first means that he recommends is war. "Away with the Arcadian life beloved of sensitive souls," he wrote in 1784. "Thanks be to nature for those instincts of discord and malevolent vanity, of the insatiable desire after wealth and rule with which she has endowed men. But for these instincts the nobler mind of humanity would eternally slumber. Man wills concord and harmony, but nature knows better what is good for him; she wills discord."

By applying in this way the principle of the conditions of realization, we are led to state the famous maxim: *Macht geht vor Recht*, i. e., all right is illusory, a pure metaphysical entity, vain material for harangues and recriminations, unless based on a force capable of compelling it. To speak of right when one is devoid of force, is impudently and criminally to challenge the one who possesses force. To those who indulge in such bluster, the Germans address the following rebuke: A policy of force devoid of force is mischievous nonsense. (*Eine Machtpolitik ohne Macht ist ein frevelhafter Unsinn*).

The final step consisted in transforming the means into an end, in saying not only: force precedes right, but even: force itself is right.

This line of progress in philosophy has been prepared by the famous doctrine of preestablished harmony, according to which, throughout the universe, the visible is the faithful symbol of the invisible. Here force is not only a condition, but an external sign, a practical substitute for right.

Then, accustomed to regard things from the standpoint of the absolute, and convinced that, in the essence of things, force is the first and fundamental principle, German thought has come to deify force *qua* force, to transform it from a means into an end, an essential end, in which all others are included.

Thus practical materialism no less than the apotheosis of Ger-

manism which at present characterizes German thought shows itself as the development of certain germs which preexisted both in the German mind and in the teachings of German philosophers.

Perhaps one of the deepest inner causes of the trend of German thought is to be found in a remarkable trait which seems rooted in the tendency to disparage feeling and attach value to intellect and will alone.

This is an unfamiliar aspect of German mentality, for in many of us the very name of Germany still calls up ideas of romanticism and sentimentality. Present-day Germans affirm that sentimentality, in Germany, has never been more than a passing malady, an infection resulting from inoculation with the Celto-Latin virus. It seems impossible that Frenchmen should so far despise the popular *Lieder* of Germany, the music of a Weber, a Schubert or a Schumann. Still it appears in conformity with the general history of German thought to maintain that feeling or sentiment, wherever found, is in Germany essentially individual and has no part to play in fulfilling the destinies of the universe, or even of human societies. The horror as regards feeling affected by such champions of Prussian thought as Frederick II and Bismarck, is proverbial. Feeling, said Bismarck, is to cold reason what weeds are to corn; it must be rooted up and burnt. The essential character of the Prussian state is to be, exclusively and despotically, an intelligence and a force, to the exclusion of all moral feeling similar to that existing in the individual. Not that the state knows nothing of ethics and is incapable of virtue. On the contrary it is the very *chef-d'œuvre* of ethics. Its mission however is to be strong, to recognize nothing but force. Its virtue consists in carrying out its mission in all loyalty. The more the state, like the individual, is what it ought to be, the more moral it is.

Not only in Prussian politicians, but in German philosophers in general, is there noticed a tendency to intellectualism, or to radical voluntarism, or else to a union of these two doctrines. The philosophy of Leibniz, whose main idea is to substitute harmony for unity as the principle of things, gives a wholly intellectual meaning to this harmony; it is the correspondence by virtue of which the various beings of nature, as they are complemented

Judgment, it is but to fling it onto the Procrustean bed of his categories and there reduce it to concepts and abstractions. If Fichte admires the philosophy of Rousseau it is only on condition that feeling be replaced by will. As for German mysticism, this is an intellectual intuition of the Absolute or a taking possession of the generating power of things, far more than a communion of persons bound together by love. Both the romantics and the German philosophers of "feeling" retain the spirit of abstraction and system which marks the preponderance of understanding over sensibility. And what the youthful generations of Germany seek in Frederick Nietzsche is more specially the religion of brute force, which looks upon goodness as cowardice and hypocrisy, and tolerates the existence of the humble only in so far as they can play the part of good slaves.

Suppose, in a nation, that intelligence and will alone are regarded as noble and effectual, feeling being relegated to the individual conscience; and you can readily imagine that a frame of mind similar to that of present-day Germany will be developed therein.

In the domain of idea and reasoning, the habit of sophistry will be created. Indeed if you remove feeling which, joined with intelligence and will, produces good sense, judgment, honesty, justice and humanity, then intelligence and will, in a soul thus mutilated, will be no more than a machine, a sum-total of forces ready to place themselves at the service of any cause without distinction. The will, in such a conception of life, takes itself as an end, and wills simply in order to will. Science claims to have supplied a peremptory demonstration because, from the mass of facts it has piled up, it has drawn those that proceed to some particular well-defined object. This will, however, in spite of the efforts of dialectics, does not find in itself a law which transcends it. And this intelligence, to which the object is indifferent, will be able to deduce from the facts, if the will dictates, the contrary of what itself had successfully demonstrated. To discover truth, said Pascal, we must unite the mathematical to the intuitive mind. Now the latter consists of feeling as well as of intellect.

In practice, the elimination of feeling leads to the unrestricted profession of that immoral maxim: the end justifies the means. From this point of view, all that is required of the means is that they be calculated to realize the end. It is not our business to inquire whether the means used are, *per se*, cruel, treacherous, inhuman, shameful or monstrous: all these appreciations emanate from feeling and so are valueless to an intellect which professes to

repudiate feeling. Indeed it may happen that the most blamable means may be capable of producing advantageous and even good results.

And moreover what, by this system, is an end that is qualified as good? When ends, like means, depend only on intellect and will, to the exclusion of feeling, then the end best justified is force, absolute and despotic domination, devoid of all admixture of sensibility and humanity. And the final word of culture is the synthesis of power and science, the result of the combination of intellect and will alone.

In a world ruled by such culture there are only systems of forces; persons have disappeared. Individuals and nations no longer possess any dignity or right in themselves; to interest oneself in their existence and liberty would be to yield to feeling, to take account of purely subjective tendencies and desires. Intellect and will take cognizance of nothing but the whole, the sole unity to which power belongs; they consider the parts only in so far as these are identified with the whole.

And the condition of the perfect organization of the world is that there should exist a master-people, *ein Herrenvolk*, which, through its omnipotence, will terrorize or subdue inferior nations and compel them to carry out, in the universal task, the part which itself has imposed on them.

If the comparisons here established between the present and the past of Germany are correct, then we need not labor under any illusion as to the relatively new and contingent element in the conduct of contemporary Germany. This development has not been a destined one, its germs were preexistent in the German mind. External conditions have caused Germany to fall over on the side to which it was leaning. Inclinations which, held in check by others, might have remained pure tendencies and been simply expressed as literary, artistic and philosophical works, once they were allowed free play have become great and destructive forces of moral order and of human civilization.

An attentive study of Germany's past shows that there is nothing in explanations which regard the present madness as other than the sudden and fleeting reaction of a stricken organism against the enemies that threaten its existence. Germany is pleased to pose as a victim. As a matter of fact, war is its element. "The German empire is wholly based on war," wrote General von Bernhardt in 1911. The *pax germana* is nothing but an artful war, ever ready to change into open warfare. For it is Germany's policy to be al-

ways on bad terms with its neighbors, to be constantly contriving pretexts for picking a quarrel with and afterward crushing them.

Let us then beware of regarding the present war as but a crisis, an accident, or of thinking that, with the signing of a treaty, we may abandon ourselves to the sweet delights of an unalterable peace. We have been duly warned that the Germans regard a treaty as but a scrap of paper; and the entire past, of which this war is the conclusion, will not have reverted to a state of nonentity because a few signatures have been exchanged.

And so when the war is over, for months and years, for centuries even, we must be watchful and ready for action.

Of this we are fully capable. The Germans had spread the rumor—it seemed at times as though they had made us believe it ourselves—that we were an amiable though frivolous (*leichtfertig*) nation, fickle and noisy children, incapable of being earnest and persevering. Both our army and our youth are now showing, in very simple fashion, that if we are possessed of the ardor and generosity commonly attributed to us, we are also not lacking in constancy, in calm and firm courage, in steady and indefatigable determination.

Moreover the nation has realized, frankly and without any effort, by means of a patriotism as high-minded as it is warm-hearted, that affectionate, harmonious understanding, that open and hearty collaboration in the common task, which is the promise and the pledge of success in all human endeavors. What weight have differences of opinion, of positions or interests, to men who have been fighting together side by side, each one sacrificing himself for his comrades, without respect of birth or rank, *à la française*?

Our army and our youth are now setting us an example of the loftiest virtues, human as well as military, virtues which will be necessary for us in the near future, just as, in the present, they are the promise of victory. All honor to our sons; let us try to show ourselves like them!

EDITORIAL COMMENTS.

Though the contents of the January number of *The Open Court* had been decided upon, I determined at once to change

my answer to Messrs. Paul Hyacinthe Loyson of Paris, Charles T. Gorham of London, and C. Marsh Beadnell of the British Royal Navy, as soon as possible, but I am exceedingly anxious to let my adversaries have every advantage, and I would deem it wrong to use my editorial privileges to press my views into the foreground. Therefore I prefer to let the article by M. Boutroux take precedence over my answer to my critics, which can wait for the February number. My readers will profit by making the acquaintance of one of the best and most scholarly of French thinkers, a man whom I was fortunate enough to meet personally in Heidelberg several years ago at a philosophical congress which took place in that beautiful old university town on the Neckar.

Professor Boutroux is the head of the Thiers Foundation in Paris, the nature and purpose of which were discussed in *The Open Court* of May, 1912. This institution is devoted to the development of promising young men during the period of transition from youth to manhood, by offering a home to postgraduate students, and facilities for carrying on their favorite lines of research before they enter practical life. Professor Boutroux, however, was interesting to me not only on account of the prominent position he holds in the academic circles of his country, but also and mainly because of his personal accomplishments. While American members of the congress who took an active part in the proceedings addressed the audience (which was predominantly German) in their own native English, Professor Boutroux, who is a native Frenchman, spoke a pure and idiomatic German, remarkably clear and perfect in pronunciation and also admirable in diction. I know quite a number of Frenchmen who speak good German, but I know too that they are exceptions, for it is more difficult for a Frenchman to learn German than for a German to learn French. It is almost as difficult for French people to learn German as it is for English people to learn French,—not quite so difficult, however, for the latter feat seems to lie well-nigh in the domain of impossibilities.

Professor Boutroux however is well versed not alone in German language and literature, he is also familiar with German philosophy, perhaps better than many Germans to the manner born; and when an opportunity presented itself of acquiring an article by him on "German Thought" I was delighted and would have gone far for the privilege of acquainting myself with his views on the subject and presenting them to the readers of *The Open Court*.

outlook, but is it possible that he should judge of it quite impartially and fairly when the two nations, Germany and his own dear France, are at war, when Germany has been accused of barbaric atrocities and treacherous politics? Scarcely!

Not only does Professor Boutroux know Germany; but Germany also knows Professor Boutroux. Shortly before the war he had been invited to deliver a lecture at the University of Berlin, where he spoke on May 16, 1914, on the subject of "German Thought and French Thought." His lecture has been translated into English and has just appeared in the *Educational Review* of December, 1915.

The present article of Professor Boutroux is written after almost a year of war, and though the author is affected by this crisis in his country's history, we cannot but acknowledge that he has made an honest endeavor to be fair.

To Professor Boutroux the Germany of to-day is the nation that opposes might against right, that believes in brutal force and violence and takes delight in destroying treasures of art and butchering women and children. The germs of this brutality he sees in the mind of the old Teutons; only in former days the idealism of poets and thinkers had a better chance to develop, while in modern Germany the dominant and militant Prussia took the lead and thus impressed the new spirit of barbarism upon the whole people. Indeed, Professor Boutroux reminds us that the Prussians, the "master nation" as he calls them, "were not brought into Christianity until the end of the thirteenth century by Teutonic knights who succeeded in reducing them only after fifty years of warfare. It is not to be wondered at if the pagan element tends to assert itself and sometimes represents the God of the Christ in a form that would be more suitable to the Moloch of the Phenicians."

This is a queer statement for a scholar of M. Boutroux's prominence. The Prussians whom the Teutonic knights subdued in the thirteenth century were Slavs, not Germans; they were the Masures in whose country Hindenburg has lately won the battle of Tannenberg over the Russians. They were still pagans in the thirteenth century, but exercised no influence on German thought. I grant however that German paganism maintained itself in German Christianity; that Christ assumed some features of Thor, the son of Wodan; and that this pagan character of German Christianity did not a little to prepare the Reformation which found a better soil in the Germanic countries than among the Latin nations. The Prince Elector of Brandenburg assumed the title of King of Prussia

only because Prussia did not belong to the German empire. In Prussia he was an independent sovereign, in Germany he was a vassal of the emperor, and so the state of Brandenburg changed its name to Prussia and a large part of the inhabitants of northern Germany to-day call themselves Prussians without thereby becoming the descendants of the Masures, who were pagans as late as the thirteenth century and have belonged to the German empire only since 1871.

I will not enter here into details or attempt to refute Professor Boutroux's belief in the atrocities and other barbarities of the Germans. That has been done again and again, including the allegation about the destruction of the library of Louvain and of the cathedral of Rheims. The Germans have not proved half as barbarous as the British marines, nor even as the French, but misrepresentation is part of the methods of warfare among the Allies. I regret that a scholar of Professor Boutroux's prominence uncritically accepts these fabrications, which for a while will hurt the German cause but will in the long run discredit their inventors.

I do not think that a German philosopher or a German statesman has ever claimed that "might is right," but I know that Germany has found out by experience that "right devoid of might" is an illusion. When the French took Heidelberg and wantonly destroyed Heidelberg castle by blasting its towers and burning its artistic halls there was certainly no more right on the French side than when they took Strasburg and Metz. If they possessed any right it was the right of the wolf who devoured the lamb. German philosophy found out that right without might is as useless as the right of the lamb in the jaws of the wolf, and having suffered so much by its lamblike and mightless right, it was highly desirable to impress upon the German mind the absolute necessity and indispensability of might.

Germans are by nature sentimental; they are inclined to follow the impulses of feeling; but experience has taught them to subordinate feeling to intelligence.

It is also true that German philosophy has emphasized that right and duty belong together. The French, in their Revolution, stood upon the rights of man, while Kant, the representative German thinker, insists first on man's duty. The truth is that right presupposes duty and that duty involves right. But it is wise to insist on duty first, and frivolo

The German people have learned this truth and follow it better than any other nationality, but duty has not for that reason been identified in Germany with unthinking slavish obedience. On the contrary, even in the Prussian army the request is made that acts of obedience must not be carried out in slavish or literal submission to a command, but in intelligent comprehension of the sense and purpose of the command and with due consideration of changed conditions.

It is a rather strange idea to make of Napoleon "the soul of the German people" because he was "the genius who directly or indirectly created German unity.". Napoleon did it indirectly by teaching them that right without might is an empty dream; but I will add that the Germans, in developing this indispensable element, might, have never forgotten and have never ceased to teach that might, in order to justify itself, needs the foundation of right. Napoleon represents might, and his might was ruthless force, but he could not maintain himself because he disregarded right, and the end was a collapse of his might.

Napoleon has found more justice and more appreciative judges in Germany than in any other country, not even France excepted, but even his most enthusiastic admirers in Germany have never identified the soul of Napoleon with that of Germany.

There is a minor point in Professor Boutroux's exposition which has really nothing to do with the question of German thought and its implications in the present historical crisis. It is the reference to the Kaiser's suggestion to change the traditional method of education which has been criticised as a *Krebsgang* or retrograde movement.

In the German gymnasium, Latin is taught first and the modern languages later on. Latin thus serves as the basis for instruction, later, in French, Italian and Spanish, and it is frequently the case that Germans are acquainted with Latin but do not know French. Their education in this respect is an unpractical one. So the Kaiser thought it would be better to teach schoolboys first the living tongues and then the old dead language from which they have developed. Philologists, who think that the traditional method is preferable, objected to this reversal in their educational methods and denounced it as reactionary and unpractical. Fair or unfair, the name *Krebsgang* is a slogan which was largely responsible for the defeat of the Kaiser's proposal.

In conclusion I will say that Boutroux's prophecy that "a victorious Germany will regard German thought as exclusive of all

other thought," seems to me unfair and underrates German intelligence. Professor Boutroux must know that one reason for German preeminence consists in the cosmopolitan character of the German mind. The German people have always been possessed of an ambition to understand other peoples, to acquire their spiritual accomplishments, to translate their literary treasures, and to enrich their own souls by the products of other civilizations. If the Germans, after their victory over the Allies, acted as prophesied by Professor Boutroux they would indeed ruin her prospect for future progress and enter upon a period of decay.

Let us hope that for the greatest good of humanity her *neutrality* will not ossify so soon, but on the contrary will rejuvenate with new tasks and wider fields of activity. Even her former enemies would be benefited thereby. But, otherwise, they would suffer as Greece suffered through the decay of Rome after her conquest by that country.

I believe in Germany. My British and French critics condemn Germany. Our opinions, however, are mere subjective judgments which decide nothing. The God of history weighs the nations in the balance and gives victory to those which he finds worthy. When the final decision has been pronounced we shall know better how and why one of the two parties was found wanting.

FRANCE!

BY ROLAND HUGINS.

THERE are times when we have to speak sharply to those we love best. The friends of France will remonstrate with her, and the sincerer their affection the plainer will be their speech.

For France is living in a dream, wrapped in illusion. Because she suffers much she thinks her cause is just, and because her soul is high she imagines her deed is good. Every nation at war tends to idealize its motives, and this is particularly true of this world-war,—possibly just for the reason that most of its causes were selfish. The nations enlist under the banners of truth and righteousness, of humanity and pity, of liberty and civilization. But the discerning everywhere see through the sham. In England there are people who call this sort of thing “tosh,” and in America there are many who call it “buncombe.” In most countries these grandiose sentiments are not taken with entire seriousness; but with you, apparently, yes. No motive is too altruistic or too noble for you to proclaim. You furnish the world an example of national self-deception.

The truth is often like a shower of ice-water. It is gratifying to vaunt the glory of France or to inveigh against the wickedness of the enemy; but it is not so pleasant to talk of secret treaties, of Russian securities held by French investors, of the subjugation of Morocco, or of the intrigues of the Colonial party. Yet the one is ebullitions of the war spirit, while the other represents the realities of history. The French are a proud, a gifted, and a sensitive race. But does your pride exempt you from facing the facts? Why is it that you ignore or slur over aspects of this struggle which are so desperately clear to an outsider?

Any sane discussion of the Part France is playing in the war must center about the Franco-Russian alliance. That is the cardinal

fact. A quarrel breaks out between Servia and Austria-Hungary. The occasion is the murder of the Austrian heir, but the real dispute is the balance of power in the Balkans. To settle the supremacy of the Near East, Germany and Russia fly at one another's throats. But the West is dragged in, and the whole world flames up,—for what reason? Because France acts with Russia. France makes Russian interests, Russian designs, Russian ambitions, her own.

G. Lowes Dickinson calls this long-standing bargain of yours with the Terror in the North an "unholy alliance." But let that go for the moment. The motives which prompted France to champion Russia are a separate question. First of all let us agree on the simple fact that France's action was conditioned on that of her ally. There has been a notable lack of straightforwardness in discussing this point; and some of you have tried to delude yourselves into the notion that you were wantonly attacked. At the beginning of the war, for example, your political and military leaders showed the greatest concern not to commit any act of "aggression." French troops were withdrawn ten kilometers behind the frontier. Was this ostrich-like act of innocence undertaken to impress the French populace, or to impress the outside world? Can you deny that France was already committed to fight for her northern ally? Was there anything at all which Germany could have done, or left undone, which would have kept you out?

On July 29, 1914, the Russian ambassador at Paris telegraphed to Sazonof: "Viviani has just confirmed to me the French government's firm determination to act in concert with Russia. This determination is upheld by all classes of society and by the political parties, including the Radical Socialists" (Russian Orange Book, No. 55). The same day Sazonof telegraphed back: "Please inform the French government. . . . that we are sincerely grateful to them for the declaration which the French ambassador made me on their behalf, to the effect that we could count clearly upon the assistance of our ally, France. In the existing circumstances, that declaration is especially valuable to us" (Orange Book, No. 58).

These quotations are from a hundred possible. Every line in both the Russian Orange Book and the French Yellow Book confirms the allegiance of France to Russia. Every statesman in Europe knew what your attitude would be. The Germans under

At the same time he acted with a remarkable absence of candor toward Germany. Let me illustrate. On July 31 he informed his ambassador at St. Petersburg that, "Baron von Schoen (German ambassador at Paris) finally asked me, in the name of his government, what the attitude of France would be in case of a war between Germany and Russia. He told me that he would come for my reply to-morrow (Saturday) at 1 o'clock. *I have no intention of making any statement to him on this subject*, and I shall confine myself to telling him that France will have regard to her interests. The government of the Republic need not indeed give any account of her intentions except to her ally" (French Yellow Book, No. 117). On the following day, August 1, Viviani had the audacity to telegraph to his ambassadors abroad that, "This attitude of breaking off diplomatic relations without direct dispute, and although he (i. e., Baron von Schoen) *has not received any definitely negative answer*, is characteristic of the determination of Germany to make war against France" (Yellow Book, No. 120). How, in the name of Janus, was Germany to receive "any definitely negative answer" if Viviani refused to "make any statement on this subject"? What would you call this sort of thing in ordinary affairs,—hypocrisy or deceit? This attempt to cloak hostile designs with silence deceives no one; it was perfectly clear what French "intentions" were. You intended to strike Germany from the west, should she be at war with Russia in the east.

Let us not try to evade a patent truth. The historical fact, from which there is no escape, is that you were bound to go in if Russia went in. Perhaps your treaty made it obligatory on you to fight by the side of Russia; in any event there was no disposition on the part of your leaders to keep the sword sheathed. All that talk in the days of the crisis about patrols crossing the frontiers, about German troops firing on French outposts, and about French aeroplanes flying over German territory, does not touch the core of the situation. These allegations, from whichever side, are mere banalities and pose. The die was cast; it had been cast for years. Even if you impute the most sinister motives to Germany, even if you prove to your own satisfaction that she started on a career of world domination, you do not demonstrate that she wanted to make war on France in 1914. Whatever her motives, Germany would have preferred to deal with one enemy at a time, would she not? It would have been far better for her, you must acknowledge, to fight Russia alone, than to grapple at the same time with Russia, France, England, and all their allies.

For you, therefore, to declare that you suffered an unprovoked attack, and that you are now purely on the defensive, is to fall short of an honest avowal. Germany, it is true, sent you an ultimatum and put a time-limit on your preparations; and at the end of that limit she invaded your territory. These, however, were acts necessary to her plan of strategy. She knew you were bent on fighting. Why should she not seize the initial advantage? If you persist in describing yourselves as being on the defensive it is merely because no nation ever admits that it is acting on the aggressive. Of this there is a striking example in French history. Napoleon Bonaparte toyed with the notion that he was merely defending himself. In Sir Walter Scott's "Life of Napoleon" the following conversation between the emperor and his minister Decrès is recorded. The conversation takes place immediately after Napoleon's marriage with Maria Louisa.

Napoleon—"The good citizens rejoice sincerely at my marriage, monsieur?"

Decrès—"Very much, Sire."

Napoleon—"I understand they think the lion will go to slumber, ha?"

Decrès—"To speak the truth, Sire, they entertain some hopes of that nature."

Napoleon—"They are mistaken: yet it is not the fault of the lion: slumber would be as agreeable to him as to others. But see you not that while I have the air of being the attacking party, I am, in fact, acting only on the defensive?"

There has been altogether too much use made of this phrase "on the defensive." If you, France, are on the defensive, it is only in that attenuated sense that a victory of Germany over Russia would have tilted the balance of power in favor of Germany. But why were you interested in the balance of power? Why were you, the innocent and idealistic French, interested in wars and military combinations? The whole question, you see, simmers down to this: Why were you in alliance with Russia?

Surely it was not on account of sympathy with the Russian government. There were never two more oddly assorted yoke-mates than republican, intellectual France, and autocratic, illiterate Russia. Whatever way you look at it, Russia is the most backward power of Europe, industrially, educationally and politically. A great deal of nonsense has been published in France lately, the purpose of which is to eulogize the Russians, and to paint in bright colors the drab reality. Attention has been called

to Russian art, music, literature. But this is simply to magnify the exceptional. Every one admits that Muscovite culture has produced a few rare flowers, just as every one admits that potentially the Russian civilization has admirable aspects, realizable after it has emerged from medievalism. The typical Russia of to-day, however, is not a few revolutionists, nor a handful of intellectuals excoriating their government. The typical Russia is the secret police, the superstitious millions, the military despotism, the Siberia of exile, the grave of a dozen nationalities, and the gehenna of the Jews. That is Russia as the whole world knows it, and no amount of sentiment or whitewash can hide the truth. The whole world knows, too, that Russia changes, and can change, very slowly.

Yet into the arms of this cruel and unscrupulous bureaucracy France threw herself unreservedly. She formed with the Bear of the North a binding military alliance which has brought her, at the last, to the supreme ordeal and sacrifice she now undergoes. Her motive could not have been fear. A France pacific in aim, and unallied with great military powers, would have been no more the object of suspicion, or the victim of aggressive designs, than would Switzerland. Germany would not have molested a non-militarist France, for Germany had defeated France thoroughly, and extirpated French influence from her internal politics. There's the rub! Germany had defeated France in 1870-71. She had humbled France as she had never been humbled before. She had taken Alsace-Lorraine, borderland provinces, neither exactly French nor exactly German, as the visible badge of her triumph. Formerly these two provinces belonged to the German empire, and were taken in the midst of peaceful conditions without even a show of right. Lorraine became French, but Alsace remained German with the exception of a small district on the southern frontier.

France formed the alliance with Russia when stinging from the bitterness of that defeat of 1870-71. Russia afforded the hope of an ultimate revenge. Russia was courted, flattered, financed. French gold bought Russian securities in such quantities that the whole of thrifty France came to have an interest in maintaining the political *mésalliance*.

Bismarck said that France would never forgive Germany her victories. Apparently he spoke the truth. France fights to restore Alsace-Lorraine. Yet is it because the inhabitants of that territory have been oppressed? You will complain that when your troops entered Alsace at the beginning of the war they were treated to poisoned wells and were shot in the back by the peasants. The

Alsations are among the bravest and most loyal of German soldiers,—these Alsations you wanted to “liberate.” You fight to recover provinces which do not want to be recovered—for the final glory of France. *La Revanche!* Yet after all is not revenge a very human motive?

Yes, revenge is very human, but it can hardly serve as an excuse for dragging the West into a war over the Balkans, and for decimating the whole of Europe. Revenge is supposed to be more the attribute of the Red Indian than of the civilized modern. Why should France alone be incapable of forgetting a past defeat? Why should she cherish the spark of hatred for more than a generation, waiting the hour to blow it into flame? The alignment in this war shows how many hatreds, how many revenges, have been foregone. Russia fights by the side of England and Japan: she forgets Crimea and the Yalu. Germany and Austria, once enemies, are not merely allies, they are a single unit of military administration. Italy was a member of the Triple Alliance (although no one can recall the fact without shame). Bulgaria linked with Turkey,—who would have thought it possible? You, France, you alone, pursued a policy of historic revenge. You alone found a wounded pride too sore for healing. For forty years the black ribbons of mourning fluttered from the statue of Strassburg. You have taken them off now,—to place them on a million graves.

But you did not want war, you are protesting. The mass of the French people were pacific. That must be admitted. But the mass of people in no country wanted war. The Germans did not want it; the English did not want it; the Russians knew nothing about it. Yet they all accepted it after it came; and now they give their lives gladly for their country. Oddly enough the very fact that the present war was made by governments rallies support to those governments, and enlists the loyalty of the peoples. You can see in your own nation how the paradox works. The French, you say, generally scorned war,—*C'est trop bête, la guerre.* Therefore when the war came they were convinced that it was not of their own making. It must be some one's fault. And whose but the enemy's? It must have been the vile Germans, the contemptible Boche, who brought this about. In war-time we completely forget the Biblical injunction about the beam in our own eye.

Yet after all the French people must be held responsible for the actions of their government. Possibly many of you did not realize where the alliance with Russia and the policy of colonial expansion would ultimately lead you. You may have been hypnotized by the

banner of *La Revanche* and the call of *La Gloire*. But you have a republican government; you are a democracy. There has been in France for a generation a strong war party. In the last decade or two, through all the kaleidoscopic changes of your politics, it has been apparent that this party of "aggressive patriotism" was gaining strength, gathering power. This effected the *entente* with England. It engineered the adventure in Algeria, and later managed the strangulation of Morocco. It maintained a strong financial interest in the blood-stained *concessionaire* system in the French and Belgian Congo. It constantly worked to embitter Anglo-German relations,—an effort ably abetted by the imperialist party in Britain. It undermined every attempt to achieve a reconciliation between France and Germany, and it brought about the ruin of Caillaux. In other words, the Colonial party, the Chauvinist party, was continuously successful in its designs. Although some of the most patriotic and far-sighted statesmen in France never ceased to combat it and the interests it represented, they were not able to break its grip. You had, indeed, a popular test of its power just previous to the outbreak of the war, in the elections on the Three Year Law. The Three Year Law was sustained. The militarists had won. The "New France," the France of aggressive temper, of nationalistic bombast, had been approved.

There was, I submit, a discernible downward trend in the policies of the successive governments under the Third Republic, and to some extent a decay in French sentiment. There have been times when France stood for liberty, equality and fraternity, and was ready to make great sacrifices for unselfish ends. But the France which battles to recover Alsace-Lorraine and to enthrone the Russian Czar in Constantinople, has drifted a long way from the ideals of the Revolution; just as the England of Grey and Asquith is far different from the England of Cobden, Bright and Palmerston. Indeed this war could not have happened had there not been a distinct deterioration in the tone of European politics. All sentiment was squeezed out of international relations, and along with it most of the principle. One indication was the support given by the Liberal West to the Russian bureaucracy, at a time when that bureaucracy was menaced by Liberal revolt at home. Another proof was the cynical abandonment of the weaker nations and the colored races. Morocco, the Congo, Finland, Persia, the Balkans! These outrages never would have been tolerated by any European civilization that was not preoccupied with selfish and sinister plots and counterplots. Things are now at such a pass that you are able

to laud in the most fulsome terms an Italy which bargains away its honor, enters upon a career of national piracy, and attacks its own allies in their hour of supreme peril. There has been a debacle in morals.

This "New France" is the worst France since the seventies, since the France of Paul Déroulède. You have revived that old lust for military glory which France, through all her history, has never been able quite to uproot. That is the heart of the matter. It will not do to picture yourselves as the good white knight forced to buckle on armor to meet the "Prussian menace." The obvious historical facts disprove the assertion. There has never been for you a Prussian menace. In the last forty years you, a people with a rapidly falling birth-rate and not essentially commercial, entered on a policy of colonial expansion. Germany, with more right, did the same thing. But you succeeded in acquiring territory while she, relatively, failed. But has she ever balked you in your enterprises? Quite the contrary. The spurs of the French chanticleer proved sharper and more annoying than the beak of the German eagle. Remember Morocco! In all those forty years the Mailed Fist was not once lifted against you. It would not have struck now had you not challenged the very existence of Germany by the alliances with Russia and England. What a masterly stroke of statecraft it was, this placing of Germany in a military vise! Your leaders could not resist that temptation. They saw a France rejuvenated, reborn, triumphant! And the soul of the French rose to the vision.

Well, you have the glory already, though not the victory. No one of the Allies has made so splendid a showing of military prowess and vigor. But at what a cost in lives and human agony! No nation ever bought its laurels more dearly. And who can tell what sacrifices you may yet be called upon to make? How idle it is, after all, to reproach the French! You are intoxicated; the madness is in your blood. It is too late to turn back now; you must see this through to the bitter end. Yet the whole world grieves for you, because the whole world loves you. It loves you not for your ambitions or your bellicose moods, but for the wholesome sanity of your life in times of peace, for your gaiety and wit, for your

war, because you suffer so much and with the least need. Our sympathy is not less because you have, for the moment, turned your back on the great ideals of human progress. You are like a beautiful woman we have loved and who has betrayed our loyalty, and we look on you and think, how can you prove so false and be so fair. The fact that you suffer for your own sins as well as for the sins of others only makes the heartbreak heavier. Like France herself we bow our heads to mourn your irrevocable dead and unreturning brave.

A MESSAGE FROM ARISTOPHANES.

BY FRED. C. CONYBEARE.

A VOLUME of Aristophanes lies open on my knees, as I sit perched on a rock well above the clear gliding waters of the river Minho, which here divides Spain from Portugal. I am on the Spanish bank, and all is peace around me. Left and right extend vineyards and plantations of maize, both shining in this season like emeralds under the level rays of the setting sun. Amidst their greenery nestle peasants' cots, of which one can discern only the roofs, picturesque as deeply corrugated brown tiles and up-curling evening smoke can make them; for these humble dwellings are seldom of more than a single story, and the vines encircling them are trailed, not as in the Provence low along the earth, but high up along wires and wooden rafters hung on countless goodly uprights of solid granite. Under such a screen of foliage the land remains cool, for even the midday sun cannot penetrate it, and even the wayfarer is protected as well as the soft-eyed bullocks that draw the rude carts of ancient type, for in order to utilize every yard of the rich soil the careful peasants carry their narrow roads for miles under such pergolas.

Behind me runs at a somewhat higher level where the land becomes steeper and uneven, the margin of a pine wood, dark and mysterious, except where clearings afford space for the white and purple heather to grow. In the background lofty hills clad with such heather close in the fertile valley. These great lineaments of the landscape are more visible from where I sit, if I cast my glance across the stream into the neighboring land of Portugal. There the eye can rove from ridge to ridge dimly interfolding in purple depths, and crowned not seldom with fantastic coronets of rugged rocks. The glens and hollows are beginning to be filled with mist and smoke, and along the eastern slopes that take the setting sun,

as Horace wrote, *duplicantur umbræ*, "the shadows are doubled" of the loftier crests that intercept its radiance.

Here no echoes of the war that is wasting Europe and destroying the civilizing work of a hundred years of peace; no rival battle-cries, no strident hymns of interracial hatred, reach this blessed retreat. Most of the peasants are as illiterate as I would like to be myself until the wickedness be overpast, and so are immune from newspapers; even if they have heard talk of the war, they probably regard it with the same unconcern with which in England we would regard a civil war in China. If you chance on one of their parish priests, he of course will know more about it; and if you ask him what he thinks of it, will answer that it is the greatest *locura y impiedad*, the worst madness and impiety that has ever disgraced the world, and that the pope, who supplicates the nations to end it, is the only prince in Europe—always excepting the king of Spain—that retains his sanity.

A little up the stream I see industrious village wives still hard at work washing their household linen; and as they kneel at the water's edge they are chanting a weird Galician folk-song that varies from grave to gay, glad outbursts dying away into melancholy cadences. One hears also further away a still stranger music, a rhythmless chaos of shrill shrieks and low deep groans, such as might arise from an inferno full of lost souls. It is nothing worse than the medley of rough dissonances given off by wooden axles revolving in wooden sockets, as the oxen drag homeward the heavily laden carts with solid wooden wheels along the stony lanes. On the other bank of the river I also catch the voices of children, collecting their little flocks of sheep and goats along the strip of grass that skirts the river.

It is twilight now. The angelus begins to toll from the white-washed village church, and it is time that I should wend my way homeward, threading the rough forest paths before darkness overtakes me; so I close my book and quit my rocky seat.

I have been scanning two plays, the "Lysistrata" and the "Peace" of Aristophanes, in the hope of winning therefrom some ray of humor to cheer me; and in these few pages I will summarize for my readers, not so much the wit I found there, and in plenty, as the profound moral truths with which these plays are still fraught for us to-day, though some 2300 years have elapsed since they awakened the mirth of Athenian audiences.

But to Aristophanes, prince of comedians, first let me apologize for the way in which he is treated by that intelligent body of men,

the censors of the British War Office. The better to understand certain passages which his editor, Brunck, for all his learning, has left obscure in his Latin version, I lately wrote home to have sent me from my library in Oxford a French translation made by an excellent scholar fifty years ago, and issued by a Paris firm that exists no more. The book reached me not, but, instead of it, I received a communication from these wiseacres that, not having been addressed to me by the publishers, it is to be destroyed at the end of fourteen days. O Aristophanes, are wit and humor extinct in Old England, that thou shouldst be treated like a stray cur or an old-time sorcerer? Or dost thou really contain military secrets, so dangerous to the successful conduct of this glorious war, that Lord Kitchener's subordinates need to guard against their being divulged in Spain?

I must therefore be content with Brunck, though he was a German; and, unassisted by the Frenchman, will now, in despite of British censors, and even at the risk of being held up to public indignation by the English press as a traitor and a spy, try to reveal the message which Aristophanes can in this evil season convey to our understanding.

The Peloponnesian war which filled the last three decades of the fifth century before Christ, and of which the great critical historian Thucydides has left us his record, in many essential features resembled that which to-day convulses Europe. As England with her oversea colonies and fleets confronts the greatest of military organizations, the German nation, so Athens, mistress of the Egean and head of a confederation of island states, confronted a Sparta, organized as a garrison and armed camp to overawe surrounding populations of doubtful loyalty. It was a fratricidal war, for Greek was fighting Greek and Hellas was divided against herself, a momentous struggle, for it ended in the downfall of the ancient city state and inaugurated a new political era. The rivalries of these states had waxed too bitter, their patriotism too narrow. They had indeed early in the fifth century B. C. held together for a time and successfully faced the forces of Xerxes and Darius; but no further concert was possible, and the seeds of dissolution now sown in the struggle for the hegemony of Greece bore fruit later on when Philip and Alexander of Macedon arose. The unity once sacrificed could

Macedon and Alexander prided themselves on their Greek culture, and they carried it, though not as a political system, as far even as Persia and the confines of India; they founded new dynasties more or less Greek, and established new cities, like Alexandria, whose inhabitants spoke and wrote a kind of Attic. But the golden age of Greek art, literature and philosophy was at an end. It could not survive the city state. The new Hellenistic communities which covered Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt, continued to reverence the artists, poets and thinkers of Athens; but the old spirit had evaporated; they Atticized, but were not Athenians. It needed the ferment and compost of a free democracy to throw up such flowers of the drama as Æschylus and Sophocles, Euripides and Aristophanes; such historians as Thucydides, such thinkers as Plato and Aristotle, and freedom was incompatible with the absolute sway of kings. The Macedonian conquerors aspired, as I have said, to be regarded as Greeks, and claimed to share the traditions of the conquerors of Salamis and Marathon, but the result of their suppression—and it was final and inevitable—of the old city states, was to sterilize the Greek intelligence and water down its wine for all succeeding ages.

Our grandfathers, still spellbound by bibliolatry, believed all the languages of the world to be descended from Hebrew; and it is barely a hundred years ago that the application of the comparative method to philology revealed to an astonished world that, apart from the Mongolian and Semitic groups, the languages of nearly all civilized races, ancient and modern Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, Persian, Slavonic, Gothic or Teutonic, Armenian, Celtic, are sister tongues, daughters of one mother, in the same way as the modern Romance idioms of Castile, Italy, France, Catalonia, Portugal, Provence and probably Roumania, are descended from Latin. In appreciating the Romance tongues we enjoy the advantage that their parent dialect is preserved to us in ancient monuments, whereas the early tongue of which the members of the other group are the offspring, is irrevocably lost; of it we have no written records, and it can only be conjecturally reconstructed from a careful comparison of its descendants. Philologists, anxious to lay stress on the connection between the East and the West, have agreed to call it Aryan or Indo-European,—Aryan being the appellation which the old Persians gave to their own civilization. It is as significant as it is deplorable that the nations participating in the present war are all members, except the Japanese, Turks and Hungarians (who are all three Mongolians), of the Aryan group; and what is still more

deplorable is the fact that with insignificant exceptions the entire Aryan group is at war with itself, for through the influence of England even the Hindus are involved. In Europe the Spanish and the Scandinavian units, the Dutch and a handful of polyglot Swiss, alone have had the good sense to hold aloof. It threatens ere long to engulf even the United States, as it already has Canada and the Southern Pacific colonies of England. The bitterest feature is that the two most closely allied races of all, the English and the Germans, are opposed to one another in this struggle, although more than any other two races they resemble one another in moral character and intellectual gifts, and although their languages are so closely allied that philologists infer that they lay together and had a common history long after they split off from the original Indo-European unity. St. Boniface, an Englishman and bishop of Mainz little over a thousand years ago, ever referred to his kinsmen in England as the Saxons beyond the sea. Entire populations in England and along the Rhine and Elbe still spoke the same tongue.

Just as Pope Benedict XV has recently addressed to the warring governments, in the name of their common race, religion and civilization, a solemn protest against a war which is the suicide of Europe, so in the *Lysistrata*, under the cover of comedy, Aristophanes appeals to his countrymen to stop a war which was the suicide of Hellas; and he chooses as his mouthpieces the women of the belligerent states, perhaps out of genuine compassion, for then as now women, though they lacked the excitement of fighting and had no voice in the making of peace and war, nevertheless bore their share and even more than their share, of the privations, suffering and sorrow that hostilities entailed. The play in effect sets before us the tragicomic proceedings of a female stop-the-war committee organized by Lysistrata, a name aptly chosen, since etymologically it means the lady who disbands an army. The opening scene, of which the time is early dawn, represents a first meeting of her committee; and she has previously beaten up recruits and arranged that they shall thus assemble to listen to her program and deliberate about how best to realize it.

Her first words are indicative of disappointment. She had expected her fellow women to assemble in force, yet only three
sent themselves of whom

Calonice, who, noticing her distress, asks what has upset her and covered her pretty face with frowns." "My heart," answers Lysistrata, "is aflame with compassion for my sex. Are we not looked down upon by men as mischievous beings?"

Calonice's answer is as frivolous as that of a modern anti-suffragette: "And so, by Zeus, we are." Her friend disdains such flippancy, and goes on to deplore the fact that her friends have not come to the meeting, although they had been notified of it beforehand and although there were such important matters to discuss.

Thereon Calonice, the embodiment of unromantic common sense, tries to calm her leader's misgivings: "They will turn up," she says, "only give them time. You forget how difficult it is for women to quit their homes at so early an hour. One has to fuss about her husband, another is waking up her servant, a third is dangling the baby, a fourth giving it a bath, a fifth is feeding it." "All the same," protests the prophetess of peace, "we have business on hand much more important to us than these petty home interests. It is a matter in pondering which I have spent many a sleepless night." "Hey!" remarks her friend, "then it must be something very clever." "Not clever at all," answers the other. "It is this, that on women now depends the salvation of Hellas."

"On women," replies her friend. "Then it is in a mighty poor way." Her mentor disdains afresh her interruption and resumes: "Yes, it all depends on us, whether our state is to survive or not, nay, and even whether the Peloponnesians shall continue to exist." "If that's all," interjects Calonice in a sudden fit of patriotism, "it surely is better to make an end of them." For a good Athenian had to wish for their destruction, just as good Britishers of to-day demand that Germany should be annihilated. "Yes, but the people of Boeotia also will perish. "Oh, no, I hope not all," cries the irrepressible Calonice. "Save the eels, they are so toothsome."

"I'll not hint at the same fate for the Athenians," continues Lysistrata, respectful of her audience, "nor have you dreamed of such a thing! Nevertheless, if we could get the women to meet together here from Boeotia and the Peloponnese, along with ourselves, then we could all join in our effort to save Hellas."

But her friend remains as sceptical as ever of the good sense of her sex. They are fit for nothing, she argues, except to paint their faces and dress up in fineries by way of attracting the men.

"You've hit the very thing," cries Lysistrata. "It is just finery will do it"—a dark saying, of which the purport is revealed later on. Meanwhile other ladies make their appearance: Myrrhina from

Anagyrus,—who apologizes for being so late, but in the dark she could not find her girdle,—and Lampito, a vigorous lady from Lacedaemon, looking as if she could strangle an ox. “I guess I could,” says Lampito in her broad Doric idiom. “Don’t I frequent the gymnasium, and devote myself to the strengthening of my hams?”—a coarse allusion to the athletic training of Spartan girls. In reply Lysistrata compliments her upon her bust, but is requested not to stroke her up and down as if she was a victim for the altar.

A Boeotian and a Corinthian lady next arrive. Lysistrata is then voted into the chair, but before she will disclose her plan for stopping the war, she insists on putting a question to her friends, which for millions of women to-day has a most pathetic ring:

“Do you not miss the fathers of your children when they are away campaigning? For I’m sure you have, every one of you, husbands at the front.”

“Alas,” answers the gay Calonice, at last touched to the heart, “my man has already been five months away in Thrace watching Eucrates.” “And mine,” chimes in Lysistrata, “seven whole months in Pylos.” “And as for mine,” cries Lampito, “he is no sooner home, than off he rushes again in full armor with lance and buckles.”

Thus appealed to, the ladies now profess their anxiety to see an end put to the war, and boast of the heroic sacrifices they would make to secure peace. Calonice would submit to be cut in two like a turbot, Lampito would run up the precipices of Taygetus, if Peace should greet her on the summit. So they press Lysistrata to enunciate her plan, and before an audience astretch with expectation, she does so. It is that the women of the belligerent states should deny their husbands conjugal rights until they leave off fighting. The proposal, much to Lysistrata’s chagrin, is received with little enthusiasm, and they all exclaim that they would sooner pass through fire. Lampito, the stalwart Spartan lady, alone is sympathetic, and Lysistrata in recognition calls her a darling and the only true woman of the lot.

In the hands of an Aristophanes and before an Athenian audience, such a theme as this lent itself to much coarseness, which we would not try to excuse, though we must bear two things in mind, firstly that women were not allowed in ancient Athens to listen to comedies, and secondly that on the modern English stage, much more on the French, plays full of scarcely veiled lubricity are acted before audiences of women, while in any bookstall in France are exhibited for sale books which far surpass in obscenity anything in Aristophanes’s comedies.

Lysistrata's audience at length agree, but it is now Lampito's turn to express misgivings of another kind. Will peace, she asks, ever be secure so long as the Athenians keep up a gigantic fleet and a huge war chest in the temple of their goddess, a very abyss of silver, she terms it, the silver bullets of which an English statesman boasts? A German of to-day affects to entertain similar misgivings about Great Britain. Lysistrata hastens to reassure her on the latter point. She has foreseen and provided against it. For while the younger women prosecute the first article of her program, the older ones are, under pretext of offering a sacrifice to Athene, to seize the Parthenon in which the war fund of Athens was lodged and to hold the fort resolutely against all comers. Accordingly they all proceed to swear a solemn oath to stick to the double program, and there follows an amusing discussion of the best and most binding ritual to adopt. The idea of using a shield to catch the libations of the victim's blood is scouted as savoring too strongly of militarism, and, as they cannot procure a white horse for sacrifice, they are ultimately content to use wine only without water, and to pretend that it is blood. Robertson Smith has shown that the use of wine as a ritual surrogate for blood was common in antiquity, so that Aristophanes, though he is jesting, may here glance at well-established religious custom.

Lysistrata dictates to her friends an oath, not to be uttered before a polite audience, which they severally repeat after her word for word, and the ceremony is barely ended when an uproar is heard without. It proceeds from the older women who have seized the Acropolis and are bolting and barring the gates.

A new and stirring scene ensues. A party of old men (the young are presumably away at the war) stagger up the steep slope of the Acropolis laden with faggots, a pot of fire to set them alight. They mean to smoke the women out of their stronghold and even burn them alive. "Who would ever have dreamed that women whom we fed in our homes, though we knew what imps they were, would ever have seized on the holy image, and with bolts and bars have blocked the approaches of the Goddess's temple?"

The old men have scaled the approaches, and presently we hear issuing from the temple the despairing appeal of the lady in command to her aide-de-camp: "Fly, Nicodice, fly for water, before Kalyce is burned alive, and Critylla too, for they are being suffocated by iniquitous laws and by these deadly old men."

The dialogue which ensues between the old men and the women who hasten to the rescue with their jars of water, is very amusing.

In one of his plays Euripides had stigmatized the sex as shameless, and one of the old men quotes him; the women are enraged and threaten, if they are touched, to tear out his liver and break his ribs. "Why have you come here with fire, you old Tombs?" they cry. "Yes," answer the old men in chorus, "we mean to heap up your funeral pyre and set it alight." Thereupon the women threaten them with a veritable nuptial bath, and raising their pails, souse them from head to foot, much to their discomfiture, and well before they have time to set light even to the ladies' hair. "I have watered you well," cry the latter, "to give you a chance of becoming young again." "I am sere and dry as ever," wail the old men, "and all of a tremble." "Well, then," answer their tormentors, "as you have got fire with you, you can heat it up and take it warm."

The male victims hereupon retaliate by recounting the sins of the opposite sex; they tell how superstitious women give themselves up to the wild rites of Bacchus and to the obscene orgies of Adonis: how the fashionable ones get their husbands out of the way in order to flirt with their jewelers and bootmakers. The ladies retort in kind, and rail at the imbecilities of the Athenian parliament, and their demeanor shortly becomes so threatening that the Scythian constables who attend the aged counsellor, instead of obeying the latter's behests and setting on the women with their cudgels, take to their heels and run away.

The Counsellor is then reduced to asking the women civilly what is their motive in thus taking possession of the "mighty rock, the inaccessible Acropolis, the holy precincts of the Goddess Athene," and the following instructive dialogue ensues:

Lysistrata: We want to keep your money safe and prevent your going to war with it.

Counsellor: Do you mean to say we have gone to war with it?

Lys: Yes, and you have made a mess of everything. You just let Pisander (Lloyd George) steal it, and the rest of the office seekers, who are always up to some hankey pankey or other. But let them do what they like, we will take care they don't appropriate any more of this fund.

Couns: And what will you do?

Lys: Do? Why we will administer the fund ourselves.

Couns: What you turn chancellor of the exchequer?

Couns: This fund is for carrying on the war.

Lys: Well, in the first place, there is no need to go on with the war. It's wrong.

Couns: And how else are we to save ourselves (from Germany)?

Lys: We'll save you.

Couns: You save us!

Lys: Yes, we.

Couns: Oh, horror!

Lys: Yes, you shall be saved, whether you like it or not.

Couns: I never heard such nonsense.

Lys: Now, you are getting angry. All the same it has got to be done.

Couns: But by Demeter, it's not right.

Lys: Never mind, my friend, we've got to save you.

Couns: And suppose I don't want to be saved?

Lys: Why, that is all the more reason for saving you.

Couns: And who and what put it into your heads to meddle with questions of war and peace?

Lys: We will tell you.

Couns: Out with it quick, or you shall rue it.

Lys: Listen then, and keep your hands off us.

Couns: But I can't, I'm so angry, I can hardly restrain them.

Lys: Then it's you that will rue it, not we.

Couns: Your pate shall suffer, you old hag, but out with it.

Lys: I will. After the war first broke out, we women, with our natural modesty, put up for a good long time with your antics; for you would not let us even whisper a complaint. At last we came to be disgusted with your doings and saw through it all, and, time and again, as we sat at home, we heard of how you had in your council of war muddled and messed some great undertaking. Then we would ask you with a smile: "Well, what of the resolution you have passed to-day in parliament about a treaty of peace to be inscribed on a pillar?" Then the men answered us: "What business is it of yours? Hold your tongues." And we held them.

Here one of the ladies present interjects the remark: "I never would have held mine," which provokes this rejoinder from the counsellor: "And you would have been just about sorry for yourself if you hadn't." *Lysistrata* disregards this interlude and continues:

Lys: So I held my tongue at home. But presently I heard of some plan, still more imbecile, that you had resolved upon,

and then I would say to my husband: "How comes it that you are acting so senselessly?" But he would stare at me askance and say: "If you don't go on with your spinning, I'll break your head. It is men's business, not women's, to look after the war."

Couns: And, by Zeus, he was quite right.

Lys: How right, you wretch? When your plans were so rotten, was it not our duty to warn you? And when it came to this that we heard you running about the streets saying: "There's not a man left in the city. Our last reserves are abroad!"—then we made up our minds that the time had come for the women to lay their heads together and by a joint effort save Hellas. For what was the good of waiting any longer? So then, if you will just return us the compliment of holding your tongues as we did ours, and listening while we give you some advice, we can get you out of your difficulties.

The counsellor explodes in wrath at hearing such sentiments from a mere woman, from one who wears a veil. Lysistrata in turn loses patience; she takes her veil and throws it over his face, and follows that up by clapping her wool basket over his head; she then advises him to stay quietly at home carding wool with his spouse and eating his rations of beans, for in future it's the women who mean to look after the war, and not the men.

There follows some amusing satire directed by the women against the "swank" of the militarists. Lysistrata says:

"We mean to put an end to your swaggering about the market place in full armor, as if you were mad."

Here a woman in the audience interrupts: "By the Paphian Venus, that's a good idea."

Lys: Yes, for at present, when we are vending our crockery and vegetables, they come rampaging about in armor like so many Corybants.

Couns: Of course, what else would you have our brave fellows do?

Lys: Well, it's fit to laugh at, to see a fellow chaffering over the price of nuts, and all the while holding up a great shield bedizened with the head of a Gorgon.

Here again a woman in the crowd interjects: "Yes, and by heaven, I saw a long-haired captain sitting on his charger and throw-

ing into his brazen casket the eggs he had just bought of an old woman."

Couns: And how, please, would you put an end to the general embroglio?

Lysistrata answers that she would unravel it as she would a tangled skein of wool. Above all she would be fair all round and recognize the rights of aliens settled in their midst, and give a voice in the management of affairs to their own colonists and friends, who at present pay the piper while others call the tune. The counsellor is more than ever horrified at women interfering who have nothing to do with war. "Nothing to do, you scoundrel," answers Lysistrata. "Is it not we that bear our sons and let them go to the battle front?"

Couns: Shut up and don't be ill-natured.

Lys: And then, just when we ought to be having a good time and making the best of our youth, we are left single because of the war. I don't complain of my own lot, but I hate to see the girls growing old in their chambers.

Couns: And don't the men too grow old?

Lys: Yes, but it's not the same thing by any means for them. For a man turns up, no matter whence; and however bald-pated or grayhaired he be, he at once finds a girl to marry him. On the other hand a woman's bloom is brief and quickly over; and unless she can avail herself of it, no one wants to marry her, and she has to sit and angle for anything she can catch.

As we read these lines we think with Lysistrata of the tens of thousands of young women in all the countries now at war, doomed to early widowhood or to solitary lives unblest by husband or children. One touch of nature makes the whole world kin.

Athenian citizens never forgot that they had once been the victims of tyrants, as those were termed who contrived to usurp supreme power and dictatorship; and the comedian now sets himself to ridicule this, the most familiar of all bogies. "I scent the tyranny of Hippias," cries the aged counsellor. "These accursed women have plotted with the Lacedæmonians, who are as little to be trusted as ravening wolves, to undermine our liberties." He straightway vows to wreath his sword in a myrtle branch, and take his stand armed in the market-place beside the statue of Aristogeiton. "If," he exclaims, "we give these women the least encouragement, there

is no devilry they will shrink from. Nay, ere long they will be building ships and try their hand at a naval battle, sailing against us, as Artemisia did." And he ends by calling them Amazons, such as the painter Micon had depicted fighting against men.

The poet continues in this strain to chaff his countrymen, mingling with his humor much that is regrettably indecent, and the play ends with a visit to Athens of ambassadors from Sparta, where Lysistrata's plan of campaign has been no less effective than in her own city. It has influenced them to come with proposals of peace, and Lysistrata delivers an harangue in the presence of the representatives of the two belligerent states which is replete with good sense and undoubtedly reflects the author's own feelings. She says:

"Men of Lacedæmon, come and stand close by me, and you Athenians there, and listen to my words. I am but a woman, but I have some common sense, and nature has endowed me with a fair faculty of judgment, and after listening to many an oration of sires and elders, my education is reasonably complete. Now having got hold of you, I mean to scold you both, as you deserve. For is it not from one and the same lustral ewer that you besprinkle your altars, being kinsmen, as you are, in Olympia, in Pylæ, Delphi, and in how many other shrines which I could enumerate, had I time? And yet in the presence of enemy barbarians, you destroy with your armies Greek men and cities."

Then, turning to the Spartans, she continues: "Next you men of Lacedæmon, for I now turn to you, know you not that once on a time Pericles the Spartan came hither, and sat down a suppliant of the men of Athens at these altars, pale in his purple robe, and asking for armed assistance, for Messene was then oppressing you, and no less the God who shakes the earth; and our Cimon went with 4000 hoplites and saved the whole of Lacedæmon. Yet after being so treated by the men of Athens you ravage the lands of those who dealt so kindly by you."

Here an Athenian present interjects the remark: "They do wrong, by Zeus, O Lysistrata." Whereupon the latter, turning to him, continues: "But think you, O Athenians, that I can acquit you? Wit ye not of how, when you wore the garb of slaves, the Lacedæmonians in turn came armed, and destroyed many a man of Thrace, and many partisans and allies of Hippias, and they alone that day fought it out at your side, and freed you, and once more clad your people that were in servile garb in the robe of liberty? . . . Wherefore, then, when ye have rendered one another such signal services do ye continue to fight, and not cease from your wicked-

ness? Why are you not reconciled? Come, what stands in the way?"

The belligerents forthwith agree to give back the fortresses and territory they have wrested from one another, and an Athenian present hails the chance of returning to his farm; "Now," he exclaims, "I'll off with my coat and start my plough," and the Spartan envoy answers: "And as for me, I'll lose no time carrying the dung to my fields," and Lysistrata continues thus:

"So soon as ever you are reconciled, you shall both do it. But if you are so inclined, hie to your council chamber, and go to your allies and communicate the news to them. Now then see that ye cleanse yourselves, that we, the women, may entertain you in the citadel out of what we have in these chests. There shall ye plight your oaths and troth one to the other, and then shall each of you take his wife and wend homeward."

There ensues a scene of much jollity. The counsellors and the Spartan legates begin to dance and sing, the latter invoking Mnemosyne, the muse of history, and praying her to sing of how the Athenians fought like gods and vanquished the Persian fleet at Artemisium, and of how they themselves under the lead of Leonidas fought like wild boars and vanquished the host of Persians as countless as the sand on the seashore.

The play ends with some noble hymns, the first addressed to Artemis, woodland huntress and virgin. "Come hither," is the invocation, "to witness our peacemaking, that thou mayest hold us together forever. May this friendship, as now ratified, be nevermore disturbed, and may we cast off the crafty manner of foxes. Hither come, O virgin huntress." Two more such hymns follow, one of the Athenian chorus, appealing to Artemis and Apollo, Zeus and Here, to be witnesses of their generous peace, more worthy of paeans than any victory in war; the other sung by the legates is an appeal to the muse of Lacedæmon, to quit fair Taygetus for a while and join them in their praise of the God of Amyclæ and of Athena of the brazen house, and of the doughty sons of Tyndarus that sport on the Eurotas's bank.

In such passages as these Aristophanes rises almost to the level of Æschylus, and makes us some amends for the deplorable obscenity of his dramas. It is sad that a message so full of charity, good sense and genuine patriotism (for there are other modes of being patriotic than shooting down your fellow men and brother Christians) had to be enveloped in such nauseous wrappings, in order to recommend it to the citizens of Athens. Are we, who

affect to believe that the Sermon on the Mount was a divine message, any readier to listen to it than were they to give ear to the humor and irony of their great comedian? Just as Athenian and Spartan had common shrines and religion, just as they had fought shoulder to shoulder against the Persians, so Germans and Englishmen have a common religion, now alas mute and silent; so too they have the memory of Waterloo and of many another battlefield on which they fought as friends.

But the *Lysistrata* is not the only play of Aristophanes, reading which we are constrained to turn to ourselves and our German cousins and exclaim *De te Fabula narratur*. In the one entitled "Irene" or "Peace" he chose the same theme. The plot is one of grotesque humor: an Athenian citizen, Trygæus, whose very name betokens peace and plenty, is grown weary of a war which has involved him and his neighbors in famine and misery. He conceives the idea of ascending to heaven, in order to interview Zeus and entreat him to bring it to an end. Like Don Quixote, Trygæus resolves to soar upward, but on a huge beetle; and the first scene is laid in the atrium of his house, where two of his servants are feeding up the gigantic insect on dung, by way of collecting its energies for the flight. It is an unsavory job, and one of them exclaims: "O where can I buy an imperforate nose? For what task can be more horrible than this, of kneading dung into cakes and giving them to a beetle to devour? What a loathesome brute, ill-smelling and voracious! I know not which of the gods can be his patron, not Aphrodite, I'm sure, nor the Graces either."

However Trygæus has read in Æsop that the beetle was the only winged creature that ever reached the presence of the gods, so he determines to make the attempt. He mounts and soars upward, having previously exhorted his neighbors to close their latrines for three days, because otherwise his beetle, attracted by their fragrance, might make for them instead of for the gates of heaven; and he apostrophizes his noble steed thus:

"But come, my Pegasus, away with thee for very joy,
Rattling the golden chains of thy bridle,
As thou shakest thy gleaming ears.
What art thou doing? What? . . .
Thy nostrils to . . ."

charged the role of St. Peter. Hermes hears him approaching, peeps out and cries: "By Hercules! What monster is this?" "A horse-beetle," answers the rider, who is much disappointed to learn that Zeus and the rest of the gods are away from home, Hermes alone remains to look after their pots and pans. And "why," asks Trygæus, "have they migrated?"

Hermes: Because they were angry with the Hellenes. And here, where they were themselves, they have settled war, and have handed you over to him to deal with you as he likes. But they have settled themselves as high as possible, so as not any longer to behold you fighting, nor hear a single word of your supplications.

Trygæus: And why have they done so? Tell me.

Herm: Because you preferred to go on fighting, though they so often tried to make peace between you—in vain, for if the Lacedæmonians won a small advantage, they would say: Now, by the Gods, those Athenians shall pay for it. While if you Athenians scored any success, and the Lacedæmonians came to treat for peace, then you would at once say: Beware, for by Athene, we are being tricked. By Zeus, we must not agree, and what's more they will come again as soon as we have got Pylos.

Tryg: I can't deny that that is the way we talk.

Herm: Wherefore I doubt if you will ever again behold Peace.

Tryg: Why, where has she gone?

Herm: War has thrown her into an antre vast.

Tryg: Into what?

Herm: Into this abyss. And then, look for yourself, and see how many stones he has piled atop of her, to prevent your ever getting her again.

Tryg: Tell me, what is it he is getting ready for us?

Herm: I only know this much, that last evening he brought in here an enormous mortar.

Tryg: And what does he want a mortar for?

Herm: He purposes to pound up in it your cities.

Here a noise inside heaven disturbs the colloquy, and Trygæus is admitted to see War with his huge mortar, making ready to pound up the cities of Greece. He will begin with the towns of Prasiæ and Megara, and imprecates terrible woes on them. Presently he comes to Sicily, the Athenians' attack on which ruined

their chances of success, as it is to be feared our attack on Constantinople will ruin ours; and here War cries with supreme irony:

“Ho, Sicily. Thou too art to perish. How fine a city to be so miserably crushed! Come, I will pour into thy wounds this Attic honey.”

At this moment, in response to the call of War, another figure comes to the scene, Tumult, and we are forcibly reminded of Coleridge’s war eclogue in which Fire, Famine and Slaughter hold colloquy together. Tumult is dispatched to Athens to fetch a pestle for War’s mortar. The pestle wanted is the popular statesman who had hatched the war and turned Hellenas upside down. Tumult returns and announces that he is dead.

“Hurrah,” exclaims Trygæus, “that’s a good thing for our city.”

Tumult is next sent off to Sparta to bring back as pestle their chief fire-eater, whose role was to crush Athens at all costs. Tumult returns and announces that the Spartan pestle is not available either. He had been lent to the Thracians and they had lost him.

Trygæus now sees his chance. Before War can obtain a new pestle for his deadly mortar there may be time to haul up the Goddess of Peace out of the pit into which they have cast her, and reinstate her on her throne. So he appeals to all his fellow Hellenes to lend a hand and bring their ropes and pulleys:

“Hither come with willing hearts and hands before it is too late,
Hellenes all, and save yourselves from bloodshed, war and mutual hate.”

In the humorous scene which follows, the different states of Greece are represented hauling up Peace out of her grave, and the stage resounds with such cries and vociferations as greet our ears on an English beach where sailors are hauling up a heavy boat. A few states remain sulky and fail to pull as they should, but the worst slackers are the manufacturers of arms who in ancient as in modern states formed a powerful guild. Like the Krupps and Vickers Maxims of our own day, they preferred war, because they fattened on it. They hang back and Trygæus has to menace them:

“If any polisher of spears, or shield merchant, desires war, the better to sell his wares, let brigands get hold of him and give him plain barley to eat.”

The farmers pull best, and next the scythe-makers who are

When Peace at last appears, rescued from her pit, Trygæus addresses his fellows thus:

“Hear, O ye peoples; let the cultivators depart, bearing the implements of their tillage to their fields, losing no time; and without spear or sword or javelin. For the world is once more blest with ancient Peace, so let each man repair to his farm, singing paeans.”

And the chorus sing:

“O day, long wished for by the just and by husbandmen,
With what delight I hail thee. I fain would address my vines,
And my fig-trees, which I planted when I was a younger man,
I am minded to greet them after so long a time.”

Trygæus resumes:

“And now, my fellows, first of all, this Goddess greet with praise and prayer,
Relieving us of crested helm and shields with Gorgon’s head that scare.”

The rest of the play represents the joyful sacrifices and jollity of the country people, allowed at last to return to their farms and gardens. It ends with a humorous scene in which the manufacturers of arms try to get rid of their sadly depreciated stocks. One brings a helmet magnificently crowned with crest and plumes. Trygæus has no use for it, but thinks he could use it as a broom to dust his dinner table with. He offers a hundredth part of its value, but finding, when he tries it, that the hairs come out, he refuses to take it at any price. He takes a handsome cuirass and turns it into an appurtenance of his privy; also a trumpet, which can be turned into a machine for weighing out his figs; and he is ready to cut the spear in two and use them as stakes. The despair of the armament firms is portrayed in the most comical manner, and their representatives are treated with the contumely they deserve.

One interesting feature in these plays remains to be noticed. It is the tolerance with which an Athenian public listened to criticism of their army and of the conduct of a war which was no less a life and death struggle for them than the present is for the nations engaged in it. Not only so, but they could sit in their theater and listen patiently to the bitterest irony directed against the war policy and its authors and upholders. Thus in this play, the god Hermes is allowed to assail even Pericles, for inflaming his “froward” fellow citizens to war. “He it was that blew up the flame of war, so that the eyes of all Hellenes are watering in its smoke, those of Attica, and those of other lands. . . . No one was left who could

stop it, and Peace vanished utterly." Trygæus answers: "By Apollo. I never learned that before of any one." "Nor I, either," answers the chorus.

The poet equally rebukes the Athenians for their spymongering. "Let an ally be rich and affluent, and, no matter how loyal he be, the demagogues, to ingratiate themselves with the starving victims of war, raise a hue and cry, accusing him then of being 'in league with Brasidas,'" the Spartan Moltke. As we read such a passage we are reminded of the denunciation of Sir Edgar Speyer in the columns of the *Morning Post*, and the following lines are as true of England or France or Germany to-day as they were of Athens:

"Like the hounds you are you tore him asunder; for the city was pale with fear and sat in terror, the while you devoured like cannibals any one who was thus denounced."

And when Hermes mentions "the chief author of the devastation of Hellas," Trygæus exclaims:

"Stop, stop, O Lord Hermes, mention him not. Let that man rest where he is now, in hell, for he no longer belongs to us, but to thee; whatever thou sayest of him, even if he was a villain when alive, a chatterer and chicaner, a meddler and a disturber of the peace, he is amenable to thee now and thy rebukes fall on thine own subjects."

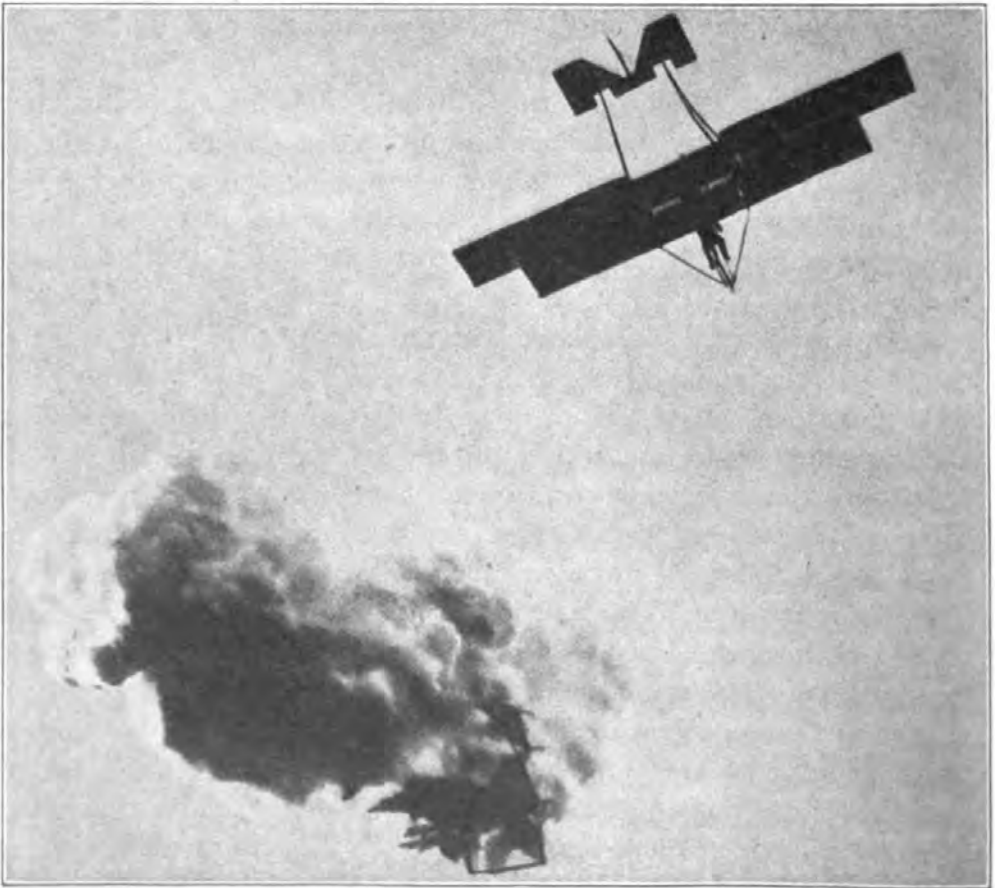
To understand the above we must remember that Hermes conducted the souls of the dead before their judges Minos and Rhadamanthus. It is before these judges of the underworld that Hermes must indict the authors of the war, already deceased.

Thus the fratricidal war of ancient Greece was an emblem of what we witness to-day. Let any one in Berlin or London or Paris to-day raise his voice in favor of peace and the entire press will denounce him as a traitor. Even the pope has execrations leveled at his head because he has not quite forgotten or abjured the message of peace and goodwill. The clergy in all the countries at war are either silent or resort to sophistry to reconcile rampant cruelty and wickedness with the religion they profess. Most of them are appealing to God to help their own particular cause. If there be a Divine Power that listens to the prayers of men, he may well have turned away in disgust, as Aristophanes imagines the gods of Greece to have done.

MISCELLANEOUS.

NEW PHASES OF WARFARE.

The romance of warfare has been greatly enhanced by recent inventions which have extended its operations into the air and under the sea. Zeppelins, aeroplanes and submarines have not only made war more complicated but at



LOADED BY SHOT

es. Submarines are
wars were invincible,
ing bombs in places



MOTOR-BOAT ON THE NIEMEN, WITH ANTI-AIRCRAFT GUN.



OBSERVATION POST ON THE LOOKOUT FOR RUSSIAN FLYERS.

heretofore secure from danger. At the same time the bold aggressors themselves face death in new forms, by suffocation under water, by falling to death from enormous heights, and in many other ways. Land forces must now be



ZEPPELIN ATTACKED BY RUSSIAN AEROPLANE.

on the lookout to provide for their own defence against the winged enemy in the sky. Military science has been carried into new fields and has developed new talents and new fields for exploit and daring. Aeroplane fighting aeroplane, aeroplane attacking Zeppelin, aeroplane attacking battleship or enemy's



TURKISH AEROPLANE SINKING SUBMARINE OF THE ALLIES
NEAR THE COAST OF BULAIR.

town or on the less sanguinary mission of reconnoitering the enemy's distribution and movements,—these are some of the situations in which these new machines of destruction are to be observed in action. In the present issue we present a series of pictures reproduced from different sources, which show aircraft in various phases of action.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

HUMAN QUINTESSENCE. By *Sigurd Ibsen*. Authorized translation by *Marcia Hargis Janson*. New York: B. W. Huebsch. Pp. 303. Price \$1.50 net; \$1.62 postpaid.

The personality behind this work will be of particular interest to Americans not alone because Dr. Ibsen is the great dramatist's son, but because he spent some years in Washington as attaché to the Scandinavian legation.

A great man's son is always handicapped. But the author of this book, though also following in the footsteps of his father, makes here a purely intellectual appeal to the reason without recourse to the emotions.

The book is divided into four related essays: "Nature and Man"; "Why Politics Lags Behind"; "Of Human Aptitudes and Human Art"; "Of Great Men: An Essay in Valuation." The first essay strikes the keynote of the book. Man, says Dr. Ibsen, has outgrown nature. The monistic, scientific theory of the universe, which is valid of all other parts of nature, cannot be applied to him. Man is nature plus what the author calls "human quintessence." In the following chapters the author follows up his theory that man cannot be measured by the yard-stick of natural law. Dr. Ibsen formulates a new art, a social technology, which lies in drawing out the fullest human capabilities. But to bring about a society built on human principles, a revolution of our present social system is imperative. A natural development will not lead to it. Society is not an organism, but an organization. Historic continuity is fiction, not fact. The author is a liberal of the liberals and bitterly chastises our politics, whose object is not the development of man, but of might. He is a naturalist, but also an idealist, for in his opinion both have the same aim, the perfection of humanity. His hope for humanity is the freest and fullest development if its essence, the "human quintessence."

This philosophical book is not yet widely enough known, but its value is sure to be recognized in the course of time. It is most needed in this country where men enter politics from a spirit not of service, but of gain, and where social legislation still is in its swaddling clothes.

MAXIMILIAN J. RUDWIN.

The address of Edward P. Buffet, author of *The Layman Revato*, which appeared in the November number of *The Open Court*, is 804 Bergen Ave.,

Problems of Science

By FEDERIGO ENRIQUES

Translated by Katharine Royce with an introduction by Josiah Royce

Pp. 392, Cloth, Price \$2.50

A scientific methodology with numerous references to contemporary interests and controversies.

Press Notices

"Prof. Royce thinks that the book will be read with particular interest on account of the opposition that it offers to current 'anti-intellectual' types of philosophizing, though the book was first published in Italian before the controversies about 'pragmatism,' 'intuitionism,' etc., arose. At the same time, Enriques, whose disposition is that of the mathematician and logician, has, through independent thinking, come to support the same theses as the pragmatists regarding the 'instrumental' or the 'functional' character of thought."—*Springfield Republican*.

"The book is written in a very attractive style, and presents some of the most difficult problems in a way that the unprofessional reader can understand. It is worthy of being translated into English, and worthy of this excellent translation."—*Boston Transcript*.

"Enriques, as Prof. Royce shows, views the thinking process as an 'adjustment' to 'situations,' but he also lays great stress 'upon the tendency of science to seek unity upon the synthetic aspect of scientific theory, upon what he calls the "association" of concepts and scientific "representations."' Enriques treats all these questions with originality as well as great depth of thought and the appearance of his book in English makes an important addition to the body of metaphysical literature in our language."—*Chicago News*.

"The Work before us is perhaps the most considerable since Mill."—*The Nation*.

Order through your dealer
ON EXAMINATION

The Open Court Publishing Co.

CHICAGO — LONDON

Our Knowledge of the External World as a Field for Scientific Method in Philosophy

By

THE HON. BERTRAND RUSSELL, M.A., F.R.S.

Pages x, 245. Cloth, \$2.00 (7s. 6d. net).

This book is a compilation of Mr. Bertrand Russell's "Lowell Lectures" of 1914, in which the author attempts to show, by means of examples, the nature, capacity, and limitations of the logico-analytical method in philosophy. They are on "Current Tendencies," "Logic as the Essence of Philosophy," "Our Knowledge of the External World," "The Problem of Infinity Considered Historically," "The Positive Theory of Infinity," and "The Notion of Cause, with Applications to the Free-Will Problem." These lectures are written, as the *Mathematical Gazette* says, with that clearness, force, and subtle humor that readers of Mr. Russell's other works have learnt to expect; and are the first publication on Mr. Russell's new line of the study of the foundations of physics.

"THE book of the year..... It is in every sense an epoch-making book."—*Cambridge Magazine*.

"His method interests by the success with which it approximates philosophy to science.... These able and suggestive lectures will introduce thoughtful readers to a tract of speculative inquiry not yet much opened up, which promises good results to one with philosophic interests and scientific training."—*Scotsman*.

"This brilliant, lucid, amusing book, which, in spite of a few stiff passages, every one can understand."—*The New Statesman*.

"In some respects the most important contribution that has been made to philosophy for a long time past. The whole book is of extreme interest, and it abounds in good sayings."—*The International Journal of Ethics*.

"The author maintains the fresh and brilliant yet easy style which always makes his writings a pleasure to read."—*Nature*.

"This book, though intentionally somewhat popular in tone, contains most important and interesting contribution to philosophy."—*Mind*.

A BOOK OF COMMANDING IMPORTANCE

Professor John Dewey of Columbia University of New York, in the July *Philosophical Review*, writes as follows concerning Mr. Bertrand Russell's recent book:

"There are many ways of stating the problem of the existence of an external world. I shall make that of Mr. Bertrand Russell the basis of my examinations, as it is set forth in his recent book, *Our Knowledge of the External World as a Field for Scientific Method in Philosophy*. I do this both because his statement is one recently made in a book of commanding importance, and because it seems to me to be a more careful statement than most of those in vogue."

Professor Bernard Bosanquet speaks of the same book as follows:

"This book consists of lectures delivered as "Lowell Lectures" in Boston, in March and April, 1914. It is so attractive in itself, and its author is so well known, that I think by this time it may be 'taken as read,' and I may offer some discussion without a preliminary abstract."

All bookstores or sent on receipt of price

The Open Court Publishing Company

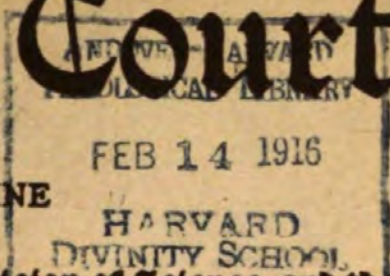
122 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER.



VOL. XXX. (No. 2)

FEBRUARY, 1916

NO. 717

CONTENTS:

	PAGE
<i>Frontispiece.</i> Isaac Barrow.	
<i>Isaac Barrow: The Drawer of Tangents.</i> J. M. CHILD.....	65
" <i>An Orgy of Cant.</i> " PAUL CARUS	70
<i>A Chippewa Tomahawk.</i> An Indian Heirloom with a History (Illustrated). W. THORNTON PARKER	80
<i>War Topics.—In Reply to My Critics.</i> PAUL CARUS	87
<i>Portraits of Isaac Barrow</i>	126
<i>American Bahaism and Persia</i>	126
<i>A Correction</i>	126
<i>A Crucifix After Battle</i> (With Illustration)	128

The Open Court Publishing Company

CHICAGO

Per copy, 10 cents (sixpence). Yearly, \$1.00 (in the U.P.U., 5s. 6d.).

Entered as Second-Class Matter March 26, 1897, at the Post Office at Chicago, Ill., under Act of March 3, 1879
Copyright by The Open Court Publishing Company, 1916

Socrates: Master of Life

BY

WILLIAM ELLERY LEONARD

A popular yet first-hand study, by an American scholar, poet and thinker; comprising a critical examination of the Greek sources, a lively and picturesque review of the career of Socrates in its political and social environment, and a subtle and sympathetic analysis of his ideas and of his personality.

Cloth, \$1.00. Pp. 120.

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY

122 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE, CHICAGO

The Fragments of Empedocles

By WILLIAM ELLERY LEONARD

A reconstruction of Empedocles's system of creation. Greek-English text.
"There is no real creation or annihilation in the universal round of things.
There is only the Everlasting Law."

Cloth, \$1.00

Aesop and Hyssop

By WILLIAM ELLERY LEONARD

Fables adapted and original, in a variety of verse forms, picturesque, lively, and humorous in phrasing, with a moral, fresh in wisdom and succinct in expression, pleasingly appended to each. Profitable for amusement and doctrine in nursery and study.

Cloth, \$1.50

The Open Court Publishing Company

Chicago, Illinois

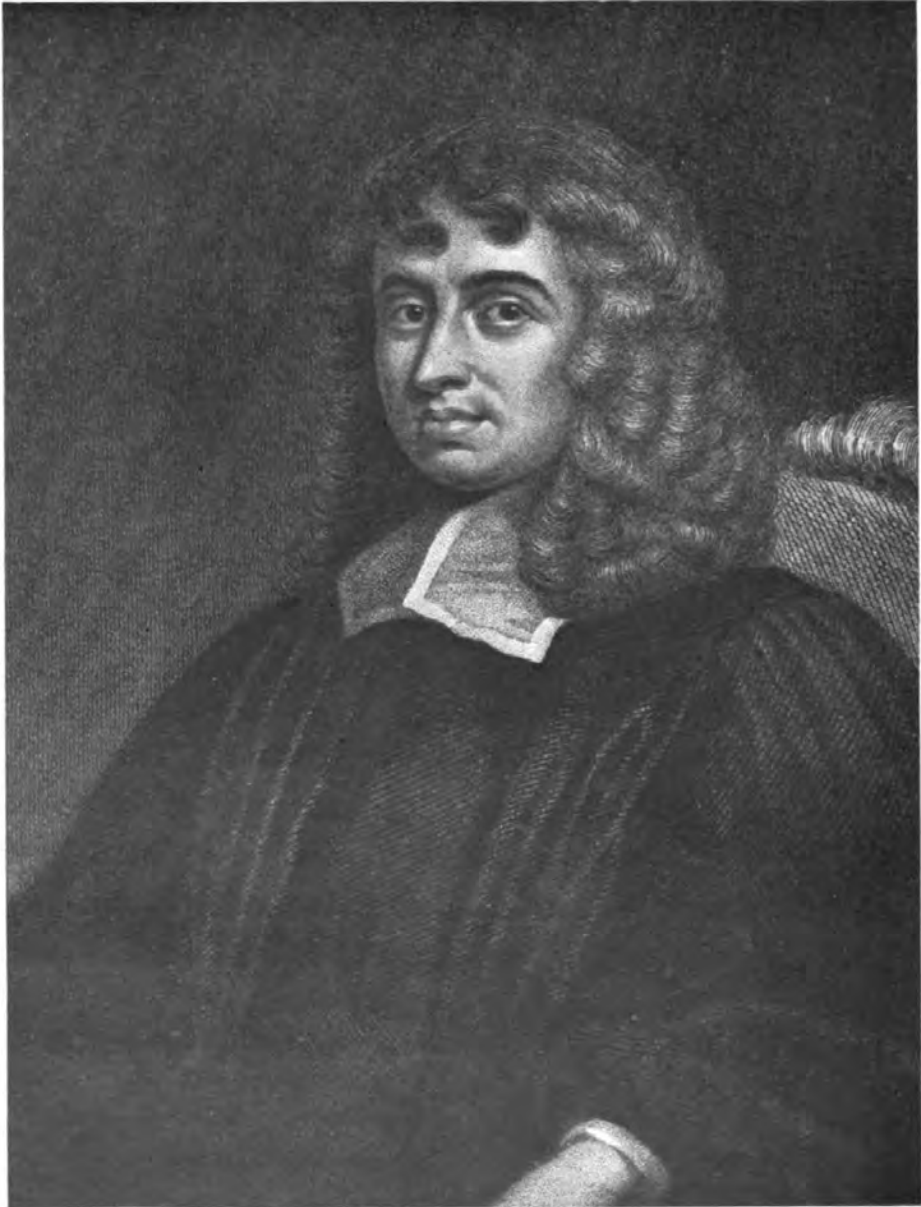
WESOP

WILLIAM ELLERY LEONARD

original, in a variety of verse forms, picturesque,
is in phrasing, with a moral, fresh in wisdom and
on, pleasingly appended to each. Profitable for amuse-
ment in nursery and study.

Cloth, \$1.50

in Court Publishing Company
Chicago, Illinois



ISAAC BARROW.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

VOL. XXX (No. 2)

FEBRUARY, 1916

NO. 717

Copyright by The Open Court Publishing Company, 1916

ISAAC BARROW: THE DRAWER OF TANGENTS.

BY J. M. CHILD.

ISAAC BARROW was born in 1630, the son of a linen-draper in London. He was first sent to the Charter-house school, where inattention and a predilection for fighting created a bad impression. One reads in Rouse Ball's *Short Account of the History of Mathematics*:¹ "At Charterhouse, Barrow was so troublesome that his father was heard to pray that if it pleased God to take any of his children, he could best spare Isaac." Later he seems to have turned over a new leaf, and in 1643 we find him entered at St. Peter's College, and afterwards at Trinity College, Cambridge. He had now become exceedingly studious, and he made considerable progress in literature, natural philosophy, anatomy, botany, and chemistry,—the latter with a view to medicine as a profession,—and later, chronology, geometry and astronomy. He then proceeded on a sort of "Grand Tour," through France, Italy, to Smyrna, Constantinople, back to Venice, and then home through Germany and Holland. His stay in Constantinople had a great influence on his after life; for he there studied the works of Chrysostom, and thus had his thoughts turned to divinity. But for this his undoubtedly great advance on the work of his predecessors in the matter of the infinitesimal calculus might have been developed to such an extent that the name of Barrow would have been inscribed on the roll of the world's famous mathematicians as at least the equal of his mighty pupil.

Immediately on his return to England he was ordained, and a year later, at the age of thirty, he was appointed to the Greek professorship at Cambridge, his inaugural lectures being on the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle, a choice of subject which also had a distinct effect on his later mathematical work.

¹ Fourth edition, 1908, p. 309.

In 1662, two years later, he was chosen as professor of geometry in Gresham College, and in the following year he was elected to the Lucasian chair of mathematics, just founded at Cambridge. This professorship he held for five years, and his office created the occasion for his *Mathematical Lectures*, which were delivered in the years 1664-66, and published in 1670.

It was in 1664 that he came into really close contact with Newton; for in that year he examined Newton in Euclid, as one of the subjects for a mathematical scholarship at Trinity College, of which Newton had been a subsizar for three years; and it was owing to Barrow's report that Newton was led to study the *Elements* more carefully and to form a better estimate of their value. The connection thus started must have developed at a great pace, for not only does Barrow secure the succession of Newton to the Lucasian chair, which Barrow relinquished in 1669, but he commits the publication of the *Lectiones Opticae* and the *Lectiones Geometricae*,² which were published together, to the foster care of Newton and Collins. He himself had now determined to devote himself entirely to divinity, and in 1670 he was created a doctor of divinity, in 1672 he succeeded Dr. Pearson as Master of Trinity College, in 1675 he was chosen as vice-chancellor of the university. In 1677 he died, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, where a monument, surmounted by his bust, was soon afterwards erected by the contributions of his friends.

The writer of the unsigned article, "Isaac Barrow," in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, from which most of the above facts have been taken, states:

"By his English contemporaries Barrow was considered a mathematician second only to Newton. Continental writers do not place him so high, and their judgment is probably the more correct one."

I have recently had occasion to study the *Lectiones Geometricae*, perhaps the only one of Barrow's voluminous works that is of really great historical interest; and I fail to see the reasonableness of the remark in italics. Of course it was only natural that contemporary continental mathematicians should belittle Barrow, since they claimed for Fermat and Leibniz the invention of the infinitesimal calculus before Newton, and did not wish to have to consider an even prior claimant. We see that his own countrymen placed him on a very high level; and surely the only way to obtain a really adequate opinion of a scientist's worth is to accept the unbiased opinion that

² An article by the present writer on "The 'Lectiones Geometricae' of Isaac Barrow" will appear in *The Monist* of April next.

has been expressed by his contemporaries, who were aware of all the facts and conditions of the case; or, failing that, to try to form an unbiased opinion for ourselves by putting ourselves in the position of one of his contemporaries. Most modern criticism of ancient writers fails because the critic himself is usually a man of great ability, and compares, perhaps unconsciously, their discoveries with facts that are now common knowledge to himself and others of his attainments; instead of considering only the advance made beyond what was then common knowledge to his antetypes. Thus the designers of the wonderful electric machines of to-day are but as pigmies compared with such giants as Faraday.

Further, in the case of Barrow there are several other things to be taken into account. We must consider his disposition, his training, his changes of intention with regard to a career, the accident of his connection with such a man as Newton, the circumstances brought about by the work of his immediate predecessors, and the ripeness of the time for his discoveries. His disposition was pugnacious, though not without a touch of humor; he sets out with the one expressed intention of simplifying and generalizing the existing methods of drawing tangents to curves of all kinds; and there is distinct humor in his glee at "wiping the eye" of some other geometer whose solution of some particular problem he has not only simplified but generalized. Remembering too that these were lectures delivered in his capacity as professor, one can almost imagine the proud, though more or less repressed, chuckle that accompanied:

"Gregory a St. Vincent gave this, but proved (if I remember rightly) with wearisome prolixity."

"Hence it follows immediately that all curves of this kind are touched at any one point by one straight line only. . . . Euclid proved this as a special case for the circle, Apollonius for the conic sections, and other people in the case of other curves."

This comparison of himself with the giants of ancient days may by some be considered to be conceit on the part of Barrow, but I think it is only the glee, part and parcel of the man, who has accomplished the end he had in view. "I've done it; I've got 'em beat to a frazzle," or the equivalent to this in the best Aristotelian Greek, Ciceronian Latin, or the ponderous English of his Sermons.

His early training was promiscuous and could have had no other effect than to have fostered an inclination to leave others

that other eminent mathematician, Fermat, with his: "I have just discovered the following most beautiful and remarkable property of numbers; if you wish to see the proof I will send it to you." His Greek professorship and his study of Aristotle would tend to make him a confirmed geometer, reveling in the "elegant solution" and more or less despising Cartesian analysis because of its then (frequently) cumbersome work, and using it only with certain qualms of doubt as to its absolute rigor. For instance he almost apologizes for inserting, at the very end of Lecture X, which is the finish of his work on the drawing of tangents, his "*a* and *e*" method,—the prototype of the "*h* and *k*" method of the ordinary beginners' text-book of to-day—with the words:

"We have now to some extent finished what we suggested was to be the first part of our subject. To this, in the form of supplements or appendices, we will add a method for finding tangents by calculation, frequently used by us" [*a nobis usitatus*, the last word meaning customary or familiar; the only other occasion in which Barrow uses this word in the book is to designate things that are well-known or familiar facts]; "although I hardly know, after giving so many well-known and well-worn methods of the kind above, whether there is any advantage in doing so. But I do so on the advice of a friend, and all the more willingly because it seems to be more profitable and general than the others which I have discussed."

The word "familiar" should be noted, showing that Barrow was in possession of a method which he probably used continually, as a clue to finding out his general constructions for tangents; indeed it is not beyond the bounds of probability to assume that this method was the source from which he got all his constructions in the first place; and yet it was a method which he thought little of in comparison with the more rigorous demonstrations of pure geometry. Nevertheless the last paragraph allows that it is more general than anything that he has already given. Note the implied sneer in the words "by calculation": Barrow allows himself the same latitude when alluding to the work of Wallis: "deduced by calculation, and verified by a kind of induction, yet not anywhere proved geometrically, as far as I am aware." The friend was undoubtedly Newton.

Another light is thrown on the matter of Cartesian geometry, or rather the application of it, by lecture VI; in this, for the sake of establishing lemmas to be used later. Barrow gives fairly lengthy proofs that

$$(i) \quad my \pm xy = mx^2/b; \quad \text{and} \quad (ii) \quad \pm yx + gx - my = mx^2/r$$

represent hyperbolas, instead of merely stating the fact on account of the factorizing of

$$mx^2/b \pm xy, \quad mx^2/r \pm xy.$$

The lengthiness of these proofs is to a great extent due to the fact that, although the appearance of the work is algebraical, the reasoning is almost purely geometrical. It is also to be noticed that the index notation is not used except where it is quite unavoidable, although Wallis had used even fractional indices a dozen years before. In a later lecture we have the truly terrifying equation

$$(rrkk - rrf + 2fmpa)/kk = (rrmm + 2fmpa)/kk.$$

From the above it is quite easy to see a reason why Barrow should not have turned his work to a greater account; but in estimating his genius one must make all allowance for this disability in, or dislike for, algebraic geometry, read into his work what could have been got out of it, and not stop short at what was actually published. Chiefly must it be remembered that these old geometers could use their geometrical facts far more readily than many mathematicians of the present day can use their analysis.

As has been stated, Barrow's published works were voluminous: his mathematical works were written in Latin, and have been edited by Whewell (Cambridge, 1860); his works in English have been published in four quarto volumes.

“AN ORGY OF CANT.”

BY THE EDITOR.

AMONG the British critics of the government of Great Britain there is one who has shown himself universally ingenious as a poet as well as enthusiastic on various occult subjects. People interested in occultism may remember the first volume of his *Equinox*, a stately volume with artistic illustrations acquainting the reader with a charming ritual and containing many mysterious articles. We refer to Aleister Crowley who has made himself *persona non grata* to the English government and may be compared with his well-known countryman, Bernard Shaw. Both are poets, both are masters of sarcastic wit, both are Irish patriots and both possess the manliness to speak out boldly and point out the inconsistencies in English politics of to-day.

Early last year Mr. Crowley gave expression to his view of the war in a short circular entitled “The Orgy of Cant” which he sent out pretty widely in letter form among his friends. It was reprinted in *The Continental Times*, an American paper published in Europe.

The English claim, as a matter of course, that God and right are on their side. The huge Teuton armies are crushed by the small forces of Englishmen. Mr. Crowley says:

“We are in for one of our periodical orgies of Cant. Right (and God, of course, thank God!) struggles gallantly in its tiny way against Armed Might, Tyranny, Barbarism; the Allies pit their puny force against the hordes of Huns. Parsons preach on David and Goliath, publicists invoke Jack the Giant-Killer. The odds are always ten to one. Fortunately, one Englishman is a match for $18\frac{1}{3}$ Germans, as statistics prove.

“Englishmen, even educated Englishmen, even traveled Englishmen, manage to hypnotize themselves into believing this.

“My own view is simpler. We have waited for a long while

to smash Germany and steal her goods. We have taken a first-class opportunity, and we shall never regret it.

"In point of fact, gallant little Germany is against a world in arms. Austria has been torn for many years by internal divisions; only a part of her population is of German stock. But against Germany and this one friend are arrayed Russia, France, England, Servia, Montenegro and Japan; and every one of these nations is throwing its whole diplomatic weight into the task of getting Roumania, Bulgaria, Greece, Italy, Holland, Denmark and the United States of America to join in. We are only about 6 to 1 at present and feel insecure.

"Algerians, not only of Arab but of negroid and even negro stock, have been hurled into the line; India has gushed out a venomous river of black troops—the desperate Ghoorka, whose *kukri* is thrust upward through the bowels; the Pathan, whose very women scavenge the battlefield to rob, murder and foully mutilate the dead, the fierce Sikh, the lithe Panjabi, the Bengali even, whose maximum of military achievement is the Black Hole of Calcutta!

"Against the Boers the English did not dare employ savage troops. Europe would have risen in arms at the abomination.

"To-day we do it, because all armed Europe is already either for us or against us. And with all that we use the Japanese! Can we complain if the German papers say that the Kaiser is fighting for culture, for civilization, when the flower of the allied troops are black, brown, and yellow 'heathens,' the very folks whom we have stopped from hook-swinging, suttee, child-murder, human sacrifice and cannibal feast? From Senegambia, Morocco, the Sudan, Afghanistan, every wild band of robber clans, come fighting men to slay the compatriots of Kant, Hegel, Goethe, Schiller, Heine, Beethoven, Wagner, Mozart, Dürer, Helmholtz, Hertz, Haeckel, and a million others perhaps obscurer, no less noble, men of the Fatherland of music, of philosophy, of science and of medicine, the land where education is a reality and not a farce, the land of Luther and Melanchthon, the land whose life blood washed out the ecclesiastical tyranny of the dark ages.

"The Huns!

"We thank God that we are not as other men. There are no stained glass windows bright enough for us. Our haloes are top heavy."

Here follow Mr. Crowley's comments on the English view concerning the Kaiser:

"Indignation has led me from the point of my paragraph. It

was my purpose to expose the infamous pretence—which, however, is not too inane to dupe even clear-sighted Englishmen in their hysterical hour—the pretence that the Kaiser is a ‘mad dog,’ a homicidal maniac, a man like Nebuchadnezzar in the Hebrew fable, or like Attila the Scourge of God, or Tamerlane.

“*It is a lie.* The Kaiser has always been, and is to-day, a man of peace. He has indeed lived up to the maxim *Si vis pacem, para bellum* and, loaded with the legacy of hate which the impolitic annexation of Alsace-Lorraine had thrust upon his shoulders, he could do no less without offering the breast of Germany to the ravisher. A lamb to the slaughter, indeed, with *La revanche* in every mouth! What would he do, with men yet alive who remembered Jena, and the ceaseless raids and ravages of Bonaparte?

“But in a hundred crises he kept his head; he kept the peace. He had plenty of chances to smash France forever; he did not take them. An ambitious prince might have put a relative on the throne of Louis XIV while France was torn by the Boulanger affair, the Panama scandal, the Dreyfus horror, when Diogenes might have gone through France with a modern searchlight for his lantern without finding a single man who was not a traitor to his country, or at least to the republic and the most trustworthy man of affairs was he who could be trusted to put the ‘double-cross’ on every one. The Kaiser never stirred.

“It would have been easy to destroy the Russian menace at the time when Japan was straining the sinews of the Tartar giant, or when the Moscow Revolution showed that the Czar could not trust his own soldiers, and the Imperial Guard, hastily summoned from St. Petersburg, shut up the garrison of Moscow in the Kremlin, trained their own guns upon them, and disarmed them. The Kaiser did nothing.

“And then came the Triple Entente.

“Germany was held like a deer in a lion’s jaws. Austria, her only friend, was being ruined by insidious politics even more surely than by open attacks. Barred in the Adriatic, barred in the Baltic, the Teuton had but one small strip of reasonably open coast. That the Kaiser made that coast the greatest naval base in the world was held to be a ‘menace.’

“Surely the Russo-Japanese war and the Boer war showed plainly—if any fool there were who could not see it *a priori*—that the greatest, widest, best, and only impregnable military base is the sea. To-day we can bring Russian troops from Vladivostock or Archangel and land them at Ostend, a million at a time, and Ger-

many must be well served indeed by spies if she knows of the operation in time to guard against it. Such a power is the supreme strategic advantage. Is it then so treacherous and aggressive if Germany, threatened by an alliance (hypocritically described as an *entente*) of powers outnumbering her six to one, sought to keep open a path to raid that universal base of operations? The English are the least military and the most warlike of all peoples, said some one; the converse is truer still of Germany.

"And since the Entente the ordeal of the Kaiser has been Promethean. Insult after insult he has had to swallow; injury upon injury he has had to endure. The Kiao-Chau adventure, harmless and rational, was balked, then sterilized, then counterpoised. The colonies did not prosper. England built like a maniac against his navy; Churchill deliberately pulled his nose by the impudent proposal for limitation of armaments.

"Agadir was a fresh humiliation; for a few acres of uninhabitable jungle on the Congo he had to surrender all interest in Morocco, a country he had nursed for years.

"It is still a diplomatic secret, and I must not betray it. But who financed Italy in her Tripolitan adventure, and why?

"The last straw was the Balkan war. Blotted was his one hope of escape to the east; his ewe-lamb, Turkey, was torn to pieces before his eyes, and he could not stir a finger to prevent it. Austria still blocked in the Adriatic, Italy alienated from the Triple Alliance, the Slav expanding everywhere, Constantinople itself threatened, Roumania (even) turning toward Russia, he must have felt like a victim of that maiden of armor and spears that once executed justice on the weak.

"And all this had been accomplished by England without sword drawn or cannon fired.

"Here then stood Wilhelm, dauntless but defeated. His diplomacy had failed; his one ally was handicapped by domestic unrest; he was isolated in Europe; England was increasing her navy at a pace which he could never beat; France, with her three years' law, was proposing to increase her army by 50 per cent at a stroke; Russia was turning the flank, pushing on through the Balkans subtly and surely.

"And the Kaiser answered: I am the servant of God; I stand for peace. And the Triple Entente gathered closer and chuckled: Aha! he dare not fight. Let us tighten the garrote!

"So Servia plots and executes the crime of Sarajewo. Austria, its aged emperor smitten yet again and most foully, demands im-

peratively the disclosure of the accomplices of the assassins. Servia replies in terms of evasion, evasion impudently cynical. Austria stirs. Russia—and there is no pretense possible, the murder of the archduke was either instigated by Panslavism or was a threat equally to the Czar as to any other ruler—replies by mobilizing. Before Austria has moved a man or a gun, Russia mobilizes.

“And what was the position of the German emperor? He must strike now or never.

“He looked about him. The weakness of the British government and its supposed preoccupation with the Ulster folly and the suffragettes encouraged him to hope. He saw France, mere rottenness, its bandages torn off by the pistol-shot of Mme. Caillaux. All things conspired; he would make one final effort for peace by threatening Russia.

“And then he suddenly knew that it was no good. Nothing was any good; nothing would ever be any good again. *Sir Edward Grey spoke for peace, spoke of neutrality, in the House of Commons at a moment when thousands of British troops were already on their way to Belgium, and the fleet, concentrated and ready for action, already held the North Sea.*

“France withdrew her troops from the frontier ‘so as to avoid any possibility of incidents which might be mistaken for aggression,’ while her Algerian and Senegambian troops were on the water, half-way to Marseilles.

“He knew that this time there was no hope of peace. Abdication itself would hardly have saved Germany from a long-prepared, carefully-planned war, a war whose avowed object, an object in the mouth of every man in the street, was the destruction of Austria, the dismemberment of Germany. They had got him.

“Even a worm will turn; even a Quaker will fight if he is cornered.

“Wilhelm struck.”

Some time ago Belgium was decried and pilloried in all English literature for “the crime of the Congo,” as it was called by Sir Conan Doyle. But all this is now forgotten. Mr. Crowley says:

“We have quite forgotten that the Belgian is the most cruel,

ogists began to derive Belgium from Belial and Belphegor and other leading Lucifuges of the hierarchy of the Pit. King Cleopold, who was really a foolish kindly old gentleman with a taste in petticoats, the spit of a hundred *vieux marcheurs* in any Pall Mall club, was compared to all the Roman emperors from Caligula and Nero to Justinian and Diocletian. And now it is 'gallant little Belgium,' and '*les braves Belges*,' and enough about heroes and martyrs to make any decent man vomit!

"Anything the Belgians may have got they asked for. *Flagellum qui meruit ferat!*"

How different is the British view of France now from what it was before the war. Here is British opinion of France before and after the war:

"We thank God that we are not as other men. Humph! If the French are being beaten, they have only themselves to blame. Does one expect a Leonidas from France?"

"Outside the sacred Mount of Parnassus, where dwell Rodin and Anatole France and a few more, what names does one know but names of scandal? Eiffel, and Reinach, and Dreyfus, and Henry, and du Paty de Clam, and de Lesseps, and Meyer, and Mme. Humbert, and Mme. Steinheil, and Mme. Caillaux. Since 1870 the history of France is a history of mean and mostly unintelligible squabble, fringed with Jesuitry and pseudo-Mason intrigue, a viler, an obscurer money-grubbery than even that of Haussmann and the Second Empire. In all the labyrinth of French group-politics is there a name unsmirched by what in any other country would be felony?"

"What sort of an army is it whose officers conspire wholesale against the state and have to be bought over by a bourse-ridden republic whose chief magistrate can be smacked publicly in the face at a race-course and not dare to retaliate, the pretenders to whose throne can allow their conspirators to culminate and at the last moment fear to show themselves, so that all their followers are thrown into prison—when a single bold push would have set them on the throne?"

"Calmette, the *Bel-ami* journalist, who by trickery and treason makes himself the greatest power in French journalism, threatens to expose the master blackmailer, to unmask the 'impregnable' frontier fortresses that are still armed with the guns of 1872; he is murdered by a woman who in England would be considered as a doubtful starter in any concourse of moderately respectable demi-

mondaines—and a jury is found to declare that she did not commit the act to which she openly confesses!

“England has spent about nine centuries in hating and despising France, in crying out on her for atheism and immorality and all the rest of it; Edward VII, one night upon Montmartre, swears the French are jolly good sportsh, bigod, and lo! the Angel of the Entente Cordiale, Mimi Tete-Beche is Sainte-Genevieve, and Jésus-la-Caille becomes the Saviour of Protestant England.

“Is it a nation in which abortion has become a national danger that will freely give her sons to the Republic?

“If so, only because the French people is not corrupted, even by their politicians.

“I love the French—I will not yield precedence to Edward VII, though I prefer Montparnasse to Montmartre, and pay for my own dinner at Lapérouse’s where he accepted £20,000 to dine at the Café Anglais—and I want to see them victorious and prosperous. But I shall not mistake France for Sparta.”

As to the Slavs we find a similar contrast between former British views concerning Russia and those of to-day.

“As to Russia, we have had nothing but whole-hearted abuse since 1850. Even their ridiculous fear of having their children stolen by Jews for the purposes of ritual murder—as they most fixedly believe—has been represented as religious bigotry, when it is at the worst but peasant ignorance like the belief in witchcraft.

“We have received and fêted the would-be assassins of their Czar; we have imagined Red Sunday in St. Petersburg, and fulminated against pogroms, and preached against vodka and brutal Cossacks till any one who has ever been to Russia wants to go away quietly and die; and the next thing is that we hold up our railways and smuggle 150,000 of the brutal Cossacks aforesaid to fling them on the flank of the German armies in Normandy and Picardy. Well, no! it was only a Secret Service lie. But how dearly we all wished it true!

“Have we not wept and yelled over Poland? And has not the Czar promised autonomy to Poland once and again, and tricked?

“My own view of Russia is that it is the freest country in the world; but it is a little sudden for our Nonconformists who have denounced her as a tyrant for the last sixty years, to hail her thus incontinently as the champion of European liberty.”

Mr. Crowley has but little to say on Servia and Montenegro:

“It is disgusting to have to foul clean paper with the name of Servia.

“These swineherds who murdered and mutilated their own king and queen; whose manners make their own pigs gentlefolk; these assassins who officially plot and execute the dastard murder of the Crown Prince of a nation with whom they are at peace; these ruffians so foul that even cynical England hesitates to send a minister to their court of murderers—these be thy gods to-day, O England!

“Heroic little Servia!”

“I have not a word to say against the Montenegrins. They are decent honest cutthroats.”

“And now we come to the treacherous monkeys of Japan, the thieves and pirates of the East. Who makes the shoddy imitations of European and American machinery, forges the names of famous firms, sticks at no meanness to steal trade? Who, under cover of alliance with England, fostered in China a boycott of all English goods?

“Only yesterday Japan was at the throat of Russia—or at least trod heavily on one big toe. To-day in Tokyo they sing the Russian national anthem, and cheer the ambassador whenever he appears.

“Why not? of course. It is natural, it is human; it is all in order. But it is fickleness and treachery; it is hypocrisy and humbug. Diplomacy is of necessity all this; but at least let us mitigate the crime by confession!

“Human nature is never so bad when it is not shackled by the morality of emasculate idealists.

“Does any person who knows the Far East believe even in an opium dream that Japan had any quarrel with Germany, or any care for her alliance with England? Kiao-Chau was an easy enough prey; well, then, snatch it, and chance the wrath of schoolmarm America and the egregious Wilson. But for God’s sake, and by the navel of Daibutsu, and the twelve banners of the twelve sects of Buddha, let us spew out the twaddle about honor, and justice, and oppressed China, and the sanctity of alliance!”

Now the English have their turn:

“And England! England the Home of Liberty, the Refuge of the Oppressed, the Star of Hope of the Little Nations. I suppose that any other nation about whom they sang

“‘They’re hanging men and women too—
For wearing of the green’

would suppress the song by yet more hanging. The English are cynical enough to sing it themselves.

"The English are ever on the lookout for atrocities. Bulgarian atrocities, Armenian atrocities, Tripolitan atrocities, Congo atrocities, and now German atrocities. One notices that the atrocity of the atrocitators varies with their political objectionability.

"The parable of the mote and the beam was made for England, surely.

"German atheism! from the compatriots of Shelley, Thomson, Bradlaugh, Morley, and John Burns.

"German sensuality! from the fellow-citizens of Swinburne, Rossetti, Keats, and a dozen others.

"German blasphemy! when the Kaiser invokes the God of Battles. As if the success of British arms were not prayed for daily in the churches, the name of God invoked in the addresses to the soldiers, and the very motto of England, *Dieu et mon droit!* It is true the Kaiser was first to make so emphatic an insistence that God was his ally; it seems that England has the old literary grievance against those *qui ante nos nostra dixerunt!*

"Indeed *saevitia!*

"German militarism! A strange rebuke from a nation whose saner citizens at this hour are cursing themselves that they did not have conscription twenty years ago, from a nation which has by a sham Insurance Act riveted heavier fetters on their slave-class than were ever ball and chain.

"And it is England that can produce a firm of piano manufacturers to start a boycott of German pianos—their own pianos being all German but the cases!—and a boycott of German music. And it is England that can show a composer who writes to the papers that he will now "try harder than he ever tried before" to beat Bach and Beethoven and Brahms and Strauss and Wagner! In the meantime he will refrain from the wicked and unpatriotic luxury of Vienna steak! And since Kant thought two and two made four, for all true Englishmen they must make five in future.

"Have Englishmen forgotten their own Royal family?

"The very dogs in England's court
They bark and howl in German."

"Edward VII spoke English with an accent; and at the first hour of war with Germany we found the first Lord of the Admiralty a German prince!

"Until this year England has never been at war with Germany

in the course of history since the Conquest. Our very speech, half English, betrayeth us.

“All this is finished. The German is a Hun, and a Vandal, and a monster, and a woman-torturer, and a child-murderer, and runs away in his millions at the sight of a territorial from Hoxon. And the British army has won victory after victory against enormous odds, some sixtyfold, and some eightyfold, and some a hundredfold, and has retreated (for strategic purposes, luring the hosts of the Kaiser to their doom) nearly as fast as a frightened man can run, and exactly as fast as a victorious host can pursue them.”

The government of Great Britain have succeeded in their scheme. The war is on. Germany is fighting against odds; and though there is some danger that she may not submit, the British Cabinet have mixed the cards well and have succeeded admirably in their diplomatic job. Mr. Crowley concludes thus:

“I write in English for those English who count, and this is the proper way to view the matter. Germany is a rich prize. We can capture German trade, German manufactures, German shipping, German colonies. We can exact an indemnity sufficient to cripple Germany for a dozen generations. We can split Germany into six kingdoms or republics, and weaken her beyond repair forever. We can double-cross Russia by insisting on the creation of a new Poland. We can destroy the German fleet, and economize on dreadnoughts. We can force our proletariat to accept conscription and stave off the social revolution. We can drown the Irish question in Lethe; we can fight a general election on the war, and keep the present gang of politicians in office.

“And, best of all! we can achieve all this in the name of Honor, and the Sanctity of Treaties, and the Cause of the Democracies, and we can ask the blessing of God upon our arms in the name of Liberty, and Civilization, and Prosperity, and Progress.”

A CHIPPEWA TOMAHAWK.

AN INDIAN HEIRLOOM WITH A HISTORY.

BY W. THORNTON PARKER.

THE Indian who bestows a gift expects an equivalent of equal or greater value but nothing else. At the ceremony of the war-dance there is usually an opportunity to witness very clearly what is meant by the term "Indian Gift." Indian *exchange* would be a better term!

In the gift-dance one of the dancers leads off by placing at the feet of some warrior among those sitting on the ground in the oval of the great war-dance, a little stick, and informs him that this act represents the gift of a pony which he will receive on the morrow. Now the value of the pony may equal a large beaded tobacco-pouch, a handsomely beaded otter-skin or something else of value to the Indian. In a little while the man at whose feet the single stick has been laid begins his dance, and places at the feet of him who has been *his* donor two little sticks signifying that he will give for them an otter-skin, tobacco-pouch or something else.

An Indian gift is therefore one which can never be refused.

One day a visitor called at the Bishop Whipple Hospital to see the *Mus-Kee-Kee-Win-Ni-Nee* (Indian name for medicine man or doctor). He was a fine young sub-chief of the Chippewas, tall and straight as an arrow. He was indeed an interesting sight to behold. Above the deep vermilion-colored part of his raven-black hair the warrior's eagle-feather rose. He wore a pair of handsomely beaded deer-skin Chippewa moccasins, and deer-skin leggings, and about his body was wrapped a large snow-white blanket which he wore with chiefly pride. On his left arm rested a very handsome tomahawk with a heavy brass head and long wooden handle. For a short distance the handle was wound with otter-skin and was ornamented with many brass tacks. He walked like a man of powerful frame.

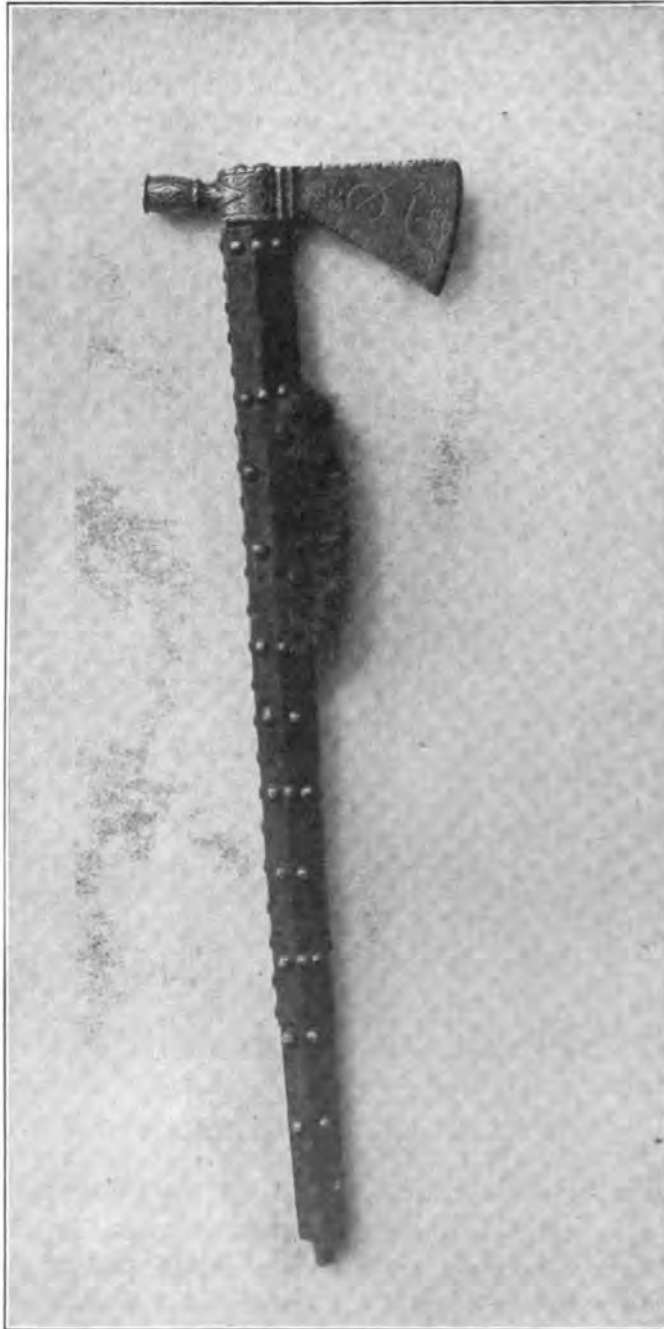
entered the hospital parlor where he waited standing for the surgeon whom he greeted with a hearty *bo-zho-nitchee* (Good-day, Friend). The interpreter stated that the young chief had called to pay his respects, and he made a very kindly and dignified speech to which the surgeon replied. Then when cigars were offered he accepted one, cut off the end, lighted it, placed it in the pipe end of his tomahawk and smoked it. At last the chieftain rose to deliver his parting words,



MEE-SHEE-KEE-GEE-SHIG
War Chief of the Chippewa Indians.

and spoke kindly of the coming of the pale-face doctor and of his good wife to whom the Indians had already given the name *Gee-Shay-Wah-Dee-Zid* (the Indian's true friend), and of their little son, whom they had already loved to call *Mus-Kee-Kee-Win-Nin-Nin* (the little medicine man). Then he stretched forth his hand

always known of this tomahawk as an ancient tribal heirloom highly prized by all, and yet, treasure that is was, the chieftain said he



OJIBWAY TOMAHAWK
Ancient Tribal Heirloom Presented to Dr. Parker. *

wished to present it to the doctor. The surgeon was surprised at the offer and immediately urged that such an heirloom should re-

main with the tribe if happily for many generations! Again the chief offered, the surgeon refused. "Does the medicine man refuse my gift?" asked the warrior. And the interpreter hesitatingly answered, "He does." With an angry look the Indian gathered his



DR. WILLIAM THORNTON PARKER.

white blanket around him and strode out of the hospital. Seeking the meanest Indian he could find on the reservation, he gave the splendid weapon to him as an insult to the surgeon.

In a short time this episode was related to Chief *Mee-Shee-Kee-*

Gee-Shig (Dark-lowering-clouds-touching-all-round). He was the war-chief of the Chippewas and an uncle of the young chieftain who had offered the tomahawk. He was also a friend of the surgeon. He knew at once the motives which actuated the surgeon for declining the gift, so he quickly hunted up the poor Indian to whom it had been given and gave him five dollars for the tomahawk. Hurrying with it to the hospital he explained to the surgeon the Indian custom concerning gifts. Then he said, "My good friend, please accept this from me," and so the incident was closed. The



DR. PARKER WITH CHIPPEWA INDIANS OF WHITE EARTH RESERVATION, MINNESOTA.

surgeon gave the war-chief a silver watch in exchange for the tomahawk.

For thirty-five years this tomahawk has been highly prized by the present owner, and it is still in perfect condition. The brass head is about eight inches high by three and a half inches at the widest portion of the blade. The handle is about two feet long. The heavy brass head of the tomahawk is for use in war, and for peaceful purposes to be used for a pipe. The handle has been

a mouth-piece. Upon the brass blade an Indian shield, feather-decorated, and cross spears have been engraved, and below this an Indian beaver, and above all "P. E. B. Co.," some long since forgotten company of English fur traders who brought these brass tomahawks over the sea to trade with the Indians for their valuable furs. On the other side is an engraving of an Indian warrior. The pipe-bowl is also ornamented. The weapon was indeed worthy of



DR. PARKER IN BUCKSKIN HUNTING-SUIT MADE BY CHIPPEWA INDIANS.

an Indian chief of high degree. A glance would suggest a tomahawk and pipe; but the hatchet end, although deadly, could not inflict such a terrible wound as the pipe end which could smash a large round hole in the skull like a fifty-calibre bullet.

All this is but an item in the history of this remarkable weapon! What tales of bloody warfare it might relate if it could but speak!

What exciting battles it must have witnessed, and in its strange and fierce history how many owners must have enjoyed the proud honor of possessing it! At what famous war-dances and Indian ceremonies must it have held a conspicuous place! And now it occupies a little space in the library of an old Indian war veteran, and near by, to keep it company, hangs the owner's frontier sabre and "six-shooter," emblematic of the Pale-face victory over brave but conquered warriors.

WAR TOPICS.—IN REPLY TO MY CRITICS.

BY THE EDITOR.

INTRODUCTION.

THREE friendly critics of mine who regret that I support the German cause in this war have more or less sharply attacked my views. They are Mr. Charles T. Gorham of the Rationalist Press Association, London, England; Mr. Paul Hyacinthe Loyson of Paris, a French poet and journalist, the author of a drama written a few years before the war in the interest of peace propaganda, son of the famous Father Hyacinthe Loyson and of Madame Loyson (a native American); and thirdly, Mr. C. Marsh Beadnell, Fleet Surgeon in the British Royal Navy.¹ I have duly published what these gentlemen had to say, but I feel quite at a loss as to how to reply, for they have not convinced me and their arguments are in my opinion obvious errors. So I feel the utter uselessness of a prolonged controversy and would prefer, if possible, to discontinue the discussion. I am sure that, even though I advance perfectly sound arguments, I should not be able to convince them of their errors. Their convictions rest mainly upon the sympathy which they cherish for their countries, France or Great Britain, and they will accept as truth only that which appeals to them. I do not doubt their honesty, but the British government has succeeded in hypnotizing them into a belief in the British side of the case, which is a bold misrepresentation of the truth.

Is it possible that we have here to deal with questions which are beyond the scope of truth and error, questions of the will? The questions, what peoples or diplomats wanted the war? who committed atrocities? who fought gallantly? who lost the field? who came out victorious? are questions of fact, and history will speak the final verdict; but the questions, who is a barbarian? who are

¹The communication of Mr. Gorham appeared in the September *Open Court*, and those of Messrs. Loyson and Beadnell in the October number.

Huns? who ought to win? are matters of private opinion, judgments of a purely subjective value. They are important in that our views on such topics are the very fountain-springs of action, but for a final decision as to right or wrong, they are absolutely worthless. The final decision rests on objective factors,—historical justice, ability, prudence, foresight.

The English press has made ample use of subjective arguments to slander the German cause and to further the interests of the Allies. Slander is a weapon; it is not a noble weapon, but it is sometimes very efficient, although it is apt to work as a boomerang.

I do not deny that any weapon may be allowed in warfare, and Sir Edward Grey is apparently confident that he can handle the boomerang. He has been successful with it in England. The English people believe his assertions. They are easily induced to place faith in him. They think that, with the help of France, Russia and Italy, victory and the aggrandizement of the British Empire will be achieved. Poisonous words, like asphyxiating bombs, are powerful for a time. But, also, like asphyxiating bombs, the poison of misrepresentation slowly evaporates, and the ultimate effect is nil.

At all times, and especially in time of war, there are differences of opinion which have nothing to do with truth and error, and these cannot be discussed. One person may sympathize with the Germans and another with the English. One may think that it would be best for mankind if the British Empire girdled the world, while another believes that Germany should have the same right to build a navy as England. And some of the belligerents desire a new division of the world in which their own countries will be more favorably placed. Such problems are not questions of fact, they are questions of will; and such questions are not decided by logic but by the sword.

There are many such questions. One of them, two and one-half millenniums ago, was whether the Persian Empire should spread over the whole civilized world of antiquity or whether Greece should be independent and take a new start. This was no question of right or wrong, but of the will. Persian civilization was highly developed, and Greece was an insignificant puny little nation with a mere promise of a great future.

Another question of will is the Monroe doctrine. The United States of America has no right to South America, and there is no logic in the principle that she should interfere with the course of events in Mexico, Venezuela or any other country on the continent south of us.

There are many such cases of aspiration in history. Egyptian civilization developed in parallel lines in the level land of the papyrus plant and in the hills of the South where the bee was roaming. The two would finally be united into Mizrayim, the two Egypts. But the question which of the two would take the leadership was not a question of truth or error, nor even of right or wrong, but of aspiration.

So this war contains questions of fact as well as questions of right or wrong; but also questions of aspiration, questions of the will. In judging of the war, we must bear in mind the character of all the questions involved.

First, there was a fact—a terribly brutal fact—the assassination of the heir apparent to the Austrian throne at the hands of a Serbian conspirator. Austria demanded an investigation, at which England, Russia and France became indignant. They objected to Austria so indignantly that she naturally became suspicious. Remember that the British government had refused to send a minister to these same Serbians on account of their unscrupulous and criminal habits. Russia mobilized, and England encouraged Russia and France while it assumed a threatening attitude toward Germany. Germany stood by Austria; the Kaiser's correspondence with the Czar and King George followed, but instead of preserving peace it heightened the tension and with ominous haste the declarations of war followed.

That a great war must come has been claimed repeatedly in England, in France and in Russia, yes even in Germany. But the predictions in Germany, e. g., by Treitschke and Bernhardi, were not exhortations to a combat, they were simply admonitions to be prepared for defense against attack. If Germany continued to grow as she had been growing since 1870 England would become her enemy, and an alliance of England with France and Russia was not only to be feared but had actually taken place in the formation of the Triple Entente. Germany herself could not gain by attacking these three countries, but England followed the policy of preventing Germany's growth, and if Germany wished to take her proper place in the world she would find her right to existence challenged by Great Britain as well as by all her other enemies. In this sense Treitschke prophesied war and Bernhardi preached the duty of being prepared for it.

Now if my critics accept the view that Germany has grown

have come to the conclusion that my critics are primarily sympathizers with the Allies; they therefore hope the Allies are right, and hence believe them to be right.

British people are partial against the Germans when they regard the natural growth of that people as aggressiveness; and my critics are not fair by adopting this same partisan standpoint. Such is my conviction, but I also realize that my critics think similarly of me. I grant that they have the same right to suspect me of being partial as I have to suspect them. Their partiality is unconscious. May not mine be unconscious too? Certainly it may, though I am fully convinced in my own mind that I have not allowed my sympathy with Germany to influence my judgment.

RIGHT ABOVE LOVE OF NATIVE COUNTRY.

On a former occasion, when a conflict threatened between Germany and the United States at the time of the clash in Manila Bay between the German Admiral Dietrich and the American Admiral Dewey, and there was danger of hostilities between the two countries, I, in common with the great majority of German-Americans, came to the conclusion that Dietrich was wrong and Dewey right. I did not side with the German cause but took the side of America, and I did so simply and solely because I believed that justice was on the American side. If I am now so easily influenced to stand by the country of my birth, why did I not then sympathize with the German cause?

Almost all German-Americans stood by America at that time, as they stand by Germany now; and if they thought that Germany was wrong they would not, nor would I, in the least hesitate to say so. There are a few German-Americans that are pro-British, but they are rare exceptions; among them are millionaires like Schwab who profit by the manufacture of munitions and have private reasons for their anti-German tendencies, easily calculable in dollars and cents.

In the present case I am sure that my sympathy with Germany against the Allies springs not from my being a native German, but is the result of a careful investigation of the causes of the war. I have come to the conclusion that the Triple Entente, and above all Great Britain, has forced this war upon Germany, and that Germany tried by all possible means to avoid war, or at least, if that were impossible, to localize it and confine it to Serbia and Austria. My critics take the opposite view. They believe that

Germany forced this war upon the Entente and is ultimately to be blamed for it.

WHY THE WAR WAS UNAVOIDABLE.

In digging deeper into the causes of the war, and considering the British propaganda for war, which found most emphatic expression in the two anonymous articles published in the London *Saturday Review* (republished in *The Open Court* for October and December, 1914), I have come to the conclusion that the English government was in a certain sense justified in entering into this conflict. It is, as I shall show below, a matter of self-preservation. It would be, as I have explained above, an issue of ambition, a question of will. England means to be the ruler of the waves, just as the United States proposes to be the protectrix of South America and would not tolerate the establishment there of European colonies. If Germany grew too quickly, so as to become a danger to England's industrial and commercial monopoly. England was justified in looking out for self-protection. She did so and established the rule of keeping a navy as strong as, or stronger than, the two second strongest navies together. But even that did not seem sufficient. Germany increased her navy, and her trade began to surpass that of Great Britain.

Germany has, in these last forty years, made such unprecedented progress that England became alarmed. And rightly so! For her very existence, commercially, was threatened.

The Franco-Prussian War in 1870-1871 gave Germany the start, but her real victory was one of industry and commerce. She has competed with England in the world market, and statistical figures show that England was being hopelessly overtaken; it was not a defeat in war but in peace! With a continuance of this process Germany was sure to crowd the commerce of Great Britain even out of her own dominions, and the world market would gradually pass into the hands of the Teutons. This change was coming about with infallible certainty and could be seen to be a thing of the near future.

England has enjoyed undisturbed possession of the world market for fully two centuries, and she regards the dominion of the seas as her divine right, her property by God's grace; so she naturally resents the appearance of a rival as an intrusion, and characterizes Germany's attitude as aggressive and threatening.

But the increase of German trade is not all! Along with the

warships, and her navy has grown until it is now one-third as large as that of Britain.

What was to be done? There was but one remedy—to check German prosperity before it was too late. And if this could be done by war only, why, war was the only thing. I believe that war was not the right way of disposing of a rival, but the leaders of English statecraft saw no other way. I believe the proper way would have been to introduce German methods into English schools and make the English people as efficient as the Germans. But let us assume that the English people had been as well educated as their German rivals, and the German progress had been due to other reasons; that there was no other remedy than a ruin of Germany's prosperity by war, I would deem a war justified.

English diplomats ought to have considered their chances of victory, and they did so. Sir Edward Grey twice explained his view before parliament, and he assured the house in unequivocal terms that the Germans could not escape defeat. Russia had an army twice as large as Germany, while that of France was not only equal in numbers to the German army but had greatly developed of late in efficiency, as was seen in the late Balkan war where the Balkan powers were officered and armed by the French, and the Turks by the Germans. The idea was quite common, even in military circles in this country, that Germany had been eclipsed by France.

There was apparently no chance for Germany to escape defeat. Sir Edward Grey said it would be but a few days and the German navy would be at the bottom of the sea or dragged into British ports. Then the German cities on the North and Baltic seas would be placed under the cannon of the British navy until the war indemnity were paid and peace restored. These arguments seemed very plausible, and the English people believed them.

England means to be the ruler of the sea; that is her Monroe doctrine. Has she not a right to look out for her future? Germany too has a right to cultivate science and industry, to develop a flourishing trade and build a navy. If two ambitions collide, there is a conflict, and this conflict must be decided by the sword. And this is actually the situation.

If England had taken this position I should not find fault with her. I should have regretted the war, I should have preferred another way of coming to terms with Germany, but I should have preserved my respect for England.

Sir Edward Grey and his colleagues in diplomacy have taken another course. They have misrepresented the Germans and have

Painted them as real barbarians, as Huns and treacherous ruffians. It is a deep wrong England has committed, and the English people will regret it as soon as its gravity is understood. But there is one satisfaction which I derive from it, and it is this: The English people—I mean the people, not the government—would not have gone into this war if the Germans had not been so infamously misrepresented. The mass of the English people actually believe that the Germans are criminals, villains, traitors, scoundrels, brutal murderers, militarists—by which term is meant men who find fun in war and sport in robbery. I wish to proclaim this fact in Germany and Austria, that Sir Edward Grey deemed it necessary to make this impression on the world, and that if he had not succeeded in impressing the English people with these prejudices his policy would not have been endorsed in parliament and the people of England would not have consented to the war.

If I am right in my conclusions, the next question to be discussed would not be who is guilty of the war but who is going to be the victor. This, in my opinion, is the real question. My critics believe that Germany will be beaten, while my belief is that it is England that will be the loser, in fact that she is inevitably doomed to defeat. From this standpoint I deem it to be wiser for England to come to an agreement with Germany before it would be too late.

It has been England's time-honored policy to preserve the balance of power on the continent, supporting the weaker nations against the stronger. In former centuries France was the strongest power, so England supported Germany against Napoleon I and profited by the downfall of the tyrant. She strengthened her dominion of the seas by the overthrow of the founder of the new world-dynasty. In the meantime Germany has grown and France has declined. Therefore it was now in order to support France and even Russia, the old enemies of England, against Germany,—not to ruin Germany entirely, but to tame her sufficiently to enable England to continue to hold the balance of power.

A defeat of Germany by the superior forces of Russia and France seemed inevitable. Sir Edward did not doubt the final result. But England is kind-hearted. She did not want to destroy Germany entirely. When the blows of the Russians and French

that if Great Britain joined Russia and France she could be of greater service to Germany than if she remained neutral; and what service could she offer under such circumstances than changing sides in the moment when Germany were crushed? Moreover such policy is exactly the traditional British plan. It is formulated in the rule "to keep the balance of power."

England would never have found fault with Germany if she had remained as poor and as humble as in the times of Kant and Goethe and Schiller. But she had begun to seriously rival England, and therefore had to be subdued, for her progress, her remarkable development in the arts of peace, her increase in political power, commonly characterized as her aggressiveness, had become a menace to British supremacy, and there was no way of meeting this most subtle of all perils, industrial rivalry, except by war. There was no other way of stemming the advance of Germany than by ruining her peaceful activity and breaking down the mechanism of her national existence.

Granting that English diplomacy was justified in entering upon this war to save her industrial and commercial supremacy, the next question is, was the right method chosen and did the Allies take the proper course to accomplish their purpose? We do not think so. But one thing may be granted: Sir Edward Grey and his fellow diplomats chose a moment which was as favorable for them as they could possibly have selected.

Great Britain created the Triple Entente for the purpose of isolating Germany and checking her diplomatic moves. England's equivocal attitude toward Germany on the one hand, and her promises first to France and then to Russia on the other hand, led to the war.

Here the alleged falsehood of Sir Edward Grey plays only an incidental part. If England had not encouraged both France and Russia, and if she had guaranteed to remain neutral on condition that Germany respected the neutrality of Belgium, the war would probably not have come to pass. The fact is, however, that it was Sir Edward Grey's equivocation, whether deliberate misrepresentation or only an awkward and blundering attitude due to a foggy mind, rendered the war inevitable. If Sir Edward had really and honestly desired peace he could have preserved it; otherwise we must assume that he was blinded by an unfortunate shortsightedness. I believe that Sir Edward wanted war, and he wanted it for the reason set forth in the articles in the *London Saturday Review*, but he was too diplomatic not to seek for a cause.

ENGLAND'S CAUSE.

The wolf devours the lamb, not because he is hungry, but because the lamb pollutes the stream from which he drinks. There is an old rule which every disciple of Macchiavelli observes: If for some reason or other a diplomat deems it necessary to bring about a war, he looks for a cause and brings it about that the nation to be attacked furnish some ostensible pretext,—that it be compelled to commit a wrong and appear in the wrong. This was the next task for English diplomacy, and Sir Edward accomplished it to perfection. The lamb polluted the stream when Germany broke the neutrality of Belgium.

Germany was sure to break through Belgium after Sir Edward's equivocal answer, for any other course of action would have allowed England and France an easy access to the poorly protected but industrially vital part of Germany where Krupp's works are situated, and this would have meant defeat.

It is an old custom among statesmen that treaties of neutrality are kept if possible, but they are not kept if they hamper important movements in a war. England has broken the neutrality of any country whenever it suited her, and she would not have hesitated to induce Belgium to join in the Triple Entente when the proper moment arrived. Even as I write, the Allies are breaking Greek neutrality against the protest of Greece, for the purpose of invading Bulgaria and assisting Serbia. If the English break neutrality England is not to be blamed; and when the neutrals remain neutral they are deserving of the severest censure; but Germany's break of Belgian neutrality was an unpardonable crime. How the English landing has been arranged in Athens beforehand with the Greek prime minister is described in a report dated from Salonica October 7, 1915. The main passage reads thus:

"On the morning of the 3. Oct., General Ian Hamilton appeared, having come aboard an English warship, which steamed right into the harbor. General Hamilton without delay proceeded to land, called upon the military and civil officials, and informed them that considerable forces would be landed at Salonica to assist the Serbians. He stated that all opposition by the Greeks would be met with summary punishment."

Please consider an additional and important point: The Belgian neutrality arranged in 1839 by England was really and unquestionably arranged in the interest of England. England regarded it

as essential that the territory on the continent opposite to the English shore should be in the hands of a weak power and should never be annexed either by France or Germany. The neutrality treaty practically made of Belgium an English territory, and so long as England's stand in the war was not unquestionably neutral, Germany had to regard Belgium as hostile territory. In the event of an English attack on Germany, England would undoubtedly find the easiest approach through Belgium.

England, as we have seen, had good reasons for beginning a war against Germany. And the opportunity was favorable; the Triple Entente consisted of the three most powerful nations of Europe, and, humanly speaking, there was little chance for Germany to come out victorious; but there are some factors which Sir Edward has overlooked, the most important of which is German efficiency and foresight. England has not one Hindenburg, not one Kluck, not one Mackensen. Kitchener always leaves the most urgent task undone at the critical moment. And now he comes to the rescue of Serbia after the Serbians have been driven out of their country. He ought to have gone to the Balkans two months sooner. It would have been wiser, at this juncture, to abandon Serbia and invade Cilicia or Asia Minor or Palestine. A German corporal could lead the English army better than Kitchener.

* * *

Among the various friendly criticisms which have reached me, that of Dr. Beadnell, Fleet Surgeon in the British Royal Navy, was especially welcome, and I have done my best to spread the number of *The Open Court* containing it, in this country and in Canada, and will see to it that it circulates in Germany and Austria-Hungary as well. If I have not succeeded it is due mainly to the request of the British government in India, forwarded to the postal authorities of the United States that *The Open Court* is forbidden in British dependencies—a sign that the cause of Great Britain is regarded as weak.

I have done my best to let the people of Germany and Austria-Hungary become acquainted with British views as expressed by Dr. Beadnell. He will not convert the Germans, but I hope thereby to stimulate among the Germans a desire to be better understood by their enemies. I have seen repeated efforts on the continent of Europe to counteract the effect of the Song of Hate, and, in passing, I will mention the Freemasons, who emphasize that it is time to keep an eye open for conciliation, a thing which will be greatly

needed after this war. Similar voices have been raised in the periodicals of women's societies, under the guidance of Frau Hainisch of Vienna.

The Germans are bitter against England because they are fully convinced that Sir Edward Grey and his fellow ministers, together with men like Lord Curzon and Mr. Kipling, are responsible for the war. The Germans know the Kaiser's love of peace, and they know that they themselves did not want this war. It was forced on them by the Triple Entente. Hence the bitterness with which they accuse Great Britain. The Song of Hate was the natural reaction against the deeds of England as they inevitably appeared to the German people, and not only is it not half as venomous as Kipling's words nor as Lord Bryce's falsities, but it is also more artistic in form. At the same time I must state here that thinking minds in Germany are endeavoring to counteract this growing hatred. I feel sure that the German people will be ready to forget the offenses of their island cousins, though not before they have effectually beaten them back and taught them a lesson in modesty.

Possibly if the Germans see how prejudiced, how uninformed and censor-blinded the English people are as to the real state of things, their resentment will be more quickly overcome and a mutual understanding will be made easier. May be that Dr. Beadnell will be an eye-opener to the Germans. In his letter to Mr. Jourdain he says:

"Had the British done one-tenth of the deeds perpetrated by the Germans I would tear my commission into a thousand fragments and disown my country, and so, too, would every other Britisher, from the humblest Tommy to the Field Marshal, from the most recently joined cook's mate to the Admiral of the Fleet."

These are noble thoughts, but if Dr. Beadnell were in possession of all the information that has come to me he would be unable to remain longer in the British navy. I wish the marines of His Majesty's good ship *Baralong* were ensouled with such sentiments as Dr. Beadnell expresses.

Every word that comes from the pen of Dr. Beadnell bears the stamp of sincerity, and I feel that he actually believes that, at least in this war, English policy has been honest and that everything German—German policy, German modes of warfare, the behavior of German soldiers—has been vile and barbarous. Of course he would not believe these accusations if he knew the Germans as I know them. The alleged atrocities are so impossible that there are not a few in America as well as in Germany who charge all English

people with hopeless gullibility for accepting these patched-up stories of German barbarities, and other misrepresentations, with unhesitating credulity.

Dr. Beadnell actually believes in the English cause and seems to resent any allusion to English atrocities, be they committed in Africa or in India, even though depicted by the brush of great artists such as Verestchagin. I suppose he has not read the complaints about the conduct of English people in India, in China and in Africa, or, if so, that he has refused to believe them; otherwise he might never have entered the Royal Navy. In the *Chinese Repository* I read reports of the misbehavior of the British during the Opium War, and Mr. Norman Angell has published accounts of British atrocities in Africa which can scarcely be pure inventions.

VERESTCHAGIN.

My critics censure me for reproducing Verestchagin's picture, "Blown from the Cannon's Mouth," and some of them call it "a painted lie." The picture symbolizes the methods by which England holds India in subjection, and I have presented the picture because it is quite pertinent now. As a piece of art it is extraordinary and grand, but I made no comment on it in my article. I simply took the liberty of changing its title to "India Pacata."

I did not condemn the barbarous method of "pacification" represented in Verestchagin's picture, for I am not sure whether, under the circumstances, this method of punishment might not be excusable. We know the terrible insurrection that took place in India, and the wholesale massacre of English men, women and children. I am not sufficiently posted with all the circumstances to take issue either for or against the rebels, but I will here give the English the benefit of the doubt, and will grant that, in order to prevent the recurrence of such dreadful events as transpired, the government may have had to show a merciless severity to warn the unruly elements and frighten them into submission. This is the spirit of the words which Dr. Beadnell quotes from the Kaiser,— words which are unknown to me and which, if they were really spoken or written by the Kaiser, I would have preferred to see quoted in the original German.²

Civilized war presupposes that war should be carried on by soldiers, by men specially destined to fight, and recognizable as

² "The only means of preventing surprise attacks from the civil population has been to interfere with unrelenting severity and to create examples which by their frightfulness would be a warning to the whole country."

fighters,—not by civilians. If civilians wish to take part in the war they should wear uniforms or some unequivocal mark to distinguish them sharply from pacific civilians. *Francs-tireurs* wearing a badge on their arms, visible at a distance, may shoot into troops entering a village, and if afterwards they have to surrender they are treated as ordinary prisoners of war; but if they are civilians pure and simple, wearing no mark of distinction, they are, when caught, condemned by a court-marshal and treated as common murderers, and the house in which they have hidden and from which they shot is burned to the ground. Such proceedings may be called atrocities, just as all fighting, all cannonading and all warfare is atrocious, but they are indispensable, for stern retaliation is the only effective method of teaching civilians to keep out of war.

The English warship *Baralong* approached a German submarine under the disguise of the American flag and sank it by an unexpected shot into the periscope. The German crew was thus at the mercy of the British marines, and I will here not repeat the barbarous treatment which the Germans received. The reports of the scene as witnessed by the American muleteers of the *Nicosian* are so shocking that it seems impossible; and yet how can these sworn affidavits in the several American papers be doubted? This was not a battle but murder of helpless men, some of them wounded. It was not a victory, but a prize-shooting at living targets and a criminal joy at assassination! The wounded and disabled enemy is not to be butchered, with jeers and shouts of joy, and where such deeds are practised the curse of a higher power will bring down a well-deserved doom. The Bryce reports are invented, but here, in the *Baralong* case, we have statements made under oath by neutral sailors who were certainly not biased against Great Britain.

English methods of warfare are not humane, not noble or heroic; they are ruthless and without consideration.

As I have said, I will not pass judgment on the English methods portrayed by Verestchagin, but that severities of this or similar nature have been practised in India, and likewise in Egypt and South Africa, is not unknown to the English people; it is a general rule that if English soldiers are severe their acts are regarded in England as merely necessary acts of justice, and the executors enjoy their bloody deeds as a joke. If German soldiers execute *francs-tireurs* they are accused in English reports of committing "atrocities," and the martyrs, somehow, are mostly said to be of the gentler sex, young girls and infants. I only wonder how it is that I have not yet seen the allegation that the tenderest babies are

roasted for the Kaiser, for there can be no doubt that the Germans are cannibals, and roast baby must be William's favorite dish.

In regard to the particular incidents portrayed in the Verestchagin picture, I have good reason to believe in their historicity, for I discussed the subject with the artist himself when I had the pleasure of meeting him personally in the Chicago Art Institute. He told me that everything he had painted was taken directly from observation and was a faithful portrayal of facts. When I twitted him gently on minor slips of observation, evident in certain of his pictures, as, for example, in his painting of an eagle attacking pigeons flying above him, and also of the United States flag with two stripes too many, he insisted that he had copied these things exactly as he had seen them, and asserted the same especially of the scene, "Blown from the Cannon's Mouth." Every detail, including the noble faces of the Hindu martyrs, was, according to Mr. Verestchagin's positive assertion, most accurately reproduced. But in view of the probable errors in his work, to which we have referred, could it not be that his observation was faulty in the case of the Hindu picture to which we have referred? I wonder what the mistake is in this case. Probably the uniforms. The soldiers ought to have been Prussians, and the Hindus Belgian priests or Louvain professors.

We are all human and apt to err in our observation, but it is our duty to fight for the truth as we see it. Dr. Beadnell believes in England and he must fight for England. Being a member of the Royal Navy he is even more closely bound to stand by England's cause. He must fight for England right or wrong. He would first have to resign his commission and wait for his discharge before obedience in the Royal Navy would cease to be his duty even if in his conscience he might disown his country. I consider it well for him that he trusts implicitly in the leaders of English policy; it would be a misfortune for him indeed if he no longer believed in the innocence of Sir Edward Grey.

I see a sinister motive in Sir Edward Grey's declarations. I cannot help it. Otherwise I must regard him as guilty of a most lamentable lack of judgment. Nor is my belief based upon Professor Conybeare's verdict. I had arrived at my opinion and publicly pronounced my conviction before I saw Professor Conybeare's views expressed anywhere and before his letter to *The Open Court* had reached me.

I will say here that I am not "the friend resident in America" whom Professor Conybeare addressed first and who had his letter

overhastily published. Professor Conybeare addressed me later on; the communication which I published and which had been written for publication is slightly different from the one that appeared in *The Fatherland*.

I will add that the "retraction" of Professor Conybeare which I received, reached me later than the earlier retraction of his earlier letter to the "friend resident in America," and I published it promptly upon receiving it. This so-called "retraction," however, the retraction sent to me, is not a retraction of his views published in *The Open Court*, nor of any statement of facts; it is merely a communication in which he expresses his regret at having been somewhat severe in his language. He grants that he ought to have been more careful in his words. Following are the main passages in his "retraction":

"I regret that I used so strong a phrase as the 'lies and hypocrisies of our public men and press.' I should have used the word rhodomontade."

"I am not sure also that I was not too severe upon Sir Edward Grey. It used to be said of him that he was a lath painted like steel, and I fear he is a weak man and given to vacillation."

THE CHARGE OF LOOTING.

I wish I could discuss in detail all the arguments of my critics, explain their errors and point out the illusions which they state as established facts; but I should not have space enough and must limit myself to their most prominent arguments.

Some of the things which M. Loyson claims are absolutely unknown to me and I regard them as extremely improbable. I know German discipline. How is it possible that furniture from Belgium or France should have been stolen and removed by force to Germany or to neutral countries? I cannot disprove the statement, but it takes more to make me believe it than reference to a Danish paper.

A short time ago I found a notice in a Chicago paper, which made the same claim and proved it by the reproduction of an advertisement of a furniture-moving company in the *Cologne Gazette*, to the effect that furniture could be shipped at reasonable rates from Belgium to all parts of Germany and Austria. This advertisement had been reproduced in a Paris paper as an unequivocal proof that the Germans were systematically looting Belgium, and the Chicago paper, believing the funny argument, reproduced it, together with a facsimile of the *Cologne Gazette* advertisement.

I learn that there are now stationed in Belgium many German

civil and military officials, who, in many cases, have taken their families with them. In fact so many appointments had to be made and so great was the demand for transportation of household furniture that a furniture-moving company deemed it advisable to catch the trade. Further, since the persecution of German tradesmen and civilians, which took place in Belgium immediately before the declaration of war, German settlers in Belgium have lost all desire to remain in their new home, and hundreds of them are moving back with their families to Germany.

The advertisement in the *Cologne Gazette* is but a sign of the many unusual changes that have been occurring in consequence of the war. How it is possible that, with German discipline, the looting of homes and the appropriation of heavy furniture can be accomplished, I cannot understand, but the Allies and their supporters are ready to believe everything, and the more atrocious the deed the more readily it finds acceptance. Are we to infer from this that the Allies themselves would do what they accuse the Germans of having done?

MY MILITARY EXPERIENCE.

I have never been a soldier by profession. I simply served my year, as prescribed by German law, and became an officer in the reserves. I entered the army not without reluctance and prejudice, but I changed my views. The German army, with its universal military service, is an institution which has been forced upon Germany by foreign aggression. It was established solely to protect the country, not for conquest. It cannot serve the ends of aggression, for the German army is simply and solely the German people in arms. It does not consist of mercenaries, nor foreigners, nor savages. The people do not fight either for mere glory or for conquest; they fight only when necessary, for the protection of their families and their homes—*pro aris et focis*. The French, the Russians, the Dutch, the Belgians, the Danes, the Swiss and others have the same institution, but the methods and regulations of the German organization are better and less unfair than in that of France, let alone Russia. In France the oppressive features of militarism are harder and more unpleasant. In Germany the army is a school where young men learn discipline and become accustomed to attend to duty.

France is a republic, but she does not for that reason possess more liberty than Germany. The Kaiser is not a Czar; on the contrary he is a champion of freedom. Our president has, during

the four years for which we elect him, more power than any emperor, king or grand mogul.

THE LEIPSIC MONUMENT.

The pyramidal monument of the battle of Leipsic at Leipsic is not to my taste, but it is at least impressive and imposing; nor is it, as Mr. Loyson claims, "menacing." Its massive weight does not indicate "Teuton pride, yesterday's victory and to-morrow's triumph." Not at all! Look at the monument carefully and you will understand its meaning.

The monument was erected as a memorial to the dead who had given up their lives on those three historic battle-days. The unveiling was a memorial, and wreaths were placed on the graves of the French as well as of the Germans on the day of the centennial anniversary. This friendly spirit was at the time favorably commented upon in the French press. The stiff, forbidding figures inside are not intended to represent victors but mourners. The figures stand in a prayerful attitude of respect for the dispensation of God, and express submission to his will. The powerful warriors with bowed heads are meant to be a death-guard who keep watch over the fallen heroes, whether German or French.

The Germans are often misunderstood, and in the Leipsic monument we have but another example of this. As a triumphal monument it is certainly too gloomy, too ponderous, too serious and too lacrymose; but it is not meant to celebrate triumph; it is a cenotaph; it is the sanctuary of the souls of dead warriors, a shrine for the spirits of those who here gave up their lives that the Fatherland might be free.

If the French people understood the Germans better, they would not have deemed it necessary to undertake this war, and the Germans would not have felt the need of securing their frontiers against restless neighbors who, if beaten in this war, will but take the next opportunity to join any combination of enemies that would attack Germany. Do not the French, by their very implacability, force the Germans to demand hard conditions of peace? Have not the Germans now reasons to regret not having taken Belfort in addition to Strasburg and Metz? and would it not be positively foolish not to anticipate the repetition of a sudden renewal of hostilities as soon as Germany had difficulties in other quarters?

NEW WEAPONS.

New weapons have been introduced in this war, and the Allies make much of the fact that the Germans, in their balloon attacks,

occasionally kill women and children; but they do not read the reports of French and English raids in Germany where their own bombs have been very efficient in hitting harmless civilians, for example, schoolchildren in Freiburg, Baden.

The German attacks on English watering places are regrettable, as in fact the whole war is a sorry event; but the English bombardment of Ostend and the slaughter of Belgian civilians by English cannon is ten times more abominable than any Zeppelin attack on English towns. Have not the Belgians sacrificed themselves for England? And now that Ostend is taken by the Germans, English ships bombard the private houses and hotels of the town—not its fortifications but the homes of the people.

Asphyxiating gases were first used by the Allies, and a French chemist is credited with their invention. I remember their first announcement, with bombastic glorification, of the new weapon which was predicted quickly to dispose of the entire German army, but since the German chemists have improved its effectiveness the use of the gas has become "barbarous."

The same may be said of the submarines, an American invention which the American President now condemns as "inhuman." The sinking of the *Lusitania* was a terrible affair, but is it right to blame Germany for it? Must not the guilt be placed at the doors of those who loaded the great Atlantic liner with enormous masses of counterband cargo and explosives, and thereby exposed the lives of the passengers to the danger of attack? The passengers had been warned by Germany before they left New York, but the warnings were ridiculed and the passengers relied on the English assurance that there was no danger whatever, and that the German warning was merely an impudent bluff. It was against the laws of the country for a passenger-boat to carry explosives, but the United States government in submission to Great Britain allowed this dangerous freight to go, and thus became guilty of the terrible loss of life that resulted. The passengers were as recklessly exposed to danger as if they had been sent into the battle-lines of the belligerent armies. More lives could have been saved, too, if the life-saving arrangements had been better, but we must remember that the handling of such life-saving appliances as there were was not beyond criticism. And I have heard many a rumor that English sailors are no longer what they were in times past.

It is claimed however that the Germans should not have attacked a passenger steamer. Indeed they should not. Germany, Austria and the United States have repeatedly proposed in inter-

national conferences that all private property in time of war be considered just as sacred and secure from attack on the high seas as it is on land, but this proposal has always been rejected, and by whom? By England. It was against England's interests to allow the high seas to be free. So who is to blame for the mishaps caused by German submarines but England herself? It is to be hoped that England will soon change her views, and that in the future she will herself vote for the protection of private property on the high seas. The Germans cannot be blamed for returning tit for tat. England tries to starve Germany; the Germans try to destroy all English trade.

Do you expect the Germans to submit with saintly endurance to the tactics of their enemies, without even making an attempt to retaliate? Is it not the duty of every government to protect its soldiers in the field against the unfair and unneutral importation of war materials? I suppose you are aware that the most insidious part of the cargo of the *Lusitania*, the part most dangerous to the passengers, was the chemicals destined for the production of asphyxiating gases in the French trenches.

THE BARBAROUS TURKS.

I am rather surprised that M. Loyson accuses the Turks so bitterly for the reports of Armenian persecutions. If these reports are true at all, we must remember that the atrocities have always been carried on not by Turks but by Kurds, and I have come to the conclusion that we have good reason to cherish a high regard for the Turks. I have heard repeatedly that the Turks are worthy of unstinted praise and that they are the best and noblest inhabitants of the Orient.

I remember, as a child, having met a German nobleman, Baron von Keffenbrinck, who had traveled in the Orient and founded a hospital in Jerusalem. He was a true aristocrat, as one rarely sees, and a pious Christian. When he landed in Egypt a carrier took charge of his baggage and was soon lost sight of in the crowded street. The baron was in despair, for his suitcase contained important papers and valuables. He went to the German consul and inquired about the chances of recovery of his property. The consul's first question was: "What kind of a man was your carrier? How was he dressed? Was he a Kopt, or an Armenian, or a Greek, or a Turk?" And added the baron, "As soon as the consul had satisfied himself that the carrier must have been a Turk, he assured me that I would not lose my baggage. He declared most

positively that the Turks are punctiliously honest, and that a Turk would most certainly do everything in his power to find the owner of the baggage; but he added that if the man had been a Christian, either a Greek or a Kopt or an Armenian, I could be sure that I would never see my baggage again." The baron went on to say: "The consul was right! When I reached my hotel there was the Turk. He had searched all the hotels where foreigners were wont to stay, until he found mine, where the host explained to him that a guest had arrived who had lost his baggage. And there stood the believer in the false prophet in anxiety and perspiration, while I, a Christian, felt ashamed that the reputation of the Turks was better than that of the native Christians." And the baron confessed that again and again in his oriental travels since that time he had found this reputation of the Turks to be justified; and he wished that his oriental Christian brothers had deserved the same praise.

Similar good opinions about the Turks are frequently to be found in the accounts of travelers. Madame Hyacinthe Loyson, in her book *To Jerusalem through the Lands of Islam*, says: "It is meet to say that we have never, in any country, met with greater courtesy and more thoughtfulness than from the Turks, nor greater charity than from the Moslems." And in describing the Grotto in Bethlehem, with its armed Mussulman guard to prevent feuds between Christians of different sects visiting the shrine, she writes: "I do most heartily thank the Turk for keeping us from killing each other, as best he can. . . .and withal so courteously—I may say so affectionately. In their conduct they are very often Christians; in our conduct we are often savages."

CHICAGO POLITICS.

It would lead me too far to explain details of American, and above all of Chicago, politics; but I can assure every European that the local politics of Chicago have nothing whatsoever to do with the present war. In spite of M. Loyson's comments to the contrary, Mr. Schweitzer, the defeated candidate for the mayoralty, was no more a pro-German than Mr. Thompson, the elected mayor, was anti-German. I took no part in the election, but I am informed that the German element in Chicago was, for the most part, in favor of Mr. Thompson, just as much as they are now against him. I am told that the former represented the Catholic element and the latter the Protestant, and yet the Catholics are said to have voted for Thompson. And when we add that Mr. Schweitzer is not of

German descent but has for some unknown reasons adopted a German name the war issue becomes still further removed from the contest.

Chicago is not the "headquarters of the Kaiser," but it stands to reason that the majority of its citizens are pro-German. In fact the great mass of the population in the central and western states is intensely so. It happened recently that in Davenport, Iowa, a pageant of nations was planned for the school-children, but the children would have appeared either as Germans, or Austrians, or Tyrolians, or Hungarians,—except for a few who were to represent neutral peoples; and there were none to dress as French, or English, or Scotch, or Italians, or Russians. The pageant would thus have reduced itself to a demonstration in favor of the two central European powers, and so the project had to be abandoned.

The most influential portion of the population of the eastern states favors Great Britain, but in the center and in the far west this country is predominantly pro-German, and in these parts the manufacture of munitions for the Allies is almost universally condemned as dishonorable. Even many Americans regard it as a blot on our national escutcheon. The few millionaires (including a small number of German-Americans, among them Mr. Schwab) who profit mostly thereby, are being censured for it in unequivocal and unflattering terms. President Wilson also comes in for his share of censure, for it had been hoped and was believed that he would not lend his sanction to the infamous traffic.

An editorial writer in the *Chicago Examiner* points out that Mr. Wilson's ancestry is all British. His four grandparents were all British subjects, and, reared under English traditions as he has been, we cannot be surprised at his being submissive to English politics; but it is to be regretted that in this great crisis he happens to be our president.

A prominent New York business man happened to visit me recently, and I expected him to be pro-British, but I found out gradually that all his children were pro-German, and finally he openly confessed that he himself was too. I showed him the above passage to the effect that the influential portion of the United States in the East favors Great Britain, and he said it was true; but, added he, one ought to know the conditions there in order to understand in what respect and to what extent it is true. An understanding of the situation showed that it was natural that the facts should be as they are. "One must bear in mind that the business interests of the East are largely bound up with Great Britain, and then our eastern

papers are maintained by British capital. Nevertheless a prominent eastern man said to me a few days ago: 'Do not be mistaken about the situation. The men who have much grey matter in their brain speak very little about the war, but I know what they think and secretly may say; that they take their hats off to the Germans; they believe that the Germans will win and they believe that a German victory will be the best for the world.'

Our eastern visitor did not like to discuss the war; but as soon as he felt sure that his name would not be used he became bolder and said that in the East as well as in the West all wide-awake people know how it will end. He said directly and unequivocally: "England is going to the dogs, but what is the use of discussing the question. If I ask a man for his opinion it is because I wish to make an estimate of him. If he is pro-British I know at once he is a puddin'-head, and put him down as such. If he is pro-German I recognize that he has common sense." With a twinkle in his eye he added: "I would be greatly disappointed if I ever met a clever and straight-thinking fellow who was pro-British. I have never found one. You will always find that if a person is pro-British he is sure to be a puddin'-head. That rule is unfailing."

Our eastern visitor credited the West with a good deal of grit and independence, and this, he said, is why they are more outspokenly German. Our people in the East are more reluctant to express their views, but on the whole they come to the same conclusion as the Illinois farmer and that is unequivocally a German view. Our administration is pro-British, but I believe that the majority of the people are rather pro-German. The President attributes this sentiment to the hyphenated Americans, but he must be blind not to see that on account of his pro-British views he becomes daily more unpopular."

ENGLAND AND GERMANY.

This war will decide which nation best represents the ideal of mankind, England or Germany. It is my honest conviction that Germany ranks first, while England, and also France—not to mention Russia—lag behind. France has, to be sure, made great progress since 1871, but England has apparently gone backward, although I grant that England it still in many respects the most favored of nations.

England is at present supreme, but this war will decide whether her supremacy will endure. She owns some of the richest terri-

tories on the globe—India, South Africa, Australia, Egypt, etc. She has the largest and most powerful navy in the world and is absolute mistress of the seas. She controls the navigation of the world, for the keys to nearly all the great waterways are in her hands—Egypt with Suez and Aden, Gibraltar, and the Cape of Good Hope. The Panama Canal alone, among strategic waterways, belongs to the United States, but Great Britain can lock up even that by her West Indian stations. Great Britain glories in her dominion of the seas, which means of the world, and she is ever anxiously watchful lest her supremacy slip from her unawares. The wealth of the richest lands is controlled by her, but the exploitation of all this wealth is exclusively in the hands of the English aristocracy. Any one who studies the British Empire and its magnitude cannot help but admire the prowess and foresight with which English diplomats have built up this power, and this foresight is also in evidence in the present war.

English grit overcame Spanish dominion when Spain wanted to crush the rising English nation, and, later, England crushed Holland and deprived her of her most valuable colonies. Nelson took the Danish fleet before it could be utilized by Napoleon, and English diplomacy watched the nations on the continent, ever careful that the balance of power were preserved so that the ultimate destinies of Europe might always lie in England's hands. The scheme was well managed, and from the English point of view it has worked well.

England has always been the enemy of the most powerful state on the continent. About two centuries ago England fought with Austria against France, and in English history the victories of Prince Eugene are credited to that unworthy British nobleman, Marlborough. A century and a half ago Austria was the world power to which England was opposed. So England supported Frederick the Great of Prussia, thus to hamper the development of the Hapsburg dynasty. Then, a hundred years ago, Napoleon I founded a new great empire, and so France was the enemy to be humiliated, and the victory of the Prussians at Belle Alliance is credited to Wellington under the name of the battle of Waterloo. In the meantime Germany has risen and grown to be the greatest power on the continent, so it is Germany that is now the arch-enemy of England.

The Germans are closely related to the English. The lowlands

The English are not sentimental. They think only of their present advantage.

I do not blame Great Britain for her anti-German policy. Indeed Germany is more dangerous than were the Hapsburg dynasty and Napoleon's empire in their time, for she has begun to rival England in peaceful pursuits, in industry, in trade and in commerce, and Germany's progress is built up on the most solid basis, upon scientific method and a rational study of the natural conditions of civilization. England could keep in the lead if she would emulate Germany's methods, if she would devote herself in the same way to systematic work and eclipse her rival in thrift, in diligence and thoughtful application. But that would impose tasks and demand sacrifices, and the English aristocracy do not intend to work or struggle to maintain their position. Their ancestors showed pluck in overcoming the Spanish Armada and in taking possession of the world, in braving the storms of the oceans and the navies of other lands, but now the ruling classes of England regard the world as their private property, and they keep the working classes in poverty so as to control the world for their own private benefit. In Germany the laborer is considered, and the welfare of the whole is regarded above the interests of the rich. The rich and the noble are not without privileges, but merit is absolutely indispensable to gain position.

The Kaiser was boyish when he ascended the throne; he has made mistakes; he is guilty of many utterances which were unwise and, even though well meant, could easily be misinterpreted. In fact they *were* misinterpreted and he was misunderstood; but after all, even his enemies must grant that he is honest and courageous. He has always tried to do what was right. Duty is to him the highest command, and its call he implicitly obeys. His personal interests and selfish wishes have no weight with him when duty calls, and with him the welfare of his people comes before all other claims. He was anxious to preserve peace, for through peace he hoped to promote the welfare of Germany, and it was no fault of his that the nations of Europe were plunged into war in August of last year.

Can as much be said of any other European monarch? Scarcely of the kings of England. The kings of England are German, but the Germans are not very proud of them.

Captain Mahan of the United States Navy once wrote a book in which he showed that world-power **depended upon** the control of the seas, and Kaiser William II read the book. He applied the

lesson to Germany, and understood that Germany needed a navy to protect her growing commerce. This was the great and unpardonable sin in England's eyes. It was bad enough for Germany to outdo the English iron and steel industry, but to build men-of-war that would be able to protect German merchant vessels was a threat against the English, for in England it was understood that the English navy was the only one against which these men-of-war could be used. The English navy is strong enough to police the seas, and Germany should be satisfied with this English protection of the world's waterways.

Yes, building men-of-war, that was the sin of imperial Germany. From that time the Germans have been barbarians and Emperor William a villain and an enemy to mankind; for he has committed the arch-sin of trying to be somebody too on the ocean, and to breathe the air of the briny main. This was a symptom of aggressiveness which England could not forgive, and it had to be stopped in time.

I will not condemn the British principle of looking out for the future, and of preventing any nation from rivaling Britain, but I believe that other nations have as much right to build a navy as England, and Germany is perfectly entitled to challenge England's claim to the dominion of the seas. This is a collision of interests which must be fought out; and the decision is by war, in fair and open fight. But I would expect that England should make her demand frankly, openly and honestly, without resorting to the tactics of slandering her enemy. I feel deeply disappointed that England should unfairly and unjustly accuse Germany of horrible atrocities and that she should misrepresent the issues of the war. Poor England! Must you malign Germany in order to rouse hostile feelings against her? Have you no better arms? Slander is not only wrong, but a symptom of weakness. The desire for slander originates from the fear that the other party will win. It is an old experience that slander is the last ditch of a lost cause.

England endeavored to preserve her dominion of the seas, and I do not condemn her for her ambition. I will not even blame her for trying to crush Germany before that country could become dangerously aggressive. But England should not undertake such an enterprise without earnest consideration of the risks and the vast possibilities involved.

It seems to me that England's leaders have entered upon this horrible war most thoughtlessly and recklessly. Apparently they believed that the overwhelming numbers of their allies would be

sufficient to attain a quick and easy victory. And victory seemed doubly certain, for the British navy could, by a wholesale blockade, ruin German commerce and prosperity and reduce the people to starvation. All seemed very plausible to those smart diplomats, the flower of English aristocracy, who were confident that Great Britain's wealth and her power could carry on the war longer than Germany, and who boasted that when Germany was at the end of her resources the English could still shoot with silver bullets. But, after all, German steel may prove stronger than English gold.

Great is English diplomacy, very great! England has often succeeded in making other nations fight her battles; and I do not blame King Edward VII, and after his death the English prime minister, Sir Edward Grey, for building up the Triple Entente which has no other purpose than to place Germany in a vise between France and Russia. I doubt the wisdom of France and Russia in being led so easily into the meshes of British diplomacy, but I admire British diplomacy for bringing about this alliance (cleverly representing itself as a mere *entente*) in order to stand together against Germany and crush her before she could endanger Great Britain's dominion of the world.

France and Russia were formerly the arch-enemies of Great Britain, but they came to be regarded as hardly dangerous any longer, and certainly not so dangerous as Germany. For Germany proved dangerous as a competitor in peace and a possible enemy in war at sea. The French have little commercial talent, nor are they good sailors, while the Russian empire is too corrupt not to be tripped somehow by British gold or intrigue before Russian troops could accomplish any deeds of heroism or venture on any Asiatic conquest. Russia and France can easily be duped when the need rises, but Germany is vigorous and could not be disposed of as easily as a French president or a Muscovite grand duke.

Both countries, Russia and France, were vexed at Germany. Russia was ambitious to expand, and it was England that had prevented her from acquiring a good seaport, either at Constantinople or Port Arthur. France had met with serious losses. First she had to give up Alsace-Lorraine to Germany, and then the Suez Canal to England. She was also unable to maintain her hold on Central Africa, a compensation which her colonial hero, Major Marchant, had gained by his expedition to Fashoda.

Russia had been on friendly terms with Germany, but Germany did not mean to abandon Austria to the Pan-Slavic tendencies of Russian policy, and Russia saw that Germany would not support

her in a policy hostile to Austria. So Russia came to the conclusion that Germany was not the right ally for her plans. Austria has a mixed population. The main elements are Germans, Hungarians, Bohemians, Slavs, Ruthenians and Italians. If Austria broke to pieces its eastern portion would fall to Russia, and Germany would be dangerously surrounded by a formidable Slavic empire. So it was absolutely necessary for Germany to preserve Austria and protect her against the Pan-Slavic intrigues which had become more and more dangerous through conspiracies which had their seat in Servia and were fostered by Russia.

The leaning of Germany toward Austria cooled Russia's friendship and induced her to close an alliance with France, and when England, forgetful of her former hostility toward France and Russia, offered France her friendship, France felt flattered, and in the hope of some day regaining Alsace-Lorraine through England's assistance, she gladly acceded to the proposed *entente*.

M. Leghuit, Belgian minister at Paris, in the papers discovered in the Brussels archives expresses grave doubts as to the advisability of France's allowing herself to be so easily induced to join the Triple Entente, for, says he, "France will probably have to pay dearly for England's friendship. . . . It is obvious that France is fighting at her own risk for an English cause, not *vice versa*. England is not fighting for France, France must make greater sacrifices, must fight harder, and even in case of victory will gain less."

Here again we have an instance of British policy. The English fight their wars with the troops of other nations and, as some wit has said, England will fight bravely to the last Frenchman. When Sir Edward Grey began to fear that the French might see through the secret of the English game, he secured Britain's position by an agreement of the Entente powers against a separate peace. So now the French and the Russians are pledged to fight to the last, until England too agrees to make peace.

The Triple Entente is a clever trick, and it was further improved when Sir Edward Grey succeeded, through the silver-tongued art of English diplomacy, in luring Italy into it, and thus increasing it into a Quadruple Entente. Perhaps something good will come from Italy's attack upon Austria. On the one hand the Austrian provinces offered to Italy for the sake of preserving peace will remain Austrian, and on the other hand Rome may again be surrendered to the pope, and the head of the Roman Catholic church would again be a temporal sovereign, an independent prince equal in royal dignity to kings and emperors.

English policy is clever, very clever, but the whole plan is more astute than wise, for there is a streak of viciousness in it which takes undue advantage of Germany's isolation. Such tricks have often been resorted to, and we will not condemn them too severely. Macchiavellian viciousness is common in diplomacy. But there is another pathetic feature of it that will go down into history, and that is its incalculable stupidity. If such a trick does not succeed, it discredits the party that tries it.

The armies of Russia and France, combined, are about three times as great numerically as that of Germany, so that Germany might be assumed to have little chance of resisting her enemies even if supported by the Austrian troops. The Austrian army lacks unity. It is made up of excellent units, but its regiments speak different languages—German, Hungarian, Polish, Czechish, Italian, Slavonic, Ruthenian, etc., etc., and so the organization of the whole is quite unsatisfactory. There are as many nationalities in Austria as there are in the United States, but there is no obligatory common speech which all must understand. In addition there are petty rivalries and jealousies between the different nationalities, whereby a harmonious cooperation is made difficult.

It is obvious that Germany, even with her ally, Austria-Hungary, must contend against great odds in her struggle against France and Russia. But she also has advantages, of which superior intelligence is not the least important.

It is true that the French have made great progress in military efficiency. They have introduced reforms in their army, increased the time of service, and also reconstructed their army, not to speak of the excellent new institution of a large squadron of air-ships. The progress of French militarism was positively proved in the Balkan wars, for the French had instructed and equipped the Balkan states while the Turkish army had been trained by Germans. Turkey was badly beaten, and the French regarded the success of the Balkan victors as an evidence of a significant change in favor of France. Since that time it became customary to ridicule the goose-step of the German parade; German training was characterized as antiquated, and French arms were considered more than a match for the Krupp guns.

We will not deny that the French have made great progress in their military institutions, but the Germans have not stood still. There is this difference: the French crowed about their accomplishments, while the Germans kept the invention of their heavy mortars absolutely secret. The friends of France prophesied that in a new

war Germany would be beaten; they had good reasons based on first-hand information.

So it was quite natural that Sir Edward Grey should have unbounded confidence in both France and Russia, the resources of the latter being practically inexhaustible; and he also believed in the efficacy of the English blockade; so naturally he would not doubt the success of his plans. But he will gradually find out that he has overestimated the strength of England and her allies, and underestimated the power, efficiency and serious spirit of Germany. After all, quality decides, not quantity. Remember that Hindenburg opposed two Russian armies, three times as strong in all as the forces under his command, and lured them into the district of the Masurian lakes where he beat them thoroughly in a seven-days' battle and took more prisoners than his own army numbered in fighting men. Intelligence is more important than numbers, and the final outcome does not depend upon bragging.

Those who believe in the cause of the Allies will not believe me, but I am fully convinced that Germany cannot be conquered.

Each of the Allies began the war trusting in the support of the others, but now they are breaking down successively, one after the other, each disappointed that its allies are proving so inefficient. It seems to me that they deserve their fate.

I am not a blind admirer of Germany. I am a native German and owe the basis of my education to the German schools and German universities. But I felt dissatisfied with the narrowness of German institutions, and when my liberal views gave offense to my superiors I resigned my position as instructor in science in the corps of cadets at Dresden and left the country for the United States of America, with which country I had, since my childhood, felt a deep sympathy—a sentiment in the time of my youth quite common all over Germany.

Previous to coming to the United States I lived for some time in Belgium, in Paris, and in England, but I found none of these countries as free and progressive as Germany. Germany has its faults, but the faults of other countries are not less, and my respect for Germany has increased with my knowledge of the shortcomings of other peoples. I have a great admiration for the English, but

est achievements of representative men in the various countries we shall probably find that Germany leads mankind in almost every science and art.

Germans are by nature cosmopolitan; they love other nationalities; and I must grant that they show a special preference for the French. Why? I am not sure that I know, but I believe the main reason consists in the fact that the French have some very desirable qualities which the Germans lack. The French possess a rare grace and lightness of temperament which renders, for example, the French author elegant in style and clear in diction. The German, in his tendency to thoroughness, is apt to be ponderous and heavy. He has many superior traits, but he recognizes ungrudgingly the fine qualities of the French character. In the past the Germans have been inclined to regard the French as hereditary enemies. They were enemies in the times of Louis XIV, of Napoleon I, and again of Napoleon III; but real hatred hardly any longer exists. Senator Beveridge has recently traveled in Europe in order to study the situation in the various countries, and he characterizes the attitude of the Germans toward their enemies thus:

“The German people feel and believe that they have been wronged. The German people say that they did not want this war, nor any war. They are convinced that they are the victims of a monstrous plot, hatched in a foreign country, to destroy modern Germany.....

“The German people believe that England is the arch-enemy who, in the final analysis, brought this catastrophe upon them. Man, woman and child lay their misfortunes at England’s door. In their German way they have brooded over the wrong which they regard England as responsible for, until their feeling has become that of hatred. This feeling is growing stronger and deeper all the time.”

In regard to the German attitude toward France and Russia, Senator Beveridge says:

“Although France has caused Germany her heaviest losses, and although Germany has dealt France her heaviest blows, yet from the western to the eastern battle fronts, from Hamburg to Munich, not one unkind word was heard of the French. The expressions were almost friendly—certainly sympathetic and without patronage.

“The feeling of the German people is that the French ought not to be in the war, and would not be, except for the Russian alliance

and their enormous investments in Russia; and even more, except for the machinations of England.

“The consensus of German opinion is that the French have no logical place in the conflict. The Germans declare that France would not have been attacked except for the certainty that France would have attacked Germany to help France’s ally, Russia, as France’s alliance with Russia bound France to do. But, fundamentally, the Germans think no real ground of conflict exists between Germany and France. Except for diplomatic alliances and intrigues, the Germans are sure France would not be in this war.

“Strangely enough, there is no great animosity against the Russians. Most of this has been overcome by the German people’s resentment toward England. The Germans say that the millions of Russian soldiers do not know what they are fighting for, but only do what they are told to do; and that in this instance Russia’s grand dukes have done the telling. Here again to the German mind, England once more appears as the master manipulator. Russia, they say, would not have acted if she had not been sure of England’s support. As to the Russian *mushik*, who is the Russian common soldier, the Germans have pity for and sympathy with him. Poor devil! they say, ‘he has no chance and never did have any chance; cannot read or write, and is not allowed to learn,’ and so forth and so on.”

Our author writes as follows regarding the German attitude toward the American people:

“‘It is tragic,’ said a German scholar, ‘how the English control your opinion through your press. During the Russo-Japanese war England told you to hate Russia, and you hated Russia. Now she tells you to love Russia, and you love Russia. When will America awake from being the international Trilby under the influence of the international Svengali?’

“As to the stories of German ‘atrocities’—the Germans at first simply did not think that we could believe them; they at first did not conceive it to be possible that we could credit the tales about German ‘barbarism.’ Still, there was no animosity.

“This latter feeling has begun to show itself only in the last month or two (February, 1915). This is chiefly due to our sale of food and munitions of war to Germany’s enemies, especially powder and guns. It is the firm belief of the German people that the war would now be over if we had not done this. They are sure

say the Germans, except the American producer of war material.

“‘American shells are killing our sons,’ say German parents; ‘American ammunition is desolating German homes; Germany’s enemies are fighting with American weapons.’ Such is the comment and such the feeling among the German people.”

“For many weeks it has been common talk among private soldiers as well as officers, on both the western and eastern battle lines, that it is American powder hurling the enemy’s bullets.

“This has spread throughout Germany until now (February, 1915), there is a genuine feeling of resentment. The sentiment is growing that we are, for practical purposes, the ally of England, or rather, the tool of England. How deeply rooted this will become it is, of course, impossible to say.

“But it always should be taken into account when trying to gauge German feeling that the Germans firmly believe that they are fighting for their very lives. Whether one agrees with them or not is of no consequence whatever in sounding the heart of the German people; but to understand them it is necessary always to remember that, to them, this war is a question of life or death.”

This description of the situation is corroborated by many other observers, and I endorse their views. I also believe that the Germans are not mistaken in their judgment. The English planned the war with vicious astuteness. The moment could not have been better chosen, and all possible factors were cunningly combined, but England in her vanity has overestimated her own powers and the extent of her resources. I have come to the conclusion that Sir Edward was lured on to his fate by a hope, like Croesus of old haunted by the Delphic oracle:

“If you cross the Halys river
You will destroy a great empire.”

The oracle proved true then as it is proving true now; but the English Croesus destroys his own empire. Diplomats often misinterpret Apollo’s meaning. History repeats itself.

What condemns England is not her lack of strength, or her misfortune in allying herself with inefficient peoples. There would be no harm done to England if the Russian Empire broke down, or if the French were unable to resist the Germans. The English would finally be forced to do the fighting themselves. They should not have begun a war in the hope that others would fight it out for England; but they relied on others, on the French, the Russians, the Italians, the Japanese, from the start, when they ought to have

taken an independent stand. They misrepresented the real reasons for the war. They calumniated the Germans and maligned their deeds and their character most inexcusably; they believed that by thus misrepresenting their foes the good-will of the world could be gained; as if thereby battles could be won and history written! Such methods succeed once or twice, but not always, and there are indications that they will break down now.

M. Loyson accepts the stories of German atrocities as infallible truth. The Bryce report lies before me, but it is obviously a collection of assertions made with the definite purpose of a partisan condemnation. The statements contained in it, coming as they do from anonymous witnesses, have no weight, for they have not been and cannot be checked by a cross-examination held by a representative of the German side. They are absolutely worthless except as a propaganda for a dubious cause.

Any one who has read the German reports of the treacherous attacks of the civilian population of Belgium on the German troops, will see these Belgian and English accounts of German atrocities in a different light. In view of the obvious onesidedness of the British-Belgian statements, I naturally feel suspicious on perusing them, and am inclined to think that even if the witnesses are telling the truth it is but a partial version of the truth, and hence I regard these reports as extremely untrustworthy. I sympathize with the Belgians for their patriotism, but were they not obviously misguided and were not some of their deeds horribly treacherous and atrocious.

English papers have published pictures of Belgian civilians taking an active part in the war. There lies before me a reproduction of an elegant piece of art, apparently photographed from a painting for the English paper in which it appears. It shows a well-dressed lady, gun in hand, before a slit in the door, and by her side three children. The inscription reads, "Firing on a Party of Uhlans." While here the heroism of civilians in taking part in the war is praised, in the anti-German reports of German atrocities this same contention is denied, and the claim is made that the inhabitants did not give any cause for complaint.

I have read German accounts of the entrance of the Germans into Louvain, and their experiences in Belgium, also others, written by impartial American reporters, and these versions are all very different from that of the Bryce commission.

from that in which these same incidents have been represented by the enemies of Germany. I wish those who put faith in the Bryce report would read Mr. Bennett's and Mr. McCutcheon's articles on the war in Belgium. They would be convinced that the Germans have done nothing discreditable and that the stories of atrocities are obvious distortions and misrepresentations which cannot be maintained before a just, honest and impartial tribunal.

Further, I do not see how it is possible to deny the fact that before the war British ammunition was deposited in Maubeuge, the French fortress near the Belgian frontier, and does not that alone prove the conspiracy between France, England and Belgium? Is that not a plain explanation of the meaning of the "conversations" discovered in Brussels? Is not the British ammunition of Maubeuge now in German hands, as well as the Brussels archives, including the communications of the Belgian ambassadors, details of which have already been published? Can the hostile intention of Belgium against Germany be gainsaid, and was not the English attitude on the eve of the war most obviously equivocal? I for one find it difficult to understand how the advocates of the Allies can accept all the statements emanating from that side with unquestioning credulity, while the German side is not allowed the slightest or most superficial consideration.

Stories of German atrocities have been mostly invented, and whatever grain of truth there may be in them is inflated and published broadcast over all the world, while the Russian atrocities in East Prussia are not even mentioned, and the reports of English atrocities in Ireland, Africa and India are denounced as lies.

* * *

I would much sooner have kept out of the discussion of this war, but it would have been cowardice on my part to pander to the majority and keep silent while I possessed a definite and most positive conviction that the German side is right and that the war has been engineered by England. I have deemed it my duty to investigate the cause and the nature of this war, and I deem it my duty now to discuss the question openly and without fear.

I have been reproached by some of my pro-British friends that I have given the German side more space than the British side, and in reply I will say that I have not suppressed any pro-British critic of mine; If I have not deemed it necessary to represent the pro-British cause more completely I have avoided wasting space on a subject which fills our dailies *ad nauseam* and needs no repetition.

If there is anything that can be said in favor of the Allies or against the Germans which has not been reiterated in our daily press, I shall for the sake of truth be glad to receive it, read it, consider it, publish it and state my opinion on it publicly. I have been searching for facts that will excuse the war or exonerate the Triple Entente of a tricky, false and stupid policy, but so far I have not been able to condemn Germany's actions, as is done so frequently, so maliciously, so unfairly, and unjustly.

A WARNING FOR OUR COUNTRY.

This war also involves grave questions for *us*, the citizens of the United States. The sad experience of Germany proves that we too might in some future time be attacked and therefore ought to imitate German institutions and introduce universal and compulsory military service, perhaps in the form in which it exists in Switzerland. We ought, every one of us, to be willing and ready, when the necessity arises, to shoulder the gun and fight in the defense of our country.

This world is a world of struggle, and the day may come when we too shall be represented as Huns and barbarians. We have been misrepresented before but we have forgotten. When we are attacked again, shall we then be as patriotic and brave as the Germans are now? Shall we be willing to die for our country, our honor and our independence as our ancestors did in the past? Will our women be as brave as German mothers are to-day? I fear we have to learn the seriousness of courage from the Germans.

GERMAN MOTHERS.

A German mother was asked by her American cousin how she fared in this war, and what had become of her children. She answered: "God be thanked, they are all healthy and strong to serve our fatherland in the field. One son is fighting in Poland, another is in Flanders, and the latest news is favorable. But my third son fell in the first battle in Alsace." Here her lips quivered. "He was the sunshine of my life, but he died for a great cause; he died that we may live, that Germany may be saved. My daughter is a nurse with the Red Cross." And what if all your sons fall?" asked the American. To this the German mother replied: "It would crush me to death. I would not care to survive them. But I would thank God that he gave them to me and that I could offer them to my

they will not have lived in vain, and they would be blessed in dying for a great, noble and heroic purpose."

This is not the opinion of one mother. It is the thought that moves the hearts of nearly all of them. What few are selfish enough to feel differently will scarcely dare to utter their sentiments; they feel small and conscience-stricken and ashamed.

I know that the Germans are not guilty of this war, and I know that the calumnies of the German atrocities are untruths. The Germans would gladly have kept peace if possible. They do not wish to conquer the French or the Russians. They were ready to fight, not because they love to fight but because their past history has taught them that only courageous nations can maintain themselves in this world. The Germans are ensouled by a spirit of great courage, of honesty, of seriousness. They know that all life is transient, but the ideals of life are eternal. We all must die, but the aims which we aspire for live after us. I do not hesitate to say that the Germans are at present the greatest nation on earth, and part of their greatness shows itself in the quiet firmness with which they bear the slander that is so unjustly and maliciously heaped upon them by their enemies.

* * *

I wish now to speak to my French friends in particular. I wish to tell them most emphatically that the Germans do not hate France. On the contrary they like the French, but they cannot and will not, for sheer friendship, give up Alsace-Lorraine to them. The French should bear in mind that the German claim to Alsace-Lorraine is just. The Alsatians are Germans, and most of them have become and will remain good Germans. Alsace is a German country, and France had no right to it in the first place. It is wrong for the French to feel hurt about its loss. Why did they take it at all, and, having lost it in 1871, why should they want to take it again? They stole it once; is that a justification for stealing it again? Alsace is German in blood and language. Let it remain German.

I have lived in Alsace and I know whereof I speak. The Alsatians are Germans and share all their virtues and their faults. There are, however, some amusing exceptions, or would-be exceptions, to the prevalent German nationality in Alsace, for example, the painter Hansi who, by his Francomania, made a reputation for himself; and the case of a local politician who was anti-German, probably because he bore the French name *Schneegans!*

But I have more to say to my friends in France. If you love France do not continue this war which you are waging in the

interest of England. England will not give you any thanks for your alliance, except words such as Kipling uttered. Germany would have been a better confederate for you than England. Germany would have allowed you to keep the Suez Canal and would not have checked your advance in Africa at Fashoda; and she would have protected you against England. But your political leaders have been shortsighted. They made it impossible for Germany to support French interests, for it was only too apparent that the French would use the first opportunity to turn against Germany. Germany's implication in any war meant likewise France's participation, and on the side of Germany's enemies whoever they might be. Why? Because the French have become monomaniacs on the subject of Alsace-Lorraine.

If France and Germany would cooperate, their friendship would be mutually beneficial. The French would profit by coming into close touch with Germany, and Germany too would be benefited, appreciating as she does those typically French qualities which she lacks. Their national characters are complementary. When M. Pegu fell, bravely fighting in the air, German aviators dropped a laurel wreath over his home, with a message of condolence, and also praise for his patriotic courage. The Germans do not calumniate their enemies.

I do not expect that the French will listen to my advice; but the time will come when they will understand what a horrible mistake they have made in fighting the battles of England in the vain and mistaken hope of regaining Alsace-Lorraine.

One conspicuous feature in this war is the unfair representation of the German cause by the Allies, and this ought to be recognized by the critical minds among their own partisans. This misrepresentation has been accomplished mainly through a systematic propaganda by English writers, and men like Kipling have disgraced their names thereby. The French accept such misrepresentations as gospel truth, and you too, my kind critics, believe those falsehoods. It seems impossible however, that the men who are responsible for them do not know that they are not true. It is for this reason that in certain circles in the United States "Allies" has been spelled "All-Lies."

The method of introducing misrepresentation into a war is sinister but very human; it is the psychological feature of warfare, and the Germans' strong love of truth has its weak points. They are lacking in diplomacy. Nevertheless in the long run the blunt

begotten by them. Both the English people and the French are suffering because of such mistakes, and they will have to pay dearly for them. The present war is the fruit of this policy, and it is difficult to tell what will be the end of it all. I fear that the war will have to be fought to the bitter end, to the detriment of all concerned. But two things are certain: (1) that the Allies will not be able to crush Germany, and (2) France and Russia will suffer most. England will probably suffer least, but she will not escape unpunished. It is to be expected that England will lose her financial supremacy and probably also her dominion over the sea.

The Germans have shortcomings. I am not one who is pro-German whether or not their cause is just. But I am pro-German in the present war because, after a careful investigation, I have reached the firm conviction that justice is on the German side; for the Entente was founded for the purpose of crushing Germany, and Germany had no choice but to break through Belgium and violate Belgian neutrality so as to forestall an attack by her enemies in the rear of her armies. The Serbian complication with Austria was a cheap pretext, and Sir Edward Grey made cunning use of it to fan the flames of war fever, although it was as foul as the protection of assassins can be. The Kaiser, in his love for peace, wrote personal letters to the Czar and King George, but in vain. The Czar himself may have preferred peace, but the grand dukes and the war party around him insisted on war and he had to submit. Finally, the die was cast when England promised to join and thus make up for Russian inefficiency and lack of naval equipment. England's equivocal attitude and lack of frankness toward Germany, even when Germany offered to respect Belgian neutrality, was also clear proof that she was about to enter the fray. From that moment Germany knew that war was unavoidable and that there was no other alternative than the path through Belgium.

But Germany did not advice Austria to yield in the Serbian question! No, she did not. To advice Austria to humiliate herself was not Germany's duty, as my critics claim, nor would it have done any good. It would not have served to preserve the peace. To submit the Serbian dispute to a conference of the very powers who made up the Entente—the enemies of Germany and Austria—was certainly not acceptable.

It is no sin of Germany's that the Allies have proved to be mistaken in their calculations, and that she was better prepared; these are signs of her greatness and superiority, her courage, her efficiency and her virtue. I trust that Germany will finally triumph

over her enemies, and I see in *her* victory the victory of everything that is noble and liberal and progressive, for she represents the cause of mankind better than any of her adversaries. I expect that this present ordeal, brought upon her by the hatred, envy and intrigues of her neighbors, will purify her of her shortcomings and her several faults, as it has already purified her social relations, her patriotism, and all her ambitions and aspirations to a most remarkable degree. The noble attitude of all German classes, and not least among them of the Social Democrats, of the German youths that go to the front with great courage; of German mothers when offering the lives of those dear to them on the altar of the fatherland; the serious spirit that ensouls the Kaiser, the German princes and all citizens down to the humblest patriot, are sufficient evidence that the Germans are not Huns, nor barbarians, nor brutal savages; they are the noblest exponents of humanity and the chosen people of that portion of the human race from whom we look for a greater and nobler and better future to be born.

MISCELLANEOUS.

PORTRAITS OF ISAAC BARROW.

The portrait of Barrow which forms the frontispiece of this number of *The Open Court* is reproduced from a steel engraving made by B. Holl from a half-length painting of Barrow by Isaac Whood. This painting hangs in the Master's Lodge of Trinity College, Cambridge, and, according to Dr. A. G. W. Murray, the librarian of Trinity College, was probably painted shortly after Barrow's death. There is also a full-length portrait of Barrow, also probably painted shortly after his death, in the library of Trinity College, a bust by Roubiliac in the library, and a statue in the ante-chapel by the same sculptor. This statue is pictured in the Open Court Series of Portraits of Mathematicians. ϕ

AMERICAN BHAISM AND PERSIA.

The following letter from a physician in Resht, Persia, was received by Mr. Robert P. Richardson of Philadelphia, in comment on his article published in *The Open Court* of August last :

"Resht, Persia, Oct. 10, 1915.

"Robert P. Richardson, Esq., 5010 Parkside Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.

"Dear Sir: I have read with a great deal of interest the article in *The Open Court* which you so kindly had sent to me. I am especially glad to get a clear statement of the present position of Bahaism in America. You may be aware that one of the strongest arguments to lead Persians to accept Bahaism at the present time is the assertion that America is rapidly becoming Bahai, in proof of which *The Star of the West* is produced.

"Thanking you again for your clear and fair presentation of the matter, I am, most sincerely,

"J. Davidson Frame (M.D.)"

A CORRECTION.

Through an unfortunate oversight the names of the characters were omitted from the Key to the "Marriage of Pocahontas" which we reproduced on page 5 of the last issue of *The Open Court*. We repeat the illustration herewith, together with the names.

12
Brother to Pocahontas

13
Henry Spelman

14
William Spence

15
Thomas Savage

16
Master Sparkes

17
*Thomas Powell,
Wife and Child*

18
*Mrs. Horton and
Grandchild*

19
Sir Thos. Gates

20
*Opachisco, Uncle
to Pocahontas*

21
*A younger Brother
to Pocahontas*



MARRIAGE OF POCAHONTAS.
(Key.)

A CRUCIFIX AFTER BATTLE.

On the highroad to Bühl, near Saarburg in Lorraine, there stands a crucifix which presents a singularly ghastly and impressive appearance. It was within the range of the cannonading, and a shell took off the cross to which the figure of the Christ had been attached. The body was not injured, and the extended arms now convey a totally different impression. The crucified and dying Christ has been transformed into a compassionate pleading Christ



A CRUCIFIX AFTER BATTLE.

who is moved by the horrors of war and raises his hands as if invoking divine aid to heal the wounds of war.

The accompanying illustration of the crucifix in question has been reproduced from No. 18 of the *Eiserne Blätter* series of prints being sold by D. Traub of 48 Bismarckstrasse, Dortmund, Germany, for the benefit of war sufferers.

Our Knowledge of the External World as a Field for Scientific Method in Philosophy

By

THE HON. BERTRAND RUSSELL, M.A., F.R.S.

Pages x, 245. Cloth, \$2.00 (7s. 6d. net).

This book is a compilation of Mr. Bertrand Russell's "Lowell Lectures" of 1914, in which the author attempts to show, by means of examples, the nature, capacity, and limitations of the logico-analytical method in philosophy. They are on "Current Tendencies," "Logic as the Essence of Philosophy," "Our Knowledge of the External World," "The Problem of Infinity Considered Historically," "The Positive Theory of Infinity," and "The Notion of Cause, with Applications to the Free-Will Problem." These lectures are written, as the *Mathematical Gazette* says, with that clearness, force, and subtle humor that readers of Mr. Russell's other works have learnt to expect; and are the first publication on Mr. Russell's new line of the study of the foundations of physics.

"THE book of the year..... It is in every sense an epoch-making book."—*Cambridge Magazine*.

"His method interests by the success with which it approximates philosophy to science.... These able and suggestive lectures will introduce thoughtful readers to a tract of speculative inquiry not yet much opened up, which promises good results to one with philosophic interests and scientific training."—*Scotsman*.

"This brilliant, lucid, amusing book, which, in spite of a few stiff passages, every one can understand."—*The New Statesman*.

"In some respects the most important contribution that has been made to philosophy for a long time past. The whole book is of extreme interest, and it abounds in good sayings."—*The International Journal of Ethics*.

"The author maintains the fresh and brilliant yet easy style which always makes his writings a pleasure to read."—*Nature*.

"This book, though intentionally somewhat popular in tone, contains most important and interesting contribution to philosophy."—*Mind*.

A BOOK OF COMMANDING IMPORTANCE

Professor John Dewey of Columbia University of New York, in the July *Philosophical Review*, writes as follows concerning Mr. Bertrand Russell's recent book:

"There are many ways of stating the problem of the existence of an external world. I shall make that of Mr. Bertrand Russell the basis of my examinations, as it is set forth in his recent book, *Our Knowledge of the External World as a Field for Scientific Method in Philosophy*. I do this both because his statement is one recently made in a book of commanding importance, and because it seems to me to be a more careful statement than most of those in vogue."

Professor Bernard Bosanquet speaks of the same book as follows:

"This book consists of lectures delivered as "Lowell Lectures" in Boston, in March and April, 1914. It is so attractive in itself, and its author is so well known, that I think by this time it may be 'taken as read,' and I may offer some discussion without a preliminary abstract."

All bookstores or sent on receipt of price

The Open Court Publishing Company
122 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

The Open Court Publishing Company

ANNOUNCES

*A series of books on the philosophy of war
by representative writers*

AMERICA	{	GERMANY MISJUDGED. (In preparation) An appeal from the American Verdict <i>by</i> ROLAND HUGINS, Cornell University Pp. 250, cloth \$1.00
ENGLAND	{	JUSTICE IN WAR TIME. (Ready) An appeal to intellectuals <i>by</i> HON. BERTRAND RUSSELL, Trinity College, Cambridge Pp. 300, cloth \$1.00, paper 50c
HOLLAND	{	BELGIUM AND GERMANY. (In preparation) A Dutch view of the policies of these two nations <i>by</i> DR. J. H. LABBERTON, Translated into English by Wm. Ellery Leonard, University of Wisconsin Pp. 260, cloth \$1.00
ENGLAND (Minority View)	{	CARLYLE AND THE WAR. (Ready) <i>by</i> MARSHALL KELLY Pp. 250, cloth \$1.00
FRANCE	{	ABOVE THE BATTLES. (In preparation) <i>by</i> ROMAIN ROLLAND, Author of Jean Christophe Cloth \$1.25
NEWSPAPERS	{	NEUTRALITY. (In press) A study of the American Press <i>by</i> S. IVOR STEPHEN Illustrated by facsimiles of headlines, cartoons, halftones, humorous and otherwise Pp. 300, cloth \$1.00, paper 50c

Descriptive circulars mailed on request

The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago

The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER.

VOL. XXX. (No. 3)

MARCH, 1916.

NO. 718

CONTENTS:

	PAGE
<i>Frontispiece. Erasmus (After a Painting by Holbein).</i>	
<i>The Four-Hundredth Anniversary of the Publication of the First Greek New Testament (Illustrated). BERNHARD PICK</i>	129
<i>Desiderius Erasmus and his Significance for the Reformation. C. K. OGDEN.</i>	148
<i>The Danger to Civilization. BERTRAND RUSSELL</i>	170
<i>Thou That Hearest Prayer (Poem). HELEN COALE CREW</i>	181
<i>British Treatment of German Missionaries</i>	183
<i>Our Thermometer. PAUL CARUS</i>	187
<i>Mr. Mangasarian Misunderstands</i>	188
<i>Book Reviews and Notes</i>	191

The Open Court Publishing Company

CHICAGO

Per copy, 10 cents (sixpence). Yearly, \$1.00 (in the U.P.U., 5s. 6d.).

Entered as Second-Class Matter March 26, 1897, at the Post Office at Chicago, Ill., under Act of March 3, 1879
Copyright by The Open Court Publishing Company, 1916

WAR ECHOES

OR

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA IN THE CRISIS

Edited by **GEORGE WILLIAM HAU, A. M.**

Research in Education: Cornell, Columbia, Univ. of Cal.

It has been the aim of the Editor with the generous co-operation of eminent contributors, among them Senator Beveridge, Prof. Burgess, President Wheeler (Univ. of Cal.), Prof. Muensterberg, and others, to place before the reader a *Complete Analysis and History of the Vital Questions Involved*, which led up to the great tragedy that is being enacted in Europe.

"I wish to thank you very much for your kind remembrance by sending me a copy of your interesting book, WAR ECHOES. May you have the greatest possible success with your book, which it so richly deserves."

—*Johann von Bernstorff, German Ambassador to U.S.A.*

"Whatever opinion may be entertained as to the issues of the present war, certainly no one can reasonably object to the presentation of the Teutonic point of view found in your volume."—*Wm. Conant Church, Editor, Army and Navy Journal.*

"The Editor, deserving our sincere gratitude, has maintained an even tenor of spirit, great aptitude, fine tact, and good taste in his difficult task, and has created a work that will carry its message far beyond the duration of the war. For all Americans who are not conversant with the German language, WAR ECHOES will be a source of a better understanding of the Great Conflict. This book is destined to fill the vacant place so keenly felt by all German-Americans."—*The Chicago Abendpost.*

Bound in green cloth with 70 illustrations and 10 maps, 368 pages, size 8x11 inches. Weight 3 pounds. Price \$1.25. Postage extra.

The Open Court Publishing Company 122 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Contributions to the Founding of the Theory of Transfinite Numbers

By **GEORG CANTOR**

Translated, and provided with an Introduction and Notes, by **PHILIP E. B. JOURDAIN, M. A.**

Cloth. Pages x, 212. \$1.25 net

This volume contains a translation of the two very important memoirs of George Cantor on transfinite numbers which appeared in 1895 and 1897. These memoirs are the final and logically purified statement of many of the most important results of the long series of memoirs begun by Cantor in 1870. A very full historical account of this work and the work of others which led up to it is given in the introduction and the notes at the end contain indications of the progress made in the theory of transfinite numbers since 1897. This book is a companion volume to Dedekind's *Essays*.

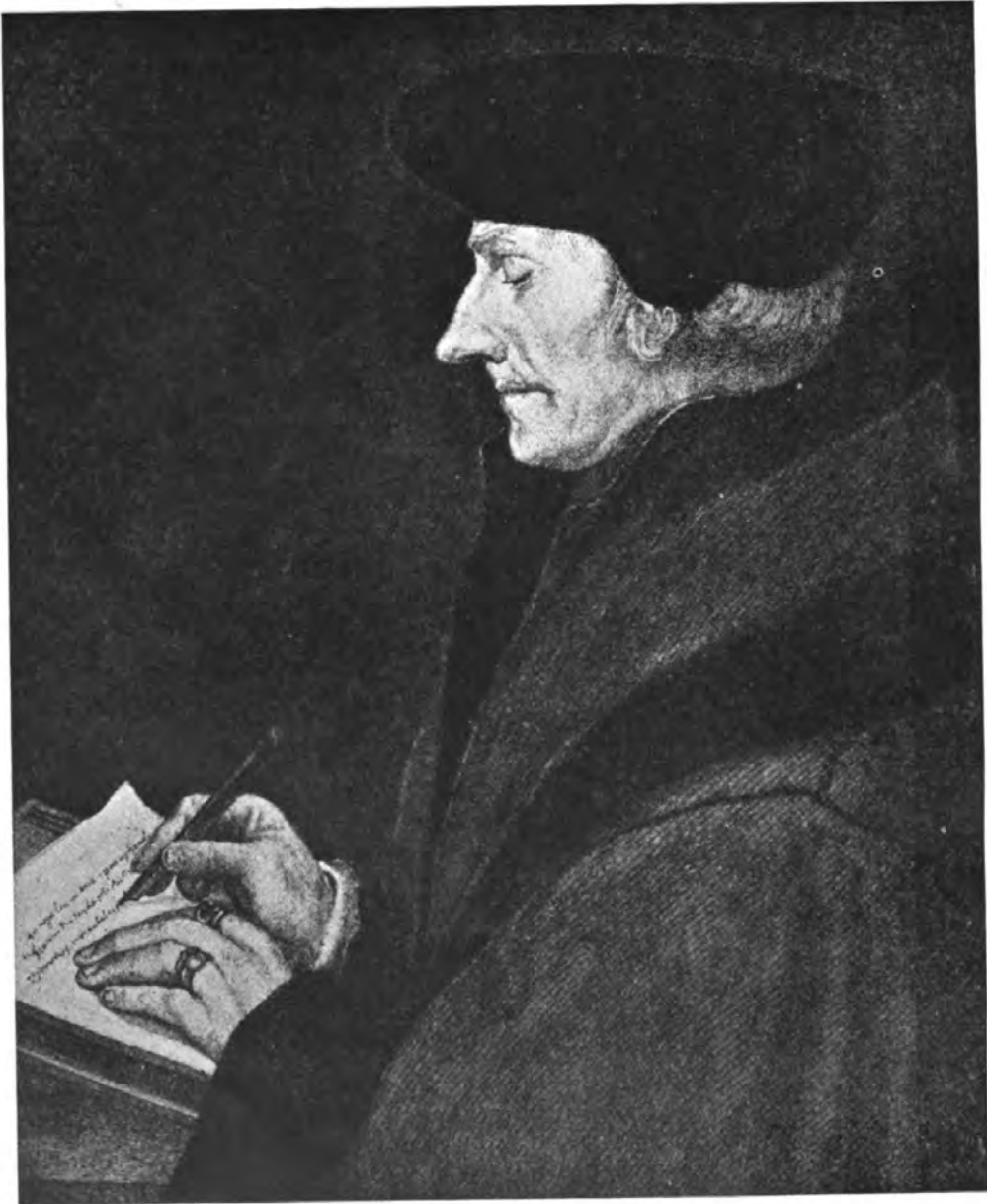
OPEN COURT PUBLISHING CO.
Chicago and London

our sincere gratitude, has maintained an even tenor of
ct, and good taste in his difficult task, and has created a work
r beyond the duration of the war. For all Americans who
German language, WAR ECHOES will be a source of a
reat Conflict. This book is destined to fill the vacant place
Americans."—*The Chicago Abendpost*.

cloth with 70 illustrations and 10 maps, 368 pages,
Weight 3 pounds. Price \$1.25. Postage extra.

Publishing Company 122 South Michigan
Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

to the Founding of the
Transfinite Numbers



ERASMUS.
(After a painting by Holbein.)

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

VOL. XXX (No. 3)

MARCH, 1916

NO. 718

Copyright by The Open Court Publishing Company, 1916

THE FOUR-HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PUBLICATION OF THE FIRST GREEK NEW TESTAMENT.

BY BERNHARD PICK.

INTRODUCTORY.

THESE pages are intended to remind the reader of a work the publication of which, four hundred years ago, was of great consequence. We mean the Greek New Testament edited by Desiderius Erasmus and published by John Froben of Basel. The publication of this work one year before the Reformation was timely, and its sale was so remarkable that within twenty years five editions were issued by Erasmus. His second edition was used by Luther in his confinement at the Wartburg, where he made his German translation, whereas the first three editions formed the basis for William Tyndale's English version. The significance of both these translations need only be suggested.

We are concerned here with the first edition of Erasmus's New Testament, a copy of which in the Library of the Union Theological Seminary was kindly put at my disposal. In examining the text of this edition I confined myself mostly to such readings as are found in the Authorized Version but are objected to by modern critics.

The work of examining the text was no easy task, in spite of the otherwise beautiful print. Leaving aside the ligatures which

is true that the Latin translation accompanying the Greek text has in the margin the number of the chapters in Roman letters. But, considering the haste with which this first edition was prepared, even these numbers are often wanting, and thus a collation becomes difficult, not to say tiresome.

The reason why we have only considered such readings as are omitted by the revisers or objected to by modern critics, is to show how much the text of Erasmus influenced the so-called *textus receptus*, the basis of the Authorized Version. From our collation, for which we also examined five different editions besides the Erasmian text, it will also be seen that modern writers are not at all agreed as yet as to the rejection or retention of a reading. Thus, to the high praise which the late Prof. Philip Schaff (*Introduction to the Revised Greek-English New Testament*, New York, Harper and Bros.) bestowed upon the text of the Greek New Testament edited by Westcott and Hort, when he calls it the oldest and purest text of all editions (*hic habes textum omnium editionum antiquissimum et purissimum*), we must now add the opinion of another critic, the late F. H. A. Scrivener, who, in his preface to the *Novum Testamentum, textus Stephanici, A. D. 1550* etc. (Cambridge, 1887), calls the work of Westcott and Hort "*splendidum peccatum, non κτήμα eis ἀεί*," i. e., "a splendid failure, not a possession for ever." Erasmus was the first editor of the Greek New Testament. Four hundred years have passed, and, considering the present state of the New Testament text, one cannot yet say that everything has been done. In this opinion I have been confirmed by an examination of Codex D or *Bezae*—an authority, as it seems to me, too much neglected—and I hope on some other occasion to be able to lay the results of this study before the student of the New Testament.

1516-1916.

March the 1st, 1916, is the four-hundredth anniversary of the publication of the first edition of the New Testament in Greek, prepared by the famous scholar Desiderius Erasmus (1467-1536), and published at Basel by John Froben. As we remarked above, it was a most timely publication, just one year before the Reformation, and furnished Luther² and Tyndale the text for their vernacular versions, which became the most powerful levers of the Reformation in Germany and England. At the time that Erasmus undertook to

² *Erasmus peperit ovum, Lutherus exclusit*, i. e., "Erasmus laid the egg which Luther hatched," was the saying of bigoted Catholics.

edit the New Testament in Greek, as well as for centuries before, the Latin translation of the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures and the Apocrypha was the sacred book of the church. This, with many slight variations in the manuscripts, was substantially Jerome's version, and it was upon this that the text subsequently authorized by the Council of Trent (April 8, 1546) was founded. To the monks and theologians of that day it was *the Bible*, as if no originals existed. Preachers, teachers, controversialists argued from its texts as if there were no original to appeal to beyond it. It is not surprising, then, that the earliest book printed was the *Latin Bible*, known as the "Mazarine Bible." That was about the middle of the fifteenth century (1456), and before the close of that century several other editions had appeared, among others a neat one in octavo for the poor man, by John Froben, bearing the date 1491. Nor were the modern languages neglected. Before the end of the fifteenth century there were published, ten years after the "Mazarine Bible," a *German* translation of the Bible, in 1466. Five years later, in 1471, an *Italian* Bible followed. Of other versions we mention:

- 1474(?) *French*, New Testament;
- Bohemian*, New Testament;
- 1477. *Dutch* and *Flemish*, the Old Testament;
- 1478. *Catalan*, the Bible;
- 1490. *Spanish*, the Liturgical Gospels;
- 1491. *Slavonic*, the Psalter;
- 1495. *Portuguese*, Harmony of the Gospels;
- Croatian* and *Servian*, the Liturgical Gospels and Epistles.

NOR must we omit to mention that the *Psalter* in Ancient Greek was published in 1481, and the first complete *Hebrew* Old Testament in 1488. But how many in those days cared for Greek, still less for Hebrew? Only a few among the learned had a knowledge of these languages, and to these few belonged Erasmus and his friend John Oecolampadius, who assisted him in the preparation of the New Testament.

Hebraico, Chaldaico, Graeco et Latino idiomate, Novum Testamentum Graecum et Latinum, et vocabularium Hebraicum et Chaldaicum.

Trinſla. Græc. lxx. et interſ. Latina.	Trinſla. B. Chiro.	Tex. Heb.	Col.	Lat.	Palms. Heb.
<p>Ca. I. A Delic. De. 48. Dir. u. 1.</p> <p>Trinſla. Græc. lxx. et interſ. Latina.</p>	<p>Trinſla. B. Chiro.</p> <p>Trinſla. B. Chiro.</p>	<p>רֵאשִׁית תְּרַא אֱלֹהִים אֵת</p> <p>קְשִׁים וְאֵת הָאָרֶץ וְהָאָרֶץ</p> <p>הַיְהוּהוּ וְהוּבְרָה וְהוּשָׁן עַל פְּרִי</p> <p>הָהוּם וְהוּם אֱלֹהִים סְדִהֶפֶת עַל</p> <p>פְּרִי תְּרִיסוֹ וְיֹאמֶר אֱלֹהִים הִיא</p> <p>אוֹר וְיִהְיֶה אוֹר וְיִרְא אֱלֹהִים אֵת</p> <p>הָאוֹר כִּי טוֹב וְיִבְרָל אֱלֹהִים בְּרִן</p> <p>הָאוֹר וְיִבְרָן תְּרִישוֹן וְיִסְרָא אֱלֹהִים</p> <p>הָאוֹר יוֹם וְיִהְיֶה הוּשָׁן קְרָא יִהְיֶה</p> <p>וְיִהְיֶה שְׁבִי יִהְיֶה נֶקֶד יוֹם אֲדוֹר</p> <p>וְיֹאמֶר אֱלֹהִים הִיא תְּרִיעַ חֲתוֹךְ</p> <p>הַפִּים וְיִהְיֶה עֲבָדֵי בְרִן פִּים</p> <p>לְכִים וְיִעֲשֶׂה אֱלֹהִים אֵת וְתִקְרַע</p> <p>וְיִבְרָל כִּן תְּרִיס אֲשֶׁר סְדִהֶת</p> <p>הַקְרַע וְיִבְרָן תְּרִיס אֲשֶׁר קְרַע</p> <p>הַקְרַע וְיִהְיֶה קֶן וְיִקְרָא אֱלֹהִים</p> <p>תְּרִיעַ שְׁפִים וְיִהְיֶה שְׁבִי וְיִהְיֶה</p> <p>נֶקֶד יוֹם שְׁבִי וְיֹאמֶר אֱלֹהִים</p> <p>קְרָא אֵת סְדִהֶת הַשְׁפִּים אֵלֵי</p> <p>פְּרִים וְיִהְיֶה וְיִרְאָה הוּבְרָה וְיִהְיֶה</p> <p>קֶן וְיִקְרָא אֱלֹהִים לְבִישָׁה אֲרִי</p> <p>וְלִמְקוֹ הַפִּים קְרָא יִפִּים וְיִרְא</p> <p>אֱלֹהִים כִּי טוֹב וְיֹאמֶר אֱלֹהִים</p> <p>תְּרִישָׁה הָאָרֶץ וְיִשָּׁב כְּרִיעַ</p> <p>וְרַע עַן פְּרִי עֲשֶׂה פְרִי לְמִי</p> <p>אֲשֶׁר יִרְשֶׁנּוּ עַל הָאָרֶץ וְיִהְיֶה</p> <p>קֶן וְיִתְאַף אֲרֶץ וְיִשָּׁב עֲשֶׂה</p> <p>כְּרִיעַ וְרַע לְמִי וְעַן עֲשֶׂה</p> <p>פְּרִי אֲשֶׁר יִרְשֶׁנּוּ לְמִי וְיִרְא</p>			<p>Ca. I.</p> <p>רֵאשִׁית</p> <p>קְשִׁים</p> <p>הַיְהוּהוּ</p> <p>וְהוּבְרָה</p> <p>וְהוּשָׁן</p> <p>עַל פְּרִי</p> <p>הָהוּם</p> <p>וְהוּם</p> <p>אֱלֹהִים</p> <p>סְדִהֶת</p> <p>עַל</p> <p>פְּרִי</p> <p>תְּרִיסוֹ</p> <p>וְיֹאמֶר</p> <p>אֱלֹהִים</p> <p>הִיא</p> <p>אוֹר</p> <p>וְיִהְיֶה</p> <p>אוֹר</p> <p>וְיִרְא</p> <p>אֱלֹהִים</p> <p>אֵת</p> <p>הָאוֹר</p> <p>כִּי</p> <p>טוֹב</p> <p>וְיִבְרָל</p> <p>אֱלֹהִים</p> <p>בְּרִן</p> <p>הָאוֹר</p> <p>וְיִבְרָן</p> <p>תְּרִישוֹן</p> <p>וְיִסְרָא</p> <p>אֱלֹהִים</p> <p>הָאוֹר</p> <p>יוֹם</p> <p>וְיִהְיֶה</p> <p>הוּשָׁן</p> <p>קְרָא</p> <p>יִהְיֶה</p> <p>וְיִהְיֶה</p> <p>שְׁבִי</p> <p>יִהְיֶה</p> <p>נֶקֶד</p> <p>יוֹם</p> <p>אֲדוֹר</p> <p>וְיֹאמֶר</p> <p>אֱלֹהִים</p> <p>הִיא</p> <p>תְּרִיעַ</p> <p>חֲתוֹךְ</p> <p>הַפִּים</p> <p>וְיִהְיֶה</p> <p>עֲבָדֵי</p> <p>בְרִן</p> <p>פִּים</p> <p>לְכִים</p> <p>וְיִעֲשֶׂה</p> <p>אֱלֹהִים</p> <p>אֵת</p> <p>וְתִקְרַע</p> <p>וְיִבְרָל</p> <p>כִּן</p> <p>תְּרִיס</p> <p>אֲשֶׁר</p> <p>סְדִהֶת</p> <p>הַקְרַע</p> <p>וְיִבְרָן</p> <p>תְּרִיס</p> <p>אֲשֶׁר</p> <p>קְרַע</p> <p>הַקְרַע</p> <p>וְיִהְיֶה</p> <p>קֶן</p> <p>וְיִקְרָא</p> <p>אֱלֹהִים</p> <p>תְּרִיעַ</p> <p>שְׁפִים</p> <p>וְיִהְיֶה</p> <p>שְׁבִי</p> <p>וְיִהְיֶה</p> <p>נֶקֶד</p> <p>יוֹם</p> <p>שְׁבִי</p> <p>וְיֹאמֶר</p> <p>אֱלֹהִים</p> <p>קְרָא</p> <p>אֵת</p> <p>סְדִהֶת</p> <p>הַשְׁפִּים</p> <p>אֵלֵי</p> <p>פְּרִים</p> <p>וְיִהְיֶה</p> <p>וְיִרְאָה</p> <p>הוּבְרָה</p> <p>וְיִהְיֶה</p> <p>קֶן</p> <p>וְיִקְרָא</p> <p>אֱלֹהִים</p> <p>לְבִישָׁה</p> <p>אֲרִי</p> <p>וְלִמְקוֹ</p> <p>הַפִּים</p> <p>קְרָא</p> <p>יִפִּים</p> <p>וְיִרְא</p> <p>אֱלֹהִים</p> <p>כִּי</p> <p>טוֹב</p> <p>וְיֹאמֶר</p> <p>אֱלֹהִים</p> <p>תְּרִישָׁה</p> <p>הָאָרֶץ</p> <p>וְיִשָּׁב</p> <p>כְּרִיעַ</p> <p>וְרַע</p> <p>עַן</p> <p>פְּרִי</p> <p>עֲשֶׂה</p> <p>פְּרִי</p> <p>לְמִי</p> <p>אֲשֶׁר</p> <p>יִרְשֶׁנּוּ</p> <p>עַל</p> <p>הָאָרֶץ</p> <p>וְיִהְיֶה</p> <p>קֶן</p> <p>וְיִתְאַף</p> <p>אֲרֶץ</p> <p>וְיִשָּׁב</p> <p>עֲשֶׂה</p> <p>כְּרִיעַ</p> <p>וְרַע</p> <p>לְמִי</p> <p>וְעַן</p> <p>עֲשֶׂה</p> <p>פְּרִי</p> <p>אֲשֶׁר</p> <p>יִרְשֶׁנּוּ</p> <p>לְמִי</p> <p>וְיִרְא</p>
<p>B</p> <p>Trinſla. Chald.</p>	<p>Trinſla. Chald.</p>	<p>Interſ. Chald.</p>			<p>Palms. Chald.</p>

PAGE FROM THE COMPLUTENSIAN POLYGLOT EDITION OF THE BIBLE, 1514.

cum, cum grammatica Hebraica, nec non dictionario Graeco. De mandato et sumptibus Reverendissimi in Christo Patris Domini,

Domini Francisci Ximensis de Cisneros, tituli sancte Balbine, sacrosancte Romane Ecclesie presbyteri Cardinalis, et Hispaniarum primatie ac regnorum Castelle Archicancellarii Archiepiscopi Toletani, etc., etc., 6 vols., large folio. In Complutensi Universitate, 1514-1517.

This splendid Polyglot was executed by the order and at the expense (50,000 ducats, or about \$150,000) of the Spanish Cardinal Francis Ximenes de Cisneros (1437-1517), and is known as the Complutensian Polyglot because printed at Complutum (now Alcala de Henares). The men who assisted the Cardinal in this his Herculean work, which immortalized his name, were Demetrius Dukas of Crete, Achius Antonius Nebrissensis, Lopez de Zuniga (Stunica, or Astunga, known from his controversies with Erasmus), Ferdinand Pintianus, Alphonsus de Zamara, Paulus Coronellus, Johannes de Vergera (the last three converted Jews), Nuñez de Guzman, and others.

The printing of the work was commenced in 1502, in celebration of the birth of Charles V, and completed in 1517, but the work was not published until 1522 when it received the sanction of Pope Leo X.

This now rare work consists of six volumes, large folio. The first four volumes, together with the sixth, were completed at press, July 10, 1517 (the year of the Reformation). The volumes (excepting the sixth) contain the Old Testament text, the Chaldee paraphrase (only to the Pentateuch), the Greek (Septuagint, including the Apocrypha), and Latin. The Hebrew text, which has the vowel points but not the accents, occupies the outside of three columns; the Septuagint, with an interlineary Latin translation, occupies the inside column, indicating that, just as Christ was crucified between two thieves, so the Roman church, represented by Jerome's version, is crucified between the synagogue, represented by the Hebrew text, and the Eastern church, denoted by the Greek version.³ At the lower part of the page are two smaller columns, one containing the Chaldee paraphrase and the other a Latin translation of it.

Turning next to the fifth volume, the printing of which was completed January 10, 1514, we find that it contains the whole New Testament in Greek and Latin (Vulgate) in two columns. A letter

³ Posuimus tanquam duos hinc et inde latrones, medium autem Iesum, hoc

of reference⁴ connects the Greek and Latin texts verbally together, as will be seen from the following specimen of Matt. xxvi. 1:

καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς et ^bfactum est ^ccum ^dconsummas-
 ἑπάνας ἑτοὺς λόγους ἡτούτους set ^eJesus ^gsermones ^hhos ^fomnes

The volume is preceded by

1. A Greek address to the reader, with a Latin translation;
2. A Greek epistle of Eusebius;
3. St. Jerome's Prologue on the four Evangelists addressed to Pope Damasus.

At the end of the volume is the date: *annus MDXIV., diesque X. Januarii.*

The sixth volume contains grammatical and lexical helps. When the last sheet of this magnificent Polyglot was finished in 1517, and a copy was brought to the Cardinal, he raised his eyes to heaven and devoutly offered up his thanks to the Saviour for being spared to see the completion of this good work, which had cost him so much labor and anxiety. Then, turning to those about him, Ximenes said: "Of all the acts which distinguished my administration, there was none, however arduous, better entitled to their congratulation than this." Ximenes died a few months after the completion of his work, November 8, 1517, aged 81.

Which manuscripts of the New Testament were used is still a matter of speculation. Suffice it to say that the Septuagint and the text of the Greek New Testament appeared for the first time in this Polyglot, a copy of which is now among the most treasured possessions of any library fortunate enough to have a copy, the original edition consisting of only six hundred copies.

Since the Complutensian New Testament was the first which was printed, and since we are told that the manuscripts used were "very ancient and correct" (*antiquissima et emendatissima*),⁵ and procured from Rome, for which Leo X is thanked in the preface, an examination of its text would certainly be of interest. Since, however, the late Professor Reuss of Strasburg, in his *Bibliotheca Novi Testamenti Graeci* (1872), has already given a list of the readings peculiar to this Greek Testament (pp. 16-24), the student is referred to this work.

⁴ In the reprint of the New Testament published by P. A. Gratz, Tübingen, 1821, these letters of reference are omitted.

⁵ It is more than certain that Codex B, or *Vaticanus*, which was entered in the earliest Catalogue of the Vatican Library, made in 1475, was not among the manuscripts.

Leaving the Complutensian New Testament, we now come to the work of

Desiderius Erasmus.

As has been stated, the New Testament of the Polyglot was printed, but not published. To anticipate the Cardinal's enterprise, John Froben, the Basel printer, wrote a letter (March 15, 1515) to the famous Desiderius Erasmus (1467-1536), who was then in England, requesting him to prepare an edition of the Greek New Testament. Soon after receiving this news Erasmus was on his way to Basel and commenced his work. He labored with such expedition that within a year the whole, with a Latin translation, was completed and issued (March 1, 1516). Erasmus himself admitted that the edition was "precipitated rather than edited" (*praecipitatum verius quam editum*). The science of textual criticism was not yet born, and the most important manuscripts were not even known. The manuscripts which Erasmus perused were neither very old nor very valuable. The oldest, which contained the whole of the New Testament except the book of Revelation, the so-called *Codex Basileensis* in the university library at Basel, has been assigned to the tenth century, and allowed by the great critics to be of considerable authority. But the others, which included only parts of the canon, were of quite recent date and of comparatively little worth. Among them all there was but one copy of the Apocalypse, and that lacked the last six verses, which, accordingly, Erasmus was obliged to supply from the Latin. This manuscript of the twelfth century was borrowed from Reuchlin, and was lost sight of for a long time. It was, however, found again by the late Prof. Franz Delitzsch in 1861, in the library of the princely house of Oettingen-Wallerstein at Maitringen (Bavaria), as may be seen from his *Handschriftliche Funde*, Parts I and II, 1861 and 1862.

The work which Scrivener refers to as "perhaps the most inaccurate volume ever issued from the press" had nevertheless a very rapid sale. Owing to the fame of the author, the increasing number of students of Greek, the desire to know something of the Scriptures in the original, the friends of Erasmus all bought the book for his sake, or for its own. But his enemies⁶ also bought the book to discover heresies and errors. Considering all the circumstances, and the fact that by an imperial privilege the copyright of the book

⁶ Their animosity may be learned from the fact that they even furnished Erasmus with a list of his errors because of his errors. See *Erasmus of Rotterdam*, p. 400.

was protected for four years, we cannot wonder that the first edition, consisting of twelve hundred copies, was soon exhausted.

The volume before me is in folio, and the size of the original



damo recognitum et emendatum non solum ad graecam veritatem, verumetiam ad multorum utriusque linguae codicum, eorumque veterum simul et emendatorum fidem, postremo ad probatissimorum autorum citationem, emendationem et interpretationem praecipue, Origenis, Chrysostomi, Cyrilli, Vulgarii, Hieronymi, Cypriani, Ambrosii, Hilarii, Augustini, una cum Annotationibus, quae lectorem doceant, quid qua ratione mutatum sit. Quisquis igitur amas veram Theologiam, lege, cognosce, ac deinde judica. Neque statim offendere, si quid mutatum offenderis, sed expende, num in melius mutatum sit.

“Apud inclytam Germaniac Basilaeam

[Here follows Froben's trade-device, two serpents with a dove over their heads.]

“Cum privilegio.

“Maximiliani Caesaris Augusti, ne quis alius in sacra Romani Imperii ditone, intra quattuor annos excudat, aut alibi excusam importet.”

Before going any further, the reader's attention is called to a sufficiently glaring and rather ridiculous blunder, which betrays the great haste with which the work was finished. In the list of the Fathers mentioned on the title-page, whose works had been used in the preparation of the text, a certain Vulgarius is mentioned, a writer no one had ever heard of before. Mr. Drummond, a biographer of Erasmus, explains this thus: “Erasmus had a copy of Theophylact on Matthew, with this title: Τοῦ Θεοφιλεσιάτου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Βουλγαρίας κυρίου Θεοφυλάκτου ἐξήγησις εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον Εὐαγγέλιον; in his haste he took Θεοφυλάκτου for an epithet, while for Βουλγαρίας he must have read Βουλγαρίον, which he converted from the name of a country into the name of a man, and translated “Vulgarius”; and under this name Theophylact was quoted in his notes. To make matters worse, he attributed to Vulgarius a reading which is not to be found in Theophylact, and in one place grossly misconstrued him.”

The verso of the title-page contains a notice of Froben to the reader, from which we learn that John Oecolampadius of Weinsberg, a famous theologian, acquainted with three languages (*insignis theologus, triumque linguarum egregie peritus*) assisted Erasmus in the preparation of the work. Erasmus dedicated his work to Pope Leo X. In his dedication, dated February 1, 1516, in which the author calls himself “*theologorum infimus*,” he reminds the

commandments of their Master out of the evangelical and apostolic writings themselves."

This dedication is followed by a general introduction, consisting of three treatises: 1. *Paraclesis ad lectorem*; 2. *Methodus*; 3. *Apologia*. All three, besides inviting to the serious study of the Scriptures, contain excellent points on how such study, in opposition to the common scholastic manner, can be made fruitful and become the foundation of a new living theology. Thus in his *Paraclesis*⁷ he strenuously opposes those who object to the reading of the Scriptures by the laity; he wishes that the Scriptures might be translated into all tongues, so that even Turks and Saracens, to say nothing of Scotchmen and Irishmen, yea, all little girls (*omnes mutierculae*) might read them, and Christians take from them the subjects of their daily conversation. The letters written by a friend, we keep, kiss, carry about us, and read them over and over again. Yet there are thousands of Christians who do not once in their life read the evangelical and apostolical books. The Mohammedans observe their dogmas; the Jews to this day study their Moses from their childhood; why do not Christians do the same? The Benedictines, Augustinians, Franciscans, strictly observe the rules laid down by men, but can there be anything more sacred than the rules given to all by Christ?

If any one displays the robe of Christ, or the impression of His footsteps on the ground, we are down on our knees, we worship, we cover it with kisses. Yet, though we were to bring to light all the wardrobe and furniture (*supellectilem*) of Christ, there is nothing that can recall and express and represent the Christ more vividly, more truly and more completely than the writings of the Evangelists and Apostles.

In his *Methodus*, or essay on the right method of the study of the Scriptures, Erasmus maintains that the first requisite for their study is a knowledge of Greek, Latin and Hebrew.⁸ He tells us that he himself, though within a year of fifty, returned to the study of Hebrew whenever he had an opportunity. He also inculcated

⁷ An English translation of the *Paraclesis* appears as a preface to certain early editions of Tyndale's English version of the New Testament; thus, in the edition of 1536, also in one of 1549. None of these I have been able to see.

⁸ With the exception of Jerome, and perhaps of Origen, none of the early Christian writers appear to have possessed any knowledge of Hebrew worthy of the name. In the Middle Ages some knowledge of Hebrew was preserved in the church by converted Jews, as for example Paulus Burgensis (died 1435), and even by Christian scholars, of whom the most notable were the Dominican controversialist Raymond Martini (died 1284), and the Franciscan Nicolaus de Lyra (died 1341), whose *Postillae Perpetuae in Universa Biblia* (Rome,

the advantage of having as much general knowledge as possible, especially of the objects named in Scripture, so that the student may not, like some ignorant commentators, make a quadruped of a tree, or a fish of a precious stone (*ex arbore faciant quadrupedem, e gemma piscem*). Nor were poetry and good letters to be despised. Christ clothed all his teachings in parables, and that was poetry (*parabolis omnia pene convestivit Christus, id quod poetis est peculiare*). Paul quoted from the poets (*ipse Paulus poetarum est usus testimoniis*), and there is nothing in his writings to remind one of Aristotle and Averroës. It is difficult for those who are imbued with the scholastic philosophy to appreciate the simplicity of the Scriptures, but if it be maintained that without it one cannot be a theologian, Erasmus could console himself with the example of many famous men, Chrysostom, Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, Clement, nay, of Peter and Paul, who were utterly ignorant of it, and even condemned it (*quod si quis damnabit absque his non esse theologum, equidem consolabor meipsum tot insignium virorum exemplis, Chrysostomi, Hieronymi, Ambrosii, Augustini, denique Clementis, imo Petri et Pauli, qui ista non solum non calluerunt, verum etiam damnant aliquoties*). Better to be less of a sophist than to be unacquainted with the writings of the Gospel evangelists and Paul. Better not to know some of the teachings of Aristotle, than not to know the commands of Christ. I would rather be a pious theologian with Jerome than a hero with Scotus (*malim cum Hieronymo pius esse theologus quam cum Scoto invictus*). Whoever finds 1471, 5 vols., fol.), largely influenced Luther's interpretation of Scripture, whence the couplet on Luther's exegetical labor by Pflug, Bishop of Naumburg:

"Si Lyra non tyrasset
Lutherus non saltasset."

[If Lyra had not harped on profanation,
Luther had not planned the Reformation.]

Neither the refusal of orthodox Jews to teach those who were not of their faith, nor the bigotry of ignorant churchmen who desired nothing better than the entire suppression of Jewish learning, could damp the ardent desire of those who wished to add a third language to Latin and Greek. The first Christian to compose a Hebrew grammar, *De modo legendi et intellegendi Hebraeum* (Strasburg, 1504), was Conrad Pellicanus (died 1556). A facsimile reprint of this grammar was published by E. Nestle, Tübingen, 1877. Two years after Pellicanus the famous John Reuchlin (1455-1523) published his *Rudimenta linguae hebraicae una cum Lexico* (Phorcae, 1506). Reuchlin taught Hebrew at Heidelberg, Ingolstadt and Stuttgart. Here John Oecolampadius attended his lectures. A pupil of Reuchlin was Johann Böschenstein (1472-1530), also an author of a Hebrew grammar.

Erasmus was not the only one who insisted upon the necessity of a knowledge of Hebrew. In this respect he was of the same opinion as Luther and Melancthon, the "*praeceptor Germaniae*." The student who is interested in that subject will find more particulars in Pick, art. "The Study of the Hebrew Language among Jews and Christians," in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, July, 1884, 1885.

pleasure in scholastic disputations, let him follow that which he has received in the schools. He is a great doctor who teaches nothing but Christ (*abunde magnus doctor est, qui pure docet Christum*).

The *Methodus* was afterwards considerably expanded and printed as a separate work, under the title of *Ratio verae Theologiae* (in *Erasmi Opera*, V. 57 ff.), and was not repeated in the later editions of the New Testament. The *Ratio* was dedicated to Cardinal Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz (1519) in a preface full of complaints about the evil times of violent controversy, which destroyed charity and the peaceful cultivation of learning and practical piety.

The third part of the introduction is entitled *Apologia* and is intended for those who objected not only to his publication of the Greek Testament but also to his Latin translation. To those who thought that Jerome's version was good enough, he tried to prove that his work was meant for the better understanding. To the cry of his opponents that "solecisms are not offensive to God," Erasmus replied, "true, but neither are they pleasing to Him" (*non offenditur deus soloecismis, at idem non delectatur*). For his translation Erasmus claims not so much elegance of style as lucidity and correctness and a true rendering of the original sources, which, if we except the Gospel of Matthew and the Epistle to the Hebrews, were not written in Latin but in Greek. To those who feared that the authority of the sacred Scriptures might be called in question, if any variations from the received standard should be acknowledged, he replied that for more than a thousand years there had been no complete agreement either in the Greek or in the Latin copy (*jam annos plus mille, neque Latinorum neque Graecorum exemplaria per omnia consensisse*). To the vociferation of some who were ignorant and impudent enough to say that it was an intolerable crime (*facimus esse non ferendum*) for any one to presume to correct the Gospels (*ut quisquam corrigat evangelia*), Erasmus retorted: "Is every fool, then, to be permitted to corrupt the manuscripts of the Gospels, and is it an impiety to restore what has been corrupted?" (*fas est nebuloni cujusvis evangelii codices depravare, et nefas crit quod depravatum est restituere?*).

The introduction is followed by *βίαι* or *Lives of the Four Evangelists from the Synopsis of Dorotheus the Martyr and Bishop of Tyre* (Greek). In a convenient form these lives and those of other apostles and disciples are found in *Prophetarum vitae fabulosae indices apostolorum discipulorumque Domini Dorotheo, Epi-*

phanio, Hippolyto aliisque vindicata, edited by Prof. Theodor Schermann, Leipsic (B. G. Teubner), 1907.

We now come to the New Testament proper. The Gospels and the Acts occupy pages 1-322; the epistles follow, pages 1-190, each preceded by a Greek hypothesis, i. e., summary; pages 190-224, the Apocalypse, but without an hypothesis; pages 225-675 are taken up by the *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum*; page 676 contains a note of Oecolampadius to the reader; pages 677-678, *errata et corrigenda*. The last page has the colophon: *Basileae in aedibus Joannis Frobenii Hammelburgensis, mense Februario. Anno M. D. XVI. Regnante Imp. Caes. Maximiliano P. E. Augusto.*

Then follows the trade-device of Froben, the two serpents and the dove. The upper and lower parts have the saying of Matt. x. 16



FIRST EDITION BY ERASMUS OF NEW TESTAMENT, 1516.

A portion of Fourteenth Chapter of Acts.

in Greek; on the left is a saying in Latin; on the right a saying in Hebrew.

Habent fata sua libelli. The truth of this saying Erasmus also was to experience. About a year after the first appearance of the New Testament, Edward Lee, chaplain and almoner to Henry VIII, and eventually Archbishop of York, took up arms against this publication. Erasmus, who says of him that "a creature more arrogant, ignorant and venomous the world had never seen," writes, in a letter to Capito: "At last the British viper has broken loose! Edward Lee, the everlasting disgrace of that famous island, has come forth into the light... I would describe the monster to you, but I am

Lee's criticisms were not only textual but also dogmatical. He especially laid stress upon the fact that Erasmus had omitted from his text what is now called the *Comma Johanneum*, i. e., the passage of the three heavenly witnesses in 1 John v. 7. But Erasmus had not found the passage in any of the manuscripts which he had examined, and he doubted whether any such manuscript could be produced containing that passage. To his surprise he learned that there existed such a manuscript. Whether the manuscript now known as *Codex Montfortianus*,¹⁰ and which turned up at this particular juncture, was written under the direction of Lee, we know not. Erasmus, who did not see the *Codex Britannicus*, as he calls it, was easily satisfied; and having on former occasions expressed his willingness to insert the testimony of the three witnesses if a single manuscript could be produced containing it, and shrinking from the clamor that was raised against him on all sides, he inserted the spurious words in his third edition, which appeared in 1522, but did not consider it genuine, and admitted it only from policy, *ne cui foret ansa calumniandi*.

Another antagonist was the Spanish theologian, James Lopez Stunica, whom we mentioned before in connection with the Complutensian Polyglot. He published a series of criticisms in *Annotationes Jacobi Lapidis Stunicae contra Erasmus Roterodamum in defensionem Tralationis Novi Testamenti* (in aedit. Complut. 1519), in the preface of which he treats Erasmus with high disdain, as a man of letters who had gained some reputation; but in a note on Gal. iii he speaks also of him as so "steeped in the beer and butter of his country" (*ut Erasmus butiro et cerevisia patria obrutus somniaverit*) as to be incapable of clear thought. Without entering into the details of this controversy, which turn upon similar points to those advanced by Lee, we will mention that Erasmus replied in *Apologia respondens ad ea quae Jacobus Lompis Stunica taxaverat in prima duntaxat Novi Testamenti aeditione* (Lovan. 1520; in *Erasmii Opera*, IX, 283 ff.).

It may seem strange that Stunica's attack was only published three years after the appearance of the first edition of the Greek Testament. Stunica explains this delay from the fact that the new translation was some time in reaching him. But Erasmus gives a

¹⁰ The *Codex Montfortianus*, which is now deposited in the library of Trinity College, Dublin (Trinity A. 4. 21.), or the "codex apud Anglos repertus," according to Nestle was probably written by the English Franciscan monk, Roy or Froy, who inserted the passage from the Vulgate. On this codex comp. Schaff, *Companion to the Greek Testament and English Version*, 4th ed., New York, 1883, pp. 136 f.

very different account of the matter. According to him Cardinal Ximenes was highly pleased with his edition of the New Testament, and when Stunica expressed his surprise at the Cardinal's appreciation of a work teeming with errors, the Cardinal replied in the language of Scripture: "Would that all were such prophets! Go thou and do better if thou canst, but disparage not another man's labor" (*Opera*, IX, 284D). This accounts for the delay of the publication till after the Cardinal's death.

It is interesting to learn that sometimes, in the hands of ignorant monks, the attacks upon the New Testament of Erasmus



ERASMUS.

(After an engraving by Dürer.)

assumed a decidedly comic aspect, and Erasmus has not failed to record one or two instances of this in his usual humorous style. Following Mr. Drummond's statement, we are told that "there was, for example, a certain Dr. Standish, Bishop of St. Asaph—St. Ass, Erasmus calls it—who was terribly distressed because Erasmus, following Laurentius Valla, had substituted the masculine word *Sermo* for the neuter *Verbum* in the first chapter of St. John's Gospel! On a certain occasion he was preaching in St. Paul's churchyard, and having begun a sermon on charity, all of a sudden he broke out into a furious attack upon Erasmus, declaring that the Christian religion must be ruined unless all new translations were

Verbum which had been the reading of the church for so many centuries. Then he began to appeal to the feelings of his audience, bewailing his own unhappy lot, to think that he who all his life had been accustomed to read, *In principio erat verbum*, must henceforth read, *In principio erat sermo*, and finally he appealed to the mayor, the aldermen, and the whole body of citizens to come to the rescue of Christianity in this its hour of peril. No one, however, took notice of his rodomontade except to laugh at it. It happened the same day that Standish was to dine at the palace, and two of his hearers—one of whom was a bachelor, and profoundly versed in the scholastic philosophy as well as in the modern learning, the other a married man, but of the most heavenly mind (no doubt, as Knight conjectures, Master Richard Pace and Sir Thomas More) were to meet him. They were no sooner seated than one of them remarked how glad he was to find he had been reading the Commentaries of Erasmus. Standish, perceiving that a trap was laid for him to compel him to confess that he had been attacking a book which he had not read, replied bluntly, 'Perhaps I have read as much as I chose to read.' 'I have no doubt you have,' replied the other. 'Pray, may I ask on what arguments or authorities does Erasmus rely, that he has ventured to change the common reading in John's Gospel?' To this question, of course, the Bishop was unable to make any reply. He said he was content with the authority of Augustine, who affirms that *verbum* was a better word than *ratio* as an appellation of the Son of God. 'Yes,' said More, 'than *ratio*; but what has that to do with *sermo*?' 'Why, they are the same thing.' 'Nay,' replied his tormentor, 'they are very different; and it is not very wise of you to attack a man who has rendered such good service to the cause of letters, without having either read the passage you criticize, or made yourself master of the subject.' Some time afterwards, no wiser by his defeat, Standish surprised the court by dropping reverently upon his knees in the presence of the King and Queen and a large assembly of the nobility and learned men. Every one was eager to hear what so eminent a theologian had to say, supposing it must be something of great importance. He began by pronouncing a eulogium, in English, upon the ancestors of the King and Queen, for having ever defended the Catholic church against heretics and schismatics, and he then proceeded to exhort and adjure their Majesties to follow in the footsteps of their progenitors, warning them that most dangerous times were at hand,

and that unless the books of Erasmus could be suppressed, the religion of Christ was ruined. Then, raising his hands and eyes to heaven, he prayed that Christ would condescend to aid his spouse if no one on earth would come to her defense. While he was still on his knees one of his two tormentors on the previous occasion (Sir Thomas More) stepped forward, and, having said how much he admired the pious harangue of the reverend father, begged that, as he had alarmed their Majesties so much, he would now be good enough to point out what it was in the books of Erasmus from which he apprehended such terrible consequences. He replied he would do so at once, and, reckoning on his fingers, proceeded: 'First, Erasmus denies the resurrection. Second, he makes the sacrament of matrimony of no account. Lastly, he is unsound on the Eucharist.' More commended the clearness of his statement, and observed that nothing now remained but that he should prove his assertions. 'Certainly,' replied the other; and, beginning with his thumb, 'First,' said he, 'that he denied the resurrection, I prove thus: Paul, in the Epistle to the Colossians (he meant Corinthians) writes thus: "We shall all rise, but we shall not all be changed" (the reading of the Vulgate); but Erasmus has altered the reading of the church, and from his Greek copies reads as follows: "We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed." It is clear that he denies the resurrection.' Presently the poor Bishop was led into a still greater absurdity, if that were possible, and said that Jerome had restored the true reading from the Hebrew; till at length the King took pity on his incurable stupidity, and diverted the conversation to some other subject." (*Epistola* clxvi).

three years there was a demand for another edition, and this also

The publication of the New Testament was a success. Within was speedily exhausted, although the two together amounted to 3,300 folio copies. The second edition appeared in the beginning of 1519, and is interesting because it forms the basis of Luther's German translation. A third edition appeared in 1522, and is remarkable because it was the first edition to contain the so-called *comma Johanneum*, i.e., 1 John v. 7, the testimony of the three witnesses. A fourth and much improved edition appeared in 1527.

print and publish the Christian Scriptures in their original tongue. Imperfect as his text was, because prepared with great haste, it became the forerunner of the so-called *textus receptus*, and readings which modern critics and the revisers reject are found in the Erasmusian text.

The New Testament text is followed by Annotations on the same. The preface is dated 1515; the colophon at the end has the date 1516. The notes betray the scholarly attainments of Erasmus. The Old Testament quotations he gives in the original Hebrew. Which Hebrew text he used we know not. In his day he had the choice of the Soucinian Bible, the first and complete Hebrew Bible published at Soucino in 1488, and Gerson's edition, published at Brescia in 1494, and remarkable for being the one from which Luther's German translation was made.¹² As far as I have been able to examine a number of these quotations, they agree with the latest editions of the Hebrew Bible. The text is everywhere the same, because we have only the so-called masoretic, i. e., traditional text. Even the *Biblia Hebraica*, edited by R. Kittel (3d ed., Leipsic, 1913) is nothing but the masoretic text. Interesting as were the notes on the New Testament, they were by no means confined to questions of textual criticism. There was other matter in them, and the notes were made the vehicle for conveying the opinions of the writer upon the manners of the time and the abuses in the church. He has the boldness to deny the primacy of Peter, and in his note on the famous text, Matt. xvi. 18, "Upon this rock I will build my church," he expresses his surprise that any should have so perverted the meaning as to refer the words exclusively to the Roman Pontiff (*proinde misor esse, qui locum hunc detorqueant ad Romanum pontificem*).

The statement in Acts ix. 43, that Peter lodged "with one Simon a tanner," calls forth the exclamation, "Oh! how great a guest—the very chief of apostles—to lodge with so humble an entertainer! In our days three royal palaces scarce suffice to receive Peter's vicar." (*O quantus hospes et apostolici culminis princeps apud cujusmodi diversatur hospitem? Nunc trium regum palatia vix sufficerent excipiendo Petri vicario.*)

His boldness and freedom of criticism Erasmus shows when, e. g., he states that Luke's style is purer than that of the rest of the Evangelists, owing to his acquaintance with Greek literature (*ob Graecarum peritiam literarum*). He rejected the Pauline origin

¹² The copy of the Hebrew Bible which Luther used is to be found in the Royal Library at Berlin.

of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The epistle, he says, breathes the spirit of Paul, but it is not at all in his style (*stilus ipse et orationis character, qui nihil habet affinitatis cum phrasi Paulina*). He doubts whether the Apocalypse be the work of John the Apostle, and to Chap. I, 4 he remarks: it must be honestly conceded the Greek has no meaning whatever (*ingenue fatendum est Graecum sermonem nihil omnino significare*).

These few specimens may suffice to call attention to this work of Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam, who died July 12, 1536, and was buried in the Protestant cathedral at Basel. From a Protestant point of view we may regret his position against Luther, thereby injuring both his own reputation and the progress of the movement among scholars. But we can never forget the immense debt of gratitude which we owe to the first editor of the Greek New Testament, who enabled Luther and Tyndale to make their translations of the word of life from the original, and to lead men to the very fountain of all that is most valuable and permanent in the Reformation. This edition, though hastily prepared, became the basis of the popularly received text. His exegetical opinions still receive and deserve the attention of the commentators. "To him we also owe the first scholarly editions of the Fathers, especially of Jerome, with whom he was most in sympathy. From these editions the Reformers drew their weapons of patristic controversy with the Romanists, who always appealed to the fathers of the Nicene age rather than to the grandfathers of the apostolic age. . . . He never was a Protestant, and never meant to be one. Division and separation did not enter into his program. From beginning to end he labored for a reformation within the church and within the papacy, not without it. But the new wine burst the old bottles. The reform which he set in motion went beyond him, and left him behind. In some of his opinions, however, he was ahead of his age, and anticipated a more modern stage of Protestantism. He was as much a forerunner of rationalism as of the Reformation" (Schaff).

DESIDERIUS ERASMUS.

AND HIS SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE REFORMATION.

BY C. K. OGDEN.

IT is a great tribute to a writer's intellectual insight that the twentieth century should be able to forget an intervening five hundred years and recognize him as a "modern." Our way of looking at things is so radically different from that of our predecessors that we often seem debarred from communion with them. In science, as Dr. Carus has pointed out, "a genuine truth (i. e., a formula describing the genuine features of a definite set of facts) if once proved to be true, will remain true for ever. We may see old truths in a new light, we may better and ever better learn to understand their significance and also the relation between several truths; but a truth will always remain true." Of the truths of science as recognized to-day the vast majority have been established in comparatively recent times, moreover we now see a great number of older scientific truths "in a new light." But in matters of human nature, where science is less at home, the reverse is often true. It is we who are led to see our own problems in "a new light" when we study those great masters of bygone days whose works are for all time. Among those who help us to understand ourselves as they speak to us out of the past, if Plato is one, Erasmus is assuredly another.

"Plato," Erasmus remarks somewhere, "wrote with a diamond upon marble": and his own words might well be applied to the profoundest thinker of the age of the Renaissance and the Reformation. Over and over again, as we turn over the pages of the serried volumes of the *Opera*, we are aware of the flashes of insight which annihilate the centuries that separate his *floruit* from ours. There were divines in Erasmus's day no less than in ours: They

fence themselves in with so many surrounders of magisterial definitions, conclusions, corollaries, propositions explicit and implicit, that there is no falling in with them; or if they do chance to be urged to a seeming *non-plus*, yet they find out so many evasions that all the art of man can never bind them so fast but that an easy distinction shall give them a starting-hole to escape the scandal of being baffled.... They are exquisitely dexterous in unfolding the most intricate mysteries: they will tell you to a tittle all the successive proceedings of Omnipotence in the creation of the universe; they will explain the precise manner of original sin being derived from our first parents; they will satisfy you in what manner, by what degrees, and in how long a time, our Saviour was conceived in the Virgin's womb, and demonstrate in the consecrated wafer how accidents may subsist without a subject. Nay, these are accounted trivial, easy questions; they have yet far greater difficulties behind, which notwithstanding they solve with as much expedition as the former; as namely, whether supernatural generation requires any instant of time for its acting? whether Christ, as a son, bears a specifically distinct relation to God the Father, and his virgin mother? whether this proposition can be true, that the first person of the Trinity hated the second? whether God, who took our nature upon him in the form of a man, could as well have become a woman, a devil, a beast, a herb, or a stone? and were it so possible that the Godhead has appeared in any shape of an inanimate substance, how he should then have preached his gospel? or how have been nailed to the cross? whether, if St. Peter had celebrated the eucharist at the same time our Saviour was hanging on the cross, the consecrated bread would have been transubstantiated into the same body that remained on the tree? whether in Christ's corporeal presence in the sacramental wafer his humanity be not abstracted from his Godhead? whether after the resurrection we shall carnally eat and drink as we do in this life? There are a thousand other more sublimated and refined niceties of notions, relations, quantities, formalities, quiddities, haecceities, and such like abstrusities as one would think no one could pry into except he had not only such cat's eyes as to see best in the dark but even such a piercing faculty as to see through an inch-board and spy out what really never had any being."¹

Thus in a few words has Erasmus characterized the professional

¹ *In Praise of Folly*, 1509, pp. 130-132. I quote from the very convenient shilling reprint issued with Holbein's designs by Allen & Unwin in their "Sesame" Library.

theologians of all ages, and the passage also serves to introduce us to his significance as the great literary precursor of the Reformation. Erasmus was the humanist *par excellence*. He hated the barren verbalism which had barred intellectual progress on every side, the spirit of medievalism weighing heavily on true learning. With equal indignation he loathed the hypocritical ceremonialism which was its monastic counterpart,—“Can anything be more witless than the practice of attending the things without, things that have no bearing on your soul at all, while you ignore completely the working of your own heart and the things that vitally concern you?” Of the monks themselves Erasmus makes Folly say: “While men of this class are so execrated by every one that the casual meeting of them is considered a bad omen, I yet cause them to stand very high in their own estimation and to be fond admirers of their own happiness. First, they think they give a very plain proof of their piety by having nothing to do with learning, so that they can scarcely ever read. Next, while in their churches they bray out like asses the psalms which they count indeed, but do not understand, they think that God listens, well pleased, to their melody.” Reference is made to the filthy condition of mendicant friars—“very delightful men who are remarkable only for their dirt, their ignorance, their clownish manners and their impudence” and pretend that they are the genuine successors of the Apostles. “What gives them greater pleasure than to regulate their actions by weight and measure, as if their religion depended on the omission of the least point?” Small wonder then if Luther and the Reformers thought they had in Erasmus a champion after their own heart.

In March, 1519, we find Luther writing in terms of warm approval to Erasmus, who is regarded as reigning in the hearts of all who love literature. Erasmus in reply advises the *via media*, and attacks not on persons but on abuses. But a very short time afterward we find mistrust arising, and Erasmus writes to Wolsey full of grave fears that the progress of learning may be impeded by injudicious agitators: “As to Luther he is altogether unknown to me, and I have read nothing of his except two or three pages—not because I dislike him but because my own studies and occupations do not give me leisure to do so. But yet as I hear, some persons say that I have assisted him. If he has written well, the praise must not be given to me, and if he has written ill I ought not to be blamed, since in all his writings there is not a line which came from me. His life is universally commended; and it is an argument in his favor that his character is unblamable. I was once against

Luther because I was afraid that he would bring an odium upon literature, which is already too much suspected of evil; for I know full well how invidious it is to oppose those opinions which bring so plentiful a harvest of gain to the priests and monks."

The earlier letters of Luther to and about Erasmus are full of hope and admiration, but he was to be sadly disappointed. And in order to understand more clearly why the disappointment was inevitable let us turn to the life of Luther's critic and see what manner of man he was. And first of all we must note that this Desiderius Erasmus who was born at Rotterdam in 1467 and was not less at home in England, France, Germany, Italy and Switzerland than in his native country, was not the creature of any ordinary conditions or environment. That he was born out of wedlock is only one of the features which distinguished his earliest days from those of other mortals, and his very name tells a literary tale. In an age of classical revival children were thus afflicted by turgid appellations. His father's simple name, Gerhard ("beloved"), was translated by a cumbersome combination of tautologous solecisms. Against the pedantry and ignorance here typified it was the great scholar's mission to struggle for the rest of his life. At the age of thirteen, when he lost both his parents, he had already lived in Rotterdam, Gouda, Utrecht and Deventer. As in the case of so many other great minds it is doubtful whether the loss was not without its advantages; for to judge by the action of the three guardians into whose hands he now fell, his father must have been a man in some ways singularly devoid of judgment and discretion. Like nearly all highly-strung persons Erasmus always looks back upon his early years, his schooldays and his guardians with a shudder. After wasting three years at a seminary in Bois-le-Duc subsequent to his removal from the Deventer school, he came for the first time into conflict with organized religion in the shape of a conspiracy to force him into the monastic life. To this affair we owe one of the most delightful pieces of autobiographical reminiscence, in the form of a letter to his friend Grunnius. Erasmus and his brother are beset by their guardians who visit them in turn. The first hears their refusal in a spirit very far from Christian—"He became red with anger, as if a blow with the fist had been given to him; so that although he always seemed to be a man of somewhat gentle disposition, now he had no power to control his anger, and shame alone prevented him from striking him. Regarding Florentius with a look of utter scorn, he called him an idle, spiritless rascal; resigned his guardianship; refused any longer to guarantee them the means

of subsistence; told them that nothing was left, and that they must provide for themselves. With these and many other cruel and bitter reproaches he loaded the younger of the two, which drew from him a few childish tears but did not cause him to alter his purpose. 'We accept,' he said, 'your resignation of the guardianship, and release you from your charge.' Thus they separated. When the guardian saw that he had gained nothing by threats and reproaches he summoned to his aid his brother guardian, a man of wonderfully insinuating manner and pleasing address. The meeting took place in a summer-house; the boys were told to sit down; and wine-glasses were produced. After some agreeable conversation they proceeded to business more carefully and in a different manner. They were very bland, told many lies; held out to them great expectations from it; and added entreaties. The elder brother, worked upon in this manner, found his resolution giving way and forgot the oath which he had taken more than once to be firm. The younger adhered to his determination. In short, the faithless Antonius, betraying his brother, took the yoke upon him, having first stolen whatever he could lay his hands upon—not at all a new proceeding with him. With him indeed everything went prosperously. For he was a man of sluggish mind, of a strong constitution, careful about his worldly interests, cunning, a hard drinker, much given to fornication; in short, so unlike the younger that he almost seemed like a supposititious child."

There is not a little conceit here, but Erasmus was too great a man not to be as conscious of it as his readers. The sequel gives further autobiographical details of the greatest interest, and we see how early and how well Erasmus came to understand the religious practices against which he inveighs. At length he succumbed to pressure and entered the monastery of Stein where he "acted like those who are shut up in prison." He solaced himself as far as possible with his studies. This work he "must do privately though he might be intoxicated openly." In another letter he reiterates his dislike—"I never liked the monastic life, and I liked it less than ever after I had tried it; but I was ensnared in the way I have mentioned."

It is instructive to note the lines which his objection takes. It is always that of the cultured scholar, the man of taste who cannot bear to have his interests cramped, and whose soul rebels against boorishness, formality and narrowness. There is none of the fire of the iconoclast. Given freedom to complete his intellectual development, one feels that Erasmus would perhaps have been ready

to condone the moral failings of the church against which Luther rose in arms. Indeed a story told of this period of his life by Le Clerc has a decided ring of reality about it. The scene is laid in the garden of the monastery, in which the Superior reserved to himself the luscious fruit of a pear tree which was a special temptation to monkish palates. Some of the pears, having found their way to the interior of Erasmus, were duly missed. The Superior rose early and Erasmus was up the tree. His intellect saved him at the expense of his morals; for, nimbly descending, he imitated the limp of a lame lay brother in the monastery, and, well aware that he was being observed from a distance, thus gained safety for himself and a severe penance for the innocent owner of the limp.

At length relief came in his twenty-ninth year, when the bishop of Cambray provided him with the means of prosecuting his studies at the Montaigu College at Paris. Here insanitary conditions told on his health: "Some sleeping apartments," he says, "were on the ground floor, having mouldy plaster walls, near pestilential latrinae. All who lodged in them were sure to die or to have a bad illness." Erasmus contracted the latter, though apparently not before he had had time to make the acquaintance of the allurements of the Latin Quarter. Moreover the bishop's support could no longer be relied upon. A fresh patron had to be found, and in the quest there was nothing to which Erasmus would not stoop. In one letter his friend James Battus, who was endeavoring to round up the Marchioness de Veere for this purpose, is reminded that Erasmus has bad eyesight. "Coax her with the neatest words you can command into sending me a sapphire or some other gem that is good for weak eyes." Fortunately for Erasmus sapphires and other gems, or their monetary equivalent, were forthcoming, not always from the lady in question, but eventually from one who enabled him to visit England, his pupil Lord Mountjoy.

* * *

The visit of Erasmus to England in 1499 was a turning point in his career and of the deepest significance for his relations to the Reformers. The story of his life at Oxford and his friendship with Colet, More, and other liberal-minded Englishmen is too well known to require further mention here. England pleased him greatly: "Besides, there is a custom here in vogue which cannot be overpraised. Visitors are greeted with a kiss. It is thus you are saluted on arrival, it is thus leave is taken of you at your going; should you return kisses and go where you may find kisses—kisses

everywhere." Again, "The climate is agreeable and healthful, and this scholarship of its learned men is not in the least peddling or shallow." In 1500 Erasmus left this delightful isle for Paris, Orleans, Brussels and Tournemens, improving his style and his knowledge of Greek and publishing voluminously. Of these earlier efforts the *Adagia* and the *Enchiridion* were an immediate success.

In 1505 Erasmus paid a brief visit to Cambridge, and the next three years, 1506-1509, he spent in the midst of the humanistic revival in Italy, and satisfied himself as to the predominantly temporal ambitions of the pope. Italy was in a state of military turmoil, and Erasmus makes the shrewd comment: "When princes purpose to exhaust a commonwealth they speak of a 'just war.'" In Humanism itself Erasmus opened a new period. The generations which had discovered and classified the new materials had passed away. Gone too were the giants who congregated round Cosmo de Medici, and gone the more academic stylists like Ficino and Poliziano. To Erasmus it was left to cull the choicest fruits of humanism and hand them to a wider literary public than had as yet been reached. To him it was left to battle with the supreme enemy, ignorance. This was his mission, and on its fulfilment he set his heart. The Reformers misunderstood his ideals and claimed him too eagerly as one of themselves. A reaction was inevitable, but before we pass to this later phase let us record that in 1510 Erasmus acceded to Mountjoy's request that he should return to England. The *Encomium Moriae*, written in More's house, was an immediate literary result, and Erasmus then proceeded to Cambridge to undertake his great work, the collation of the Greek text of the New Testament.

But there is another reason why Erasmus's sojourn in Cambridge may be considered in greater detail, for these words are written scarcely a hundred yards from the turret of red brick at the southeast angle of the small court in Queens' College known as the court of Erasmus. In a lecture delivered in Cambridge in 1890 by Sir Richard Jebb, then Regius Professor of Greek, occurs the following passage: "His study was probably a good-sized room which is now used as a lecture room; on the floor above this was his bedroom, with an adjoining attic for his servant. . . . [Not far from the rooms there is a walk on the west side of the river known still as the walk of Erasmus, though the locality has undergone many changes since the early sixteenth century, when it was probably not even laid out.] . . . His first letter from Cambridge is dated December, 1510, and this date must be right, or nearly so. He says

himself that he taught Greek here before he lectured on theology, and also that after his arrival the commencement of his Greek teaching was delayed by ill health. . . . It is interesting to think of him—now a man of forty-four, but prematurely old in appearance—moving about the narrow streets or quiet courts of that medieval Cambridge which was just about to become the modern—a transformation due in no small measure to the influence of his own labors. Eleven of our colleges existed. Peterhouse was in the third century of its life; others were also of a venerable age.”²

Erasmus was elected Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge in 1511, a chair now filled by Dr. Bethune-Baker as successor to Dean Inge. The mutual influence of Erasmus and Cambridge is of great importance; for then, as now, Cambridge took pride in being in the van of intellectual progress. In 1516 his pupil Bullock wrote: “People here are devoting themselves eagerly to Greek literature.” In 1520 Erasmus himself declared: “Theology is flourishing at Paris and at Cambridge and nowhere else, and why? Because they are adapting themselves to the tendencies of the age, because the new studies, which are ready if need be to storm an entrance, are not repelled by them as foes but received as welcome guests.”

Erasmus tells a story in the *Colloquies* which probably belongs to this period and which is of special interest to-day in view of its bearing on the Angels of Mons. With his friend Pole and others he was riding one day to Richmond. Among the party, says Erasmus, “there were some whom you would call discreet men. The sky was wonderfully serene; there was not the appearance of a cloud upon it. Pole, looking with fixed eyes upwards, made the sign of the cross on his face and shoulders; and composing his features so as to express the feeling uppermost in his mind, uttered an exclamation of wonder. When those who rode next to him asked him what he saw, again marking himself with a larger cross, he exclaimed, ‘May a most merciful God avert from us this prodigy.’ When they pressed upon him, eager to know what was the matter, fixing his eyes upon the sky, and pointing to a particular part of it, he said, ‘Do you not see there a large dragon, armed with fiery

for they were ashamed not to see what was so very plain. In short, within three days the report was spread all over England that this wonderful sight had been seen. It is surprising how much popular report added to the story. Some gave a serious interpretation to this prodigy. He who had invented it laughed heartily at their folly."

* * *

Certainly Erasmus did not share the superstitions of his age, and he gives an amusing account of a visit made in the autumn of 1513 from Cambridge to the shrine of our Lady of Walsingham. Menedemus and Ogygius are conversing:

"*Men.*—Where then does she reside?

"*Og.*—In the church which I have described as unfinished there is a narrow wooden chapel, with a narrow wicket on each side for the admission and departure of the pilgrims. There is scarcely any light in it excepting from wax tapers. A fragrant odor is diffused through it.

"*Men.*—All this harmonizes well with religious worship.

"*Og.*—If, Menedemus, you look inside, you will say that it is an abode worthy of the saints; for it is resplendent with jewels, gold and silver. . . . In the innermost chapel, which I have called the shrine of the Blessed Virgin, a canon stands near the altar.

"*Men.*—For what purpose?

"*Og.*—To receive and guard the offerings.

"*Men.*—Do those give who are unwilling to do so?

"*Og.*—Certainly not. A kind of pious modesty actuates some, who will give if any one be near, or will give rather more than they intended, but who will give nothing if there is no one to see them.

"*Men.*—That is a natural feeling, and one not altogether unknown to me.

"*Og.*—Nay, there are some so devoted to the most holy Virgin, that while they pretend to put an offering on the altar, they take away with wonderful dexterity what some one else has placed upon it. . . . We are told that the fountain is sacred to the blessed Virgin. The water is very cold, and is of service for the headache and stomach-ache.

"*Men.*—If cold water should serve as a cure for pains of this description we may hereafter expect oil to extinguish fire.

"*Og.*—You are hearing of a miracle, my good man. If this cold water could only quench our thirst, there would be nothing

miraculous in it; and this is only one part of the story. . . . The fountain is said to have suddenly sprung forth from the earth at the command of the most holy Virgin. As I was carefully looking round at everything, I asked how many years ago that little house had been brought to that place. The answer was, 'Several centuries.' 'But the walls,' I said, 'do not show any signs of age.' He did not deny it. 'Nor,' I continued, 'do these wooden posts.' He admitted that they had been lately placed there, and indeed the thing spoke for itself. 'Then this roof and thatch seem to be new.' He agreed with me. 'Even these cross-beams, too, and the rafters on which the straws rest, seem to have been fixed not many years ago.' He nodded assent. When I had thus disposed of every part of the house, I asked him, 'How does it appear that the house has been brought from a great distance?'

Men.—Oh, tell me how he got out of this difficulty.

Og.—Why, he showed us a very old bear-skin fixed to the rafters and almost laughed at our dulness because we did not see this convincing proof of the truth of what he said. Convinced in this manner, and admitting that we were dull indeed, we turned to the heavenly milk of the blessed Virgin.

Men.—The mother in truth seems to be exactly like the Son. He left a large quantity of His blood in the world; she has left far more milk than you could suppose that a woman who has brought forth one child could produce, even if the infant had drunk none of it.

Og.—They make the same pretense respecting the wood of the cross, which is shown in public and private in so many places. If all the fragments were brought together they would seem a proper load for a merchant ship, and yet our Lord carried the whole of His cross.

Men.—Does not this appear strange to you?

Og.—It may be said to be something new, but scarcely strange, since the Lord, who increases it at His pleasure, is omnipotent.

Men.—You give a pious explanation of the matter, but I fear that many of these things are invented for gain.

Og.—I do not think that God will allow any one to mock Him in this manner. . . . But now hear what I have to say to you besides. That milk is kept on the high altar in the middle of which is Christ, with His mother on the right hand, at the post of honor. For the milk represents the Virgin Mother.

Men.—It can, then, be seen?

Og.—Yes, in a crystal vessel.

Men.—It is, then, liquid?

Og.—How can you suppose it to be liquid when it is more than 1500 years old? It is concrete, and looks like beaten chalk tempered with the white of an egg.”

* * *

We have touched on the main influences in the life of Erasmus up to the year 1514, when he left England, aged forty-seven, at the height of his powers and of his influence. From this time onward we may date that later period of his life which is agitated more particularly by the problems of the Reformation. His departure from Cambridge was hastened by an outbreak of plague in 1513 which altered the life of the university hardly less than the present war. Silence reigned in the cloisters; and by the end of the year Erasmus had decided for this and other reasons to leave the place. In February, 1514, there are still references to the danger, in a letter to Gunnell. “In England just now to change one’s locality is only to vary the danger, and not to escape it.” But an even more alarming disaster was impending, and Erasmus is threatened by the economic effects of war itself. We possess an extraordinarily interesting letter in which his personal views on war are set forth for the benefit of Antony of Bergen, Abbot of St. Bertin. England begins to disappoint him. Preparations for war are quickly changing the genius of the island. Prices are rising every day, and liberality is decreasing. “It is only natural that men so frequently taxed should be sparing in their gifts. And not long ago, in consequence of the scarcity of wine, I was nearly killed by stone, contracted out of the wretched liquor that I was forced to drink. Moreover, while every island is in some degree a place of banishment, we are now confined more closely than ever by war, insomuch that it is difficult even to get a letter sent out. And I see that some great disturbances are arising, the issues of which are uncertain. I trust it may please God mercifully to allay this tempest in the Christian world.”

And then with wonderful power he declares his belief in the incompatibility of Christianity and war: “I often wonder what thing it is that drives, I will not say Christians, but men, to such a degree of madness as to rush with so much pains, so much cost, so much risk, to the destruction of one another. For what are we doing all our lives but making war? The brute beasts do not all engage in war, but only some wild kinds; and those do not fight among themselves, but with animals of a different species. They fight too with their natural arms, and not like us with machines,

upon which we expand an ingenuity worthy of devils. For us, who glory in the name of Christ, of a master who taught and exhibited nothing but gentleness, who are members of one body, and are one flesh, quickened by the same spirit, fed by the same sacraments, attached to the same Head, called to the same immortality, hoping for that highest communion, that as Christ and the Father are one, so we may be one with Him,—can anything in the world be of so great concern as to provoke us to war, a thing so calamitous and so hateful that even when it is most righteous no truly good man can approve it. Think, I beseech you, who are those employed in it. Cut-throats, gamblers, whoremongers, the meanest hireling soldiers, to whom a little gain is dearer than life,—these are your best warriors when what they once did at their peril they do now for gain and with applause. This scum of mankind must be received into your fields and into your cities in order that you may wage war; in fact you make yourself a slave to them in your anxiety to be revenged on others.”

Then Erasmus comes to the full indictment of the horrors of war: “Consider too,” he bursts out, “how many crimes are committed under pretext of war, when, as they say, In the midst of arms, laws are silent; how many thefts, how many acts of sacrilege, how many rapes, how many other abuses which one is ashamed even to name; and this moral contagion cannot but last for many years, even when the war is over. And if you count the cost you will see how even if you conquer you lose much more than gain. What kingdom can you set against the lives and blood of so many thousand men? And yet the greatest amount of the mischief affects those who have no part in the fighting. The advantages of peace reach everybody; while in war for the most part even the conqueror weeps; and it is followed by such a train of calamities that there is good reason in the fiction of poets that War comes to us from Hell and is sent by the Furies. I say nothing of the revolution of states, which cannot take place without the most disastrous results.”

Why then do men slaughter one another? For the phantom of glory? “If the desire of glory tempts us to war,—that is no true glory which is mainly sought by wrongful acts. It is much more glorious to found than to overthrow, states; but in these days it is the people that builds and maintains cities, and the folly of princes that destroys them. If gain is our object, no war has ended so happily as not to have brought more evil than good to those en-

finally, when we see human affairs always changing and confused, like the ebb and flow of Euripus, what is the use of such great efforts to raise an empire, which must presently by some revolution pass to others? With how much blood was the Roman empire raised, and how soon did it begin to fall. But you will say that the rights of sovereigns must be maintained. It is not for me to speak unadvisedly about the acts of princes. I only know this, that *summum jus*,—extreme right, is often *summa injuria*,—extreme wrong; there are princes who first decide what they want, and then look out for a title with which to cloak their proceedings. And in such great changes of human affairs, among so many treaties, that have been made and abandoned, who, I ask you, need lack a title?"

Who will stop the folly? Who will arbitrate? "There are popes, there are bishops." Julius had power enough to raise the tempest—"Will not Leo, a learned, honest and pious pontiff, be able to calm it?" To-day we are asking a somewhat similar question. And he concludes on an even more effective note: "If you look a little closely you will find that it is generally the private interests of princes that give occasion to war. And I would ask you, do you consider it consistent with humanity that the world should be at any moment disturbed by war when this or that sovereign has some cause of complaint against another, or perhaps pretends to have one?"³ It is truly wonderful that Erasmus, for centuries almost alone in his far-sighted detestation of war, should have stated the problem so clearly.

* * *

Here we may pause for a moment to consider Erasmus in the flesh, for with the aid of tradition and Holbein's famous portrait we are able in some measure to realize his personal characteristics. It would be hard to improve on Sir Richard Jebb's delineation: "Erasmus was a rather small man, slight, but well built; he had, as became a Teuton, blue eyes, yellowish or light brown hair, and a fair complexion. The face is a remarkable one. It has two chief characteristics—quiet, watchful sagacity, and humor, half playful, half sarcastic. The eyes are calm, critical, steadily ob-

³ Nichols, *The Epistles of Erasmus*, 1904. Vol. II, p. 125. This excellent translation is invaluable to all who wish to go behind the meagre indications of the personality of Erasmus to which even the best biographies are confined. They enable the English reader to estimate the truth of Luther's judgment: "In the epistles of Erasmus you find nothing of any account except praise for his friends, scolding and abuse for his enemies, and that's all there is to it." For the complete works the Basel edition of 1540 or the Leyden edition of 1703 must still be consulted.

servant, with a half-latent twinkle in them; the nose is straight, rather long and pointed; the rippling curves of the large mouth indicate a certain energetic vivacity of temperament and tenacity of purpose; while the pose of the head suggests vigilant caution, almost timidity. As we continue to study the features they speak more and more clearly of insight and refinement; of a worldly yet very gentle shrewdness; of cheerful self-mastery; and of a mind which has its weapons ready at every instant. But there is no suggestion of enthusiasm—unless it be the literary enthusiasm of a student. It is difficult to imagine those cool eyes kindled by any flow of passion, or that genial serenity broken by a spiritual struggle. This man, we feel, would be an intellectual champion of truth and reason; his wit might be as the spear of Ithuriel, and his satire as the sword of Gideon; but he has not the face of a hero or a martyr.”

And the message of the face is a true one in this last respect, for it was essentially here that Erasmus differed from the zealots who led the Reformation movement. By training and by temperament, as we have already seen, Erasmus was the advocate of other methods than those adopted by the men who took up the work he had so largely inaugurated. To disperse the mists of ignorance, not to do battle with the ecclesiastics of his own generation, was the task he had set himself. To this end alone he published his Greek Testament at a time when to know Greek was the next thing to heresy. His earlier works, such as the *Enchiridion*, were aimed at corruption in the church—but corruption always as the enemy of true knowledge and literary development. Like many other polemical writings however it was only after the monks had anathematized his efforts that a ready sale was secured for them. Erasmus indeed was the first “higher critic” and one of the few “higher critics” who have been anxious for his conclusions to reach the multitudes: He desired the Scriptures to be in the hands of all: “I long,” he says, “that the husbandman should sing them to himself as he follows the plough.” Here however he speaks as a Christian, for he never really swerved from his allegiance to Rome, though an able French critic, M. Amiel, has rightly found sufficient toleration and liberality in his utterances to justify the title *Erasme un libre penseur du XVIIe siècle*. Though some of his writings are certainly pious enough, he has succeeded in incurring the displeasure of not a few representatives of orthodoxy. “He thought it unnecessary,” says a clerical biographer⁴ whose attitude on the subject is typical,

⁴ *The Life and Character of Erasmus*, by the Rev. A. R. Pennington, with a preface by the Bishop of Lincoln, London, 1875, p. 373. This is an

"to attribute everything in the Apostles to miraculous teaching. Christ, he said, suffered the Apostles to err, and that, too, after the descent of the Paraclete; but not so as to endanger the faith. He remarks that the Epistle to the Hebrews is not entirely in the style of the Apostle Paul. He doubts whether St. John the Apostle wrote the Apocalypse. He often accuses the Evangelists of lapses of memory, and I regret to say that a rationalistic spirit constantly appears in his writings."

At this point our ecclesiastic waxes reflective—"It is scarcely possible not to observe that the mind of Erasmus was essentially sceptical. He had doubts about almost everything except the existence of God and the obligation of the moral law." Some people would consider that this was going a good long way; but the Rev. gentleman rightly opines that Erasmus wished the articles of faith to be brought within a very narrow compass, and shows that in the introduction to his edition of St. Hilary occurs the following passage: "The sum of our religion is peace, which cannot easily be preserved unless we define very few points; and in most matters leave every one to form his own judgment." For the most part it is the views Erasmus expressed on the Trinity which provoke his biographer's displeasure. The Arian heresy is scented: "We cannot fail to come to the conclusion, notwithstanding his assertion to the contrary, that, with the church's consent, he would gladly have professed that creed which nullifies Christianity, by denying our Lord's consubstantiality with the Father."

* * *

As regards orthodox Christianity, then, Erasmus was and is a heretic. We have already seen how he regarded the superstitions of his age, and in writing to Andreas Critius he says: "They tell horrid stories of saints who, in many instances, punished persons for using profane expressions; insomuch that I cannot but wonder that not one out of so many should revenge himself on the authors of this prodigious devastation. As to the mildness of Christ and the Blessed Virgin, I am not at all surprised at it." In general however his particular concern was for the progress of knowledge and the spirit of free inquiry. "I am reminded that the ancient

interesting and painstaking estimate of which I have been able to make use on several occasions above. The Lives by Jortin (3 vols., 1808) and Drummond (2 vols., 1873) contain most of the available material. Froude has given us a characteristic picture-study (1894). Knight (1726), like Jebb, is concerned largely with the Cambridge period. Of recent studies, that in the Little Biographies (Capey), and Dr. Emerton's able account in Putnam's Heroes of the Reformation series, can be recommended.

translators were men of learning and that their version is sufficient for all practical purposes. I answer that I have eyes of my own and choose to use them in preference to borrowing the spectacles of others, and further, that much yet remains to be done when the gains of scholarship have been reckoned up at their highest figure." This attitude—so natural to the scholar, the book-lover, the stylist, the intellectual—the Reformers with their burning indignation and righteous zeal could not understand. In all ages the contrast has been the same between the two spirits—the advocate of revolution and the believer in peaceful penetration—between the champions of direct action and the adherents of adjustment and mutual concession. We do but witness other forms of the divergence of temperament in the distinction between Atheist and Agnostic (Haeckel and Huxley), Marxist and Fabian, Syndicalist and State-Socialist. Erasmus was the man who thought that all things should be done decently and in order. At first he had hopes of Luther; but he soon saw that the methods of the revivalist could not be his own methods. He was not charitable in his judgments, and he certainly saw all Luther's weak points. The directness and courage of the Reformers seem however to have made little impression. Nevertheless Erasmus on several occasions went out of his way to defend Luther. In 1519 he wrote to the Archbishop of Mainz: "I was sorry when Luther's books were published; and when they began showing about some of his writings I made every effort to prevent their publication lest they should become the cause of any disturbance. Luther had written to me in a very Christian tone, as I thought; and I replied, advising him incidentally not to write anything of a factious or insulting nature against the Roman pontiff, nor to encourage a proud or intolerant spirit, but to preach the gospel out of a pure heart with all meekness. I did this in gentle language in order to make the more impression; and I added that there were some here who sympathized with him, which has been very foolishly explained to mean that *I* sympathize with him; although my object evidently was to induce him to consult the judgment of others, and I am the only person who has written to give him advice. I am neither Luther's accuser, nor advocate, nor judge; his heart I would not presume to judge—for that is always a matter of extreme difficulty—still less would I condemn.

we are not bound to confess mortal sins, unless they are manifest, meaning by that known to us when we confess. Some one interpreting that as if manifest meant openly perpetrated, raised a most astounding outcry, simply from not understanding the question. It is certain that some things have been condemned in the books of Luther as heretical, which in those of Bernard or Augustine are regarded as orthodox, if not as truly religious. I advised these men at the first to abstain from such clamors, and to proceed rather by writings and by arguments. I urged in the first place that they should not publicly condemn that which they had not read—nay which they had not considered—for I will not say they did not understand; secondly, that it was unbecoming to divines, whose judgment ought ever to be most grave, to attempt to carry anything by tumult; finally, that one whose conduct was universally admitted to be blameless was no fit object for blind denunciation."

Fair though he endeavored to be, Erasmus was clearly ill at ease. He feared that the cause he had at heart might suffer in the eyes of thinking men if in any way contaminated by attacks on individuals or violence of propaganda. "I would," we read in another letter, "that Luther had followed my advice and abstained from those violent and opprobrious writings. More would have been gained and with less odium. The death of one man would be a small matter; but if the monks should succeed in this attempt there will be no bearing their insolence. They will never rest till they have utterly abolished linguistic studies and all polite literature."

He steered the course which he calculated would best preserve the ship of Christian humanism whose helmsman he rightly conceived himself to be. And in his letters, as we have already seen in the case of that to Cardinal Wolsey, he usually began by carefully explaining that his knowledge of Luther and his doings was the vaguest. He was busy; he had not read the book. . . . "I have no acquaintance with Luther," he declared in an epistle to the pope written from Louvain in 1520, "nor have I ever read his books, except perhaps ten or twelve pages, and that only by snatches. From what I then saw I judged him to be well qualified for expounding the Scriptures in the manner of the Fathers—a work greatly needed in an age like this, which is so excessively given to mere subtleties, to the neglect of really important questions. Accordingly I have favored his good, but not his bad qualities, or rather I have favored Christ's glory in him. I was among the first to foresee the danger there was of this matter ending in violence,

and no one ever hated violence more than I do. Indeed I even went so far as to threaten John Froben the printer, to prevent him printing his books."

A curious sentence occurs later in the same letter: "...If any one has ever heard me defending Luther's dogmas even over the bottle, I shall not object to be called a Lutheran." Erasmus is only too anxious to wash his hands of the whole business. He foresaw that his name would be coupled with Luther's by ignorant enemies. This indeed came to pass when the bull was issued. Luther, it was said, was a pestilent fellow, but Erasmus was far worse, for it was from his breasts that Luther has sucked all the poison of his composition. "Erasmus," cried others, "laid the egg, and Luther has hatched it." Everywhere they were preached against and prayed for. Prayers were offered that as Paul from a persecutor had become a teacher of the church, even so Luther and Erasmus might be converted. At Bruges a drunken Franciscan, in a public harangue, bellowed for hours against Luther and Erasmus, calling them beasts, asses, cranes and clods.⁵

Erasmus was miserable. The honor was one he had not coveted! His mistrust of the Reformers developed into dislike. Naturally the blunt honesty of the men of action was shocked. Erasmus seemed to them a timorous hypocrite. Luther did not make his disappointment public; but Ulrich von Hutten could not contain his fury. With the instinct of a soldier he rushed his *Expostulatio* into print: "Your insatiable ambition for fame, your greed for glory which makes it impossible for you to bear the growing powers of any one else; and then the lack of steadiness in your mind, which has always displeased me in you as unworthy of your greatness and led me to believe that you were terror-stricken by the threats of these men." These, he tells Erasmus, are the weaknesses which have caused his backsliding—"Finally I explain it to myself by the pettiness of your mind, which makes you afraid of everything and easily thrown into despair, for you had so little faith in the progress of our cause, especially when you saw that some of the chief princes of Germany were conspiring against us, that straightway you thought you must not only desert us but must also seek their goodwill by every possible means."

Erasmus was thoroughly roused and published his *Spongia* to wipe off the mud whereby he had been bespattered. His defense is a monument of linguistic skill. It is typical of the literary man with a love for legal niceties, and with no really vital interest in

⁵ Drummond, *Erasmus*, II, 51.

the problem he is discussing. But even more typical of the academic temperament is the choice of *casus belli* with Luther. He embarks on the eternally barren speculation concerning the freedom of the will. With great ceremony and learning he inveighs against the Augustinian doctrine of predestination—only to decide, as Dr. Emerton has well put it, “that the question has two sides to it, but without giving that kind of decided utterance which the critical moment demanded.” Luther replied with a defense of commotion and violence, and a frank and vigorous statement of his exact belief. The Lutherans continued the battle with the weapons Erasmus had put into their hands; Erasmus stood aside, feeling, as he wrote to Bishop Fisher in 1524, that he was encircled by three groups of foes—the pagan humanists, the obscurantists, and the Lutheran fanatics. Luther in his *Table Talk* even went so far as to describe his opponent as “the vilest miscreant that ever disgraced the earth.” Picturesque vituperation was however a failing of Erasmus also, and Luther was generally repaid in his own coin.

Sir Richard Jebb has selected as typical of the difference between the two men the story of Luther being awakened in the night by a noise in his room. He lit a candle but could find nothing; then he became certain that the invisible Enemy of his soul was present—and yet he lay down and went calmly to sleep. “There is the essence of the man—the intensely vivid sense of the supernatural, and the instinctive recourse to it as an explanation—and the absolute faith. Erasmus was once in a town where a powder-magazine exploded and destroyed a house which had harbored evil-doers: some one remarked that this showed the divine anger against guilt; Erasmus quietly answered that, if such anger was indeed there, it was rather against the folly which had built a powder-magazine so near a town. The man who said that could never have fought at Luther’s side.”

Yet the part played by Erasmus in the struggles which allowed the successful culmination of the Lutheran agitation was a very important one. No one, in an age of earnest men, did more to call the world to the serious study of fundamental problems; few in any age have done so much to advance the cause of enlightenment and to instil a reverence for sincerity and truth. His untiring energy from boyhood to a ripe old age was incredibly productive, in spite of his weak constitution and continuous illness. A curious glimpse of the private troubles of Erasmus, and of the sprightly vigor which distinguishes all his correspondence, is found in the

following letter written from Cambridge to his benefactor, Archbishop Warham.

“Your Erasmus,” he says, “has a dangerous and terrible fit of the stone, which has cast him into the hands of doctors and apothecaries, that is, of butchers and harpies. I am still in labor; I feel the pangs within me. . . . I think that this pain is owing to the drinking of beer which for several days I have been forced to use instead of wine. These are the unhappy fruits of a war with France.” To this the archbishop whimsically rejoined: “I hope that you are purged of your gravel and stones, the rather because the Feast of the Purgation of the Virgin Mary is lately over. What mean these stones in your body? What is it you would build upon this rock? I cannot think that you design a noble house or any edifice of this kind. And therefore, since you have no occasion for your stones, pray part with them as soon as you can and give any money to carry them off. I would gladly give money to bring them to my buildings. That you may do so more easily, and not be wanting to yourself, I have sent you by a London goldsmith’s son thirty nobles, which I would have you change into ten legions, to help to drive away the distemper. Gold is a good medicine and has a great deal of virtue in it. Apply it to the recovery of your health which I would be glad to purchase for you at a higher price. For I know that you have a great many excellent works to publish which cannot be finished without health and strength.” Though in many respects, as the reader will infer, they bear the marks of the age in which they were written, the letters of Erasmus are among the most interesting correspondence extant. Erasmus has an epistolary style which is all his own, combining the quaintness and charm of the eighteenth century with the freshness and breadth of outlook which forms so pleasing a feature of the age of awakening and discovery.

* * *

Let us conclude by returning to the one great topic of to-day as an appropriate theme for the “modernity” of Erasmus—here so modern that he may still be regarded as many years ahead of the times. Erasmus, as we have already seen, was one of the

potentates had been planned—to consist of Maximilian, Francis I, Henry VIII and Charles. They were to enter in the most solemn manner “into mutual and indissoluble engagements to preserve peace with each other and consequently peace throughout Europe,” but, says Erasmus, “certain persons who get nothing by peace and a great deal by war, threw obstacles in the way and prevented this truly kingly purpose from being carried into execution.” Full of indignation he penned the *Querela Pacis*.⁶ Peace is made to speak in her own person: “If I, Peace, am extolled at one and the same time by God and man, as the fountain, the source, the nurse, the patroness, the guardian of every good thing in heaven and earth, if apart from me nothing anywhere prospers, nothing is safe, nothing is pure or holy, nothing is either delightful to man or well-pleasing to God; if on the other hand war is briefly a veritable ocean containing evils of any and every kind; if at its coming things that were flourishing began to wither, things that were developing are arrested by decay, things that were established totter to the fall, things that were made to endure utterly perish, and things sweet at length become bitter; if war is an unhallowed thing to the extent that it is the deadliest bane to all piety and religion; if there is nothing more deleterious to men or more abhorrent to heaven, I ask in the name of the ever-living God, who can believe that those rational creatures possess any soundness of mind at all who expend such vast wealth, waste such enthusiasm, enter upon undertakings so great, expose themselves to so many perils in the endeavor to drive me away from them and to purchase at so high a price so appalling an array of sorrows?” If dumb creatures regarded her as an object of hatred, Peace could pardon their ignorance seeing that they are denied the powers of mind necessary to the recognition of her unique gifts. “But it is a fact at once shameful and marvelous that though Nature has formed only one animal endowed with reason, capable of the thought of God, one that is innately benevolent and sympathetic, yet I can more readily find tolerance among the wildest of wild beasts and the most brutal of brutes than among men.”

More than five years previously, in 1511, Erasmus had written of war as “a thing so fierce and cruel as to be more suitable to wild beasts than to men, so impious that it cannot at all be reconciled with Christianity.” Nevertheless even the Christian pontiffs make it the one business to which they give their attention: “Among them

you may see decrepit old men display the energy of a youthful spirit, deterred by no cost, fatigued by no labors, if so they can turn laws, religion, peace and all human affairs upside down. Nor are there wanting learned flatterers who to this plain insanity give the name of zeal, of piety and of fortitude, having devised a way in which a man may draw his sword and sheath it in his brother's body without any violation of Christian charity." And in the remarkable letter to Antony of Bergen, which we have already quoted in part, he asks pointedly, "What do you suppose the Turks think when they hear that Christian princes are raging with so much fury against each other."

To-day we can no longer appeal even to the Turks. But one day the humanist ideal for which Erasmus stood, will triumph, and we shall regard him not only as the protagonist of the conflict between the new knowledge and the old, between formalism and life; but as the symbol of a practical internationalism which the men whose civilization had still a bond of union in the Latin language could perhaps envisage more clearly than the warring nations of to-day.

THE DANGER TO CIVILIZATION.

BY BERTRAND RUSSELL.

IN the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, men commonly congratulated themselves that they lived in an era of enlightenment and progress, very far removed from the ignorance, superstition and barbarity of the dark ages. Progress in civilization came to seem natural and certain, no longer needing deliberate effort for its realization. Under the influence of a fancied security, men gradually came to value less consciously the effort after mental advancement. But history gives no justification for the sense of security, and the present war, to those who view it as an historical event, not simply as a vehicle for their own passions, affords grave reason for fear that the civilization we have slowly built up is in danger of self-destruction. This aspect of the war has been too little considered on both sides, the fear of defeat and the longing for victory have made men oblivious of the common task of Europe and of the work which Europe had been performing for mankind at large. In all that has made the nations of the West important to the world, they run the risk of being involved in a common disaster, so great and so terrible that it will outweigh, to the historian in the future, all the penalties of military defeat and all the glories of military victory.

Over and over again, in the past, the greatest civilizations have been destroyed or degraded by war. The fighting which Homer has taught us to regard as glorious swept away the Mycenaean civilization, which was succeeded by centuries of confused and barbarous conflict. The speech of Pericles to the Athenians at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war has been thought worthy of a place among recruiting appeals in the London Underground Railway; yet the war which he recommended by recalling the greatness of Athenian civilization proved in fact to be its end, and Athenians born after the war added almost nothing to the world's permanent

possessions. It is impossible to imagine a more sinister precedent than that war, in which the most fruitful and splendid civilization the world has known was brought to an end for ever by pride of power and love of battle. The Roman civilization which succeeded it, though less productive, might have seemed secure by its great extent, yet it perished almost completely in the barbarian invasion. The remnants out of which the modern world has grown were preserved, not by the men who fought against the barbarians, but by monks who retired from the strife and devoted their lives to religion. And in modern times, the Thirty Years' War had an influence, impossible to overestimate, in brutalizing the German character and making the level of humane feeling lower than that of nations less subject to the degrading influence of invasion and rapine.

When we consider the world in a broad historical retrospect, it is what nations have added to civilization that makes us permanently honor them, not what they have achieved in conquest and dominion. Great conquerors, such as Attila, Timur and Zenghis Khan, trample across the pages of history full of noise and fury, signifying nothing: like an earthquake or a plague, they come and pass, leaving only a record of destruction and death. The Jews and Greeks, the Roman, and the modern nations of Western Europe have contributed almost everything that has been added in historical times to creation and diffusion of what is permanently valuable in human life. The Romans spread throughout their empire what had been created by the Jews in religion, by the Greeks in art and science; on this foundation, after a long interval of barbarism, the Italians, the French, the English and the Germans built the world in which we have hitherto lived. The progress in which we have rejoiced has not grown up by itself: it has been created and sustained by individual and collective effort. What great men have done in literature, in art, in natural knowledge, has been made available to large numbers by education. Private violence has been suppressed; the rudiments of learning have become more and more accessible to all classes; and mental activity has been continually stimulated and broadened as the progress of science liberated more and more men from the need of manual labor.

It is this achievement, imperfect as it has hitherto been, which chiefly entitles the Western nations to respect. It is the furtherance of civilization which makes us admire the Roman Empire more than that of Xerxes, or the British Empire more than that of China. It is this service to mankind that is being jeopardized by the present war. Whether, when it ends, the English, the French, or the Ger-

mans will have the energy and will to carry on the progress of the past, is a very doubtful question, depending chiefly upon the length of the war and the spirit fostered by the settlement. Of all the reasons for desiring an early peace, this is, to my mind, the strongest. The danger, great and pressing as I believe it to be, is obscured amid the clash of national ambitions, because it requires us to fix our attention on individuals, not on States. There is some risk of forgetting the good of individuals under the stress of danger to the state: yet, in the long run, the good of the state cannot be secured if the individuals have lost their vigor. In what follows, I shall ignore political issues, and speak only of the effect on separate men and women and young people; but a corresponding effect on the state must follow in the end, since the state lives only by the life of its separate citizens.

This war, to begin with, is worse than any previous war in the direct effect upon those who fight. The armies are far larger than they have ever been before, and the loss by death or permanent disablement immensely exceeds what has occurred in the past.¹ The losses are enhanced by the deadlock, which renders a purely strategical decision of the war almost impossible. We are told to regard it as a war of attrition, which means presumably that victory is hoped from the gradual extermination of the German armies. Our military authorities, apparently, contemplate with equanimity a three years' war, ending only by our excess of population: when practically all Germans of military age have been killed or maimed, it is thought that there will still remain a good many English, Russians and Italians, and perhaps a sprinkling of Frenchmen. But in the course of such destruction almost all that makes the Allied nations worth defending will have been lost: the enfeebled, impoverished remnants will lack the energy to resume the national life which existed before the war, and the new generation will grow up listless under the shadow of a great despair. I hope that the men in authority are wiser than their words; but everything that has been said points to this result as what is intended by those who control our fate.

The actual casualties represent only a small part of the real loss in the fighting. In former wars, seasoned veterans made the best soldiers, and men turned from the battlefield with their physical and mental vigor unimpaired. In this war, chiefly owing to the nerve-shattering effect of shell-fire and continual noise, this is no

¹ According to Mr. Balfour, Great Britain, which has suffered far less than France, Russia, Germany or Austria-Hungary, has had more casualties in the first year than Germany had in the war of 1870.

longer the case. All troops gradually deteriorate at the front: the best troops are those who are fresh, provided they are adequately trained. In all the armies, a number of men go mad, a much larger number suffer from nervous collapse, becoming temporarily blind or dumb or incapable of any effort of will, and almost all suffer considerable nervous injury, causing loss of vitality, energy, and power of decision. In great part, no doubt, this effect is temporary; but there is reason to think that in most men something of it will be permanent, and in not a few the nervous collapse will remain very serious. I fear it must be assumed that almost all who have seen much fighting will have grown incapable of great effort, and will only be able, at best, to slip unobtrusively through the remaining years of life. Since the fighting will, if the war lasts much longer, absorb the bulk of the male population of Europe between 18 and 45, this cause alone will make it all but impossible to maintain and hand on the tradition of civilization which has been slowly acquired by the efforts of our ancestors.

We are told by advocates of war that its moral effects are admirable; on this ground, they say, we ought to be thankful that there is little prospect of an end to wars. The men who repeat this hoary falsehood must have learnt nothing from the reports of friends returned from the war, and must have refrained from talking with wounded soldiers in hospitals and elsewhere. It is true that, in those who enlist of their own free will, there is a self-devotion to the cause of their country which deserves all praises; and their first experience of warfare often gives them a horror of its futile cruelty which makes them for a time humane and ardent friends of peace. If the war had lasted only three months, these good effects might have been its most important moral consequences. But as the months at the front pass slowly by, the first impulse is followed by quite other moods. Heroism is succeeded by a merely habitual disregard of danger, enthusiasm for the national cause is replaced by passive obedience to orders. Familiarity with horrors makes war seem natural, not the abomination which it is seen to be at first. Humane feeling decays, since, if it survived, no man could endure the daily shocks. In every army, reports of enemy atrocities, true or false, stimulate ferocity, and produce a savage thirst for reprisals. On the Western front at least, both sides have long ceased to take prisoners except in large batches. Our newspapers have been full of the atrocities perpetrated by German soldiers. Whoever listens to the conversation of wounded soldiers returned from the front will find that, in all the armies, some men become

guilty of astonishing acts of ferocity. Will even the most hardened moralist dare to say that such men are morally the better for their experience of war? If the war had not occurred, they would probably have gone through life without ever having the wild beast in them aroused. There is a wild beast slumbering in almost every man, but civilized men know that it must not be allowed to awake. A civilized man who has once been under the domain of the wild beast has lost his moral self-respect, his integrity and uprightness: a secret shame makes him cynical and despairing, without the courage that sees facts as they are, without the hope that makes them better. War is perpetrating this moral murder in the souls of vast millions of combatants; every day many are passing over to the dominion of the brute by acts which kill what is best within them. Yet, still our newspapers, parsons, and professors prate of the ennobling influence of war.

The war, hitherto, has steadily increased in ferocity, and has generated a spirit of hatred in the armies which was absent in the early months. If it lasts much longer, we may be sure that it will grow worse in these respects. The Germans, hitherto, have prospered, but if the tide turns, it is to be feared that their "frightfulness" in the past will be child's play compared with what will happen when they begin to anticipate defeat. They have already aroused among the Allies a hatred which is the greatest danger that now menaces civilization; but if the war lasts much longer, and if the Germans are driven by fear into even greater crimes against humanity than they have hitherto committed, it is to be expected that a blind fury of destruction will drive us on and on until the good and evil of the old world have perished together in universal ruin. For this reason, if for no other, it is of the first importance to control hatred, to realize that almost all that is detestable in the enemy is the result of war, is brought out by war, in a greater or less degree, on our side as well as on the other, and will cease with the conclusion of peace but not before. If the terrible deeds that are done in the war are merely used to stimulate mutual hatred, they lead only to more war and to still more terrible deeds: along that road, there is no goal but exhaustion. If universal exhaustion is to be avoided, we must, sooner or later, forget our resentment, and remember that the war, whatever its outcome, is destroying on both sides the heritage of civilization which was transmitted to us by our fathers and which it is our duty to hand on to our children as little impaired as possible.

When the war is over, the men who have taken part in it will

not easily find their place again among the occupations of peace. They will have become accustomed to act under the strong stimulus of danger, or in mere obedience to orders; and they will be physically and mentally exhausted by the terrible strain of life in the trenches. For both reasons, they will have little will-power, little capacity for self-direction. It will be hardly possible to find room for them all in the labor market, and the first impulses of patriotism in their favor will probably soon die down. We cannot hope that very many of them will ever again be as useful citizens as they would have been if the war had not occurred. The habit of violence, once acquired, however legitimately, is not easily set aside, and the respect for law and order is likely to be much less after the war than it was before. If this state of mind concurs, as is likely, with serious distress and labor troubles ruthlessly repressed by a government grown used to autocratic power, the effect upon the national life will be disastrous and profound.

In the minds of most men on both sides, the strongest argument for prolonging the war is that no other course will secure us against its recurrence in the near future. In the opinion of Englishmen and Germans alike, their enemies have such a thirst for war that only their utter overthrow can secure the peace of the world. We are an essentially peace-loving nation—so both contend—and if we had the power, we should prevent such a war as this from occurring again. On this ground, it is urged by both that the war must continue, since both believe that their own side will ultimately be completely victorious.

I believe that in this both sides are profoundly mistaken. I shall not discuss the question from a political point of view, though I believe the political argument is overwhelming. What I wish to urge is the effect of war upon the imaginative outlook of men, upon their standard of international conduct, and upon the way in which they view foreign nations. Individual passions and expectations in ordinary citizens are at least as potent as the acts of governments in causing or averting wars, and in the long run it is upon them that the preservation of peace in future will depend. It is commonly said that punishment will have an effect that nothing else can have in turning the thoughts of our enemies away from war and making them

in the present war would have fought if self-interest had been its principle of action. Pride, prestige, love of dominion, unwillingness to yield a triumph to others or to behave in a way which would be thought dishonorable, these are among the motives which produced the war. Each motive, no doubt, wove a myth of self-interest about it, since people do not wish to think their actions harmful to their own interests; but if self-interest had been genuinely operative, the nations would have made friends and cooperated in the works of peace. And if self-interest has not prevented this war, why should we expect that it will prevent future wars? Yet it is only by an appeal to self-interest that punishment can hope to be effective.

It is peace, not war, that in the long run turns men's thoughts away from fighting. No doubt when a great war ends there is a weariness which ensures a number of years of peace and recuperation; however this war may end, and, if it ended to-morrow, no matter on what terms, it would not break out again at once, because the impulse to war is exhausted for the moment. But for the future every additional month of war increases the danger, since it makes men increasingly view war as a natural condition of the world, renders them more and more callous to its horrors and to the loss of friends, and fills their imagination, especially the imagination of those who are now young, with war as something to be expected and with the thought that some foreign nations are so wicked as to make it our duty to destroy them.

If the war is brought to an end by reason, by a realization on all sides that it is an evil, it may be possible to combat the imaginative outlook which it is engendering and to bring about an effective will to peace. But if only exhaustion ends the war, any revival of energy may lead to its renewal, especially if the positive ideals which make for peace have perished meanwhile in the universal death of all humane and civilized aspirations.

Through the effects of the war upon education, the mental calibre of the next generation is almost certain to be considerably lower than that of generations educated before the war. Education, from the highest to the lowest, is in constant danger of becoming a mere mechanical drill in which the young are taught to perform certain tasks in the way that is considered correct, and to believe that all intellectual questions have been decided once for all in the sense declared by the text-books. The education inspired by this spirit destroys the mental activity of the young, makes them passive in thought and active only in pursuing some humdrum ambition. It is this spirit which is the most insidious enemy of progress in an

old civilization, since it inculcates constantly, with a great parade of knowledge and authority, a Byzantine attitude of superstitious respect for what has been done and contempt for the credit of what is attempted in our own day. The mental life of Europe has only been saved from complete subjection to this spirit by a small percentage of teachers, more full of vitality than most, and more filled with a genuine delight in mental activity. These men are to be found almost exclusively among the younger teachers, the men whose hopes have not yet faded, who have not yet become the slaves of habit, who have enough spring of life to take lightly the weariness and expense of spirit in their daily task. It is this comparatively small number of teachers who keep alive the mental vigor that leads to new discoveries and new methods of dealing with old problems. Without them, there would be no progress; and without progress, we could not even stand still. What is known bears now such a large proportion to what our own age can hope to discover that the danger of traditionalism is very great; indeed it has only been averted by the continual triumph of the men of science.

After the war, the number of teachers with any power of stimulating mental life must be enormously diminished. Many of the younger teachers will have been killed, many others incapacitated; of those who remain, most will have lost hope and energy. For a number of years, teaching will be much more in the hands of the old and middle-aged, while those teachers who are still young in years will have lost much of the spirit of youth in the strain of the war. The result will be that the new generation will have less expectation of progress than its predecessors, less power of bearing lightly the burden of knowledge. It is only a small stock of very unusual energy that makes mental progress; and that small stock is being wasted on the battle-field.

What is true in the purely intellectual sphere is equally true in art and literature and all the creative activities of our civilization. In all these, if the war lasts long, it is to be expected that the great age of Europe will be past and that men will look back to the period now coming to an end as the later Greeks looked back to the age of Pericles. Who then is supreme in Europe will be a matter of

this autumn it is possible that the economic effects in this country would not be very profound or very disastrous. But if the war drags on after the period of easy borrowing is past, great and general impoverishment must result. Those who still have capital will be able to exact a continually increasing rate of interest; probably it will become necessary to borrow largely in America, and the interest will represent a perpetual tribute which Europe will have to pay to America as the price of its indulgence in war.

The enormous production of munitions will either cease suddenly with a violent dislocation of the labor market, or will be continued out of deference to vested interests, causing a constant stimulus to new wars and to mutual suspicions and fears on the part of the rival states. The reabsorption of the men who have been fighting will be difficult, especially as their places will have been largely taken by women at lower wages, and casualties will have increased the number of widows and single women anxious to earn their own living. The men who return from the front will have grown accustomed to a higher standard in food than that of the ordinary workingman, and will feel themselves heroes; both causes will make it difficult for them to settle down to a poorer living than they had before the war, yet it is almost certain that that is what they will have to do. The government, having grown accustomed to almost absolute power during the war, having unlimited soldiers under its orders, and having no organized opposition to fear, will be far more ruthless than it has hitherto been in suppressing strikes and enforcing submission. This will probably lead to much revolutionary feeling, without the energy or the ability that could make revolution successful.

In these circumstances, there will be little money available for education or the promotion of art and science. In order to be able still to keep up huge armaments, the governing classes will diminish expenditure on the objects they consider least important, among these, education is sure to be included. Their object will be to produce a proletariat unskilled in everything except shooting and drill, docile through ignorance and formidable through military discipline. This must result in either apathy or civil war. Unless the war ends soon, it is apathy that will result; but in either event our civilization is imperiled.

There are some who hold that the war will result in a permanent increase in the rate of wages. But there are several broad grounds for thinking that this view is mistaken. To begin with, many young and vigorous workers will have been killed or disabled

in the war, and the population will contain a larger proportion than before of old men, women and children. The more productive sections of the population will be diminished, and the production of goods per head will be less than it was when the war broke out. As there will be less to divide, some one must suffer. The capitalist is not likely to suffer, since the demands of war enable him to secure a good rate of interest now, and the reconstruction of what the war has destroyed will cause a great demand for capital for some time after the war. It is unlikely that the land-owner will suffer, since he will be able to impose tariffs on the plea of revenue and protection against German competition. It seems inevitable that the loss must fall upon wage-earners. In bringing about this loss, capitalists will find the growth of cheap female labor during the war a great help, and this opportunity will be improved by the enormous numbers of discharged soldiers and munitions workers seeking employment. I do not see how this situation can result otherwise than in a great fall of wages.

To sum up: the bad results which we have been considering do not depend on the question of victory or defeat: they will fall upon all the nations, and their severity depends only upon the length and destructiveness of the war. If the war lasts much longer, very few healthy men of military age will have failed to be injured physically to a greater or less extent in any of the nations involved; the moral level everywhere will be lowered by familiarity with horrors, leading, in most men, to an easy acquiescence; the mental efficiency of Europe will be greatly diminished by the inevitable deterioration of education and by the death or nervous weakening of many of the best minds among the young; and the struggle for life will almost certainly become more severe among all classes except the idle rich. The collective life of Europe, which has been carried on since the Renaissance in the most wonderful upward movement known to history, will have received a wound which may well prove mortal. If the war does not come to an end soon, it is to be feared that we are at the end of a great epoch, and that the future of Europe will not be on a level with its past.

Is there any conceivable gain from the continuation of the war to be set against this loss? It is difficult to imagine any gain which could outweigh so terrible a loss, and none of the

contemplated. Sooner or later, negotiation will have to end the war. The claims of Belgium, which are for us an obligation of honor, will, it is known, be recognized by Germany in return for compensation elsewhere.² The argument that, if we do not crush Germany, we cannot be safe from a recurrence of the present war in the near future, is probably the one that carries most weight. But in fact it will not bear a moment's examination. In the first place, most military authorities are agreed that it is impossible to crush Germany. In the second place, there have been wars before in which Germany was not our enemy, and there may be such wars in future: unless the spirit of rivalry is checked, the removal of one rival is only the prelude to the growth of another. In the third place, if the war lasts much longer we shall incur now all the evils which we might incur in the future if the war broke out again, and the present evils are certain while the future war is open to doubt. Germany has suffered appalling losses, and is in a very different mood from that in which it began the war, as may be seen by the growing condemnation of the Hymn of Hate. A peace now, giving no definite victory to either side, would probably leave Germany, for many years, determined not to go to war again: and no peace can insure us against wars a generation hence. In continuing the war, we are incurring great and certain evils for a very doubtful gain. The obligation of honor toward Belgium is more fully discharged if the Germans are led to evacuate Belgium by negotiations than if they are driven out at the cost of destroying whatever they have left unharmed. Both on their side and on ours, the real motive which prolongs the war is pride. Is there no statesman who can think in terms of Europe, not only of separate nations? Is our civilization a thing of no account to all our rulers? I hope not. I hope that somewhere among the men who hold power in Europe there is at least one who will remember, at this late date, that we are the guardians, not only of the nation, but of that common heritage of thought and art and a humane way of life into which we were born, but which our children may find wasted by our blind violence and hate.

² See e. g., *The Times*, Sept. 4, 1915.

THOU THAT HEAREST PRAYER!

BY HELEN COALE CREW.

NO unknown God art Thou!
Nay, sweet and familiar in the days of my childhood;
A warm hand in dark and empty places;
A touch of healing on the wounded heart of youth.
Like as a father, Thou,
And I was comforted of Thee in my weeping.
Now that I have upreached to the stature of a man,
Behold, Thou hast stooped to the stature of a man out of Thy God-
head.
Thy feet beside mine in the grass of the woodways,
Thy footsteps with mine in the dust of the highways,
As the feet of a brother.
Thy breathing is near and warm as the breath of the flocks in the
pasture.
I may turn and laugh with Thee when I will,
As the pool laughs, crimpling in the wind,
For the joy of laughter is Thine, and Thou hast the grace of tears.

I feel Thee in the swarming of the grassblades,
The myriad, green-tongued fire of April.
I hear Thee in the golden flood of noontide
That beats and breaks in a shining wave upon earth's bosom.
I see Thee where the Pleiads broider the heaven's edge,
At twilight, when the sheep are folded from the chilling mists
That roll along the orchard floor before the feet of the new-born
night.
Thy beauty is a sharp savor upon my lips at the unspeakable, sea-
cold mystery of the dawn.
When the garden quickens and brings forth roses,

Then art Thou, O Ancient of Days, as lovely as Apollo at morning,
As bright as Balder when spring ripples into the meadows!
But in dim city-ways, in all the deep-worn paths of pain and fear
and sin;
By blackened hearths, in trampled wheatfields, in ruined sanctuaries,
in red trenches;
There art Thou terrible as an army with banners, and I am over-
whelmed by Thy merciless justice.
I cannot understand.
But as Thou hast forgiven me, so forgive I Thee.

Ah, and when Death lifts the veil of his tenderness;
When Birth is bright-terrible in its majesty;
When a child laughs;
When my young love, my darling, flame-souled and heaven-eyed,
Comes through the dusk shyly to me waiting;
Then earth reels and heaven shatters into a thousand lights,
Throbbing, pulsing.
It is Thou! It is Thou revealed!
Thou that hearest prayer!
Thou unto Whom all flesh shall come!

MISCELLANEOUS.

BRITISH TREATMENT OF GERMAN MISSIONARIES.

A circular has reached us, edited by the Rev. W. Stark and published under the auspices of the Evangelical Pressverband of Germany at Berlin-Steglitz, which contains extracts from depositions made by American, German and Swiss missionaries concerning English treatment of Christian missionaries in German South Africa during the present war. The opening sentences of the circular are as follows:

"But a few months ago England was considered to be the nation most interested in the cause of missions, and the English government did all in its power to spread the Christian religion and culture among the heathen. The English Bible and missionary societies were famous and held in high esteem throughout the world. Her missions were looked upon as models.

"Now this same England is charged with having ruined for a long time to come the flourishing mission stations of German as well as Swiss and American mission societies by her method of warfare in the colonies. English soldiers and officers have stained the reputation of the white race among the blacks; they committed thefts, broke open safes, ill-treated defenseless white women in presence of the negroes, unjustly imprisoned American citizens, and paid rewards for the capture of Germans by the blacks...."

In the following we quote extracts giving in part some of the depositions of eye-witnesses.

Missionary A. Orthner, who recently returned from Cameroon where he had been for years active in the cause of the Baptist Mission relates: "The station Nyamtang was attacked by the English on November 6. We were just returning from dinner. When we stepped out on the veranda dozens of rifles were pointed at us and we were dragged down from the steps by soldiers. The wife of Missionary Wolff was treated in the same manner. We stood in the fierce tropical sun and were not even permitted to put on our sun helmets.... We were now permitted to enter our house which was, however, surrounded by soldiers. But they took our goats, chickens, and what other things we had.... We now began to pack up. I made seven packs of 50 pounds each, and we were then conducted over Jabassi to the coast. It soon appeared that of my seven packs the three most important, containing my papers, letters and 1555 marks in silver, as well as the necessary clothing, were gone.... I was now deprived of money and necessary clothing. Our own food supplies had been conf-

guarded. On the veranda of the second story in which we were confined six soldiers kept guard while two others were stationed at the entrance. Whenever we went into the yard we had to wait until a negro soldier deliberately took up his gun and followed on our heels. The ladies had their quarters elsewhere but received no better treatment. Some of them underwent experiences which cannot be recounted here and show that the English officers are the responsible parties and that they are mean characters. We were subjected to all manner of insults. One officer said if he had his way we should simply be shot down so that we and all Germans might be wiped off the face of the earth. On November 22 we were ordered to get ready; each one was permitted to take 50 pounds of luggage. In the presence of the natives we were compelled to carry our own packs, which is here looked upon as a great disgrace. With wives and children we were taken on board the steamer Appam. A certain Mrs. Schwartz, though she was *enceinte* and the physician considered her condition serious, was compelled to clamber up the side of the ship which lay in the harbor. Twenty-four hours later the child was born.

Rev. Orthner relates further that he was given to understand the conditions of his imprisonment might be ameliorated if he would consent to write a report of "German Atrocities." Missionary Wolff was actually offered his freedom on condition that he would write such an article. But these men knew of no German atrocities and openly said so, and Mr. Wolff sent them an article about English barbarities. It may be mentioned here that the latter was taken prisoner in spite of his American citizenship.

The full report of the plundering of the station of Nyamtang was first published in the *Detroit Evening Post*. It was verified by the missionary Valentine Wolff, United States citizen and fellow worker at the Mission of Nyamtang.

Missionary Wolff tells in his report how the English and their black troops of about 10,000 negro soldiers attacked and plundered Nyamtang; how the soldiers rummaged through the missionaries' rooms and packed everything available in the way of money, watches, and valuables into their knapsacks. In his deposition he says:

"When, soon after, a colonel and a few other officers appeared and I expressed my surprise that the English should thus attack a mission station, and complained of the ill treatment I had received at the hands of the English soldiers, he retorted: 'War is war.' On calling his attention to the fact that we were American citizens, he replied that he had orders to take prisoners all white persons without exception and that we would have to be ready to depart the next morning. . . . The English who had remained on the grounds after our departure had broken down the doors, broken open all chests and drawers and taken everything of value or sold the things to the natives. At first we could not believe this, but the news was confirmed from various sides. . . .

"We also made the painful discovery that nine of our packs were missing. One of the Englishmen comforted me with the remark that they had no doubt been taken by mistake to the Government hut. But when, on the next day, on continuing our journey we saw them in the possession of English soldiers we knew that we had again been robbed. . . .

"After my arrival in Duala I was summoned to appear before the commanding staff and asked to write something about German atrocities. I refused and was dismissed. Soon after came a second summons; and again

this outrageous request. After I had declared my readiness to write down what I had seen, I was permitted to go. The report which I handed in told of the shameless treatment which had been accorded me and the other missionaries. Hereupon I was again called up and sharply reprimanded because what I had written was a complaint against the English and French soldiers and cast suspicion on the whole staff. They had the impudence to go a step farther and suggest the prospect of being released in case I fulfilled their wish and wrote and sent in a report of the atrocities committed by German troops! Of course, that was out of the question. Under the charge that I as a United States citizen had not acted in accordance with the duties of a citizen of a neutral state and supported the German government in its aims and intentions my wife and I were brought to England as prisoners of war. Fortunately I, as an ordained missionary, was finally released and permitted to go to Germany."

Among the missionaries who were ill treated were several women. Charlotte Schüler writes:

"On Sunday, September 27, our missionaries were ordered out of the house by English and French, and lined up in the yard... On Wednesday we were brought on board the small English steamer 'Bathurst.' The men had to stay on deck day and night, whereas the women were given cabins. These were, however, in such a condition that it was almost impossible to sleep in them. At midnight we were awakened and searched for money... No one bothered about getting food for us. The first two days we received nothing at all! On the third day some provisions were distributed. One man got a glass of ground pepper, I a piece of soap, and many others stuff not to be eaten. On the fourth day each one received two ships' biscuits and a salted herring. Later we were given salt meat and rice. The broth made of it was often green and the maggots floated on the surface... A large enamel pan had been given us and served about 22 persons as dish, dishpan and washbasin. Eighteen persons soon became ill because of this treatment. We were transported to the Gold Coast. Pelted with stones and spat upon by the natives, the women and children were taken away in large dirty auto-trucks. On Monday, December 7, we were taken on board the English steamer "Appam." All whites in the colony, Germans as well as the neutral Dutch, Swiss, and Americans, who were treated as prisoners of war, had been brought thither. We arrived in Liverpool, Monday, December 28... To our great delight several gentlemen of the U. S. Consulate came later and undertook to attend to our transportation to London. On the way from the "Appam" to the hotel we saw how some Liverpool street boys rolled a dead rat in the mud and threw it in the face of one of our ladies. We were also pelted with mud and stones."...

The missionaries of the Basel Mission, a Swiss and thus neutral mission, who worked in Cameroon, were treated in just as shameful a fashion. The director of this mission, Dr. Oehler, wrote in the official organ of the society,

they were taken prisoner, dragged into captivity and treated with inconceivable brutality. The labor of peace of the mission was sacrificed to a warfare directed not only against state and army but also against private citizens, a method of warfare opposed to all fundamental principles of civilization."

This declaration, printed later in the *Basler Nachrichten*, caused the British Minister at Berne to protest. He said:

"In Cameroon the missionaries were treated with all possible courtesy. They were taken to England because it was considered more humane to intern them in a milder climate. The assertion that they met with brutal treatment is without foundation whatever."

To his bold protest of the English Minister unsupported by facts Dr. Oehler, the director of the Mission, made an unequivocal reply which appeared in the *Basler Nachrichten* of February 25:

"I stand by my words in spite of the denial of the English Minister...."

"In support of my statements and opinion I mention first the persons interviewed by myself, the two women Link and Hecklinger, the ordained missionaries Lutz, president of the Cameroon mission, Hecklinger, member of the board of governors, missionary Gutbrod, Wittwer, Bärtschi and Wöll. I am ready to name 20 or 30 more witnesses, some of them living in Switzerland, for any one who considers further proof necessary. The witness of the Basel Missionaries is confirmed by that of the German Baptist missionary, Martens. His sick wife, after she had gone through experiences like the above in Cameroon, died in a hospital on the Gold Coast, heartlessly treated by an English nurse, but humanely by a negress. The dying woman was denied a visit of her husband until her senses began to leave her."

Dr. G. Vöhringer testifies in a deposition that in Lagos German civilians were taken prisoners and packed so closely in a transport that the men could neither sit nor lie down.... Not only all their money but their last cigar had been taken from them. At one time the drinking water was actually poured into a slop pail and then offered them. When they complained a British officer declared: "It is all one and the same if the German pigs have water or not."....

"The wife of one missionary had become deathly ill from exhaustion. Her urgent request that she be allowed to speak once more with her husband was not granted. When she was dying and no longer able to talk he was allowed to come and stay with her until death set in.

"The toilet arrangements were so bad that.... This was an existence made unbearable by shame and rage...."

Pauline Kessler of the German Baptist Mission at Cameroon reports:

"The beginning of December a soldier of the colonial troop was murdered at Lohat, 4 or 5 hours journey from us; one of his hands was cut off and, together with his rifle, brought to the English. A reward is said to have been paid. Soon after some workmen who had been employed by the German government but were now dismissed, were attacked, robbed and murdered. Their hands, too, were brought to Duala. On December 23 a negro soldier from Jubassi was traveling together with a missionary scholar from Nyamtang to Ndogongi to bring us a message. On December 24 he and the mission scholar were found murdered near our station. Rifles and hands were in this case, too, delivered to the Englishmen. We saw both soldier and scholar lying dead and mutilated near our station."

That English soldiers offered the blacks money for the heads of Germans is proved beyond doubt by a deposition made by the American missionary Valentine Wolff. A reward up to 50 shillings was placed by the British government on the head of every German.

"As the result of this," says Reverend Wolff, "sailor Nickstadt and Quartermaster Schlichting, both belonging to the steamer 'Kamerun' lying in the harbor of Duala, were attacked and murdered by the natives." Nickstadt was drowned and Schlichting hewn to pieces with bush knives."

Rev. Director Stark sent a telegram to missionary Chr. Gehr, at Calw, Württemberg, requesting confirmation of this statement by wire, and received the following reply:

"Stark pressverband für Deutschland evanpresse berlinsteglitz.

"I confirm that the merchants Erich Student and Nikolai, also seaman Fischer were fearfully mauled by the natives on the Sanaga and that Nickstadt was drowned and Schlichting murdered. Merchant Student saw a circular according to which 50 shillings were set on the head of every German by the English. Missionary Chr. Gehr."

"After comparison I attest that this answer has not been garbled.

(Signed) Chr. Gehr, Missionary."

OUR THERMOMETER.

BY THE EDITOR.

It is a peculiar phenomenon in history that the different nations have measured temperature by thermometers invented by men not of their own nationality, and the explanation of this also throws light on the mental make-up of the respective peoples. The English, most conservative of all, cling to the first method of measurement and still measure temperature by the thermometer as first used by its inventor, a German professor of physics at Königsberg. Fahrenheit placed zero at the temperature of the very coldest day he had experienced in his own city of Königsberg, and this zero is still the zero for every English mind. The degrees in which he measured were accidental, and the freezing point fell on the degree 32. His invention was practical, and so the English government introduced it into the navy for official measurement of temperature. This settled the question, and no change has occurred down to the present day, for if the English mind accepts one method of action it will stick to it until the end of time. The English have clung to the Fahrenheit scale although there are some very obvious criticisms to be made concerning it. The zero point is purely accidental, and the temperature-points which are of special importance in the field of natural phenomena fall on integral degrees, these points being distributed over the scale in the haphazard fashion characteristic of the Fahrenheit system. The two temperature-points of greatest significance for life on this earth are certainly the freezing-point of water and the point at which water boils under normal conditions. It was a Frenchman, Réaumur by name, who had the practical sense to adopt as his basal temperatures the freezing-point and the boiling-point of water. He called the freezing-point zero and fixed the boiling-point at 80 degrees.

while at present the decimal system is used in all forms of measurement. For example, the French divided their coins—the unit being the franc—into centimes or hundredth parts of the franc, and in like manner the Americans divided the dollar into cents. In 1871 the Germans followed suit by establishing the mark as a unit and dividing it into one hundred pfennigs, and the Austrians likewise divided their monetary unit, the crown, into one hundred hellers.

About 1742 a Dane by the name of Celsius proposed that Réaumur's 80 degrees be replaced by 100 degrees, and the French, who are always prone to accept the most recent method and do not hesitate to change old systems, accepted it at once, and so for a long time the English, in their more conservative habit, followed the earlier German system, the Fahrenheit; the Germans followed the French method; and the French followed the Danish method, the most recent innovation.

There is no doubt that to Fahrenheit belongs the honor of having invented the thermometer; all the essentials of temperature measurement were invented by him, and we shall never forget that he was the pioneer in this field. The later changes are insignificant as far as the essential characteristics of the invention are concerned, though they are undoubtedly improvements, and it is strange that Fahrenheit himself did not anticipate them. If his attention had been called to them he would no doubt have accepted them at once. But he was a professor and a learned man who was out of touch with practical life. His invention was before the general introduction of the decimal system in other fields of measurement, and for scientific purposes it is quite indifferent where the zero is placed. But we must recognize that the improvements introduced by Réaumur and Celsius make the thermometer much simpler and ought to be introduced without quibbling.

We Americans, being very strongly under the influence of English traditions, follow the English Fahrenheit fashion, and it has remained our system to the present day. That America has so long followed the English conservatism is only a sign of our lack of independence. In scientific circles the centigrade system has been in general use for quite a long while. It is time that the United States took the step now being advocated by Mr. Albert Johnson, who is fathering a bill in Congress having for its object the replacement of the Fahrenheit scale of temperature in United States government publications by the Centigrade scale. There is not the slightest doubt that it will ultimately be accepted. If it is not adopted now it will be in the near future, and the rising generation will feel ashamed that we have been so slow in advancing along the path of unequivocal progress.

MR. MANGASARIAN MISUNDERSTANDS.

Under the caption "God and the War," Mr. M. M. Mangasarian, the lecturer of the Independent Religious Society, published the following comments (December 6, 1915):

"Question. What are the foremost Christian nations doing at this moment?

"Answer. They are engaged in annihilating one another.

"Q. Whose help are they invoking in this work of mutual destruction?

"A. The help of God.

- "Q. You mean each nation is praying to its own God?
- "A. No, they are all calling upon the same God.
- "Q. Is it possible! Is every one of the belligerent countries calling upon the same God to fight on its side?
- "A. Except France. The French government refused to sanction official prayers for victory. France, the only belligerent country in which church and state are separate, is the one nation that is not trying to drag the Deity into the war.
- "Q. Tell me, if the Christian powers are asking God to help them kill each other,—then they must think that the Deity wants most of the Christians killed?
- "A. That conclusion seems inevitable. If God fights with the Germans, it must mean the destruction of all the Russian, English, French, Serbian, Belgian and Montenegrin belligerents, which will prove that God wants the majority of Christians killed. If He fights with the Allies, then He must want the destruction of Protestant Germany and Catholic Austria, the former being one of the foremost Christian nations in Europe.
- "Q. Would that encourage the heathen to embrace Christianity, or to love the Christian God?
- "A. The missionaries say—
- "Q. Never mind what *they* say. Are the heathen nations killing one another too, as fast as they can?
- "A. Some of them are helping to kill Christians.
- "Q. What pulled *them* into the war?
- "A. Their association with Christian nations.
- "Q. Explain that point.
- "A. 'Yellow' Japan was compelled to enter the war because of her alliance with *Christian* England; and the "Unspeakable Turk" drew the sword because of his association with *Christian* Germany.
- "Q. Explain also what is meant by 'holy' war.
- "A. When a war is more fierce, more bloody, more indiscriminately and pitilessly cruel, and greedier of victims than usual, it is called 'holy.'
- "Q. Do you mean that whenever religion [religion based upon a supernatural revelation] takes hold of a fighter, he becomes a fiend?
- "A. Yes, the religious wars, Christian or Moslem, have been the fiercest.
- "Q. But do not Mr. Bryan and others contend that religion is the only power that can make the nations love one another?
- "A. Let religion try first to make Catholics, Protestants and Orthodox Greeks cease *damning* one another before offering to teach the nations how to love one another."

It is easy to ridicule the belief in God. It seems to me quite natural that every one who believes in God should call upon him in distress, and, with honest people on both sides of the struggle, this means self-criticism and clearance of one's conscience. If God stands for anything he means truth and justice, and the main thing in a war will ever be to have these on one's side.

"Word comes from Dr. Paul Carus that "God is neutral." In his discussion of the European war the good Doctor says this: "God is neutral; but I am convinced that, being impartial, he will stand by Germany in spite of the odds that count against her." How he got that interesting intelligence he does not explain. And since he does not divulge the name of his informant, nor offer any evidence to establish the neutrality of the Deity, we venture to suggest that he may not only be misinformed, but that he is also in danger of being sued for libel.

"To begin with, neither the Czar of Russia, nor the King of England, nor the three Kaisers, of Germany, Austro-Hungary and Bulgaria, will agree with Dr. Carus that God is neutral. On the contrary these eminent men have information quite as reliable as the Doctor's, that God is pro-Russian, or pro-British, or pro-German. Why are not their assertions as believable as that of the Doctor?

"Again, in all controversies there is a right and a wrong. To say that God is neutral is to accuse him of indifference. Can a God afford to be neutral when truth or right is being murdered? What would a neutral God be worth to the cause of civilization or humanity?

"Once more, if God is neutral is it from inability to know which side is in the right, or from policy? Is he afraid of losing his prestige with the side he decides against? It would be interesting to know the motives which make the Deity neutral. We hope, however, that it is not because he does not care.

"Again, Bible history squarely contradicts the claim that God is neutral. In the wars of the Jews, was God neutral? In those of the great religions, was he neutral? During the French Revolution, or the German Reformation, was he neutral? Why then should he be neutral now when the greater part of his world is tumbling over his head?

"And again, to say God is neutral is to say that there is no God. What is the difference between a God who does nothing, since he is neutral, and one who does not exist? Who would pray to or worship a neutral God? Who would build churches to a being who does not care what happens or who wins or loses? The grass would grow on the altars of a God who is neutral. Dr. Carus himself does not care for a neutral God, for in the same curious sentence he denies that God is neutral. He says: 'God will stand by Germany in spite of the odds against her.'

"But is it not regrettable that a man of the intelligence of Dr. Carus should add to the fog of the mind by the use of so metaphysical a phrase as the one we have quoted from his article in the Open Court? The men who have done more to retard the wholesome progress of thought—of clear thinking and honest expression, than the 'Billy' Sundays, the Moody revivalists, or the popish priests, are the so-called 'liberals' who stoop to conquer. We are sorry to see a man of the parts of Dr. Carus lend his support, even though indirectly, to the cause of intellectual obscurantism.

"Should Dr. Carus favor us with an explanation we promise to print it on this page."

I will make only a few comments on Mr. Mangasarian's caustic criticism:

It is difficult to understand how Mr. Mangasarian could misinterpret me. In reading over the whole passage from which he quotes, I find that my meaning is not obscure, and it would have been sufficient if he had quoted my

words in their context. I will here repeat what I said, with the risk that I may again be misunderstood:

"There is an invisible power in this world which may be called destiny, or, to use a vague anthropomorphic term, Providence, or in religious language, God. Frederick the Great used to say that God is not neutral, he is always on the side of the stronger battalions, and that as a rule is true, but sometimes he sides with the weaker against the stronger, as for instance at Marathon and Salamis. God favors the weaker side if it is led by intelligence and, as it were, promises to promote by its victory the cause of mankind. In the present war the Germans have proved themselves worthy of victory not only by their indomitable courage in battle, being ready to conquer or to die, but also by remarkable foresight in making up for their needs by new inventions. In the moment of dire need the busy Bertha appears unexpectedly before the hostile forts, the German submarines accomplish feats of great daring which heretofore could not be accomplished, and agriculture is improved to such a degree as to make Germany practically independent of the importation of cereals.

"God is neutral; but I am convinced that, being impartial, he will stand by Germany in spite of the odds that count against her."

There are probably as many views of God as there are persons using the word, and I hope that my readers know what I mean by the term. God is not an individual, not a creature, not a bodily existence, not an ego entity. God is the All-Being; He is the norm of existence; He is the law and order of the world. Thus He is the directive principle of the universe. He is neither matter nor energy, but that third and more important factor of existence, the determinant. All laws of nature are parts of God; they are the eternal thoughts of God; but among the laws of nature those which constitute the moral world order should be regarded as characterizing God's nature most truly.

I have written a book on God, but Mr. Mangasarian cannot have seen it, otherwise he would have understood what I mean when I say that God is neutral. But being as absolutely neutral as is for instance the law of gravitation, "He will stand by Germany in spite of the odds that count against her." Why? Because the Germans are superior to the Allies in energy, efficiency and foresight—indeed in every respect except numbers; and quality is always decisive, not quantity.

If Mr. Mangasarian were pro-German he would perhaps not have misunderstood me; but he is a native Armenian, hence he is anti-Turk; and the "unspeakable Turk" being an ally of Germany, he is anti-German, and so he does not try to understand me. He believes he has caught me in a contradictory statement, and accuses me of obscurantism. He promises to print in his leaflet my answer to his criticism, but if he does not deem it acceptable I absolve him of obligation.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

A remarkable little volume of German war songs, of which Hanns Heinz Ewers is the author, has been published by *The Fatherland* of New York. The first poem represents the Germans as saying:

"We have been silent in the council of the world
Once, twice and again.
We stood aside and avoided the deed,
Once, twice and again.

We have never, no never, been in a hurry
 When the earth was divided away;
 We heard the others hoarsely cry,
 We wanted peace, we stood aside,
 Once, twice, thrice and again.

There is another poem dedicated to U. 16 and Z. 3, glorifying the German aerial and submarine warfare. The third poem in the collection has three verses; the first begins, "We must conquer"; the second, "We will conquer"; and the third, "We shall conquer."

Another poem describes the poet's home on the banks of the Rhine. It has been converted into a hospital, and the vivid description of the patients, in the poem, reflects German patriotism.

Other songs are dedicated to the good ship Emden and the three Counts Spe, three German naval heroes of the war; another one is addressed to Sweden, and expresses the belief that she will join the Germans in their war on Russia. Another song is written in the happy style of folk poetry, with the refrain, "Comrade, whence dost thou come?" One of them answers, "Come from Poland," describing how bloody the fight; the second, "Come from the Wasgen woods"; the third, "Come from the Carpathians"; the fourth, "Come from Mazuria"; the fifth, "Come from the North Sea, swam on the Blücher"; and finally the question is asked, "Comrade, whither wilt thou go?" and he answers,

"Into the enemies' land.
 As soon as my wound is healed
 Will fight again, in blood we must stand,
 In war we must walk in blood
 Above our shoes."

In the appendix of the book are translated some American Yiddish and Irish poems into German. The first is the Irish Hate Song addressed to England; another poem is addressed to William II, the Prince of Peace, and in addition there are songs in which the Jew addresses Russia, ending with the fulfilment of the curse which lies on the Muscovite Empire—the curse of the long-suffering Jews—and their curse will be Russia's doom.

The poet is not yet much known, but he has published a few works which seem to be original and interesting. They are all written in German and are indicative of a promising poetical genius. The poet is apparently a German by birth and an American by naturalization.

An intensely interesting and important book has been printed in New York by Robert M. McBride & Company, on *American Rights and British Pretensions on the Seas*. The book contains the facts and the documents, official and other, and bears upon the present attitude of Great Britain toward the commerce of the United States, and has been compiled with an introductory memorandum by William Bayard Hale.

The work contains chapters on the following subjects: The First Encroachments; The Summit of Arrogance; Ships and Cargoes Stopped at Sea; The Case of Cotton; Indirect Interference with Trade; Interference with Communication; Our Larger Interests; List of Ships Detained; Quotations Pertinent to the Issue; Official Documents; and Diplomatic Correspondence.

The book shows the British policy and its claims which are without any recognition of international law. It is strange what the United States has submitted to. The list of ships detained in British harbors spreads over ten pages of large quarto! While our commerce suffers, the British Empire reaps all the advantages of having the United States as a source of supply for its munitions of war. Subservience to Great Britain is now regarded in America as patriotism.

The book is for sale at book-stores and news-stands for one dollar.

SCIENCE PROGRESS

IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF SCIENTIFIC WORK AND THOUGHT

Edited by Sir Ronald Ross, K.C.B., F.R.S., D.Sc., etc.

Published at the beginning of JANUARY, APRIL, JULY, OCTOBER

Each number consists of about 192 pages, containing some twelve to fifteen papers. Illustrated. 5s. net. Annual Subscription, including postage, £1.

SCIENCE PROGRESS owes its origin to an endeavor to found a scientific journal containing original papers and summaries of the present state of knowledge in all branches of science. The necessity for such a journal is to be found in the fact that, with the specialization which necessarily accompanies the modern development of scientific work and thought, it is increasingly difficult for even the professional man of science to keep in touch with the progress achieved and the trend of thought in subjects other than those in which his immediate interests lie. This difficulty is felt by teachers and students in schools and colleges, and by the general educated public interested in scientific questions. SCIENCE PROGRESS claims to have filled this want.

London: JOHN MURRAY, Albemarle St., W.

OUR NEW

CLEARANCE CATALOGUE

Issued in a New Form
Contains Over 750 Titles
Every Title Briefly Described

In so great a number of books, taken from the overstock of the largest wholesale dealers in the books of all publishers, you will surely find some you will want. Shall we send you a copy of the Clearance Catalogue?

Problems of Science

By FEDERIGO ENRIQUES

Translated by Katherine Royce, with an introduction by Josiah Royce

Pp. 392, cloth. Price \$2.50

A scientific methodology with numerous references to contemporary interests and controversies.

Press Notices

"Prof. Royce thinks that the book will be read with particular interest on account of the opposition that it offers to current 'anti-intellectual' types of philosophizing, though the book was first published in Italian before the controversies about 'pragmatism,' 'intuitionism,' etc., arose."—Springfield Republican.

"The book is written in a very attractive style, and presents some of the most difficult problems in

ABOVE the BATTLE

By ROMAIN ROLLAND

Translated by C. K. OGDEN, M. A.

(Editor of the Cambridge Magazine)

Cloth \$1.25

A plea for international socialism which will establish a moral high court, a tribunal of conscience that would complete and solidify The Hague Court.

M. Rolland has been denounced as a traitor by his compatriots with the exception of a few who have defended him in the Parisian Press.

Almost alone Romain Rolland has held firm. He has made every effort to open the eyes of Europe to the horrors of war and to raise his voice for truth that "co-operation, not war, is the right destiny of nations and that all that is valuable in each people may be maintained in and by friendly intercourse with others."

Open Court Publishing Company
CHICAGO

Carlyle and the War By MARSHALL KELLY Cloth \$1.00, pp. 338

This book is an attempt to find in the present world war a fulfillment of many of Carlyle's prophecies regarding democracy and aristocracy.

"Carlyle was the greatest man of the 19th century, and he knew Germany, German character and German history as no other Briton has ever known."—Author's Preface.

The Open Court Pub. Co., 122 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago

The Open Court

ANTHONY P. ...
HISTORICAL LIBRARY

APR 5 1916

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE HARVARD
DIVINITY SCHOOL

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

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER.

VOL. XXX. (No. 4)

APRIL, 1916.

NO. 719

CONTENTS:

	PAGE
<i>Frontispiece.</i> William Shakespeare, Country Gentleman (After a Portrait by Adolph Menzel).	
<i>Did Bacon Write Shakespeare?</i> (Illustrated). GEORGE SEIBEL	193
<i>The Attitude of America.</i> ROLAND HUGINS.	
The German-Americans	222
The American View	226
The Anglomaniacs	231
Conclusion	236
<i>The Money Market of To-Morrow.</i> LINDLEY M. KEASBEY	241
<i>Mr. Gorham Replies to Mr. Mattern</i>	254

The Open Court Publishing Company

CHICAGO

Per copy, 10 cents (sixpence). Yearly, \$1.00 (in the U.P.U., 5s. 6d.).

Entered as Second-Class Matter March 26, 1897, at the Post Office at Chicago, Ill., under Act of March 3, 1879
Copyright by The Open Court Publishing Company, 1916

ILLUSTRATIONS OF POSITIVISM

By J. H. BRIDGES, M.B., F.R.C.P.

The reader will find in this volume of essays a full exposition of the various aspects of positivism from the pen of one who may be fairly termed the English Laffitte. The book was first issued in 1907 by the late Professor Beesly, who arranged the papers in chronological order. In this second edition all the papers have been classified, while a number of posthumous papers, including the important series on "The Seven New Thoughts of the 'Positive Polity'" and the admirable address on "The Day of All the Dead," have now been added. In its new form the book constitutes the most complete introduction to positivism and the works of Comte in the English language.

Cloth, pp. 480. Price, \$1.50

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY

122 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE, CHICAGO

Contributions to the Founding of the Theory of Transfinite Numbers

By GEORG CANTOR

Translated, and provided with an Introduction and Notes, by PHILIP E. B. JOURDAIN, M. A.

Cloth. Pages x, 212. \$1.25 net

This volume contains a translation of the two very important memoirs of George Cantor on transfinite numbers which appeared in 1895 and 1897. These memoirs are the final and logically purified statement of many of the most important results of the long series of memoirs begun by Cantor in 1870. A very full historical account of this work and the work of others which led up to it is given in the introduction and the notes at the end contain indications of the progress made in the theory of transfinite numbers since 1897. This book is a companion volume to Dedekind's *Essays*.

OPEN COURT PUBLISHING CO.

Chicago and London



WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, COUNTRY GENTLEMAN.
(After a portrait by Adolph Menzel.)

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

VOL. XXX (No. 4)

APRIL, 1916

NO. 719

Copyright by The Open Court Publishing Company, 1916

DID BACON WRITE SHAKESPEARE?

BY GEORGE SEIBEL.

TWO master minds, many centuries apart, have appeared upon this globe. In the days of Alexander the Great, the genius of Greece flowered in the analytic intellect of Aristotle. The mightiest synthetic brain that ever dwelt within the cavern of a human skull came in "the spacious times of great Elizabeth," in Master William Shakespeare of Stratford-on-Avon, poacher, player, poet!

As Aristotle could take to pieces all the achievements of the human race, like some surgeon in the dissecting-room, so Shakespeare, like a great architect, builded of dreams and passions those lofty temples and towers of poetry which the tempests of time and the revolutions of history have not bereft of their grace and grandeur.

Both of these giants have encountered detraction, but from different directions. Aristotle's philosophy, which began with observation and experiment, degenerated into futile speculation and deadly dogma. Remember how Galileo was persecuted because he saw spots on the sun, which Aristotle, who had no telescope, had pronounced to be perfect. Remember Victor Hugo's battle against the Three Dramatic Unities falsely deduced from the *Poetics*. Aristotle came to grief through the stupidity of the Aristotelians.

The attacks upon Shakespeare have been of a different nature. Aside from Bernard Shaw and old Tolstoy, neither of whom need be taken very seriously, no one has denied the supreme genius of Shakespeare. But since the day of Delia Bacon, a poor crazy creature who succeeded in enlisting the sympathy of Nathaniel Hawthorne, there have been many who have asserted, and have labored diligently to prove, that the great plays were written, not by the ignorant actor from Stratford, but by the erudite Francis Bacon,

whom Pope described as "the wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind."

Joseph C. Hart, American consul at Santa Cruz, in a book on *The Romance of Yachting*, published in 1848, was perhaps the earliest to question Shakespeare's authorship. Miss Bacon's first article on the subject appeared in *Putnam's Monthly*, in 1856, and she died, insane, in 1859, having labored zealously to establish the delusion endeared to her by family pride. William Henry Smith of London in 1856 suggested Bacon as the real author, after the



FRANCIS BACON.

doubts about Shakespeare had been raised. Nathaniel Holmes, a Missouri lawyer, Edwin Reed of Boston, and Judge Webb of England, are others who have wasted their time in the same way. Societies have been started and magazines have been published to promote the delusion, so that a bibliographer in 1884 could already enumerate two hundred and fifty-five books and pamphlets on the subject, and now there are probably nigh a thousand. Lawyers are especially liable to be afflicted, perhaps because they are tempted by the task of making out a case upon slender evidence.

It even became a popular literary diversion to find ciphers in Shakespeare's plays proving that Lord Bacon was the real author. In his youth, as a diplomat at a foreign court, Bacon had devised a system of secret writing. Out of this little acorn has grown a tall forest of overshadowing oaks. Beginning with Ignatius Donnelly, and down to Mrs. Gallup of Detroit and Mr. Booth of Cambridge, cipher after cipher has been found in Shakespeare's plays. Evidently Bacon thought one cipher was not enough. He wished to leave nothing to chance. He put in so many ciphers that it is surprising there was room left for the plays. It does not matter that you can use these ciphers to read almost anything into Shakespeare. I once applied one of the codes, and discovered that "Othello" had been written by Bill Nye, who was in reality the Lost Dauphin. That only serves to show what a marvelous man Bacon was.

These cipherers assure us that Bacon wrote not only the works of Shakespeare, besides those published under his own name, but also the works of Marlowe, of Greene, of Peele, some of Ben Jonson's, Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, and Montaigne's *Essays*. One begins to wonder when and how he found time to write his own works. Whatever was going on in his day and generation, no George being about, evidently the rule was, "Let Francis do it." Astonishing how much ingenuity has gone to seed, how much industry has been misapplied, how logic has been twisted, how every crime, from burglary to punning, has been resorted to, in order to disprove what no sane man has ever doubted.

However it is a curious and diverting by-path of literature to follow the bizarre arguments evolved by the Baconians. Perhaps it should not be regarded strictly as an exercise for the literary man; it borders closely upon the province of the alienist. Bacomania is a disease, and that some men of keen discrimination, like Mark Twain and Walt Whitman, were not immune, shows that any cult can secure adherents if only it is absurd enough. It takes a lot of brains to believe some things.

Because hundreds of books have been written to bolster up the absurdity, many otherwise rational people, without time to investigate the question, have come to believe that "there may be something in it." So it may be well to examine a few of the queer and amazing arguments advanced to prove that Bacon wrote Shakespeare. Truly, most of these reasons hardly require any answer, for, like "the flowers that bloom in the spring," they "have nothing to do with the case." Nearly all are based upon the supposed ig-

norance and illiteracy of Shakespeare, his progenitors and his descendants. Shakespeare could not write, runs the argument; therefore he did not write the plays. Bacon could write; therefore he must have written them.

At the outset, it is insisted with much fervor that Shakespeare's father could neither read nor write. If this were demonstrated beyond any doubt, it would prove nothing more than that Shakespeare's father did not write the plays. But the fact is that Shakespeare's father, who was once the chief magistrate of Stratford, could write with facility, of which the Stratford archives afford proof. Undaunted, the ardent Baconians further insist that Shakespeare's mother could neither read nor write. That is merely another proof that Shakespeare must have written the plays himself, for it shows that his mother did not. What tremendous logic such contentions evince! The mother of Napoleon Bonaparte never owned a cannon; therefore Napoleon could not have won the battle of Austerlitz. The mother of Christopher Columbus never ran a ferry; therefore Columbus did not discover America.

Our Baconian friends, not content with proving Shakespeare's ancestors illiterate, also insist that his daughter Judith could neither read nor write. Shakespeare had another daughter, named Susannah, who was called "witty above her sex." The Baconians forget to mention her, perhaps because they are afraid some one might suggest that Susannah Shakespeare wrote the plays. But what difference does it make how dull or how clever the other members of the Shakespeare family were? No one suspects or accuses them of having written the plays. We are concerned only with Master William.

At this point the Baconian hastens to exhibit a series of Shakespeare's own autographs—badly written and variously spelled. These, if they are genuine, are all the traces left by Shakespeare's pen—five badly written signatures, not a syllable more. This might be a hard fact to get over if we had bales of manuscript by other Elizabethan writers. But from most of them we have not even a single signature. As for poor writing showing absence of genius, many a man can write a copper-plate script, but has not a thought worthy of setting down. Horace Greeley wrote such a wretched scrawl that frequently he himself could not decipher it. Of course that settles it; Horace Greeley never wrote any editorials in the *Tribune*.

It would be very easy to manufacture such negative Baconian evidences by the bushel. The first William Shakespeare there is

MR. WILLIAM
SHAKESPEARES

COMEDIES,
HISTORIES, &
TRAGEDIES.

Published according to the True Originall Copies.



any record of was hanged for robbery in 1248—and, of course, it will be readily admitted that high poetic genius could not flourish in a family disgraced by an outlaw. As three William Shakespeares were living in Warwickshire between 1560 and 1614, it might be readily asserted that the name was so common as to occur at once to Bacon when he needed a *nom de plume*, just as the well-known citizen nowadays arrested in a raid on a poker-palace invariably gives the name of John Smith. The Baconians have actually discovered one Shakespeare who was so thoroughly ashamed of his name that he had it changed to Saunders.

Following up their assumption of hereditary illiteracy in the Shakespeare family, the Baconians go on to assert that William must have received very scant schooling. As if the plays of Shakespeare required a profound knowledge of Latin and Greek, science and philosophy, historic and juristic lore for their writing! In truth, they exhibit sad lack of these things, although Shakespeare possessed a very fair education for that period and his station in life. We have letters in Latin written by two of his schoolmates at the Stratford free school; one of these lads, at the age of eleven, displays a very respectable Latinity. There is no reason for supposing that Master Will was behind his chums in class. They also learned the rudiments of Greek under a headmaster from Oxford. Besides these classic tongues Shakespeare had some French, a smattering of Italian, and perhaps a bit of Spanish. There is testimony to all this from his friends and companions, and it may be seen in the plays. At the same time his knowledge of these languages was neither extensive nor exact, as Bacon's was. Shakespeare knew the world better than books. He read the hearts of men rather than the pages of dead poets and philosophers. Not vast learning and deep erudition was required to produce his plays, only the flash and flame of genius. "I could write like Shakespeare if I had the mind," said a vain poet, and a caustic wit retorted, "You could—if you had the mind."

Was it not strange, if Bacon wrote the plays, that in one play whose plot is almost a free invention he gives us glimpses and souvenirs of some of Shakespeare's neighbors at Stratford-on-Avon? That play is "The Merry Wives of Windsor,"—and, by the way, it contains excerpts from the very Latin grammar which was in use at the Stratford Latin School during Shakespeare's boyhood. Was it also a mere coincidence that when Shakespeare had his "Venus and Adonis" printed, the first work to bring him prominently before the public, he gave the job to a printer who had come to London

from Stratford a few years before him? There were other printers, but he went to his townsman, Richard Field.

It is true that Shakespeare left no manuscripts, and upon this fact the Baconians base many triumphant sneers. It is a great pity that we have no copy of "Hamlet" in Shakespeare's handwriting, to confute them. But it should be very easy for them to produce a copy of "Hamlet" in Bacon's handwriting, should it not? Indeed, if Bacon had written the plays we probably would have the manuscripts. He was not, like Shakespeare, careless of his literary reputation. He would have fished the pages of copy out of the dust-bins of the London printers. Perhaps also he would have been prudent enough to write on asbestos, so that the book of the play or the actors' parts would not have been destroyed in the burning of the Globe Theater in 1613, nor in the great fire of London in 1666. It would be marvelous indeed if any of Shakespeare's manuscripts had escaped destruction. Of some contemporaries not even a printed line survives. Richard Hathway, highly praised by Francis Meres, was one of the most popular authors of comedy, yet we have not a single line of one of his comedies, though we know the titles of sixteen. Coming to an even later age, not one knows where there is a single page of the manuscript of Milton's *Paradise Lost*.

Besides leaving no manuscripts, it has been said, Shakespeare left no books. What of that? His library doubtless was small. It included North's *Plutarch* and Holinshed's *Chronicles*. We have a copy of Florio's *Montaigne* with Shakespeare's autograph and some notes, commenting upon thoughts imbedded in the plays. Perhaps neither the notes nor the autograph are genuine, but the argument in their favor summed up by Gervais is better than that for Bacon's so-called "Promus," which we shall examine later.

Having thus in various indirect ways cast suspicion upon Shakespeare's ability to write the plays, the Baconians launch into the wildest assertions with regard to Shakespeare's life and fame. We know almost nothing about Shakespeare, they have said so many times, that many people who are not Baconians have come to believe this true. The fact is that we know more of Shakespeare's life than we know about any other poet of that age, except Ben Jonson. We even know that Shakespeare's father was fined twelve pence for having a heap of dirt before his door, and that in 1598 the dramatist himself defaulted on his taxes in London town. We can count about three hundred references and allusions to Shakespeare in the writings of contemporaries between 1591 and the date of his

death, 1616. For a mere butcher, brewer, and pawnbroker, as the Baconians depict him, this means much!

To say, as the Baconians do, that when Shakespeare died no one in England dreamed of mourning the death of a great poet, that no obituaries in prose or verse show he was held in high esteem, is a fabrication that can proceed only from cheerful ignorance or supreme audacity. Within a few years of the Bard's death a monument was erected to him in Stratford—with an epitaph whose laudatory phrases would have been extravagant if applied to any other—while many contemporary writers lament the world's loss and prophesy the dead poet's immortal renown.

Having, as they think, put Shakespeare out of the way by their



HOUSE IN STRATFORD WHERE SHAKESPEARE WAS BORN.

pen-pricks, "with twenty trenched gashes on his head," every cryptic utterance or allusion made by Bacon or his friends at any time is construed by the Baconians as a reference to Bacon's authorship of the plays. He once wrote to King James that, with a full understanding of what he was doing, he suppressed his name and genius.

that "I have (though in a despised weed) procured the good of all men," there is nothing to show he was referring to any adventures in dramatic authorship. Again, when removed from office, he is quoted as writing to the Spanish ambassador that he would now "retire from the stage of civil action and betake myself to letters, and to the instruction of the actors themselves and the service of posterity." Since all of Shakespeare's plays were written long before 1621—the latest being first played in 1613, eight years before Bacon decided to betake himself to letters, and thirteen years before he died—it is impossible to establish any connection between this utterance and the genesis of the great dramas. And Bacon's chief claim to have served posterity is as the discoverer of cold storage, not as founder of a dramatic school.



ROOM IN WHICH SHAKESPEARE WAS BORN.

We are told that Bacon advocated the use of a pen-name for literary men. Why, then, did he not publish his *Essays* and other authentic works under a pen-name? The same severe logicians who tell us Shakespeare's parents were illiterate, assure us that Bacon's father published a great deal anonymously and under assumed names. Do they wish us to believe that perhaps Bacon's father wrote Shakespeare's plays? They insist that Bacon's mother published translations from the Latin and Italian, but never allowed her name to appear on the title-page. The work she translated was Bishop Jewell's *Apology for the Church of England*, and as the worthy prelate's own name does not appear on the title-page we cannot draw any weighty deductions from the absence of hers.

Right here however another consideration arises. Several of the ciphers found by ingenious Baconians in the works of Shakespeare assert that Bacon was really the son of Queen Elizabeth. Being very learned, the queen might also have made those translations; if so, the monumental self-effacement of the other lady is accounted for. If not, and if Queen Elizabeth was really Mrs. Leicester, and Bacon's mother, how can the fact that Lady Anne Bacon did not print her name on the title-page of a theological tract prove that her adopted son must have written the works of Shakespeare?

Bacon wrote a prose history of Henry VII which we are told fills the gap in the king dramas between Richard III and Henry VIII. Why, if he wished to fill the gap, did he not write a play around Henry VII? Why did he leave so many other gaps unfilled—three Henrys, five Edwards, to say nothing of Richard I?

The inconvenient little word "why" is the rock upon which most of the Baconian arguments go to pieces. Do they really deserve to be called arguments? Because in "The Merry Wives of Windsor" Mistress Quickly says, "Hang-hog is Latin for Bacon," and because Bacon's crest was a boar with a halter, and because "Ham-let" may be a diminutive derivative of "pig," we are expected to doubt the plain testimony of Shakespeare's friends and Bacon's. As John Fiske said, "By such methods one can prove anything."

Another staggering argument asserts that thirty-two obituaries written on Bacon laud him as the greatest of dramatic poets. Is it not strange that a secret so widely known should have been so sacredly kept until a crazy American woman guessed it after two hundred years or more? Of course, it is admitted that obituaries and epitaphs always tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Many a man whose endorsement was not worth thirty cents during his lifetime, might borrow a fortune in any bank if he could come back with his tombstone as evidence of his high standing in the community.

Those odes, written about Bacon after he had died, were collected by his friend William Rawley. In one of them the Muse of Tragedy exclaims, "Give me back my Apollo!" Since Apollo never

“Pinus” means “pine-tree,” and by metonymy, since spears were made of pine-trees, it was sometimes used for “spear,” but certainly it did not mean “Shake-Spear.” “Pinus” in the same way means “ship”; did Bacon write *Mother Shipton’s Prophecy*? It also means “torch”; did he write Rostand’s “Aiglon” and portray himself as Flambeau? Such is Baconian reasoning—it almost inclines one to believe the Baconians have little Latin and less common sense.

Dean Williams extols Bacon as “the greatest pride of the Muses and the Apollo to the Chorus.” Up to date the Nine Ladies from Helicon have not been heard from in regard to the matter. George Wither addresses Bacon as “Chancellor of Parnassus”—which to the Baconians is fraught with tremendous significance. If some one had called Bacon door-keeper of the universe the Baconians would scent therein an allusion to the Globe Theater.

But one of the references most fondly cited by the Baconians should effectively dispose of all the claims that Bacon wrote Shakespeare’s plays. Doctor Sprat said of him in 1607: “I am sure he does the work of twenty men.” Evidently Bacon was far too busy all his life to write thirty-seven plays!

One Bacomaniac makes exultant reference to a statement by Jonson that Bacon “filled up all numbers,” which is said to mean that “he wrote poetry in every conceivable meter.” As the works of Shakespeare do not contain poetry in every conceivable meter, it would seem reasonably certain that Jonson was thinking of something else. Bacon wrote verses. Most competent critics who have read them agree that they are not poetry at all, but badly rhymed prose. Read the poems ascribed to Bacon, and you will never suspect him of “Romeo and Juliet” or “Timon of Athens.” After scanning the paraphrases of some Psalms that Bacon published, one is sure he never penned the sublime prayer of Lear nor the torrential passion of “Antony and Cleopatra.” What if Jonson did call him the greatest word-painter in the English language? If it was sober truth instead of delirious adulation, it would not prove that he had written Shakespeare.

Parallel thoughts by the thousand are found in Bacon and Shakespeare—by the Baconians. When other people examine these parallelisms they sift down to a score or so. There are more parallels between Shakespeare and almost any other Elizabethan poet than between Shakespeare and Bacon. At most, such parallels are only proof that Shakespeare had read Bacon, or that Bacon had read Shakespeare, or that both had read in the same authors.

Superficial resemblances between the vocabulary of Bacon and

that of Shakespeare have really very little significance. The vocabulary of all Elizabethan writers is very much alike. Bacon uses many words that Shakespeare used; but Shakespeare uses many words that Bacon never knew.

As has been said before, even puns become potent arguments in the Baconian armory. We are told to look at Bacon's signature. After the "B" there is an interval and "acon" standing all by itself. We are told that "acon" is Greek for "javelin,"—that it is an obsolete word describing a peculiar sort of spear. The word is not "acon," but "akontium"; it was not obsolete, and there is nothing peculiar about it except the use to which it is put by the Baconians.



CLASS ROOM IN THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL AT STRATFORD.

The appropriate answer to this whole argument is furnished by Dr. Johnson: "A man that will make so poor a pun will not hesitate to pick a pocket."

There is yet worse to come. Bacon was Baron of Verulam; "veru" is a Latin word meaning "spear," and the old English word "lam" is equivalent to "shake." All through the plays of Shakespeare, even in "Hamlet," are many puns, but none quite so vile as this hybrid; therefore we cannot believe that the man who perpetrated the "Verulam" atrocity was the same that wrote the plays.

The Baconians are also very fond of scanning the title-pages of early editions of Shakespeare's dramas, finding in the arabesques

the syllables "Ba" and "con." These mystic scrolls are usually visible only to Baconians, who are as adept as Polonius at descrying anything suggested to them in the clouds of their fantastic theory. It never occurs to them that the syllable "Ba" may be an expression of contempt for the "con," slang for a "swindle," of which they are the victims.

A head-piece exhibited by the Baconians shows a bag and the figure of a "con" or "cony," the Old English name for the rabbit. Can it be that Bacon also wrote "Wild Animals I Have Known," which is commonly attributed to Ernest Thompson Seton?

One of these Baconians has declared that some title-pages labeled with the name of Shakespeare are adorned with a head-piece flanked by birds for "B," and in the center are the letters "acon"—together constituting "Bacon." Only a little more ingenuity would be needed to prove clearly that Bacon wrote the works ascribed to Audubon. The birds give us the clue. Pray note that both names end alike, and that four letters of Bacon's name are in the name of Audubon. Many Baconian arguments are built upon less solid foundations.

Perhaps all this may explain Robert Greene's bitter diatribe against Shakespeare—"an upstart crow, beautified with our feathers." Indeed this passage is often pointed to as proof that Shakespeare was masquerading in borrowed plumage. Since Greene was complaining that the feathers had been plucked from himself and his friends, he does not make a very good witness for the Bacon claimants—before an intelligent jury.

Now comes the weightiest evidence of all. If a man admits a crime his conviction would appear to be certain. Bacon, in a letter to the poet Sir John Davies, asked him "to be good to all concealed poets." If Bacon was a poet he concealed it so effectually that the greater part of the world has not yet discovered him. Spedding, the best of Bacon's editors and biographers, has deliberately written:

"If it could be proved that Shakespeare did not write the plays, I should believe that any one else had written them sooner than Bacon."

That is the testimony of the man who knew the subject better than any modern critic. He was familiar not only with Bacon's life but also with every line Bacon had written, and he was one of Bacon's most loyal admirers. Yet he assures us that he believes Bacon was altogether unqualified to produce the plays ascribed to Shakespeare. Nevertheless the Baconians, because Bacon mentioned

and "The Winter's Tale. When on another occasion, having written a sonnet to greet Queen Elizabeth, he excused its defects by saying, "I profess not to be a poet," this is regarded as double-dyed dissimulation and accepted as circumstantial evidence to clinch the case.

"Trifles light as air" are to the Baconians "confirmation strong as proofs of Holy Writ." They insist that Bacon, in the midst of his prose, often dropped into poetry and even into rhyme. So did Silas Wegg—shall we accuse him of the "Ode to a Grecian Urn"?

Not satisfied with Bacon's own confession, the Baconians summon his secretary, who testifies that "everything he wrote sounded



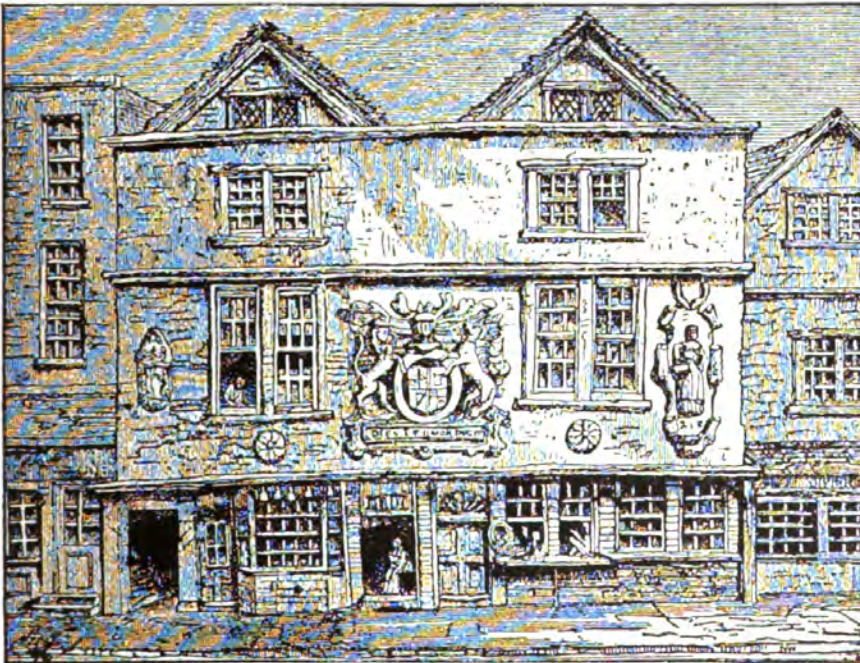
THE GLOBE THEATER IN LONDON.

like poetry." That secretary would have made a fine press agent. He deserves more credit for admiring loyalty than for literary discrimination. No wonder Bacon, in his last will and testament, left him five hundred pounds! Still it will be readily admitted that even Bacon's poems sound like poetry, though they are not.

And now comes Sir Tobie Matthew, a great traveler, Bacon's literary friend, his successor in parliament. Sir Tobie, we are told, wrote to Bacon that "the greatest of all poets bears your lordship's name, though he be known under another." The exact words of Tobie Matthew are as follows:

“The most prodigious wit that ever I knew of my nation and of this side of the sea, is of your lordship’s name, though he be known by another.”

Being written on the continent, this could only mean that Matthew had there met somebody whose name was Bacon, though he went under another. There was such a man on the continent at the time—a learned Jesuit known as Thomas Southwell, whose real name was Bacon. Matthew, a recent convert to Catholicism, was very likely to be thrown into just such society, and to form an extravagant estimate of such a man. So much for Sir Tobie!



THE FORTUNA THEATER IN LONDON.

With regard to the publication of Shakespeare’s plays, some amazing statements are made—as, for instance, that the great majority first appeared anonymously. A few did appear anonymously, but none appeared without Shakespeare’s name after his great fame had been established, though they were pirated and printed without his consent. Indeed his popularity was so great that booksellers ascribed to him many dramas that were not his; and despite the allegations of the Baconians, Shakespeare thought enough of his literary reputation to make a bookseller upon one occasion remove his name from the title-page of a spurious work. This was a poem, “The Passionate Pilgrim”—his dramatic works he does not appear

to have regarded as real literature, but rather as a journalist of our day might view his ephemeral pot-boiling editorials.

If it is contended that the plays remained anonymous until 1600, even as to the entries in the Hall of Records, we might point to Lady Anne Bacon, who omitted her well-known name from the title-page of a very popular work. The truth is that "Love's Labor's Lost," probably Shakespeare's first sole play, was printed in 1598 with his name on the title-page. The first play printed that we know of, "Romeo and Juliet," had appeared only one year earlier, in 1597. Francis Meres, writing in 1598, knew no less than twelve of Shakespeare's plays, and attests that their authorship was widely known. "The Muses," he says, "would speak Shakespeare's fine-filed phrase, if they could speak English."

After Shakespeare's popularity had begun, the booksellers never omitted his name. On the title-page it was spelled "Shakespere" or "Shake-speare." In the authentic autographs we have, the name is spelled "Shakspere," minus an "e" and an "a." Much has been made of this by the Baconians, but at most it proves only that the piratical booksellers may not have known how to spell the name of the man whose property they had stolen. People at that time spelled phonetically—according to the go-as-you-please spelling rediscovered by Andrew Carnegie and Prof. Brander Matthews, the great simplifiers. This being so, the name of Shakespeare's father, found sixty-six times in the Stratford registers, is there spelled sixteen different ways. Surely the name of Sir Walter Raleigh was well known; yet his name in contemporary documents is spelled in about forty different ways.

Curious and recondite hints about Bacon's authorship of Shakespearean plays are discovered everywhere—by the Baconians. In the First Folio of 1623 the last comedy but one is "As You Like It"; the title of the last but one of Bacon's Essays, we are told, also reads "As You Like It." In order to realize how baseless and irrelevant this argument is, remember that the First Folio was published by a printers' syndicate and some of Shakespeare's actor friends, so that Bacon had nothing whatever to do with the arrangement of the plays. As for an essay of such title, Bacon's works fail to reveal it.

It is worth noting, because of the peculiar light it sheds upon the mathematical processes of Bacomania, that in this enumeration one is asked to count backward, starting from the end of the whole of Bacon's *Essays* and from the end of the first division of the plays in the Folio. It is a fundamental principle of Bacomania that you

begin to count anywhere you like, so long as you end where you wish. One arithmetical Sherlock Holmes discovers profound significance in the fact that "Antony and Cleopatra" is the tenth tragedy, and that the tenth essay of Bacon likewise deals with Antony's mad infatuation for Cleopatra. This time the count begins at the beginning of the complete *Essays* and at the beginning of the second division of the plays. Bacon merely mentions Antony and his affinity in the essay, which has no relation whatever to



INTERIOR OF THE SWAN THEATER IN LONDON.

Drawn by De Witt in 1596.

Shakespeare's tragedy. But from a little molehill such as this a Baconian easily makes a Chimborazo. The word "honorificabilitudinitatibus," in "Love's Labor's Lost," has been made the basis of computations like those by which crazy millenarians fix the precise date of the world's end from the books of Daniel and Revelation.

Edwin Bormann, a German humorist who perpetrated an unconscious masterpiece in a book on the Baconian theory, declares that whenever Francis Bacon had time on hand, volumes of Shake-

spere were published. How Herr Bormann found out when Bacon had nothing to do, is not quite clear. Probably by reverse reasoning he deduced that Bacon had nothing to do when plays by Shakespeare made their appearance. According to all his biographers Bacon led a very busy life; one of them, as we have seen, says "he did the work of twenty men." The Shakespeare quartos began to appear in numerous editions from 1597 to 1611, in the very years when Bacon should have been most occupied. No new plays were produced after Shakespeare's death in 1616, though Bacon lived ten years longer, and toward the last had practically nothing to do, having in 1621 retired from public office in disgrace.

The statement that during the five closing years of Bacon's life a number of new Shakespearean dramas were published is based upon the fact that many of the plays in the First Folio of 1623 are there printed for the first time. It is certain however that they had been written and performed long before—and, as we have seen, Bacon had nothing to do with their publication. Heminge and Condell, actor friends of Shakespeare, remembered by him in his will, caused the Folio to be printed, seven years after his death, as a monument to his memory. Every one who knows the story of the First Folio, the most precious book in the world, a copy of which would bring at auction twenty thousand dollars, knows that no better proof of Shakespeare's authorship could be adduced. Has any other poet ever had a monument to compare with the First Folio?

Arguments based upon certain of the plays deserve some consideration. It has been pointed out, for instance, that "Henry VIII" could not possibly have been written in its present form before 1621, whereas Shakespeare died in 1616. In the scene showing the dismissal of Cardinal Wolsey, the two gentlemen who acted in Wolsey's case do not appear; in their place are the four nobles who in 1621 came before Francis Bacon to demand that he surrender the Great Seal of the Realm, after he had pleaded guilty to charges of corruption and bribery. The four nobles referred to are the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Earl of Surrey and the Lord Chamberlain. We might well ask whether there were no earlier Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, whether the Earl of Surrey and the Lord Chamberlain were inventions of Bacon? But that would not remove the peculiar coincidence. The matter is cleared up when we recall that Shakespearean scholars are practically agreed that only a few scenes of "Henry VIII" are by Shakespeare; Fletcher and Massinger likely have written the rest. So the point raised becomes one of minor

moment. But we also know that the play was acted in 1613, when the Globe Theater was burned down by a fire caused by discharging cannon during the performance; hence attempts to connect it with Bacon's disgrace eight years later are somewhat far-fetched. If an alteration was made in the cast, Ben Jonson may have done it at a later revival for the sake of the timely allusion.

Two literary finds have been used as props for the Baconian theory—the so-called "Promus" and the Northumberland manuscripts.

Mrs. Pott, a more industrious than ingenious exponent of the Baconian theory, came across the memorandum-book now known as the "Promus." It is assumed that this memorandum-book was owned by Bacon, and it is broadly alleged that it contains notes afterwards used in "Hamlet" and "Romeo and Juliet." To call the "Promus" a memorandum-book is the first piece of presumption. It is merely a school-boy's copy-book, and has no apparent connection with either Bacon or Shakespeare. Eduard Engel examined the "Promus," which is in the British Museum, and expressed the opinion that it contains the scribblings of three different school-boys. Bacon's handwriting does not resemble any of the three. Aside from proverbs in Latin and English, the profound thought which it contains consists of phrases like "Good-morning!" "Good-evening!" and similar commonplaces. Moreover Mrs. Pott has apparently resorted to deliberate misreading to score a point. She has substituted for the plainly legible word "vane," at the end of a Latin quotation, the word "rome," in order to secure a remote resemblance to the word "Romeo." The expressions "golden sleep" and "uprouse" are found in the "Promus"; they also occur in "Romeo and Juliet." This, to Mrs. Pott, is proof conclusive that the "Promus" was Bacon's notebook in writing "Romeo and Juliet." To the Shakespearean scholar nothing could be more ridiculous, more transparent, than this "Promus" humbug. Before it can be used to prove anything about either Bacon or Shakespeare, some one must prove that Bacon wrote it or had anything to do with it.

A somewhat more interesting problem is presented by the Northumberland manuscript, discovered at Northumberland House in 1867. This was a packet of miscellaneous manuscripts by various authors—Bacon, Shakespeare, Nash, and others. On the title-page the names William Shakespeare and Francis Bacon are written side by side over a dozen times. Only a few of Bacon's own manuscripts remained in the packet; of course it would not occur to the Baconians that the owners of the other manuscripts might have come to get

them. In one part of the manuscript, where "Richard II" and "Richard III" are mentioned, the name of Francis Bacon has been crossed out, and the name of William Shakespeare substituted. What does this indicate except that whoever wrote the index of the contents had made a mistake and corrected it? The Baconians find a deep significance in the crossing out of Bacon's name. They would have a real argument if Bacon's name had not been crossed out, or if Shakespeare's had been crossed out and Bacon's put in.

Coming to the portraits of Shakespeare, the Baconians are in clover. We are told that the folio edition of the dramas has the author's portrait, and that this does not in the least resemble Shakespeare's bust in Stratford Church. We are also informed that the Shakespeare of the Folio wears the costume of a courtier.

The costume has little to do with it. Shakespeare was an actor and may have worn costumes of various kinds. He was a court favorite, and may very well have worn court dress when at court, or the artist may have invested him with a new suit. Rodin has made a perfectly nude statue of Victor Hugo, but it does not follow that Victor Hugo walked about the streets of Paris unadorned.

The Droeshout engraving in the Folio is accompanied by ten lines of verse in which Ben Jonson tells the reader to

"Look
Not on his picture, but his book."

The meaning of that is very plain. The book was Shakespeare himself; the picture but a poor representation of him. Nobody but a Baconian could possibly misunderstand what Jonson meant. A Baconian can misunderstand anything.

Both this portrait and the Stratford bust—whitewashed, repainted, restored every now and then—were crude and inartistic attempts at a posthumous likeness. We know how little the newspaper cuts of our day resemble the originals—many of them would justify the victim in a libel suit. In Shakespeare's age the artists were even less adept and less conscientious, and Droeshout was just beginning his career. The Shakespeare portraits by Janssen, Soest, Gilliland, Donford, and others are all painted from tradition, not from life. That any of all these pictures resemble one another or the Stratford bust is more remarkable than that they differ.

What is known as the Chandos portrait bears a slight likeness to the portraits of Bacon, observable mostly by Baconians. This portrait was once owned by Sir William D'Avenant, the same who, as a boy, spoke of Shakespeare as his godfather, and was warned



LORD RONALD GOWER'S SHAKESPEARE MONUMENT AT STRATFORD.

by some village wiseacre not to take the name of God in vain. In his youth D'Avenant must have seen Shakespeare often, and this would justify the belief that the Chandos portrait must have been a good likeness. This applies also to the Shakespeare bust at the Garrick Club in London; this bust came from D'Avenant's theater, and was likely made from the Chandos portrait. A superficial resemblance to some of Bacon's portraits surely can have no bearing upon the question who wrote the plays. Some portraits of Beethoven look like Napoleon—did the Corsican compose the "Eroica"?

We are told that Byron, Coleridge, Beaconsfield, Bright, Hallam, Dickens, Whittier, and others have doubted Shakespeare's authorship. This resolves itself into the wonderment exhibited by these men over the fact that one born in Shakespeare's station should divulge such brilliant genius. Such surprise might be more justly expressed over Burns, Chatterton, and a host of others. Ben Jonson himself was a bricklayer's son; Marlowe's father was a shoemaker. Genius is the blue flower that grows upon the Alpine height, to be plucked by the wayfarer who went forth with no such purpose. It is the sudden star that flashes through the night unheralded by any trump of angel from the high heavens. It is no more possible to trace the genesis of genius than to unravel the strands of the rainbow or to trace ocean's waves to their generative cloud.

Even admitting the ignorance of Shakespeare would not establish Bacon as the author. The Baconians insist that whoever wrote Shakespeare's works must have understood Latin and Greek, French and Spanish; they insist that Bacon had mastered all these languages, whereas the unlearned actor Shakespeare knew nothing of them. But that Shakespeare's ignorance is a myth has been already shown. Ben Jonson, who knew him well, says he "had small Latin and less Greek," whence it follows that he had some Greek and more Latin. His knowledge of French, displayed in the wooing of Katharine in "King Henry V," is not anything to boast of; and his knowledge of Italian is somewhat doubtful, as the Italian stories supplying some of his plots had all become accessible in English translations, except the sources of "Othello" and "The Merchant of Venice." His acquaintance with Spanish is still more problematic; Montemayor, who furnished the suggestion for "The Two Gentlemen of Verona," had been translated into English shortly before Shakespeare made use of that material. Still, aside from his schooling, there is nothing essentially improbable in Shakespeare's having acquired a certain facility in all these languages, living in a large seaport where ships and sailors of every nation

came together. There is a strong probability that in the plague year 1603 he may have visited Italy; and if he did so he probably went through France, or more likely through Germany, which many companies of English comedians visited about that time. Certainly Jakob Ayrer, a Nuremberg poet, either knew of "The Tempest," or else Shakespeare knew of Ayrer's "Beautiful Sidea." I like to think that possibly Shakespeare may have met this disciple of Hans Sachs and discussed with him, over a stoup of foaming Bavarian beer, the decay of the drama since the inspired cobbler had been laid to rest.

It is a sad mistake to assume that superior erudition was required to write the works ascribed to Shakespeare. They contain nothing which any man of average intelligence might not have learned in five or six years of miscellaneous reading. There are hundreds of blunders and inconsistencies, from the clock that strikes three in "Julius Cæsar" to the cannons in "Macbeth," the seacoast of Bohemia, etc., which so learned a scholar as Bacon would never have let pass. It is not the learning that is in Shakespeare's plays that makes them the rarest jewels in the world's literature. It is the magical mastery of language, the deep insight into the souls of men and women, the marvelous dramatic power in every scene and character, that puts the plays upon a pinnacle. These things Bacon did not have, while the learning which we know he had, is not in evidence in the plays any more than his laborious touch.

In a letter to Sir Tobie Matthew, who translated the *Essays* into Italian, Bacon says:

"My great work goeth forward; and after my manner I alter ever when I add. So that nothing is final until all be finished."

It is said that Bacon rewrote the *Essays* thirty times. Rawley saw at least twelve copies of the *Instauratio*, revised year by year. This, as we learn from Jonson's sneering criticism, was entirely different from the literary method of Shakespeare, who rarely altered a line. When Heminge and Condell thought to praise Shakespeare's fluency, saying they had "scarce received from him a blot in his papers," Jonson vehemently wished that he "had blotted a thousand lines."

Jonson was one of Shakespeare's friends, one with whom he had many wit combats at the Mermaid Tavern, and he owed Shakespeare a great debt of gratitude, for Shakespeare used his influence at the theater to secure the acceptance and production of Rare Ben's first play. Jonson is one of those who have borne witness to Shakespeare's renown, though the Baconians make much ado over the fact that, in a list of great English poets, he does not mention



OTTO LESSING'S SHAKESPEARE MONUMENT AT WEIMAR.

Shakespeare, but calls Francis Bacon the greatest of all poets. We know that Jonson was also a friend of Bacon's, and that he was somewhat envious of Shakespeare; we know that he said Shakespeare "wanted art" and had "small Latin and less Greek"; but in all that Jonson ever wrote he never voiced any doubt that his friend Shakespeare had produced the plays, and it is to him we owe the verdict: "He was not for an age, but for all time."

The assertion that whoever wrote Shakespeare must have been a lawyer, because the plays abound in judicial arguments and legal allusions, all exhibiting the mind of a great jurist like Bacon, is almost answered sufficiently by the tradition that Shakespeare was in his youth a noverint, or lawyer's clerk. The Baconians however in their efforts to blacken the Stratford man's character, crow loudly over the fact that he was continually engaged in lawsuits to recover loans or annex real estate; and if this be so, he may easily have acquired his legal knowledge by association with lawyers, or from his father, who is known to have been involved in over forty lawsuits. One Baconian, when confronted with strong evidence that the plays contain hints of a lawsuit in which Shakespeare himself was interested, suggested that Bacon must have been Shakespeare's counsel. There are at most one hundred and fifty legal allusions in the plays, and they by no means justify the statement of Thomas Nash that "the author of 'Hamlet' was a jurist and the son of a jurist." He might as well have said that the author of "The Tempest" was a sailor and the son of a sea-cook.

All such deductions from the supposed knowledge or supposed ignorance of the two men lead much further than desired. For instance, it would be easy to show from many passages about horses that Shakespeare was a great lover of the horse, and knew horses better than most men. There being a tradition that, soon after he came to London, Shakespeare was employed at holding horses in front of the theaters, this by Baconian logic should be taken as proof that he, and none other, could have written the plays. The natural history we have in Shakespeare's plays is such as he would have learned in Warwickshire and along the Avon; it is not the natural history derived from books and scientific research, such as most of Bacon's was. The medical lore contained in the plays also is empiric; not such learned matter as Bacon had excogitated.

The utterly unpoetic bent of Bacon's mind, apart from the proof afforded by his allusions to law, is shown by the fact that in all

any other of the golden-throated choir that made his age the most illustrious since the days of Pericles. Poetry was to him a sealed book—with all his scholarship he does not appear to have heard of Dante or Petrarch, of Ronsard or de Bellay, nor does he often allude to Ovid or Virgil, with whose poetry Shakespeare was saturated. Read Bacon's essay on Love; then read "Romeo and Juliet"; it is not possible to conceive of the same pen writing both. Read Bacon's masque, "The Marriage of the Thames and the Rhine," and then read any of the interludes in Shakespeare's plays; the stilted classicism of the one and the romantic grace of the others afford a most instructive contrast. Gruff old Thomas Carlyle just about hit the nail on the head when he told Delia Bacon: "Your Bacon could have created the earth as easily as 'Hamlet.'"

Even the moral character of the men is fundamentally dissimilar. Bacon's ingratitude and treachery toward his friend and benefactor Essex is a black blot upon his fame. One might paraphrase the words of Antony: "For *Essex*, as you know, was *Bacon's* angel." When Essex became involved in a conspiracy against Queen Elizabeth, Bacon assisted the prosecuting attorney, and it was Bacon's merciless argument that sent Essex to the axe. No compunction restrained the brilliant and self-seeking man from this much-censured action, which rendered him very unpopular in England, and afterward he wrote a book to malign the friend he had slain. What was Shakespeare's attitude under similar circumstances? Southampton, to whom was dedicated "Venus and Adonis," was involved in the same conspiracy, and was exiled. Shakespeare, though a favorite at the court of Queen Elizabeth, is the only one of the noted poets of that time who wrote no threnody of grief when the queen died; and the reason commonly assigned for this was her harsh treatment of his friend and patron, who was recalled when James ascended the throne. Here we see Shakespeare, the warm-hearted and impulsive player, in contrast with the cold-blooded and calculating lawyer. It was utterly unlike Bacon to put friendship ahead of policy, and pride ahead of profit. There never has been an intellect as masterful as Bacon's coupled with a heart so pusillanimous and groveling. His abject humility is almost oriental—Pope called him the "meanest of mankind."

To my mind there is one conclusive chain of evidence which shows the great plays were written by the actor William Shakespeare. One might possibly conceive of Bacon having written them, and using another man's name, but certainly if he had written them this lawyer would never have permitted another man to reap

the rewards. Bacon was chronically hard up; he was once arrested in the street for a debt; he was a prodigal spendthrift, who as judge accepted bribes to make ends meet; when he died he owed more than one hundred thousand dollars, equivalent to nearly a million in our day. Shakespeare, on the other hand, accumulated a considerable fortune as the result of his various activities, as playwright, as player, as manager. During his best years his income has been estimated at six hundred pounds or about three thousand dollars a year, equivalent to nearly twenty-five thousand in our day. Now if Lord Bacon wrote the plays, why did he not "take the cash," though he "let the credit go"?

The other argument, to my mind no less conclusive, is that the plays were undoubtedly written by an actor, by a man familiar with the traditions of the stage, by a man who had an eye upon the people in the pit, and the other upon the pile of coin in the box-office. Bacon knew almost nothing of the theater. In the same year that saw the appearance of the First Folio, Bacon wrote that "the drama had flourished in ancient days, but now was in neglect." At that very time there were fourteen theaters in London, giving daily performances before many thousands, and producing plays by a galaxy of dramatists whose like the world had not seen since the days of Sophocles and Menander. The author of the Shakespeare plays shows that he is a player even by his fondness for similes of the theater. It would never occur to a lawyer like Bacon to write the picturesque apologue of life uttered by the melancholy Jaques:

"All the world's a stage,
And all the men and women merely players.
They have their exits and their entrances,
And one man in his time plays many parts,
His acts being seven ages."

None but an actor, and a good one, could have written the advice to the players in "Hamlet." None but an actor would have thought of Macbeth's pathetic figure of Life as

"A poor player
That struts and frets his hour upon the stage
And then is heard no more."

None but an actor could portray stage fright as he does in Sonnet XXIII. None but an actor would or could have written the delicious comedy scenes in "A Midsummer Night's Dream," where the efforts of amateurs are mocked with true professional superiority. None but a share-owner in a theater would have scored

the rivalry of the children's companies, which were hurting the regular play-houses, as Shakespeare scores them in "Hamlet" and "Antony and Cleopatra."

It is absurd to suppose that such a secret as Bacon's authorship of the Shakespeare plays could have been kept, since it must have been known to so many others besides Shakespeare and Bacon—to the actors, to the printers, to the families and friends of both men. To get over this difficulty the Baconians say that Ben Jonson, Rawley, Matthew, and the writers of the Odes undoubtedly did know Bacon wrote the Shakespeare plays, and that many allusions to such knowledge are found in their pages. Since Jonson repeatedly bears witness to Shakespeare's authorship of the plays—since neither he nor any of the others ever denied it—these fancied allusions are absolutely pointless. No one questioned Shakespeare's authorship until crazy Delia Bacon started all the Donnellies, Gallups, Potts, and Booths to hunting ciphers, and as each of them has found a different cipher we are warranted in taking them all with several grains of salt. The theories invented to account for Bacon's concealment of an activity he should have been proud to acknowledge, surpass the frenzied fictions of E. Phillips Oppenheim.

The Baconian theory is the abdication of common sense and the apotheosis of humbug. Started by Delia Bacon, encouraged by the Potts and Donnellies, the paradox has fascinated such minds as Lord Palmerston, Wilhelm Preyer and Friedrich Nietzsche. It even became fashionable in certain pseudo-literary circles to doubt whether Shakespeare could have written the plays, and to admit that Bacon might have done so. What is the value of the testimony of a hundred people who do not know? Even though Theodore Roosevelt and Dr. Munyon, Ella Wheeler Wilcox and Jess Willard, announced their belief that Bacon had written the plays of Shakespeare, that would not alter the plain facts known to every sane man that knows something about Shakespeare. We know all the essential points of his life; we know that the plays were produced at the theater of which he was part owner; we know that all his friends and contemporaries considered him the author, and that he gathered the financial rewards of authorship; we know that before he died, playwrights like Drayton and Jonson visited him in Stratford, for what reason if not to talk shop; we know that after he died, certain of his friends collected his scattered plays and had them printed as a memorial to the author. No one dreamed of connecting Francis Bacon with them; no one to-day, who has read both Bacon and

speare, any more than Shakespeare of being able to write Bacon. They are two minds of entirely different metal. Shakespeare was a synthetic genius; he built up, out of all the materials accumulated in miscellaneous reading, a world of his own—a world peopled by a multitude of characters not even surpassed by Balzac and Dickens. Bacon's mind was of the analytic type, which takes apart the knowledge of the world, dissects its parts, penetrates into the vital recesses of truth. We know so much about both men, there is hardly a niche in the lives of either into which the necessary postulates of the Baconian theory would fit. It must be dismissed as one of the strangest delusions, the almost incomprehensible aberrations, that the human mind has ever been guilty of. It is merely another proof of the fact that any truth, however clear and venerable, can be obscured by sly insinuation and raucous denial; that any theory, however tenuous and absurd, will find adherents if it is propagated vociferously and persistently. It would be far better if the misdirected energy of these people were expended in reading Shakespeare, especially the cryptic utterance of the Fool in "Twelfth Night":

"There is no darkness but ignorance,"

and the significant, almost prophetic, exclamation of Puck:

"Lord, what fools these mortals be!"

THE ATTITUDE OF AMERICA.

BY ROLAND HUGINS.

AN able American historian predicted at the beginning of this war that the United States would be pro-German in its sympathies within four months. He gave two reasons. The first was that the American mind would puncture the lid of lies which European diplomats had clamped over the explosion in July, 1914, and would begin to understand the real position in which Germany found herself. You see he was a philosophical historian. His second reason was that the German-Americans would argue the rest of us around to their point of view.

It is superfluous to say that the historian was mistaken. Not four months, but four times four months, have passed, and the United States is far from pro-German. Our pro-Ally contingent, most conspicuous in Boston and New York, is as violent as ever, both in its opinions and the expression of them. There exists, indeed, a very active and powerful element which is working—covertly for the most part—to involve the United States in a war with the Central Powers. The German-Americans have not argued us around. If they started out with such intention they have failed. Their protestations may have had some effect, but they themselves have been ridiculed, scolded, browbeaten, sneered at. To designate German-Americans, together with their friends the Irish-Americans and the Austrian-Americans, a new term of reproach has been invented, “hyphenates.”

THE GERMAN-AMERICANS.

The German-Americans have been cruelly misrepresented. There is no sounder or more desirable element in our population than our Teutonic blood. There is no element which has displayed devotion to the country, or civic or private virtue, in greater degree. Yet in these months of war they have been forced into a most distressing

position. They have daily read in the press the grossest insults to themselves and to the land of their ancestors. They constantly see the news poisoned by calumny and abuse. They live in a country which has declared its neutrality but which supplies in tremendous quantities the arms and ammunition to kill their kin, and they are powerless to hinder. When they have raised their voices in protest, their patriotism has been questioned. It is impossible to gauge the irritation, pain and humiliation they have suffered. Nevertheless it has sometimes struck me as odd that they have not made more headway against American prejudice. For they have been almost the sole champions of Germany's cause in America, and they have had a strong logical case to urge. And yet Americans, in the mass, have not been brought to see the validity of Germany's major contentions.

For one thing, German-Americans have not always been happy in their defense of Germany. They have sometimes used phrases to the detriment of facts. For example, in seeking to combat American misconceptions, some of them have asserted that Germany is "democratic" and that Germans enjoy "personal liberty." Now, to speak plainly, neither of these statements is true except in a qualified measure. No government which maintains such rigid property qualifications on voting as does Prussia, and which gives such large powers to a hereditary ruler, is democratic in the Anglo-Saxon sense. People who live under such a multitude of police regulations as do the Germans have not personal liberty in the American sense. German civilization shows many lofty virtues which other peoples envy and have not attained; but it is different from ours. These things have nothing to do with the case anyway. It is not our business to tell the Germans, who are free, enlightened, educated, what sort of government they shall prefer, any more than it is our business to tell the Chinese whether they shall have a republic or a monarchy. Americans, after all, are not so provincial as to want every nation cut from the same pattern,—least of all their own pattern.

And also, there is Mr. Wilson!

German-Americans have been censured for attacking President Wilson's foreign policy. This, of course, is unjust. The very persons who objected when German-Americans criticised the President for going too far, are now belaboring the President for not going far enough! But have German-American criticisms always been well directed? What, precisely, is the complaint they have to make against the administration's course?

In general, the accusation is this: that the United States has

been more neutral in name than in fact; that our neutrality has been highly prejudicial to Germany and highly benevolent to the Allies. The citizens of Germany and Austria, apparently, are convinced of this; they do not think this country gives them a square deal. Some Englishmen are candid enough to admit the same thing. G. Bernard Shaw recently said: "I may, however, remark, that America is not neutral. She is taking a very active part in the war by supplying us with ammunition and weapons and other munitions. Neutrality is nonsense." Quite as emphatic is Norman Angell: "Indeed, if we go below diplomatic fictions to positive realities, America is decisively intervening in the war; she is perhaps settling its issue by throwing the weight of her resources in money, supplies and ammunition on the side of one combatant against the other. The American government has without doubt scrupulously respected all the rules of neutrality. But it would have been equally neutral for America to have decided that her national interests compelled her to exercise her sovereign rights in keeping her resources at home at this juncture and to have treated combatants exactly alike by exporting to neither. This form of neutrality—just as legally defensible in the opinion of many competent American judges as the present one—would perhaps have altered the whole later history of the war. I am not giving you my own opinion, but that of very responsible independent American authorities, when I say that had American opinion been as hostile to the Allies as on the whole it has been to Germany, the campaign for an embargo on the export of arms or the raising of a loan would have been irresistible. You see I am speaking with undiplomatic freedom; saying out loud what everybody thinks."

The foregoing view, it seems to me, is unquestionably sound. The United States supplies munitions to the Allies not in normal quantities, but to the value of billions of dollars. Our plants are run to their full capacity; extensions are built; whole new factories are erected. War orders dominate for the moment our economic life. And all these supplies go to the enemies of Germany. We cannot expect a German to be much impressed by American preachments on "humanity" and "justice" when his sons have been shot by American bullets. And what galls the native German almost as much, I suspect, as the shipments of arms, which he knows to be technically legal, is the supine attitude of America toward Great Britain. We are not holding the balance even. British violations of neutral rights¹ are, from the standpoint of international law, more

¹ See *Economic Aspects of the War* by Edwin J. Clapp. New Haven, 1915.

reprehensible than Germany's submarine warfare, which was a policy of reprisal. Britain has killed our trade with Germany in non-contraband goods, although not maintaining even the semblance of a blockade of German ports; she has forbidden our trade with even neutral countries of Europe (while actively trading with those countries herself); she has stopped American vessels and taken off citizens; she has seized the mails of the United States. These arrogant violations of our rights are not merely technical; they are calculated to do the greatest possible amount of harm to the Central Powers; they were initiated frankly for the double purpose of starving Germany's population, and of effecting Germany's economic ruin. Neutrals be hanged; Britannia rules the waves!

What has the United States done to stop these wrongs? Obviously, nothing effective. Each new "blockade" order is more offensive than the last. It is illuminating to contrast the mild and polite protests of this government to England with the sharp, menacing language used to Germany. Whenever we have addressed ourselves to England or France we have said in effect: "My dear fellow, can't you see that you are in the wrong?" Whenever we have addressed ourselves to Germany or Austria we have said in effect: "You contemptible ruffian, quit that instantly!" We have used threats with Germany, persuasion with England. The result is that Germany has granted our demands, while England has grown more arrogant.

The United States, in order to make its neutrality one of fact and not of pretensions, must do one or the other of two things: must place an embargo on the export of arms, or break the British blockade. Perhaps the latter alternative is the more feasible. Unquestionably an embargo on munitions should have been undertaken at the beginning of the war, for both neutral and humanitarian reasons. But now, a year and a half later, it is possibly too late. Yet this swollen industry and these tremendous shipments of the instruments of death cannot be ignored. They overshadow every other relation of America to the struggle. They constitute us in fact an ally of the Allies. If they may not now be stopped, they lay on us the sternest obligation to make England toe the mark. That can be done; a serious threat of an embargo would help the British lion to see a gleam of reason. And unless we do this we may entirely forfeit the respect and friendship of the Central Powers,—a friendship we can ill afford to lose.

German-Americans, it seems to me, have wasted too much verbal shot and shell on President Wilson. After all Mr. Wilson

has kept us out of the fray. It is not hard to think of other prominent Americans who, in his place, would have embroiled us long ago! There are many of us who do not like Mr. Wilson's diplomatic methods; they verge too much on a policy of drift. But we prefer them to bellicose methods. The power of the President, moreover, has its limits. Congress has the authority to place an embargo on the export of arms; the Senate has the final word in foreign relations. German-Americans should work toward two ends, I think,—first, to make our neutrality genuine and impartial, and second and more important, to keep America out of the war. That danger has by no means passed. To accomplish these ends they should concentrate on American opinion, try to squeeze out of it unfairness, rancor and intolerance. Already they have accomplished something in this direction. The tone of American opinion has improved since the start of the war. But there still remains much ground to be ploughed.

THE AMERICAN VIEW.

The people of the United States have escaped the war fever, although persistent attempts are made to arouse them to a fighting mood. Beyond cavil the citizens of this country are bent on peace.

Rudyard Kipling, whose occupation these days is to out-Junker the Junkers, has proposed the pleasant little toast; "Damn all neutrals!" Undoubtedly Mr. Kipling cocked a baleful eye at the United States when he uttered this. We could afford to smile at Mr. Kipling's spleen if he stood alone. But within the last year many militant non-combatants among the Allies have cast baleful glances at the United States. The indifference of America offends them as deeply, apparently, as the hatred of their enemy. Why, they ask with a gesture of impatience, should Americans stand aside in this crisis of civilization? Why should they allow others to fight their battle for them—the battle of liberty and democracy? And these critics of ours in England and France are none too delicate in attributing motives for this Yankee apathy toward their noble cause. They insinuate we are too busy making dollars out of others' distress to heed the call of the spirit, and they frankly hint that when we say we are too proud to fight we mean too cowardly.

A number of Britons have recently unburdened themselves on this subject of American neutrality.² Let me quote a few of the choicer passages:

"We fight not merely for our threatened selves; we fight for

² *Everybody's Magazine*, January, 1916.

the liberty and peace of the whole world. We fight, and you Americans know we fight, for you. War is a tragic and terrible business, and those who will not face the blood and dust of it must be content to play only the most secondary of parts in the day of reckoning.

“H. G. WELLS.”

“On the last question, however,—the future of America in face of a German triumph—I can speak, if not with authority, at least with certainty. There is simply no doubt in the world that a German power founded on the breaking of France and England would have ultimately to break America, too, before its work was secure. A rich and disdainful democracy across the Atlantic is something which the German Empire simply could not afford to tolerate. If Germany gets as far as that, it would be vain to discuss whether America should fight, because America certainly will; and in that fight, please God, she would have Burgoyne beside her as well as Lafayette.

G. K. CHESTERTON.”

“The British nation would certainly be much gratified if their kinsmen, the Americans, should take a hand in suppressing the ‘mad bull of Europe.’ England would certainly be greatly benefited if America should go to war with Germany. Sir Roper Parkington, M.P., in a recent speech said: ‘If the Americans should join the Allies, the war would soon be ended.’ SIR HIRAM MAXIM.”

“Personally, I have always held that America would come to England’s assistance if ever England was hard pressed. Great Britain as yet is not, thank God, in a hole. Still, it has puzzled me not a little during the past year to assign a good cause for America remaining neutral in this awful contest. Is not America, just as much as Great Britain, a lover of justice and a hater of such atrocities as those which have characterized the warfare of the Huns? And as a friend she can no longer stand aloof and see civilization, and all that great nations are bound to uphold and hold dear, crushed and trampled under foot by barbarism and ‘frightfulness.’ I am quite convinced that it is the unanimous opinion throughout Great Britain that America should join the Allies, and it is undoubtedly a fixed hope in this country that she will assuredly do so before many months have passed. GENERAL GARNET WOLSELEY.”

These gentlemen take their malice and themselves very seriously. But they have, as it seems to me, totally misjudged the trend of American opinion since the outbreak of hostilities. They do not see that Americans—outside of the Anglomaniacs, found chiefly along the Atlantic seaboard—passionately desire peace because they have come to believe that peace serves not only the best interests of

themselves but of civilization itself. The Middle West, the West, and the South, do not want war, will not have war. Even in the hypnotized East there is a great sober element which would regard a plunge into this welter of slaughter as the worst possible calamity to the Republic. Only the pro-Ally fanatics (who are the most dangerous hyphenates we harbor, as I shall attempt to point out in a moment) want war and work for war.

Americans, in other words, have traveled far from that naive partisanship for the Allies which characterized them eighteen months ago. What has wrought this change in sentiment? Chiefly the growth of a healthy cynicism. I am speaking now of the bulk of Americans, who lie in opinion between the red-hot pro-Germans on the one extreme and the red-hot pro-Ally sympathizers on the other extreme. This great sane mass of the nation has disallowed the high-sounding declarations, the grandiose pretensions, of either side. It has come to some very definite conclusions: it believes that this war was willed by governments, not by peoples; that it sprang directly from a system of diplomatic groups and military alliances, each of which was trying constantly to tilt or upset the balance of power in its own favor; that the only significant rivalries behind the mutual hostilities were imperialistic rivalries; that the real stakes in this war are colonies, trade pre-emptions, strategic ports and straits, and above all military prestige; that militarism may be indicated by a predominant navy as well as by a great army, and that its essence is neither, but an itch for power and a muddle of selfish national ambitions; that militarism is not exclusively or even principally a Prussian disease, but a European, indeed, a world disease; that despite all the fine phrases about freedom, justice and democracy, the real danger to civilization lies in the war itself and in its spread; that a war of imperialistic rivalries enlists the support of great populations by cant and by lies about the enemy; and that as the struggle grows in bitterness and in extent of bereavement, both sides—but especially the losing side—become fanatic in hatred of the foe.

In brief, Americans refuse to be impressed longer by sham and pose. They are inclined to agree with Francis Delaisi, who predicted in 1911 that the business magnates and the politicians were about to plunge Europe into an imperialistic struggle.³ They are inclined to agree with Bernard Shaw, who asserted early in the conflict: "All attempts to represent this war as anything higher or more significant

³ *The Inevitable War (La guerre qui vient)*, by Francis Delaisi. Paris, 1911; Boston, 1915.

philosophically or politically or religiously for our Junkers and our Tommies than a quite primitive contest of the pugnacity that bullies and the pugnacity that will not be bullied are foredoomed to the derision of history." Bryan voiced American sentiment when he called it a "causeless war." Of course the phrase is inaccurate; there were causes enough, such as they were. Rather it should be called a witless war.

Another reason why most Americans cannot share the views of the solemn Englishmen above quoted is that Americans have not given way to hatred of Germans. We regard them as human beings much like other men and women, not as "Huns," "savages" and "beasts." The American does not have the Briton's naive belief in German atrocities. He knows that many of these tales (such as that of the Belgian child with severed hands) have been disproved a hundred times. He hears quite as frightful reports of Russian atrocities and of French outrages. He understands that war is a gruesome business, and that it brings out some of the basest traits in human nature; but he is unwilling to heap all the abuse due to human nature at its worst on Teutonic nature. And not only does the American show a wholesome skepticism toward the atrocity yarns paraded by the Allied governments; he goes further; he feels a revulsion of disgust. He wonders why men who are gentlemen attack the reputations as well as the soldiers of their foes, and keep up a campaign of calumny which they know in part at least to be false, a campaign at once malicious and mendacious.

Still another reason why the American feels kindlier toward Germany is that he has a high respect for German civilization, in times of peace at any rate. The British upper classes seem always to have regarded Germans with the contempt that the established feel toward the *nouveau riche*. They are unappreciative of German poetry, art and literature; they speak of boors and canaille; they appear to have gathered their estimate of the German nation by watching a fat Berliner eat sauerkraut in a beer-garden. The American on the other hand gives German civilization its due, even though he be one who deploras its "militarism." He knows that German music and German science lead the world; he admires the Germans for their educational system, for their municipalities, for their social insurance. Englishmen have often commented on the paucity of learning in America, and compared our culture unfavorably with their own; and perhaps in general the boast is justified. But in their ignorance of the real Germany and of German cultural attainments the English upper classes have shown them-

selves to be precisely what Matthew Arnold called them— "barbarians."

Our British critics should remember that Americans are fully competent to judge for themselves what the effect of a German victory would be on the United States. We are not affrighted over hypothetical German schemes. We know perfectly well that a German victory would not lead to the "enslavement" of either England or of France, and we are not worried about the fate of Suez or of India. We do not forget, again, that a German defeat means not only the triumph of British imperialism, but the triumph of Russia and Japan. We would rather see the Balkan peoples, or the races of the Near East, Prussianized than Russianized. And most vividly of all, Americans realize that the trend of world politics after the war is a matter of sheer speculation. It is all guesswork; no one knows. The dread designs which the British attribute to the German government are deduced from enmity and malice, not from reason or clearheaded calculation. America's answer to all this alarmist talk is military and naval preparedness; we shall be ready to meet aggression, from whatever quarter! So far as South America is concerned, Englishmen would do well to ponder a bit the pregnant remark of Israel Zangwill: "But the Monroe Doctrine would lose its last vestige of meaning if America intervened in a European war."

The American people have come to the conclusion that peace is their duty. This is not from fear, greed or sluggishness. We are not ultra-pacifists in this country; we do not want peace at any price, especially at the price of honor. But that is just the point: we are not convinced that any great moral principle, or even any fundamental issue of nationality, is at stake in this conflict. As the strife in Europe grows more desperate, as the non-combatant populations show a more revengeful and hateful temper, the war seems more and more remote (except to the Anglomaniacs) from American interests. After all, why should America feed her sons to this carnage by the thousands, or the hundreds of thousands? Why should boys from the farms of Ohio, Kansas and Texas die to help France take Alsace-Lorraine, or the Romanoffs to victimize more peoples? What have we to gain by becoming, for the first time in our history, entangled in murderous European rivalries? Why should we abandon our one opportunity of service, that, as President Wilson has expressed it, of keeping the "processes of peace alive, if only to prevent collective economic ruin"?

At the start the mass of Americans felt both an intense loyalty

to the cause of the Allies, and a gripping horror at the catastrophe to Europe. Both of these feelings have to some extent weakened. The intellectual classes are not now so much concerned over the military outcome as over the prospective terms of settlement. They hope that both sides will act with a measure of magnanimity and restraint which will give some basis for a permanent peace. By the common man, by the man in the street, the war is now regarded with indifference, indeed with boredom. Our vast American irreverence has asserted itself, even in the face of the most awful battle of history. In many places "war talk" is tabooed, considered bad form. The majority of Americans, probably, still hope to see the Allies win; but their interest is sentimental rather than vital. It is not the breathless solicitude of one who watches his champion do battle to save him; it is rather the enthusiasm of the baseball "fan" who cheers for the home team. At the beginning of the war the favorite American quip was: "I'm neutral; I don't care who beats Germany." At present Americans are so neutral they are reconciled to the prospect of seeing Germany win, if she can muster the strength. This growth of indifference may gall Englishmen, Frenchmen and American Tories. But it is, I submit, a patent fact.

THE ANGLOMANIACS.

There is a conspicuous element in America which has persistently refused to see this war through American eyes. When these persons look at contemporary history they look at it from the point of view of Englishmen and Frenchmen; when they urge action they urge it in the interest of the European coalition to which England and France belong. They are our pro-Ally fanatics, our Anglomaniacs, our American Tories. By whatever name they may be called, they have one distinguishing mark: they make mock of our neutrality.

August 18, 1914, before the war was a month old, President Wilson issued an appeal for restraint in discussing the conflict. The President said in part:

"The effect of the war upon the United States will depend upon what American citizens say or do. Every man who really loves America will act and speak in the true spirit of neutrality, which is the spirit of impartiality and fairness and friendliness to all concerned.

"The people of the United States are drawn from many nations, and chiefly from the nations now at war. It is natural and inevitable that there should be the utmost variety of sympathy and desire

among them with regard to the issues and circumstances of the conflict. Some will wish one nation, others another, to succeed in this momentous struggle. It will be easy to excite passion and difficult to allay it. Those responsible for exciting it will assume a heavy responsibility.

"I venture, therefore, my countrymen, to speak a solemn word of warning against that deepest, most subtle, most essential breach of neutrality which may spring out of partisanship, out of passionately taking sides.

"I am speaking, I feel sure, the earnest wish and purpose of every thoughtful American that this great country of ours, which is, of course, the first in our thoughts and hearts, should show herself in this time of peculiar trial a nation fit beyond others to exhibit the fine poise of undisturbed judgment, the dignity of self-control, the efficiency of dispassionate action, a nation which neither sits in judgment upon others nor is disturbed in her own counsels and which keeps herself fit and free to do what is honest and disinterested and truly serviceable for the peace of the world."

From the beginning pro-Ally sympathizers have spit upon the President's words. They have passionately taken sides. They have put no bridle on their tongues; they have poured out the vilest vituperation on Germany. With asinine self-complacency they have "sat in judgment" on the nations at war, and delivered the "American verdict." Although finding themselves largely in control of the press, they have never tried to speak impartially, never attempted to allay passion. On the contrary, they have done their embittered best to lash America to intolerance and hysteria.

Since the torpedoing of the *Lusitania* this unneutral element has tried to rush us into war over our "rights." And this despite the fact that there never has been the slightest excuse for going to war over that issue. On the whole neither side has offered us direct offense. We have simply been caught between the firing lines. It is impossible to vindicate neutral rights by fighting one side, for both sides have infringed those rights. Should we war on Germany we should fight by the side of allies whose interpretation of sea law is no more acceptable to us than that of our foes. Indeed a sea monopolized and fortified by Great Britain may in the end prove more disturbing to us than the submarine indiscretions of Germany and Austria.

Of course pro-Ally sympathizers insist that Germany's invasions of neutral rights have cost American lives, whereas England's violations result in merely commercial and economic damage. The

distinction is hypocritical. The persons who work themselves into a rage over Germany's "slaughter of innocent women and children" are not in the least annoyed because German babies are going to die for lack of milk. England's violations of our rights have been less spectacular than Germany's; but they are far more insolent. And it is well to remember that the Fathers fought the Revolution over a stamp-tax. The present administration has vindicated the right of Americans to sail through war zones on ships of belligerent nations (although in Mexico it warned Americans to leave or remain at their own risk). But it has not vindicated the right of Americans to use the high seas for legitimate commerce. Senator Gore summed up the matter in a sentence: "It is quite as important to protect the right of Americans to ship innocent goods as it is to protect their right to risk involving this country in a carnival of slaughter."

The submarine controversy has dragged itself out month after month. At each halt in the negotiations our traitorous Anglo-maniacs have rejoiced. They have implored the President to stickle for every little point in international law. They have insisted on a policy designed, not to vindicate our rights, but to sever relations. They are insatiate; no concession satisfies them. Germany declares that she has no intention of molesting neutral ships and neutral commerce; then she yields unconditionally to the demand that unarmed merchantmen, under hostile flag, must not be torpedoed without warning and without adequate provision for the safety of passengers and crew. Does this impairment of the submarine weapon placate the Anglomaniacs? Not at all; they now insist that Germany and Austria must forbear to treat *armed* merchantmen as auxiliary cruisers. It is not enough that Americans may travel safely on American, Dutch and Scandinavian ships; not enough that they may travel without fear on unarmed British, French, Italian and Japanese ships. They must also be granted the right to travel without danger on belligerent vessels carrying armament hypocritically called "defensive." Sensible Americans, in and out of Congress, rightly urge that American citizens be warned to stay off armed belligerent vessels. But our frenzied Tories scream that American honor is at stake. Honor? Great Britain during the Russo-Japanese war, and Sweden during the present war, warned their citizens not to travel on armed belligerent ships save at their own risk. Did England and Sweden thereby lose their national honor? In her attitude toward so-called defensive armament Germany has the equity on her side, whatever the letter of the law may be. This is a trifling "right" for us to cherish, and to endanger

our peace for it would be childish. Its defense can seem important only to those whose minds hold a hinterland of anti-German hate.

In the name of honesty what more can these American Tories demand of the United States? Has our neutrality been interpreted in any way which has given aid or succor to the Teutonic Powers? Have we not by our huge shipments of arms virtually constituted ourselves an ally of the Entente? The unvarnished truth is this: the pro-Ally fanatics in this country are not thinking of American interests at all; they are thinking of British and French interests. They ask us to intervene in a European struggle because of their opinion of the European right and wrong of it. They want us to go to war despite the fact that our youth would be killed and our wealth destroyed in a quarrel which is no concern of the American people. They demand war notwithstanding that it would imperil our international relations for a century. They urge us to fight, knowing full well that in our opinions we are a divided people, and that war would blast our national unity and run a cleavage of rancor and hatred through our cosmopolitan population.

These Anglomaniacs usually disguise their intentions in a fog of fine words about American rights. Sometimes they are more candid. In New York City there is an organization denominating itself The American Rights Committee. This committee has issued a statement which reads:

"Seventeen months of the European war have passed. During this period events of profound significance have occurred and issues formerly obscure have become clearly defined. The brutal violation of Belgian neutrality has been followed by the bombardment of unfortified places, the deliberate killing of non-combatants, the murder of women and children on land and sea, the wholesale massacre of the Armenian people, the disclosure of gigantic purposes of world-conquest, and a general defense of these unspeakable deeds by the Teutonic peoples.

"Our eyes have been opened to facts which were not fully revealed when we adopted a policy of neutrality, and the situation which confronts us to-day is not that which confronted us in August, 1914. Then we were admonished to remain neutral toward the European crisis: to-day we are involved in a world-crisis. Then we followed the traditional American policy of non-interference in European political struggles: to-day we are called upon to champion the immutable and universal rights of man. Then we tried to maintain neutrality of thought as well as of word and deed: to-day the Teutonic Allies have forced upon us issues which render neutrality

not merely impossible but utterly repugnant to the moral conscience of the nation. Through our fuller knowledge of the events which precipitated the war, of the manner in which it has been prosecuted by the Teutonic Allies, and of the enormous schemes for Teutonic aggrandizement, we have come to understand that a theory and method of government which we abhor is being forced upon the world by military might, and that all those human liberties which our nation was founded to maintain are to-day imperiled by the possibility of a Teutonic triumph."

This bombast is followed by a "declaration of principles":

"1. We believe that there is a morality of nations which requires every government to observe its treaty-obligations and to order its conduct with a decent respect to the opinions of mankind.

"2. We believe that the Teutonic Powers have repudiated the obligations of civilized nations and have raised issues which lift the present struggle from the sphere of European political disputes to a crisis involving all humanity.

"3. We believe that in the face of such a world-crisis our people cannot remain neutral and our government should not remain silent.

"4. We condemn the aims of the Teutonic Powers, and we denounce as barbarous their methods of warfare.

"5. We believe that the Entente Allies are engaged in a struggle to prevent the domination of the world by armed force and are striving to guarantee to the smallest nation its rights to an independent and peaceful existence.

"6. We believe that the progress of civilization and the free development of the principles of democratic government depend upon the success of the Entente Allies.

"7. We believe that our duty to humanity and respect for our national honor demand that our government take appropriate action to place the nation on record as deeply in sympathy with the efforts of the Entente Allies to remove the menace of Prussian militarism."

It would be a waste of time to refute these statements. They obviously are inspired by prejudice and ill-will; they obviously treat the crassest assumptions as matters of fact; they obviously reveal a sophomoric conception of international politics. Nevertheless these agitators and their ilk constitute a menace to the peace and security of the United States. Preposterous as their utterances are, they foster malevolence, for in times of passion declamation passes for reason. These Anglomaniacs are turning their backs on America; they have their eyes fastened on England, Belgium and France. They do not heed American opinion; they listen to the advice of

Englishmen. They are our true hyphenates. They are the real traitors within our borders. They are the unloyal element that has introduced "corrupt distempers" into our national life.

For these American Tories there is only one adequate piece of advice: Let them get out! Let them enlist and take their places in the English trenches. Let them remember that the seas are open to them; Britannia rules the waves! Their hearts are in France and England; they are free to prove their sincerity by risking their lives there. We do not want them in America, fighting the war with their mouths, seeking to embroil the whole nation. I am aware that this advice cannot be followed by many of our most violent pro-Ally fanatics, because they are past military age. It is a remarkable fact that our bitterest defamers of Germany are old men. I shall not be invidious enough to mention names; but just recall to mind the leading American Tories! There is no more shameful spectacle in America than these malignant old men, waving their fists at the Kaiser, mouthing the garbage thrown to them from Fleet Street, hounding us on, shrilling for a sacrifice of American blood.

CONCLUSION.

Most thinking men and women agree that this is a time for America to keep her head and watch her step. Should the Teutonic armies continue their victories, and approach to a triumph, the efforts of hyphenated Anglo- and Franco-Americans to involve us will become more frantic. But that collective insanity we shall probably avoid, despite their fomentations. We shall do the world the negative service of standing aloof. But it seems doubtful that America will be able to accomplish anything positive for world peace, anything constructive for the future security of mankind.

And the reason?

Simply this: that bigotry cannot reform bigots; that prejudice and hatred and intolerance cannot heal a world gone mad with hatred and intolerance. America cannot effectively fight militarism so long as she thinks injustice to Germany. And let there be no mistake about that: American opinion is monstrously unjust. It is as unjust to Germany now as was British opinion to the North during our Civil War. America cannot suggest sensible remedies for war so long as she holds to the childish notion that the blood-guilt of this greatest of all wars is a personal guilt of the German military caste or of the German people.

Fundamentally, of course, none of the great governments at

war is blameless. We do not have here white angels fighting black fiends, but human beings all smeared with the same scarlet. The only question open to debate is, who is smeared the less? This question finds its answer in the recent politics of Europe, the history, say, of the ten years preceding the war. To me it seems that any philosophical examination of this recent history gives Germany a *shade* of advantage, a slightly superior claim on our moral sympathy, both for the character of her aims, and her honesty in avowing them.

American comment on the war appears either to have overshoot the mark, or undershot it. It has been either too naive or too subtle. First of all, Americans made up their minds that Germany commenced the war; that she was the "disturber of the world's peace." It was a snap judgment, for it was based almost exclusively upon the events of the twelve days of the crisis. The diplomatic documents of the European governments were said to embody the "evidence in the case." Never was evidence flimsier. The different governments wrote, selected and printed what they wanted the world to read. The dispatches are all scissors and paste, and sometimes not even that, but plain fabrication, as in the instance of the notorious No. 2 in the French Yellow Book. The worthlessness of such "evidence" for unbiased judgment is shown by the fact that men come to exactly opposite conclusions in reading it. Judgment depends not on what the dispatches say, but on which of them one believes true, and which one rejects as false. From a thorough perusal of the White, Yellow, Orange, Gray, Blue, Red and Green Books, every person emerges with precisely that *mental* color-blindness with which he started.

Americans condemned Germany at the beginning mainly from newspaper accounts of the crisis. That snap judgment has never been revised. The scholarly portion of American opinion has busied itself chiefly in explaining what it assumed to be true. It has started from the premise that the Teutons precipitated a world war, and were bitten with militarism. So it has attempted to give reasons for that militarism. It has sought to trace the influence of Nietzsche and Treitschke on the Teutonic consciousness; it has attempted to derive German psychology from Kant; it has made elaborate and academic contrasts between the Latin and Teutonic civilizations,—and so on through fine-spun dialectics. All of this discussion is but window-dressing for a theory and a prejudice.

Some thoughtful Americans, who see the war as a logical result of the silent, alert struggle in Europe between rival alliances for a balance of power, covering many years, state a conclusion unfavor-

able to Germany in restrained language. They would agree with Prof. Ellery C. Stowell: "I do not wish to be understood as thinking that Germany really wished for war; but by her conduct she gave evidence that she intended to back up her ally to secure a diplomatic triumph and the subjugation of her neighbor, which would have greatly strengthened Teutonic influence in the Balkans. She risked the peace of Europe in a campaign after prestige." With such moderation it is hard to quarrel. But most pro-Ally Americans are not content to maintain that Germany was sixty percent wrong in the diplomacy directly preceding the war; they assert she was ninety-eight percent wrong, or one hundred percent wrong. According to these uncompromising partisans she plotted a war, conspired for it, deliberately provoked it.

To support the charge of conspiracy the pro-Ally fanatics surely cite the well-known facts. They undoubtedly point out that at the end of July, 1914, Germany had not recalled her reserves from any part of the world, that the Kaiser was yachting in the North Sea, that the harvests were not in, that the German fleet was scattered in small units on all the oceans. To demonstrate that the Entente Allies were innocently ignorant of the impending crash they probably call attention to the mobilization measures taken in Russia as early as June, to the timely review of the English fleet in the early summer, to the transportation of colonial troops to France several weeks before the ultimatums. They unquestionably go further. They show that England was unprepared for the conflict because she had been maintaining the two-power naval standard; France because she practised conscription and had recently passed the Three Year Law; Russia because the number of her armies and reserves was equal to those of Germany and Austria combined. Germany, they say, has been pursuing for a long time a selfish imperialistic policy; she has been seeking colonies and trying to guarantee markets for her export products. But the Allies on the other hand have pursued a relatively altruistic policy; they have stood for the *status quo*; they guard the rights of small nations. This disinterestedness of the Allies is demonstrated by their acquiring, previous to war, several times as much territory as Germany; by their treatment of

mined that Germany is to blame for the war, he judges every subsequent issue unfairly. Atrocity tales from the Entente side stir his anger, whereas atrocity tales from the German side, even when better bolstered by proof, fail to move his imagination. He would demand that the United States protest the violation of Belgium's neutrality; but he would consider it silly to protest the violation of Greece's neutrality. It should be apparent to every thinking man that the Belgian affair must of necessity seem more reprehensible to the pro-Ally sympathizer than to the sympathizer with the Teutonic Powers. The latter cannot help but feel that Germany's extreme peril justified the passage of troops across neutral territory, and that Belgium, by her secret agreements with France and England, by her French sympathies, and by the fact and character of her resistance, constituted herself virtually one of the Allies. Whether this view is right or wrong, the fact remains that had the United States protested the invasion of Belgium she would not have been acting merely in the interests of international law; she would have been "sitting in judgment" on the war, she would have been taking sides. In any event it is not the business of the United States, where American rights are not invaded, to play the part of international Pharisee and send out protests every time any one does anything we deem "lawless" or "unrighteous." If we adopted that policy we should be shooting out protests every week. What tribunal appointed us the Judge of nations and their acts?

This is a time preeminently for charity, forbearance, friendliness to all. It is not a time for imputing bad motives, for recriminations. The war is the logical result of imperialism, of rival military alliances, of the doctrine of the balance of power. The dominant cliques of Europe thought a war inevitable. It has for decades been the business of these cliques to plot, not for war, not for peace, but for *successful* war. Possibly both sides thought the hour had struck in 1914, the Germans for strategic reasons, the Entente for political reasons. Unquestionably the statesmen of the Entente believed at the beginning they would soon crush Germany and Austria, that the 300,000,000 would soon overwhelm the 130,000,000. Their coalition once set in motion, they predicted a short victorious war. In this they simply misjudged, they underestimated Germany's strength and resources. I cannot believe there was much sinister calculation for the precise event on either side, except possibly by the autocracy and military caste of Russia. On the whole, Europe simply tumbled into war. The nations had erected rivalries and enmities which could not stand the strain of a real crisis.

If America wishes to accomplish aught for peace within the next year, the next decade or next quarter century, it must face the real situation. It must grapple, intellectually, with an evil system, with an international problem. Surely Europe is not training itself to solve the problem. So far as causes are concerned, this war was not a people's war. But to-day it has become precisely that. Hate has eaten into the vitals of every nation. To each people the wickedness of their foe seems the one great curse upon mankind. Blood-lust and revenge are reenforced by moral purposes. The spirit of the Inquisition is being revived. It hardly seemed possible; but one can see the re-creation of that hell of human motives in England and France—the idea of saving the soul by torturing the body,—of redeeming a nation by killing its citizens. Possibly Europe will recover from that insanity. Certainly America cannot help Europe by capitulating to the same madness. Only by the exercise of dispassionate judgment and an infinite compassion can we offer the world a new horizon and a hope.

THE MONEY MARKET OF TO-MORROW.

BY LINDLEY M. KEASBEY.

OVER the prospects of planting arts and learning in America, Bishop Berkeley became poetically inspired. Probably because these prospects are so pleasing, his poem is become popular in this country, especially these oft-quoted lines:

“Westward the course of empire takes its way;
The four first acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day;
Time’s noblest offspring is the last.”

It’s theatrical at all events, this drama of western civilization in five acts! At the end of the fourth act the European old-folks retire; at the beginning of the fifth time’s noblest offspring enters, thereupon the action quickens toward its climax,—the apotheosis of America! There is breadth of vision also on the urbane bishop’s part, extending, you will find on further inquiry, from the course of empire in the center, to psycho-physiological investigations on the one side, and to the efficacy of tar-water on the other. Concerning his technique however there is not so much to be said. Bishop Berkeley was an idealistic philosopher, not a practical economist. But in determining the course of empire, economic elements must of necessity be taken into account. Because, as another English philosopher, James Harrington, a predecessor of Bishop Berkeley, put it: “Empire follows the balance of property.”

And the balance of property is in its turn determined by the balance of trade. So, in order to understand the situation, you will have to descend from the heights of philosophical speculation to the depths of economic analysis. Ever since the exchange system was established, and buying and selling began, property of all kinds has become more and more mobilized in money. Money you should think of in this connection as a fluid fund of purchasing power, embodied in coin and credit instruments. In obe-

dience to the law of gravity, this fluid fund of purchasing power seeks its level, like other fluid funds. The only difference is, in this case the level is determined by the balance of trade. What regulates and adjusts the balance of trade I expect to show you in the course of this story; suffice it at this juncture to say: As the balance of trade tips in favor of any country, money flows in from all sides, and coin and credit accumulate in this so-called center of exchange. Such accumulation stimulates economic enterprises, and these are followed by financial operations, which proceed outward in all directions from the center of exchange. These operations in their turn accord financial control, whence in last analysis political power is derived. Thus Harrington hit it off accurately enough in his single statement: Empire follows the balance of property. Still, to follow the course of his shot, you should think first of property as mobilized in money, and then determine the balance of trade. This point reached, you will arrive at the center of exchange, whence financial control and political power proceed. There is nothing in the least poetical, or even idealistic, in all this: nevertheless it is just these prosaic factors—the altering balance of trade, the shifting center of exchange, and the extension of financial control—that account for the accumulation of property and determine the course of empire withal.

Thus both Berkeley and Harrington appear to be correct. As the accumulation of property has proceeded, so also has the course of empire taken its way toward the west. Why? Because the balance of trade has been preponderantly in this direction. Therefore you can follow the shifting center of exchange, and likewise the corresponding extension of financial control, from Babylon to Tyre and Sidon, Corinth and Athens, Alexandria, and westward across the Mediterranean to Rome. Whereupon you arrive at an exception. At this juncture the balance of trade turned against the Occident and dipped toward the Orient again. Constantinople became accordingly the center of exchange, and for several centuries financial control and political power proceeded from the Eastern Empire. Is this such an exception as to prove the rule? It seems to me so, for I foresee just such another reversal of the established procedure before us to-day, accompanied by a corresponding shifting of the center of exchange. But this is anticipating.

Let us leave the ancient world and start afresh from the Middle Ages. The crusades had the effect of turning the balance of trade once more toward the west, with the result that the center of exchange shifted in the selfsame direction,—from Constantinople

to Venice and Genoa, up the Danube and down the Rhine, to Hamburg and to Antwerp and Amsterdam on the North Sea shores. In accordance with the aforesaid procedure, financial control and political power followed suit. Then came the voyages of the fifteenth century and the subsequent oversea conquests. These had the effect of tipping the balance of trade still further toward the west,—in favor of England finally. Purchasing power accumulated accordingly in the British Isles, and from England as the center of exchange financial control extended outward in all directions across the seas. The course of empire kept pace with this procedure, so such is the state and extent of British imperialism to-day.

And yet, if I read aright some recent statistical handwriting on the ancient historical wall, in a few short months striking changes are destined to occur. There are indications of another alteration in the balance of trade, not in favor of the Occident as heretofore, but in favor of the Orient again. If so, the center of exchange should shift, not from London across the Atlantic, as is so confidently expected, but from London across the Channel to Berlin, I suppose. Should such a shifting occur, financial control and political power would follow suit as of old; whereupon British imperialism would decline and German imperialism approach the apogee of its career. All of this is out of focus with Bishop Berkeley's philosophical vision, but quite in accordance with the economic factors involved. Furthermore, these changes that I foresee can be predicted with considerable accuracy, I believe, by the use of an economic key which explains the complexity of the commercial code. History has handed us this key: *That which is recently written is a continuation of, and consequently in accordance with, that which is already recorded.* The code thus explained is not so complicated, consisting simply of three interconnected terms: *the balance of trade, the center of exchange, and the age-old antithesis between exploitation and production.*

By either of these means—exploitation or production—a favorable balance of trade can be acquired; but not by either of these means—exploitation or production—can such favorable balance be secured. Think first of exploitation and its several sorts,—forceful, feudal, and financial, the exploitation of natural resources and the exploitation of inferior folk; it is easy to see how a favorable balance can be acquired by such exploitative means. But in order to secure such favorable balance, productive activities are required, along the lines of intensive agriculture, the arts and crafts, and industry and commerce besides; for such activities produce an ex-

portable surplus, in the form of fine products and finished goods; and it is chiefly through the exportation of these small and expensive commodities, in exchange for food-stuffs and raw materials which are both bulky and cheap, that a favorable balance of trade is secured. To be convinced of this you have only to consider some significant examples in the order of their historical development.

Babylon not only acquired but also secured her favorable balance by productive means, so also Tyre and Sidon, and Corinth and Athens. These ancient centers of civilization undertook intensive agriculture and developed the arts and crafts. The surplus derived from these activities they exported in their own ships to the Indian and Mediterranean markets. Through such productive procedure these classic city states secured for themselves a favorable balance of trade, and each in its historical turn came to constitute in consequence one of the westerly-shifting centers of exchange. Like the British empire of our day, the Alexandrine empire of old endeavored to combine both exploitative and productive means, with just about the same success to start with and similar disaster in the end; whereas Rome, like the Spanish empire of the seventeenth century, confined herself from the first, and continued to confine herself, exclusively to exploitation both of natural resources and of inferior folk—which exploitation was in first instance forceful, and finally financial in character. With what result? The inevitable when an economic system is out of accord with the commercial code. In the end Rome lost the favorable balance she had acquired by exploitation, but failed through production to secure. If, instead of persisting in their policy of exploitation, the Romans had gone over into production, undertaken intensive agriculture, and manufactured finished products for export sale, they would then undoubtedly have secured for many more centuries their extraordinarily favorable balance of trade. As it was, the huge sums of gold and silver, accumulated in Rome through forceful and financial exploitation, flowed out along the Mediterranean trade routes toward the productive areas of the East, in an ever-swelling stream, to pay for the finely finished products exploitative imperialism was unable to provide. Rather than read the handwriting on the wall, Constantine saw a sign in the sky, *in hoc signo vinces*, which economically, if somewhat facetiously,

the Bosphorus. And after this, for centuries, the emperor's eponymic city continued to constitute the center of finance and exchange. All of which is extremely significant to those of us who are endeavoring to decipher the recent handwriting on the ancient historical wall.

While the East was thus engaged in productive activities centering around Constantinople, the West was given over again to exploitation, on the part of European barbarians, which exploitation was first forceful, then feudal in character. During all these dark ages in Europe the only productive activities of any consequence were those carried on by the church. Then came the crusades, which extended Western exploitation over the East again, to include all the Levant, and ultimately Constantinople itself. Thus the exploitative West found itself once more in contact with the productive activities of the East and with the center of exchange. At this favorable juncture the Renaissance Italians showed themselves wiser than their Roman predecessors; for, instead of pursuing the exploitative policy of the West, they imitated the productive activities of the East. The example thus set by the Italian cities was followed by their Teutonic successors, the Swabian and Rhenish Confederacies, the Hanseatic League, and finally the United Netherlands. Thus, through the productive activities of these Italian and Teutonic peoples, intensive agriculture, the arts and crafts, industry and commerce were extended from the eastern to the western Mediterranean, up the Danube and down the Rhine, and along the Baltic coast lines to the North Sea shores. In this way the balance of trade which the crusaders had acquired by exploitation was secured through production, and the center of exchange shifted accordingly, from Constantinople to Venice and Genoa, thence to Hamburg and Lübeck, and finally to Antwerp and Amsterdam.

Nevertheless, and all the while, exploitation proceeded as before; only in altogether different directions, and on a very much larger scale,—this because of the voyages of discovery and the subsequent oversea conquests, which opened up for European exploitation the Far West on the one side and the Far East on the other. Owing to their geographical position the Spaniards were the first to enter these immensely enlarged fields. Like their Roman predecessors, who were warriors at the outset and usurers in the end, the Spanish conquerors and inquisitors confined themselves exclusively to exploitation. Beginning with the productive activities of the Moors in the Iberian peninsula, such exploitation on the Spaniards' part extended over the Atlantic to include the natural

resources and accumulated treasure of the Aztecs and Incas of ancient America, and reached its relentless extreme over the agriculture and industry of the United Netherlands. It was through such forceful exploitation that Spain acquired temporarily her favorable balance of trade, and for a short space of time Cadiz competed with Amsterdam as the center of finance and exchange.

At this historical stage in the age-old antithesis England entered in, as an exploiter to begin with, but as a producer by the way. In which respect the British empire of our day is like the Alexandrine empire of old,—based upon exploitation but built up by production, built up however only to a limited extent, and in such a restricted way, that production is confined to the tight little island, whereas exploitation is extended across all the seas.

Considering such exploitation on Great Britain's part, you will find it has proceeded along the same old lines, extending from forceful, through feudal, to financial exploitation, and including not only the exploitation of natural resources but also the exploitation of inferior folk. Natural resources are unable to resist, they can only revenge themselves through diminishing returns; however there are inferior folk to be reckoned with, and opposing powers besides. In this case inferior folk resisted British exploitation to the best of their ability, witness at home the Irish, and the Indians and others abroad. Opposing powers also presented such obstacles as they were able to on all sides,—Russia on the east, the United States on the west, the African republics on the south, to say nothing of smaller states here and there. Nevertheless, in spite of internal resistance and external opposition, British exploitative imperialism prevailed from the sixteenth century on, and with such success that by the beginning of the nineteenth century exploitation had extended itself from the British Isles outward in every direction to the uttermost parts of the earth. It was through such exploitative procedure—by carrying further forward the exploitative policy inaugurated by Rome and continued so successfully by Spain—that Great Britain acquired her favorable balance of trade.

The balance thus acquired by exploitation Great Britain endeavored through production to secure, though not, be it said, with the same success, owing to inefficiency and diminishing returns. But before taking account of these restricting factors we should retrace our steps and pick up the course of Great Britain's productive career. Originating in intensive agriculture and the arts and crafts, productive activities develop along industrial lines and culminate, as I have shown, in commercial expansion. The geograph-

ical axis of these activities is from southeast to northwest; their historical course in this direction we have already traced, from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor in the southeast, northwestward across the Mediterranean to Southern Europe, thence up the Danube and down the Rhine, to the Baltic coast lands and the shores of the North Sea. Therewith we arrive at the starting-point of Great Britain's productive career. From these northwesterly outposts of agriculture, industry and commerce productive activities were carried over into England during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by Hanseatic merchants and Flemish manufacturers proceeding from the Baltic coast lands and the North Sea shores. Finding a congenial climate across the Channel, and a soil richly replenished from year to year by oversea exploitation, productive activities took root in England and thrived to such an extent that they were soon able to hold their own against their continental competitors. First the Dutch were defeated, then the French were forced to succumb. In short, such was the success of this so-called "nation of shop-keepers" that by the beginning of the nineteenth century British productive activities stood unquestionably supreme. From this time forth England produced an increasing exportable surplus, consisting for the most part of manufactured goods, which she continued to send abroad to the colonial and foreign markets of the world, in her own ships, across seas which she had succeeded in reducing to her exclusive control. It was in this way, by continually extending her productive activities, along the lines laid down by the city states of the ancient and medieval worlds, that Great Britain has been able to secure thus far her favorable balance of trade.

However, had it been simply a question of England's productive activities over against those of the European continent, I doubt very much whether Great Britain would ever have secured such a commanding position in the commercial world. Certainly the productive activities established on either side of the Rhine were more advisedly conceived and far better organized than those that developed in the British Isles. On the other hand, insular England possessed the advantage of an exploitative base abroad, whence she was able to derive, not only foodstuffs and raw materials in unlimited quantities, but also a considerable portion of the capital required to carry on her productive activities at home. Thus if I am right in my conjecture—and it seems verisimilar—the secret of Great Britain's success is to be sought not so much in her insular productive activities as in her exploitative base abroad. Whence I would con-

clude: Not altogether through exploitation, nor yet by production alone, but rather by a judicious combination of the two, has Great Britain been able to acquire, and thus far to secure, her favorable balance of trade. With the results already stated: England has come in our day to constitute the center of exchange; from Lombard Street, London, financial control at present proceeds.

There are evidences however of an impending change; if you can not read the writing on the wall, surely you can see the signs in the sky! As I foresee them, these changes are the inevitable outcome of another alteration in the age-old antithesis between exploitation and production, and in accordance with the operation of an inexorable law: *Exploitation allows inefficiency and leads to diminishing returns; whereas production requires efficiency and tends toward increasing returns.*

To acquire the proper perspective, look back along the historical line. Having unduly extended her exploitative base and unwisely restricted her productive activities, Great Britain is facing just such a disaster as confronted the Alexandrine empire of old. Diminishing returns have long since set in from abroad; inefficiency is becoming increasingly evident at home; and, naturally enough, these two factors,—diminishing returns on the one hand, and inefficiency on the other,—have already begun to affect Great Britain's favorable balance of trade. Formerly preponderant, this balance is no longer so large and is rapidly becoming less; to be convinced of this you have only to observe the declining tendency of sterling exchange. And what is the result? The inevitable when an economic system is out of accordance with the commercial code. As Roman gold flowed out in ancient times, even so is British gold flowing out in our day, along the trade routes, in an ever-swelling stream. Before the European conflict the outflow was smaller, and chiefly toward the east, in payment for such productive peace-goods as English industrialism was unable to supply; since the European conflict the outflow is larger, and chiefly toward the west, in payment for such destructive war-goods as British imperialism is unable to provide. These disturbances in the balance of trade have begun to produce their effects. One of these effects is to re-arouse the resistance of inferior folk both at home and abroad. So it was with Rome of old, so it is with England to-day. On the verge of revolt are the Irish and the laboring classes of the British Isles, and also the Indians, the Egyptians, and others across the seas; the colonials are still loyal, to be sure, but the disaster is only imminent as yet. Another of these effects is to stimulate the opposition of competing powers,

and here again Rome serves as an enlightening example. In Great Britain's case such opposition proceeds, as of old, from the European continent. Only, in this twentieth century such opposition is represented, no longer by the Dutch and the French, but by the two Teutonic powers established upon the banks of the Danube and the Rhine.

As I take it, these Teutonic powers are the legitimate successors, and therewith also the modern representatives, of the productive activities of the ancient and medieval worlds. Consider with me a moment the elements that go to establish such a claim. Geographically speaking, the Teutonic allies are even now in practical control, after the war is ended they will probably be in complete control, of all that productive territory extending in a southeasterly-northwesterly direction from the mouth of the Persian Gulf to the shores of the North Sea, and this in spite of exploitation on both sides! Ethnically speaking, the Teutonic people appear to have inherited the homely virtues and to have acquired the cosmopolitan; in consequence whereof they are not only frugal and industrious but ambitious and expansive to boot. Then again they are both imitative and ingenious, apt at education, prone to cooperation, and imbued with the spirit of patriotism besides. Geographic and ethnic antecedents induce economic and political consequences. Thus in an economic sense the Germans have shown themselves to be thoroughly efficient along agricultural, industrial, and commercial lines; to say anything of their artistic ability and scientific capacity would be superfluous in this connection. And finally, from the political point of view, the royal and imperial governments of these Teutonic powers have proved themselves competent not only to encourage and direct but also to advance and uphold the productive activities of their peoples.

I am not in the least prejudiced in behalf of the Teutons; the facts themselves establish my claim that Austria and Germany are the legitimate successors and modern representatives of the productive activities of the ancient and medieval worlds. Nor need I speak of them any longer in the plural. Germans and Austrians have a common language and literature, a common consciousness of rights and wrongs; therefore they should be considered as a single people; and as a unified power withal, inasmuch as the old antagonism between Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns is a thing of the past, and the two powers are now in the closest sort of economic and political accord. Therefore such expressions as "the Germans" and

"the German empire" comprise both the Teutonic peoples and both the Teutonic powers. And so to proceed.

Excluded from exploitation by opposing powers, the Germans have confined themselves from the first, and continue to confine themselves, exclusively to production. Production requires efficiency and tends toward increasing returns; you have only to apply the test. For so efficient have the Germans become in their productive activities that, from a comparatively restricted and relatively unfavorable environment, they have succeeded in extracting progressively increasing returns; this you will see by consulting their statistics of wealth and population. Whereas diminishing returns and inefficiency arouse resistance from inferior folk, increasing returns and efficiency encourage cooperation among equals. So it has always been among productive peoples of the past, so it is among the German producers to-day. Working all together, with comparatively little friction or internal dissension, these Germans have succeeded in producing a large and diversified exportable surplus, consisting of fine products and finished goods, containing relatively high value in comparatively small compass, and this, be it said in passing, in spite of the fact that, for the lack of an exploitative base, or even colonial possessions, they have been compelled to import a considerable portion of their foodstuffs and raw materials from alien lands. The surplus thus derived from their productive activities, up to the outbreak of the European war, the Germans exported, not only to the continental markets but also over the seas, in their own ships, to the colonial and foreign markets of the world. Successful in their competition with other commercial countries, they were just about to acquire, and to secure by the way, their favorable balance of trade, when the jealousy of productive rivals was aroused and the opposition of exploitative powers appeared. I use the plural in this instance because, besides the British, the French should be considered as a competing productive people, and the Russians as an opposing exploitative power. But France and Russia are England's allies in this struggle, and, when all is said, Great Britain really represents all that now remains of productive competition and exploitative opposition to Germany's imperial designs. In the way of productive competition England was already worsted when the war broke out, owing, as I have said, to inefficiency and diminishing returns. Thus the issue seems to have resolved itself at last into a colossal struggle between British exploitative imperialism on the one side and German productive imperialism on the other.

Having already regarded the declining state of British exploita-

tive imperialism, let us now consider the promising condition of German productive imperialism, in order to effect some sort of a comparison between these colossal opponents. In spite of their successes on land, the Germans have suffered excessively from their enemy's continued control of the seas. With their ships interned and their carrying trade destroyed, with their imports and exports shut off by the British blockade, confined to their own country and ringed around by enemies on all sides, it seemed indeed impossible for the Germans to forestall disaster, much less secure success. That they have more than maintained their position so far, goes to show the possibilities of productive procedure, the power of efficiency, and the resource of increasing returns. Instead of exploiting, Germany has conserved and developed her natural resources, with the result that she became practically self-sufficing before the war, and since the war she has shown herself to be completely self-sufficing. Instead of exploiting, Germany has educated and organized her increasing population (she does not regard her subjects as inferior folk either at home or abroad), with the result that all classes of society proved themselves competent, and showed themselves willing to cooperate toward the imperial ideal. To be sure, there was some internal dissension, and considerable discontent, on the part of the Social Democrats particularly, before the war; but since the war internal differences appear to be obliterated, and all factions seem to be consistently supporting the imperial cause.

Let us see then what such patriotic cooperation has already accomplished, first on the field of arms. For one thing, Russia, Great Britain's exploitative ally, has been driven back beyond her borders, and to all intents and purposes eliminated from the struggle. This relieves Germany from further exploitative pressure on the east. Then again, considerable territory has been added by the force of arms to Germany's productive base, to wit, productive Belgium, productive Poland, the most productive portion of France, and the potential Balkan peninsula also, even to Constantinople, the ancient center of exchange. Now pass over to the agricultural and industrial domains. Practically self-sufficing before the war, Germany has apparently become completely self-sufficing since the

her military campaigns abroad; all these Germany appears to possess in sufficiency, even after a year and a half of destructive and expensive warfare. In evidence of all this you have only to consider the existing situation, and examine particularly the financial condition of the Reichsbank, together with the comparative rate of Berlin exchange. Over against the condition of the Bank of England and the state of sterling exchange, the comparison is significant and practically tells the entire tale. In short, so far as I can see, German productive imperialism appears to be in a surprisingly favorable position and apparently well able to hold its own, in war times now as in peace times before, against its arch-antagonist, British exploitative imperialism. Such is the existing stage of the age-old antithesis between exploitation and production.

I have consumed more space than I intended in tracing the historical course of this antithesis,—from Babylon and Assyria of the ancients to Germany and Great Britain to-day,—but even with the use of the economic key it takes some time to explain the complexities of the commercial code. And now by way of reiteration I may repeat that *that which is recently written is a continuation of, and consequently in accordance with, that which is already recorded.* Having run over that which is already recorded, you should be able to read that which is recently written, in the light of the inexorable law: *Exploitation allows inefficiency and leads to diminishing returns; whereas production requires efficiency and tends toward increasing returns.* By the use of this economic key the commercial situation becomes clearly defined. British exploitative imperialism has long since reached its apogee and is already on its downward course; whereas German productive imperialism is steadily rising and about to approach the climax of its career. Such is the alteration in the age-old antithesis which is soon to show its effects. Even before the war the comparative position of the two powers was evident enough in commercial competition; so far as the war has proceeded you can see the same situation in the shock of arms; after the war is ended the future relation between British exploitative and German productive imperialism will be definitely established. The economic elements are all in order, the commercial change is soon to occur. Already the balance of trade has commenced to tip, not, as was normally to be expected, toward the west, because of exploitation, but, somewhat exceptionally, toward the east, on account of production. This tipping of the balance of trade presages a further shifting of the center of exchange, not however from England across the Atlantic to America, but from England

across the Channel to the continent of Europe again. This is out of focus, of course, with Bishop Berkeley's philosophical vision, but in accordance, it seems to me, with the economic factors involved. Then too, and for the self-same reasons, such a reversal of the established procedure has already occurred once before, when the balance of trade turned against the western Mediterranean, and the center of exchange shifted accordingly from Rome to Constantinople. And therewith went also financial control and political power to boot.

What then are we to expect of financial control in this present case, and the political power to be derived therefrom? This depends primarily upon the future policy of the United States.

In the past we Americans have been complacently satisfied with exploitation, the exploitation of the natural resources and also the inferior folk of our country. So far, to be sure, we have succeeded in extracting increasing returns, and have become fairly efficient withal. But before long, diminishing returns are sure to set in, and already our inefficiency is becoming apparent along several lines. Then again our exploitative dependence upon Great Britain is a thing to be deplored; perhaps in the future we shall undertake to compete with productive Germany. We could do so on even terms, under free trade, by abandoning exploitation for all time. Thus by imitating and carrying still further forward the productive activities of continental Europe we should be able to tip the balance of trade in our favor at last and finally become the center of exchange. In which case financial control would extend in the future from the Mississippi valley, and political power proceed over all the New World and out across the Pacific. Such was Bishop Berkeley's prophecy. Not by exploitation, however, but only through production shall this prophecy be fulfilled, and Time's noblest offspring finally accomplish the apotheosis of America. But the details of all this would require more space than I have at my disposal.

MR. GORHAM REPLIES TO MR. MATTERN.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

Presuming upon your willingness to give an opponent a hearing, I beg you to allow me a few lines of reply to Mr. Johannes Mattern's article in *The Open Court* for December.

To rebut the charges of German atrocities by the evidence of people who did not happen to see them is a cheap and easy way of getting rid of unpleasant accusations. Why Mr. Mattern should accept German evidence against Belgians while rejecting Belgian evidence against Germans I fail to understand. After making every possible allowance for exaggeration, falsehood, and hysteria in the atrocity stories, the balance against Germany remains terribly heavy. For what were the Germans doing in Belgium at all? Mr. Mattern looks with equanimity upon their insolent and treacherous invasion of a weak state whose integrity they were pledged to defend, and he thus assumes resistance to crime to be itself a crime. But the inhabitants of an invaded country have a natural right to resist by every means in their power, and this right has been more or less clearly recognized by all civilized nations. No nation has recognized it so explicitly as Germany. In April 1813 the *Landsturm* law was passed by Prussia as a measure of defense against the French under Napoleon. Article 1 of this law, which has never been repealed, runs thus: "Every citizen is required to oppose the invader with *all the arms* at his disposal, and to prejudice him by *all available means*."¹ And article 39 says: "The *Landsturm* will not wear uniforms, in order that it may not be recognizable."

Is it not evident that in this war Germany is disregarding her own military laws whenever she thinks proper to do so; that in fact she has one law for herself and another for her adversaries? Germany may strike as hard as she pleases, but the enemy is a criminal if he strikes back.

Civilians who take part in war do so, of course, at their own risk, but they have a right to expect that repressive measures will be adopted with some regard to justice. No reasonable person can see any approximation to justice in wholesale destruction and slaughter because of a few random shots without the least attempt

¹ This disposes of the admissions by Belgian newspapers which a superfluous industry has collected.

to ascertain whether they were fired by civilians or soldiers, or in the various abuses of the white flag, the employment of women and children as "shields" to avert hostile fire, in the shelling of defenseless watering-places, in the torpedoing of passenger vessels, and other well-known German devices which Mr. Mattern discreetly passes over in silence.

Mr. Mattern also ignores the fact that the present-day German conception of war involves and excuses the outrages which he discredits. These outrages are so much the more reprehensible that they are part of a system; they have been committed in cold blood and by the orders of superior officers. The Kaiser's exhortations to "frightfulness," the order of General Stenger that prisoners were to be put to death, the innumerable demands of German publicists for relentless punishment of all who dare to resist Germany, cannot be supposed to have had no effect upon the German armies.

It is quite true that I attach to the Bryce report a credence which I should not give to pro-German assertions. Let it be assumed, however, that the whole of the Belgian and British evidence in the report is a malicious concoction. How does Mr. Mattern explain away the evidence of the German diaries, photographs of which are given? One of these diaries mentions three instances of German troops firing at one another. Here is an extract from the note-book of a Saxon officer: "A cyclist fell off his machine, and his rifle went off. He immediately said he had been shot at. *All the inhabitants were burnt in the houses.*" Another officer remarks: "Our men had behaved like regular Vandals." Some firing having come from a convent, all the women and children found there were shot. The writer in the one case says: "In future we shall have to hold an inquiry as to their guilt instead of shooting them."(!) Does any military law authorize such crimes?

A peculiar frame of mind appears to be revealed in Mr. Mattern's suggestion that a sentence of mine should be amended to read that the German troops left their own country provided with the means of "relentless retribution for unlawful attacks" by civilians. Not *just* retribution, be it observed, but *relentless* retribution. I do not accept the amendment, nor can I understand why the need for "retribution" should have been foreseen, except on the supposition that outrages by

was (if it occurred) a violation of an unwritten military usage which has not even the sanction of German military law.

Mr. Mattern considers that a quotation from the *New Statesman* (dating prior to the publication of the Bryce report) in which a general scepticism as to atrocity stories is recommended "disposes of the myth" of certain incidents detailed in the report. It is indeed an "intelligent anticipation" which is able in January to refute statements that were published only in the following May. The *New Statesman* was, of course, right in deprecating belief in stories and rumors which had no evidence behind them, and some of which proved to be untrue. But when the matter had been investigated by a thoroughly competent and trustworthy commission, and an immense body of evidence proved that shocking excesses had been committed, the case assumed a different complexion. Mr. Mattern must know that a general warning against credulity cannot possibly "dispose of" specific charges formulated some months later. Without reflecting upon his honesty, however, I will remind him that the fact of some stories being found false is no disproof of other stories which have been found true by the evidence of eye-witnesses and by the admissions of Germans themselves. To insinuate any comparison between the incident related by Mr. Powell, in which no lives were lost, with the excesses actually admitted by the German diaries and note-books, shows that strange perversion of the reasoning faculty exhibited by so many German apologists.

Mr. Mattern's concluding sentence further illustrates his mentality. It is an implication that extreme severity in war is the speediest method of abolishing war. Experience proves the direct contrary; it proves that cruelty arouses a bitter spirit of revenge, and leads inevitably to terrible reprisals. When the Allies have it in their power they will be within their rights if they inflict upon Germany the severities which she is prompt to inflict upon others. How will the Germans like their own medicine?

LONDON, E. C., Jan. 8, 1916.

CHAS. T. GORHAM.

P. S. As the quotation from the *New Statesman* is somewhat misleading I add a passage from a recent issue of that paper: "Then came the horrors of Belgium—perhaps the most cold-blooded and disciplined savageries in the history of modern civilization. What made them uniquely horrible, according to the greater part of the English press, was that, so far from being the work of an undisciplined horde, they were perpetrated by a disciplined army at the command of its superior officers."

READY

GERMANY MISJUDGED

An Appeal to International Good Will in the
Interest of a Lasting Peace

BY

ROLAND HUGINS

THIS book deals with the injustice which the United States, because of prejudice and unfairness, is doing both to Germany and herself. It treats especially of the parts played by Germany, England and France in the world tragedy. It is written from the point of view of a native American and a pacifist. *Cloth, \$1.00*

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY

122 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE, CHICAGO

READY

THE VENUS OF MILO

An Archeological Study of the
Goddess of Womanhood

BY

PAUL CARUS

Cloth. Pp. 182. Price, \$1.00.

Beautifully Illustrated.

THE OPEN COU

PUBLISHING COMPANY

127

ABOVE the BATTLE

By ROMAIN ROLLAND

Translated by C. K. OGDEN, M. A.
(Editor of the Cambridge Magazine)

Cloth \$1.25

A plea for international socialism which will establish a moral high court, a tribunal of conscience that would complete and solidify The Hague Court.

M. Rolland has been denounced as a traitor by his compatriots with the exception of a few who have defended him in the Parisian Press.

Almost alone Romain Rolland has held firm. He has made every effort to open the eyes of Europe to the horrors of war and to raise his voice for truth that "co-operation, not war, is the right destiny of nations and that all that is valuable in each people may be maintained in and by friendly intercourse with others."

Open Court Publishing Company
CHICAGO

Carlyle and the War

By MARSHALL KELLY
Cloth \$1.00, pp. 338

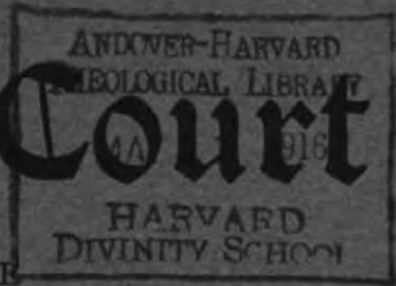
This book is an attempt to find in the present world war a fulfillment of many of Carlyle's prophecies regarding democracy and aristocracy.

"Carlyle was the greatest man of the 19th century, and he knew Germany, German character and German history as no other Briton has ever known."—Author's Preface.

The Open Court Pub. Co., 122 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago

The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE



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

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER

VOL. XXX (No. 5)

MAY, 1916

NO. 720

CONTENTS:

	PAGE
<i>Frontispiece.</i> Pope Benedict XV.	
<i>Professor Ernst Mach</i>	257
<i>The Pope and his Critics.</i> J. MATTERN	258
<i>Modern Passion Plays</i> (Illustrated). MAXIMILIAN J. RUDWIN	278
<i>Possible Origin of the Resurrection Story.</i> FRANK R. WHITZEL	301
<i>The Political Situation in China.</i> GILBERT REID	308
<i>The Passing of Carmen Sylva</i>	313
<i>Constantine Constantinovitch</i> (With Portrait)	315
<i>Mr. Whitzel on the Resurrection.</i> PAUL CARUS	317
<i>Some Recent French Books on the Great War.</i> THEODORE STANTON	317
<i>Book Reviews and Notes</i>	319

The Open Court Publishing Company

CHICAGO

Per copy, 10 cents (sixpence). Yearly, \$1.00 (in the U.P.U., 5s. 6d.).

Entered as Second-Class Matter March 26, 1897, at the Post Office at Chicago, Ill., under Act of March 3, 1879
Copyright by The Open Court Publishing Company, 1916

ILLUSTRATIONS OF POSITIVISM

By J. H. BRIDGES, M.B., F.R.C.P.

The reader will find in this volume of essays a full exposition of the various aspects of positivism from the pen of one who may be fairly termed the English Laffitte. The book was first issued in 1907 by the late Professor Beesly, who arranged the papers in chronological order. In this second edition all the papers have been classified, while a number of posthumous papers, including the important series on "The Seven New Thoughts of the 'Positive Polity'" and the admirable address on "The Day of All the Dead," have now been added. In its new form the book constitutes the most complete introduction to positivism and the works of Comte in the English language.

Cloth, pp. 480. Price, \$1.50

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY

122 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE, CHICAGO

Contributions to the Founding of the Theory of Transfinite Numbers

By GEORG CANTOR

Translated, and provided with an Introduction and Notes, by PHILIP E. B. JOURDAIN, M. A.

Cloth. Pages x, 212. \$1.25 net

This volume contains a translation of the two very important memoirs of George Cantor on transfinite numbers which appeared in 1895 and 1897. These memoirs are the final and logically purified statement of many of the most important results of the long series of memoirs begun by Cantor in 1870. A very full historical account of this work and the work of others which led up to it is given in the introduction and the notes at the end contain indications of the progress made in the theory of transfinite numbers since 1897. This book is a companion volume to Dedekind's *Essays*.

OPEN COURT PUBLISHING CO.
Chicago and London

the English language.

Cloth, pp. 480. Price, \$1.50

COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY
SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE, CHICAGO

ns to the Founding of the
of Transfinite Numbers



POPE BENEDICT XV.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

VOL. XXX (No. 5)

MAY, 1916

NO. 720

Copyright by The Open Court Publishing Company, 1916

PROFESSOR ERNST MACH.

ON Tuesday, March 28, we received from Dr. Ludwig Mach of Munich, the sad news that, after a brief struggle, his father, Professor Ernst Mach, had died of a weakened heart on February 19, the day after his seventy-eighth birthday.

Lying among the branches of the fir-trees under which of late he had loved to spend his time, in his left hand the cane which was his faithful companion for the last sixteen years, and on his head a laurel wreath woven by the hands of his daughter, Professor Mach's body was given to the flames in utter stillness on the morning of February 22. As long ago as October, 1899, when Professor Mach experienced the first severe stroke of paralysis he prepared the following message to be delivered to his friends at the time of his death:

Bei seinem Scheiden aus dem Leben grüsst

PROFESSOR ERNST MACH

alle die sich seiner erinnern und bittet um ein freundliches, *heiteres* Andenken. Das Begräbniss findet nach Anordnung des Verstorbenen im engsten Familienkreise statt. Blumen-spenden und Grabreden werden dankend abgelehnt; um stilles Beileid für die Familie wird gebeten.

(Translation.)

In taking leave of life

PROFESSOR ERNST MACH

sends greeting to all his friends and asks them to hold him in kindly and cheerful memory. At the request of the deceased the funeral will take place in the presence of the intimate family circle. Gifts of flowers and funeral addresses will be appreciatively declined. Your silent sympathy is entreated for the family.

THE POPE AND HIS CRITICS.

BY J. MATTERN.

“...Le pape Benedictus ayant maudit l'Antéchrist, il sera proclamé que ceux qui le combattent se trouvent en état de grâce et, s'ils meurent, vont au ciel tout droit, comme les martyrs... On reconnaîtra l'Antéchrist à plusieurs traits... il aura un aigle dans ses armes et il y en a un aussi dans celles de son acolyte, l'autre mauvais monarque. Mais celui-là est chrétien, et il mourra de la malédiction du pape Benedictus, qui sera élu au début du règne de l'Antéchrist...”—*Prophétie du frère Johannès, XVIIe siècle, from Les Prédications sur la fin de l'Allemagne réunies et commentées par R. d'Arman.*

ROBERT DELL in “The Vatican and the War”¹ admits that when the news of Cardinal Giacomo della Chiesa's election to the office of St. Peter reached France “the French press congratulated itself on his alleged Francophile tendencies, and some of the more adventurous papers formed more or less fantastic anticipations of his possible action.” “A few days later,” so Dell continues, “the absurd report was circulated that the new pope was about to issue an encyclical on the war, in which he would declare that the responsibility for it rested on Germany,” and “other reports equally baseless followed.”

The unbiased observer will find in these admissions the psychological basis for the genuine disappointment caused in France and England by the attitude of a pope who was expected to be Francophile, but who was found to be wanting in such a qualification; by the silence of a pope who, as the prophet had been made to forecast, would hurl his anathema in the face of William II, the Antichrist, his ally, the other “bad monarch,” and their hordes of barbarians.

¹ *Fortnightly Review*, Feb., 1915.

Years ago Dr. Della Chiesa had attracted the late Cardinal Rampolla's attention, and when the latter was appointed apostolic nuncio to the court of Spain he invited his *protégé* to accompany him as his secretary. Their relations at Madrid and later on in Rome are described in an article by Dr. E. J. Dillon, "The Pope and the Belligerents."² "In this capacity," so we read, "the young priest had an opportunity, which he utilized to the full, of familiarizing himself with the modes of thought, the tactics, and the methods of his eminent chief, whose trusted confidant he soon became. Promoted in 1887 to the post of secretary of state, Cardinal Rampolla took Monsignore della Chiesa for his private secretary, and later on Leo XIII testified his appreciation of his services by appointing him adjoint state secretary."

It is this patronage bestowed on Giacomo della Chiesa by Cardinal Rampolla and the undisguised recognition of Chiesa's attachment and services to his chief that had given rise to the illusion that he must, as a matter of course, have adopted his protector's strong and well-known favoritism for France.

However the illusion has been short-lived. The French and English verdict is that Benedict XV is not only not strong enough in his Francophile leanings, but that he has no such leanings at all. Indignation and anger at the realization of such an apparently very distressing truth have prompted Dr. Dillon, that knight of the poisoned pen, to accuse Cardinal della Chiesa of having simulated in the conclave the Francophile tendencies accredited to him, in order to win the French and Belgian cardinals' votes, while the German and Austrian prelates had been won by secretly apprising them of his real attitude toward France.³ Dillon's only attempt to prove this contemptible calumny is the glib assertion that "almost immediately after his accession to the Fisherman's chair he appointed the worldly Austrian churchman to the post of *participante* and the office of intimate counsellor to himself." This "worldly" Austrian churchman is Monsignor Gerlach, according to Dillon "one of the most compromising associates and dangerous mentors that any sovereign ever admitted to his privacy." Dillon is very careful to state that Monsignor Gerlach is "described" . . . "as a man . . . of German Christianity, who when in Vienna consorted with ecclesiastics of the type depicted by Poggio and incarnated by French abbés of the free and easy days of the Regency, when many an

ecclesiastic practised the rule of the monks of the Screw, of which the first ran:

“My children, be chaste—till you’re tempted;
When sober, be wise and discreet;
And humble your bodies with fasting
Whenever you’ve nothing to eat.”

“Years ago,” so Dillon continues his denunciation of Gerlach—and by innuendo of the pope—“the story runs [again he is careful—he lets the “story run”], Gerlach made the acquaintance of a worldly-minded papal nuntius in the fashionable salons of gay Vienna, and, being of similar tastes and proclivities, the two enjoyed life together, eking out the wherewithal for their costly amusements in speculations on the exchange.... Some years ago Gerlach’s name emerged above the surface of private life in Rome in connection with what the French term *un drame passionnel*, which led to violent scenes in public and to a number of duels later on.” With a brazenness usually found only where conscientiousness has ceased to be a virtue Dillon ventures to assert that the only qualifications of Monsignor Gerlach for the position to which the pope has appointed him were the “Pan-Germanism of the favorite and his intimate knowledge of the *accommodements qu’il y a avec le ciel*.”

Quite a different view on the subject of papal appointments is expressed in the following passage from *Current Opinion*, Oct., 1914: “Observers of the situation at the Vatican insist that the appointments of Benedict XV, few as they have been, indicate a complete departure from the [alleged pro-German] policy of the last pontificate.” The policy of the last pontificate was that of Pius X, and especially that of his secretary of state, Mery del Val. Of Mery del Val’s administration one Giovanni Pioli⁴ says that it was “unscrupulous, cynically dishonest,” a “forge of Macchiavellism,” that it was “conducted by all available means—from corruption by money in order to induce delation of friends, and misuse of confession in order to discover modernists, to the systematic disfigurement of truth, the habitual belying of public utterances and private engagements, the misrepresentation of the intentions even of such respectable bodies as that of the ‘Assembly of the French Bishops’ and the question of the ‘Cultuelles’”—and in addition to all this it was, as Dell informs us, “pro-German.”

Commenting on Cardinal Della Chiesa’s election to the chair of St. Peter, *Current Opinion*, Oct., 1914, finds that with the ap-

⁴ *Contemporary Review*, Oct., 1914.

pointment of Cardinal Domenico Ferrata (the intimate friend of Cardinal Mercier, the present prelate of Belgium), as Benedict's secretary of state, all this was changed, for "the significance of the conspicuous position assumed by Cardinal Ferrata in the new pontificate is due to his championship of the French republic always and everywhere." And while Dillon in ill-disguised wrath designates as the "pope's mentor and guide through the labyrinth of intellectual politics" the "worldly Austrian churchman" Gerlach, "this man of violent Pan-German sentiments," *Current Opinion* considers Ferrata, the champion of "the French republic always and everywhere," as "the adviser of the new pope in all that relates to international affairs." Of the "Austrian churchman" Gerlach and his past and present activities we know, aside from Dillon's gossip, next to nothing;⁵ of Ferrata we do know that his secretaryship lasted about one month, for he died on October 10, 1914.

The encyclical, so eagerly awaited by the French and English, appeared. It was however no thundering bull excommunicating old Emperor Francis Joseph, nor did it absolve the German Catholics from their oath of allegiance to William II, the heretic, the Antichrist, or as Dillon so lovingly calls him, Attila's admirer and imitator. Nay! In it his Holiness did not even consent to do the Allies that small favor of declaring "that the responsibility for it [the war] rested on Germany." One can hardly appreciate the extent and bitterness of the Allies', and especially France's, disappointment at the pope's obstreperousness, unless one takes into consideration the amazing yet undeniable fact that the French, high and low, seem to have actually relied on the new pope to act in accordance with what the prophets of the past and near past were supposed or said to have predicted he would do to the "Antichrist" with the "eagle in his arms" and to his "acolyte, the other bad monarch." Among the scores of French books on "the war of to-morrow," issued during the last twenty years by French civilians and high officers of the army, there are not a few in which the optimistic view of a French victory over Germany is based on prophecy. One of the most illuminating creations of this character is a brochure published about three years ago, entitled *La fin de l'empire d'Allemagne. La bataille du Champ des Bouleaux*, by Commandant de Civrieux, with a preface by Commandant Driant, Deputy of Nancy. On its cover this charming booklet bears the reproduction of a "memorial tablet"

⁵ His name is not found in the list of officials of the Catholic hierarchy as given in *The Catholic Directory* (Complete edition). New York: P. J. Kennedy.

showing, below a conspicuous cross, the following tell-tale inscription :

"Ainsi
 En l'an 191..
 Selon les prédictions de la
 Célèbre Prophétie de Strasbourg
 Au Champ des Bouleaux
 En Westphalie
 Une génération et demie après sa fondation
 Périt
 Avec le troisième et dernier Kaiser
 L'empire allemand des Hohenzollern."⁶

The same pamphlet announces the issue of another of these silent but striking proofs of French mental aberration.

Les prédictions sur la fin de l'Allemagne, réunies et commentées par R. D'Arman is the title of a collection of all that could be distorted into a prediction of Germany's downfall and the end of the Hohenzollern dynasty as Germany's reigning house, covering the ground from Civrieux's aforementioned prophecy of Herman of Strasburg of the thirteenth century down to Admiral Nogi's utterance of Port Arthur fame and Madame de Thèbes's annual almanac contributions. The bottomless depth of naïveté, a naïveté found among other nations only in their kindergartens and among the senile and insane, is revealed in the preface which in all earnestness admits that "William II and his people have known better than anybody the predictions made concerning the present war and concerning the end of their empire...and that even this knowledge has not hindered the Kaiser and the crown prince from forcing us to enter the present conflict!" How deep-rooted French reliance and belief in these prophecies is can be judged from another gem found in the same preface. Here it is: "Considered in their totality the predictions which we cite in this work suggest a remark still more elevating and encouraging for France: So many prophecies from sources so varied, so old, as if they were the consequence of an identical tendency, and as if, in this case, they demonstrated that there existed in the world throughout the course of centuries a universal, immutable opinion essentially favorable to France against her enemies. This is indeed *une force immense*."

⁶ "Thus, according to the predictions of the famous prophet of Strasburg, perished on the Birchfield in Westphalia the German empire of the Hohenzollern with its third and last Kaiser in the year 191.., a generation and a half after its foundation."

One of the prophecies found in D'Arman's "work," that by "Frère Johannès" (1600), contains this passage: "One will no more see priests and monks hold confessions and absolve the combattants; first, because for the first time priests and monks will fight with the other citizens, and then because the pope Benedictus, having cursed the Antichrist, will proclaim that those who combat him [the Antichrist] will be in a state of grace and, if killed, will go right to heaven like the martyrs.

"The Bull [the expected and disappointing encyclical] that will proclaim these things will reverberate far and wide; it will revive courage and it will cause the death of the ally of the Antichrist.

"One will know the Antichrist by various signs. . . . He will bear in his arms an eagle, and an eagle will be found in those of his acolyte, the other bad monarch.

"The latter, however, is a Christian [a Catholic] and he will die in consequence of the malediction of Pope Benedictus who will be elected at the close of the reign of the Antichrist."

As the world is aware, the present pope, Benedict XV, has failed to act true to "prophecy." Hence the maddening effect upon the disappointed Allies caused by the encyclical which did not contain a malediction for nor an incrimination of the Central Powers. In fact, most of the critics of the encyclical, on the Allies' side, see in it an unveiled accusation that France and her allies are responsible for the war. It is however hard to see how anything but a guilty conscience could justify such an interpretation. The encyclical *Ad Beatissimi* enumerates as the causes of the war: Lack of mutual and sincere love among men; contempt of authority; injustice on the part of one class of people toward another; and the consideration of material welfare as the sole object of human activity. Commenting on these causes of the war as designated by the pope a more or less impartial American critic, the *Brooklyn Eagle*, observes:⁷ "The pope knows of course that it is obedience to temporal authority that makes men fight. By 'contempt of authority' he means the denial of a divine standard of morals and conduct. That the lack of love and social injustice exist and have their effect on the minds of all men cannot be denied. But the fourth cause stated, in a sense, includes all others." The *Brooklyn Eagle*, as is apparent, does not construe the causes given in the encyclical as a plain or veiled accusation of the Allies, in fact it unmistakably shows that it considers the pope's statements as an impartial arraignment of all that is and all that are subject to criticism. "If material

⁷ *Literary Digest*, Dec. 5, 1914.

welfare were the sole object of human activity," so the *Eagle* continues, "then Germany might well think, as she does, that her vast army should be used at the psychological moment to make safe her trade predominance, and England might well think that she should seize the psychological moment to crush the trade of Germany. The pope is right. Our ideals are defective. And from defective ideals all evils spring."

Robert Dell, in the article quoted above, takes a different view, a view characteristic of the criticism voiced in the countries forming the new "Holy Alliance." "Catholic writers," so he opines, "have said as little about it [the encyclical] as they could help, and they seem to be generally agreed that it had better be consigned to oblivion as soon as possible. From their point of view they are right enough, for the encyclical makes it obvious on which side are the pope's sympathies during the present war. As M. Julien de Narfon remarked in the *Figaro*, it is a little strange that the pope should attribute the war to a lack of respect for authority, seeing that in Germany respect for authority is, if anything, exaggerated. It would be more than a little strange if the pope were not on the side of Germany and Austria, as he obviously is. The encyclical is a scarcely veiled attack on France and, in a lesser degree, on England and Belgium. The whole burden is that the crimes of democracy are the 'root cause' of the war; the democratic countries engaged in the war are France, England and Belgium. That France is particularly aimed at is patent. Which of the belligerent nations has separated itself from 'the Holy Religion of Jesus Christ,' that is, from the Roman church? France. In which, more than any other, have men proclaimed (in papal language) 'that striving after brotherhood is one of the greatest gifts of modern civilization, ignoring the teaching of the gospel, and setting aside the work of Christ and his church'? In France. In which has socialism taken the strongest hold and class antagonism been keenest? In France. In which have 'the plastic minds of children been moulded in godless schools'? In France. In which have Catholic bishops consistently denounced the 'bad press'? In France." These views of what France is or is not do not however agree with the picture Dr. Dillon⁸ places before us. "Welcoming the accession of a friend and disciple of Rampolla's," so Dillon writes, "they imagined he would at once change the orientation of the Vatican policy toward France and the Triple Entente. In France the outbreak and progress of the war coincided with a general revival of religion among the

⁸ "The Pope and the Belligerents," *Contemporary Review*, May, 1915.

people, which was fomented by the patriotic demeanor of the bishops and the clergy. Some of the most brilliant French generals were known to be devout Catholics. Many of the most daring soldiers were French priests. Cardinal Amette, the archbishop of Paris, proved one of the truest exponents of the patriotism that thrilled all French hearts. In a word, the ground was cleared as it had not been for half a century, and all that was needed was an enterprising pope to have it cultivated. But Benedict XV acted on the maxim that the weal of the whole church which unites all belligerent Catholics in its fold must be preferred to the well-being of a part. Sympathy he feels for each and all, but he cannot allow the working of either sympathy or indignation visibly to influence his relations with the peoples who are its objects. He is their spiritual chief, not their political leader!" Dillon here states unmistakably that the pope considers himself to be and has acted as the spiritual chief of all the nations at war and not as their political leader. Dillon therefore must and does produce reasons other than political for the pope's alleged leanings toward the Central Powers. So he reminds his readers of the fact that at the outbreak of the war the "Allied Powers were practically unrepresented at the Vatican. . . . The Teutons, on the contrary, were in force." Hence he thinks that "most of the information respecting the diplomatic negotiations which preceded the rupture and setting forth the position and aims of Germany and her ally, reached the organs of the Vatican after having been filtered and colored by these interested agents," and that "there was no corrective available." "If," so he continues, "we add to this decisive fact the circumstance that the story thus told was also the narrative which was calculated to meet the wishes of those who heard it, we cannot affect surprise at the strong Germanophile leanings which are still noticeable at the Vatican." However Dr. Dillon realizes and admits that naturally the pope's interest should lie with the Catholic Hapsburg monarchy rather than with schismatic England and Russia, that the latter especially was viewed with disfavor on account of its undeniable hatred for Catholicism and particularly because its representative at the Vatican could hardly find an excuse for Russia's untimely "work of conversion" in the newly conquered province of Galicia. It is true that "at the eleventh hour the British government bestirred itself and sent Sir Henry Howard as minister and plenipotentiary extraordinary to represent British interests at the Vatican. . . . but his task was rendered extremely difficult long before it was set him." Dr. Dillon considers "this mission" as "opportune" and states that "the work it has ac-

complished has been rapid and useful." But on this point the Allies' sages are again at odds. Dell is of the opinion that the Vatican, in order to stand in well with the Allies in the improbable event of their victory, "has made desperate efforts to enter into diplomatic relations with England and France in order, when the time comes, to put forward its claims," and that "the English government, with the extraordinary simplicity that English governments invariably show in dealing with the Vatican, has allowed itself to be duped." He believes that "if Sir Henry Howard has really gone to Rome merely to lay the case for the Allies before the pope, his mission will be as useless as it is undignified." The same critic disagrees most fundamentally with Dillon on the reasons for the pope's alleged pro-German leanings. He suggests that the pope's personal views in the matter have no bearings on his or rather the Vatican's public stand. To him the pope is and must be first of all a *politician* who places the Vatican's interest and welfare above all, even above his conscience. That is at least what I read out of the following:

"Whatever the personal sympathies of Cardinal della Chiesa may have been—and there is no particular reason to believe that they were especially Francophile—Benedict XV is bound to consider the interests of the papacy. The policy of the Vatican will only be understood when it is realized that the papacy is bound by its principles to put self-preservation and the maintenance of its domination before everything else. . . . But this is the logical consequence of the whole theory of the papacy, which identifies religion with itself, so that its own interests become the highest interests in religion. If it were true that the guardianship of divine revelation had been committed to the pope and that its existence in the world depended on the existence of the papacy, it would follow that the papacy must consider first its own preservation, even if it involved losing a whole nation to the church or drenching the world in blood. No disaster could be so great as the disappearance of the papacy. This is the key to the policy of the Vatican." While so far Dell differs from Dillon, the two agree on the reasons why the Vatican, whatever its principles and inner motives may be, must in the present war find the "interests of the papacy" in a "victory for Germany and Austria." "There is," so Dell admits, "not a single Catholic country among the Allies, for, although Belgium has a Catholic government at present, half the Belgian people are freethinkers. England is heretical. Russia, Serbia and Montenegro are schismatic; Japan is pagan, and France is freethinking. Austria, on the other hand, is the only great Catholic power left in the world, and her downfall would be a disastrous

blow to the papacy. Should the Austrian empire break up, Spain would be the only Catholic state left. It is impossible that the papacy should contemplate such a possibility without dismay." But there is another valiant pro-Allies critic who on this point most decidedly contradicts both Dillon and Dell; it is Stephen Graham, the champion of "Holy" Russia. In his recent marvelous book, *Russia and the World*,⁹ page 194, he pronounces, with an air that permits of no questioning, "the fact" that "Rome stands to gain far more from the success of the Allies than from German domination." "German success," so he asserts, "means a stronger Protestant influence in the world generally—it means certainly a stronger influence in Austria; even the unification of the German and Austrian empires is possible. On the other hand the success of Russia means, or ought to mean, I presume, the establishment of the Poles as a nation once more, though under the protection of the Czar." Graham pretends to believe, and asks the world to do the same, that "what Rome has lost in France she can make up in autonomous Poland (and autonomous Ireland) when once the war has ended in the dispersal of the German dream of empire." For "Poland, if restored, would be a great Roman Catholic country" and "of that there can be no doubt."

An American Catholic priest, requested by the *Outlook* to give his views on the election of Benedict XV, sums up the situation as follows: "If Germany should win and enslave Europe, he [the pope] will have to contend with the same arrogant spirit that created the Falk laws and the *Kulturkampf*. Should the Allies prove victorious, Rome will be most intimately brought in contact with the overwhelming power of the Greek Orthodox church, its most deadly enemy. The triumph of Russia will sound the death knell of Roman Catholicism in Europe. . . ." (*The Outlook*, Sept. 9, 1914). The American reverend's fear that a victorious Germany might enslave the world could easily be banished by a little study of Germany's policy and aspirations from sources other than the London-New York press and disconnected and falsified citations from Treitschke, Nietzsche and Bernhardi. The assumption that the history of the Falk laws and the *Kulturkampf* could repeat itself to-day is an error explicable and excusable only by the reverend's apparent lack of appreciation of the strength of the German Catholic population and the force of its representation in the Reichstag. That Russia's triumph would "sound the death-knell of Roman Catholicism in Europe" has been proved beyond the shadow of a doubt by the

⁹ New York: The Macmillan Company, 1915.

religious persecutions practised during her short occupancy of a section of ancient Poland, and it is this ill-treatment of Catholic Galicia that refutes Graham's utterly insincere claim that the Catholicism of Poland would be respected by a victorious Russia. Interesting and instructive in this connection is a pamphlet issued in London four months before the outbreak of the war (re-issued in this country in 1915 with additional evidence) by Vladimir Stepankovsky, a Ukranian from Russia.¹⁰ Stepankovsky reveals in detail the astounding fact that Russia, for years before the war, has been carrying on in Austrian territory a well-developed secret political and religious campaign aimed at the seizure of Galicia by a *coup d'état*. Valentin Gorlof in his *Origines et bases de l'alliance Franco-Russe* (Paris, 1913), attempts to belittle Russia's treasonable activity in another man's land, Galicia. He attempts to turn the tables, charging that "Austria, through her persecution of the Orthodox, and seeing everywhere Russian intrigues," has succeeded in making out of Galicia a "Russian Alsace-Lorraine." Gorlof's flippant reference to Galicia as a Russian Alsace-Lorraine and his assertion, unsupported by anything like proof, that Austria had persecuted the Orthodox in Galicia or in the Bukowina have been effectively answered by the findings of the various Ruthenian treason trials of 1913 and 1914, and by Stepankovsky's revelations. To speak of the Ruthenians of Galicia as Orthodox is nothing short of a misrepresentation. According to Stepankovsky "nine-tenths of the Ruthenians in Austria-Hungary belong to the Greek Catholic or Uniate church. The Ruthenian Greek Catholic church, although it employs, in common with the Orthodox, the Eastern Rite, in dogma is at one with the church of Rome. . . . it preserves the marriage of the clergy, yet is subject to the pope." It was among these Greek Catholic Ruthenians, subject to the pope, that Count Bobrinsky and his associates carried on their proselyting and "contrived to effect some conversions among the illiterate peasants of the remote, mountainous regions." Finally Antonius of the Russian province Volhynia proclaimed himself the Orthodox bishop of Galicia. It was of such conditions and of the widespread political Pan-Slav propaganda that the Austrian government through the Ruthenian treason trials attempted to make an end when the war broke out and when Galicia for a time came under the actual rule of the Czar. Count Bobrinsky, the former agitator, was made governor general of the conquered province. In his "inaugural

¹⁰ *The Russian Plot to Seize Galicia (Austrian Ruthenia)*, 2d ed. The Ukranian National Council, Jersey City, N. J., 1915.

address" he informed the mayor of Lemberg of the "leading principles of my policy." Lemberg and eastern Galicia he considered as the "real origin of Great Russia." Hence: "the reorganization will be based on Russian ideals." Hence: "we will immediately introduce the Russian language and Russian customs." Hence: Archbishop Sheptitsky, Catholic primate of Lemberg, was arrested and deported, and the Russian Orthodox bishop Euloge occupied Sheptitsky's seat. Even Dr. Dillon ("The Pope and the Belligerents") admits that "history is there to attest Russia's uniform hatred of Catholicism," that "the chronicle of daily life in the newly conquered province of Galicia contains abundant evidence that the spirit of aggressive proselytism is still rampant," and that "the present governor of Galicia is a Russian whose name has a sinister sound in Catholic ears." Church dignitaries in Rome, so Dillon states, have asked this ominous question: "Was it necessary . . . that he should depose a Ruthenian bishop and send him into exile? Even as a matter of policy was it not incumbent on him to defer the 'work of conversion' until military occupation had passed into annexation and avoid giving Russia's enemies a lethal weapon against her? . . . But if at the present unseasonable moment the authorities of Czardom indulge in religious presecution at such loss of prestige to themselves, what may we not expect when it can be organized without any risk or fear of effectual protest?" . . . A Catholic Poland, if a united Poland should ever be placed under Russian suzerainty? No, Mr. Graham's assurances to that effect will hardly be taken seriously among his own following. "Russia," to quote Dillon, "therefore finds little favor at the Vatican."

Further cause for the most violent criticism is found in the passage of the encyclical in which the pontiff joins "to the desire of a speedy peace among nations. . . also the desire for the cessation of the abnormal conditions in which the head of the church is placed and which is in many respects very harmful to the tranquillity of the people themselves," or still another passage in which, as Dell is pleased to express it, the pope "raises once more the old parrot-cry that the papacy is not free," when Benedict complains that "for a long time past the church has not enjoyed that full freedom which it needs—never since the sovereign pontiff, its head, was deprived of that protection which by divine Providence had in the course of ages been set up to defend that freedom. . ." The phrase of the "prisoner in the Vatican" is too well known, and so is the fact that the pope is virtually a prisoner too well established to permit of a denial. Still Dell claims that "the effrontery of asking the world to believe

that the papacy is not free at a moment when a conclave has just been held at Rome in the middle of a European war, free for the first time for centuries from any outside interference, takes one's breath away." Be it remembered that the conclave was held when Italy was still at peace and that when Italy entered the war the Teutonic representatives left the Vatican, taking up residence in Switzerland. Italian statesmen of late have asserted that this step was due to the pope's decision and not to a demand or pressure from the Italian government. While it must be admitted that so far the Italian government's attitude toward the Vatican has been tolerant it is equally true that Article 11 of the Italian guarantee law merely affords protection for the diplomatic intercourse of the Vatican with foreign powers for the time when Italy is at peace, and that in time of war Italy may by legislative act revoke that guarantee. In fact during the parliamentary debate on the guarantee law Deputy Corte in an amendment expressly demanded the abolition of all diplomatic privileges of the pope in time of war. However the chamber declared the question to be superfluous. Hence the pope's decision has proved to be wise. To this we must all the more readily agree when we read the savage criticism of the pope's attitude by Dillon.¹¹ "When"—so Dillon thunders—" [in addition to the representatives of Prussia, Bavaria and Austria] harmless foreigners like the learned head of the Benedictines and the pious priest Ledochowski [general of the Jesuits]—both men who eschew politics—were admonished to quit the kingdom of Italy as subjects of a belligerent enemy, the pope covered the Austrian plot-weaver [the same Gerlach whom Dillon considers the pope's all-powerful adviser] with his protecting wing, shares with him the exterritoriality of the Vatican, allows him to communicate in cipher with the band of Austrians and Germans who are watching and praying in Swiss Lugano, and is content to survey international politics through the distorting medium of his Pan-Germanism."

The remarks of a London daily, made prior to the death of the late pope,¹² will suffice to silence Dell's and Dillon's criticism. This is what the London paper had to say on the subject: "The presence of pope and king side by side in Rome would probably be more embarrassing to both parties were the pontiff to issue forth from the Vatican than is the existing arrangement where there is no conflict of jurisdiction or influence. But we have seen from the late illness of Pius X that the 'incarceration' of a man of active

¹¹ "Italy's New Birth," *Fortnightly Review*, July, 1915.

¹² *Current Opinion*, Oct., 1914.

habits in a not overhealthy palace year in and year out is detrimental, nay more, may be fatal, to the unhappy victim. Many a medieval pope died of the wintry cold of the Lateran; modern pontiffs, unless they have the frame of a Leo XIII, may succumb to the summer heat of the Vatican, with their eyes longingly fixed on that cool and breezy papal villa in the Alban Hills, which is 'so near and yet so far.' Nor is this 'imprisonment' in the Vatican detrimental to health alone; it has exercised an adverse effect upon the policy, and especially the foreign policy, of the Holy See. A pope who cannot travel, who cannot have free intercourse outside with all sorts and conditions of men, is naturally cut off from valuable means of information and becomes inevitably inclined to take the views of his environment. Under existing conditions the head of a universal church has all the disadvantages of a sovereign who cannot, like Harun-al-Raschid, go about and hear, alike for reasons of health and for reasons of statesmanship; but tradition dies hard there, and sufficient time has not yet elapsed for a new pope to arise who knew not the days of the temporal power." That the pope's reference to the church's "abnormal position" need not be interpreted as a demand for the reestablishment of temporal power is seen from the views expressed in the *New York Nation* of Jan. 7, 1915. "The language," so the passage reads, "is guarded and moderate, and...it contains nothing that need be interpreted as anti-Italian or temporalistic. The statement that the Holy See is now in an equivocal and abnormal position, against which Catholics the world over have not ceased to protest, and that its liberties have been (somewhat) compromised and its freedom of action (somewhat) curtailed, is only the plain truth. If a claim of the temporal power be involved, it is only by indirection and interpretation."

Furthermore the Catholic church's views regarding the reestablishment of the Holy See's temporal power are not the same as they were a generation ago. There can be no doubt that the Catholic world would view the re-erection of the papal states in their old extent as an anomaly, even a papal Rome cannot be considered as in the scope of possibility or even desirability. There must be and there will be an amelioration of the intolerable position of the Holy See, but what that amelioration is to be is a question too large to be discussed in this connection. Dell is of the opinion that

be sorry to humiliate Italy."¹⁸ There is indeed good reason to believe that Germany and Austria will see to it that "some satisfaction" be given to the pope when peace terms are settled, but it will not be in the desire and spirit of "humiliating" Italy.

Last, but not least, must be considered the criticism leveled at his Holiness because he "remained silent" while all the rest of the world grew hysterical about the stories of "alleged German atrocities," the victims being, as the pope's critics have it, "mostly Roman Catholic men and women." Francis Tyrell has outdone all in his brochure, *The Pope and the Great War. The Silence of Benedict XV. Can It Be Defended?* His "pamphlet for thinking people of all denominations," as he calls it, contains twenty-two pages of the most scathing arraignment of the pope, and nine pages of "extracts from the official records" of alleged "German atrocities in France and Belgium," each extract being followed by Tyrell's indictment of Benedict XV in the form of the refrain: "And the pope is silent." Tyrell tries for effect by contrasting the dignity of the office and the failings of its present incumbent. Such extolling of the Holy See by a non-Catholic Englishman would appear to those who know English church history as almost comical were it not for the fact that the subject matter is too serious to permit one to hold Mr. Tyrell up to sheer ridicule. Thus I shall confine myself to a mere *reductio ad absurdum*.

What nation has ever vilified and besmirched "popery" as England has done? However it is not "popery" of which Tyrell speaks—it suits his purpose to use the more dignified terms "pope-dom," "papacy," "vicarage of Christ," "ambassadorship of God." It is the individual who occupies the exalted office whom he flays. The same "inmates of nunneries" who for centuries have been called names too vile to repeat, now, for the sake of argument, become "nuns" and "holy women." The same "tools of popery" of the past are now spoken of as "priests" and "venerable cardinals." The same "popery" which in times gone by has been accused of having sent out its robed servants to murder, by the administration of the poisoned eucharist or by other means equally foul and effective, disobedient kings, queens and suspected dignitaries of the church, the same "popery" now, when it is needed to serve the former accuser, is appealed to as the "supreme arbiter of truth and morals," as the

¹⁸ According to an Associated Press despatch of Jan., 1914, the *Corriere d'Italia*, a Catholic organ, has in what is considered as an "inspired" article disclaimed any intention on the part of the pope to "count upon the European conflict for the solution of the Roman question, which, as Cardinal Gaspari said, will not be solved by force of arms."

“power . . . that . . . expresses the rule of Christ upon the earth,” whose duties are recognized to be none less than to “act and conform to and do all things on earth as the representative of, and in the spirit of . . . [its] Master were He in the flesh again.” The same “popery” whose bulls used to elicit nothing but mockery and curse are now eagerly awaited and demanded in order to “make the lords of war tremble with fear and impotence.”

Tyrell in scorn and wrath proclaims “the cold and frightful fact . . . that the pope—the greatest personage in the world—has not had the courage to raise his voice against the greatest wrong that has ever been perpetrated by one nation upon another—the violation and the ruin of Belgium”; that “the pope through motives of fear or policy has failed to condemn a monstrous international crime, and he has kept a sphinxlike peace while solemn neutrality treaties and Hague conventions were being reduced to worthless and discarded papers”; that “in the Belgian atrocities the pope has had all the material for such a protest [the expected encyclical] and condemnation”; that “if the spiritual driving force of the Catholic church is to be throttled by the worldly diplomacy of nuncios and the careful consideration of the ‘war chances’ of the respective belligerents, then the spiritual potency of the Catholic church is in a bad way”; that “the rationalists and the hostile critics of religion will put the whole Christian system on its trial”; that “they will single out the Roman church and its attitude throughout the war as a striking example of how far the Christians of this century have strayed from the path of Christ”; that “they will assert with damning conviction that at a time of the greatest crisis the world has ever known, at a time when every voice and every influence for the cause of civilization and humanity was of immeasurable value, the ‘sitter in St. Peter’s chair’ remained dumb and made no protest to the world against the armored German giant when he trampled a little nation in the dust and violated all the sacred obligations which alone preserve the civilized peoples of the world from dissolving into anarchy and barbarism.”

This line of argument and this kind of abuse seem to be the favorites of most of the pope’s critics. One R. B. C. Sheridan, in an article, “The Vatican and the War,” Part II,¹⁴ comes dangerously close to disputing Tyrell’s place as the chief warrior against the pope. Both however, and in fact all of their lesser fellow warriors, are admonished by none less than the Right Reverend Monsignor

¹⁴ *The Nineteenth Century and After*, Oct., 1915.

Canon Moyes, D.D.,¹⁵ who maintains that "a papal condemnation shall be founded in the security of truth and justice," that "it must be based upon facts that are judicially verified," and that "it cannot rest upon mere press presentment of evidence, or upon common rumor or report, or upon depositions of *ex parte* witnesses, however respectable, or upon any process which would neglect *audi alteram partem*, or would include the yea of the complainants while excluding the nay of the accused." Although Monsignor Moyes has an altogether unjustified belief in the convincing evidence of the Bryce report, he admits that "however much the pope may be personally convinced, if he is to act officially and judicially it is plain that he cannot base an accusation upon what is, despite its excellence, an *ex parte* statement, emanating from one side only of the belligerent parties"; in fact Monsignor Moyes goes so far as to concede that "if the case were reversed, and if—*per impossibile*—our [the English] troops had been accused of similar excesses, the Catholics of the British empire would have felt it keenly—more keenly than one could easily put into words!—if the Holy See had proceeded to launch a public denunciation against the honor of our army solely on the strength of a report drawn up by our adversaries."

These reasons suggested by the Rev. J. Moyes are indeed the same that his Holiness through his secretary of state and in person has advanced. Under the heading, "Is England Trying to Force the Pope's Hand?" the *Literary Digest* for July 31, 1915, reports that "by recent newspaper dispatches it appears that Great Britain and Belgium are in the mood to force an issue with the Vatican. Sir Henry Howard, the British envoy. . . . has proffered a demand that the pope condemn the sinking of the *Lusitania* and Germany's submarine warfare against merchant ships in general, also that he condemn the use of asphyxiating gases and the bombardment of unfortified coast towns. . . . The Belgian envoy, it is said, represents to Cardinal Gaspari, the papal secretary of state, that now is the opportune time for the pontiff's voice to be heard, and Belgium demands of the pope that he condemn Germany's violation of her neutrality. . . . 'deploring the German atrocities and characterizing them as unjustified' . . . To this Cardinal Gaspari replied as quoted: "The Holy See, which is unable to make inquiry, finds itself unable to decide. In the present case however the German chancellor recognizes that it was a violation of international law, although declaring that it was legitimized by military necessity.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Part I.

Hence the invasion of Belgium was included in the consistorial allocution of January 22 reproving every injustice." Anent this reference to the mentioning of the invasion of Belgian territory in the allocution of January, 1915, Monsignor Moyes admits that "if this be so, it would follow that the pope has not only gone far but, if anything, even farther than he was bound to go, in condemnation of the violated neutrality," and he adds that "the Belgian minister himself, Baron Von Heuvel, recognized that the pope 'could go no further.'" Still, R. B. C. Sheridan announces that "the papal theory has been tried by a supreme test and has been found wanting." He is of the opinion that "the Roman church in France and Belgium will never completely recover from the blow caused by the revelation that the See of Peter had, at the crucial moment, no publishable opinions upon the martyrdom of Belgium," and he even advises Belgium and France to punish the pope "by taking the necessary steps to emancipate themselves from his tutelage" and by "a shrewd guess" he sees a close union of the Anglican and Gallic churches with that of Russia. "The Russian religion"—so he proclaims—"is available as a model for the restoration of autonomous French and Belgian national churches, which, freed from papal obstruction, could apply themselves to the task of reconsidering the dogmatic accretions which would still hereafter separate the Western church from the Orthodox East." Mgr. Moyes, as has been seen, recognizes the justness of Cardinal Gaspari's reply when he grants that "it is upon . . . qualifying facts that the morality of the atrocity facts depends," that "many of them by their very nature are of a class that cannot be arrived at without investigation and, in some cases, investigation of a kind which exceeds the reach or even the competency of a papal tribunal." Mgr. Moyes here especially refers to Germany's plea that her violation of Belgian neutrality was forced upon her by military necessity. It is patent that a condemnation of Germany's act by the pope would have to rest on the denial of the "necessity." However such a decision could be reached only with the knowledge of the "whole diplomatic history not only during the crisis in 1914 but during the last fifteen years which led up to it—a dossier of which much is necessarily not known to the general public." It is indeed encouraging to see a man of Mgr. Moyes's affiliations¹⁶ state that "it is hardly to be wondered at that Benedict XV, or any pope in his

place, should decline to commit himself to such a blundering excursion into the region of political judgments," and that "what is to be wondered at—and it is the paradox of the present position—is that the pope should be invited to make this particular escapade by critics who are usually the first to resent above all things the intervention of the spiritual power in politics." Monsignor Moyes has thus answered the question better than many wish it to be answered.—*Sapienti sat!*

Even the pope's efforts in behalf of peace have been made the object of reproach and attack. Thus R. B. C. Sheridan speaks of the pope's "prayer for peace and other unfriendly signs." The pope is reported to have approached President Wilson on the possibility of taking steps toward the restoration of peace,—an incident which Dillon¹⁷ thinks "may fairly be regarded as an illustration of the saying that the most singular lapses are those of really clever men." Dr. Dillon is very emphatic in his declaration that "when he [the pope] raises his voice in favor of a so-called peace which would have for its inevitable consequence the triumph of that damnable doctrine [the gospel of violence] over the principles of morality of which he himself claims to be the supreme guardian, he is entering upon a domain of which the Allied Powers are the only recognized wardens." A peace on the basis of the present [May, 1915] military situation would of course not be dictated by the Allies, and in Dillon's opinion "one can readily see that at the present conjunction peace is impossible" since it would be "a mere cessation of hostilities" and would be "followed only by a truce which would soon be broken by a conflict more ferocious and fatal than the present war," and, as Dillon has it, "that is precisely what the pope's well-meant initiative, were it successful, would achieve"—"of two appalling evils his Holiness, with noblest intentions, would choose for us [the Allies] the worst."

Fortunately we are in a position to form our own opinion of the kind of peace that the pope wishes to foster and hasten. In his allocution to the secret consistory held at the beginning of December last he urged upon all belligerents alike the spirit of generosity in the framing of their proposals for peace.

"Peace must be just,"—so his Holiness exhorts the nations—"lasting, and not favorable to any one group of belligerents, a peace that can really lead to a happy result, such as has already been tried and found to be good under similar circumstances and which, as we suggested in our original letter to the powers, must consist of

¹⁷ *The Contemporary Review*, May, 1915.

an exchange of ideas, both direct and indirect, accompanied by a voluntary spirit and serene consciousness, setting forth with completeness and clearness the full extent of the aspirations of each, eliminating those which are unjust and impossible.

"It is absolutely necessary, as in all human controversies where the contending parties seek a settlement, that each group of belligerents should cede on some points and renounce some of the advantages hoped for, and that each should make these concessions with good grace, even if it costs some sacrifice, in order not to assume before God and man the enormous responsibility of the terrible slaughter which is without previous example in history and which, if continued, may prove to be the beginning of a decline from that degree of prosperous civilization to which Christianity has lifted the world."

Who, be he the pope's friend or foe, will deny the justness and soundness of the principles of the peace advocated and prayed for by his Holiness? Who, be he in sympathy with the Allies or the Central Powers, will refuse to admit that this is the kind of peace that the world needs and wants, the only kind that would not be an "armed truce"?

Verily, these "expert" opinions of more or less partial critics make interesting reading, especially when, as the evidence tends to show, these critics are in agreement only in their one desire of striking hard at the object of their lordly displeasure."

MODERN PASSION PLAYS.

BY MAXIMILIAN J. RUDWIN.

BY the term "modern passion plays" the writer does not mean the Biblical peasant-pageants produced at stated intervals down to the present day in certain parts of Europe. The passion play at Oberammergau and in other villages in Catholic Germany, Austria and Switzerland is by no means modern. It is not even a revival, as is the case with the mystery plays of other countries,¹ but rather a survival of medieval dramatic folk-art. The author has in mind those dramas, which, based on the Biblical account of the passion of Christ, have been written according to the laws of modern dramatic technique. We have gotten accustomed by this time to see the Bible subjected to the processes of modern criticism, but we are to watch now the process of adapting the Gospel narratives of the life and passion of Christ to modern dramatic requirements. That the Biblical story is not fit for dramatic treatment our realists could not fail to see. In realism, as we all know, the subject-matter must be matter-of-fact material, and the sense of fact must prevail over reason and imagination, which cannot possibly hold true, with all our implicit belief in them, of the Gospel narratives. And, what is the greatest obstacle to the dramatization of the life of Christ, the fate of Jesus is from the Christian standpoint not a tragedy.²

¹ Passion plays were also produced in England, Italy and the United States in the last quarter of the nineteenth century; for England see *Open Court*, Vol. 1 (1877), pp. 290-292; for Italy, *Macmillan's Magazine*, Vol. LX, pp. 44 ff., Vol. CLXXXI (1889), pp. 562-566; and for the passion play sources *Theatre*, Vol. I (1879), pp. 213-216.

Christ is not a tragic hero dramatically. His fate does not awaken pity and fear, which, after all, is the object of all tragedy. He is not human, not one of us; and so by unraveling his fate before our eyes we cannot be made to imagine ourselves in his place and beat our breasts. We feel neither pity for him, nor fear for ourselves. For this reason modern poets who turned to the Bible for dramatic material chose lesser Biblical characters for their heroes; and where Christ has been introduced, he is not the hero. Of the contemporary poets who have dramatized Biblical material, Sudermann (*Johannes*, 1898)³ places John the Baptist, Paul Heyse (*Maria von Magdala*, 1899),⁴ and Maeterlinck (*Marie-Magdeleine*, 1910)⁵ Mary Magdalene, and Rostand (*La Samaritaine*, 1897)⁶ the Samaritan woman in the center of their dramas, while Christ, if he appears at all, is fairly passive. This hesitancy to make Christ the chief protagonist of a play is not the result of the unreligious nature of our modern literature, for our modern poets do not hesitate at all in suggesting Christ as central figure in their non-biblical dramas. Parsifal is reminiscent of Christ, and in Strindberg's *Advent* (1899) the supernatural playmate of the children is Love or the Christ-Child personified. The Evangelist in Henry Arthur Jones's *The Galilean's Victory* (1907), who preaches a faith of the heart, is a true representative of the Nazarene, and Manson in Kennedy's *The Servant in the House* (1907), who teaches the lesson of fraternal love, is the symbolized Christ. Jerome K. Jerome suggestively identifies Christ with the protagonist of his play, *The Passing of the Third Floor Back* (1908), and the title-hero in Lady Gregory's *The Traveling Man* (1910) is none other than the Galilean preacher.

But, strange to say, in plays based on the Gospel narratives, the chief character has been kept resolutely off the stage. Jesus

die Gewalt der dramatischen Kunst vor die Seele gebracht." But what I do mean is that according to the Christian system of salvation this death, quite aside from the ensuing resurrection, did not mean defeat, but victory to Christ.

³ Sudermann's *Johannes* (*Poet Lore Plays*, No. 48), is, in contradistinction to Oscar Wilde's *Salome* (*Poet Lore Plays*, No. 53), in form and substance a Biblical play despite the freedom with which the story of the Baptist as told by the Evangelists is treated.

⁴ English translation by M. Winter, New York, 1904. It was played in this country in 1902-3 with Mrs. Fiske in the title-role.

⁵ English translation by A. Teixeira, New York, 1910. It was produced at the New Theatre in New York in 1910-11 with Olga Nethersole in the title-role. Hebbel's *Maria Magdalena* (1844) is not a Biblical play.

⁶ This *évangile en trois tableaux en vers* was presented for the first time in Paris in 1897 with Mme. Sarah Bernhardt in the title-role, and has been repeated for several years there during Holy Week. It was also given in this country in 1910-11, on one of Mme. Bernhardt's numerous American tours, in spite of the protests of the Catholic clergy.



ACT III, MAETERLINCK'S "MARY MAGDALENE."

An eye-witness describing the crucifixion.

does not appear at all on the boards in any of our contemporary Biblical dramas. His character is portrayed by his personal influence on the other figures in the play. Our dramatists seem fully to realize that a god has no place in the modern drama. Christ does not appear in Sudermann's *Johannes*, though his baptism by John is mentioned. Only directly after the beheading of the Baptist do loud exultant hosannas announce the entry of the Nazarene into Jerusalem.⁷ In Heyse's "Mary of Magdala" and Maeterlinck's "Mary Magdalene" an indirect characterization of Christ is attempted by picturing his spirit and his influence over the central figure of the play. In the former play Christ keeps himself resolutely behind the stage, and in the latter he is seen only once for an instant just before the final curtain, walking past the window on the way to Caiaphas. Rostand, however, in *La Samaritaine* brings Christ on the stage, but even here he is just as passive as John in Sudermann's *Johannes*, though he is the title-hero. *The Samaritan Woman*, however, is, as I shall show further on, no drama at all.

But by stubbornly refusing Christ admission to the stage our contemporary dramatists have not succeeded in making their plays modern. In dramatizing the Biblical narratives the author is confronted with a dilemma. He must choose between the natural and supernatural view of his plot. If he wants to give us a modern drama he must eliminate the supernatural elements out of the story. The modern drama demands, as the very essence of its art, an absolute freedom of will on the part of all the participants of an action, and its purpose as a drama is defeated by any predestination of the action which is not inherent in the characters themselves. The individual human wills involved in a certain action must not be confronted in the drama of to-day by a divine will, with which they cannot cope on equal terms. Hence no Biblical play can be modern if it does not remove from the story the supernatural character of Christ and his supernatural influence upon the other figures in it.

This criticism holds true of Heyse and Maeterlinck. The conversion of the erring Magdalene by the ministrations of Christ cannot be explained in a natural way and hence has no place in a modern drama. It is therefore not shown at all like several other essential acts of Maeterlinck's play, about which we are merely told in the

is the only dramatic part of the play, is predetermined, and hence the lack of suspense.

Though Maeterlinck's play is more poetic, Heyse's is more dramatic. Heyse's Mary of Magdala, who was married as a child to an old man, wins our sympathy in her revolt against her life and the laws of her religion, while Maeterlinck's Mary Magdalene, with sensuality as sole motive of her conduct, repels us. An especial feature of Heyse's dramatic version is Mary's association with Judas. This relationship formed before Judas met Jesus helps to make Judas humanly intelligible. Though full of resentment over Mary Magdalene's humiliation in Simon's house and her change of heart towards him, which he rightly attributes to Christ's influence, his betrayal of Jesus is primarily actuated by noble motives. This Judean zealot sees a great danger for the future of his country in the Galilean's teachings of non-resistance. "Love thine enemies and bless them that hate thee," is in the eyes of the patriot nothing short of treason. He considers it his duty to save Israel from the shame of seeing one of its sons, who was once called a saint, kiss the dust of the feet of the emperor. Judas has no use for a Messiahship of peace and meekness rather than of force, and he may also have a secret hope that when Jesus is seized he will resort to the power of the sword and redeem Israel from its oppressors. This humanization of the character of Judas alone will insure Heyse's play a place in the world's literature.

Realizing the difficulty of dramatizing the Gospel narratives, Rostand foregoes any attempt to be dramatic. In the technical sense *La Samaritaine* is no drama at all;⁸ it is a lyric poem in dialog form,—a poetical and reverential narrative in verse. The supernatural element abounds throughout the play. The initial scene, in which the shades of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob arrive from Sheol by a common presentiment of an impending miracle, prepares us for the supernatural and lyric treatment of the whole play. As in "Mary Magdalene," the plot of this play is the conversion of an erring woman through Christ. Photine, the woman of Samaria, meets Jesus in the solitude by the well of Jacob and is awakened by him to religious ecstasy. She returns to the town, harangues her townsmen in the market-place and finally succeeds in leading them to the well of Jacob to listen to the teachings of the Messiah. But in this play too, as pointed out above, Christ is not the central

⁸ Cf. F. W. Chandler, *Aspects of the Modern Drama* (New York, Macmillan), p. 63.

figure. He is only indirectly characterized by his influence on the woman of Samaria.

These dramas cannot properly be called passion plays, since in none of them does the suffering and death of Jesus form the central plot. Within the last few years however prominent authors have turned to the passion for their fable and have given us passion plays.⁹ The author of *The King of the Jews*, whose aim is a glorification of the Messiah, still accepts the supernatural view of the plot, and so defeats himself as a dramatist, while the author of *Jesus* endeavors to give us a natural interpretation of the Gospel story. He aims to produce a modern drama out of the Christian saga by stripping it of all its supernatural elements. He forgets however that the dramatist must count upon the cooperation and collaboration of his public, which is still, if not dogmatically, at least traditionally Christian, and hence indisposed to accept a natural interpretation of the Christian story of Jesus. But a rationalistic dramatization of the Christian legends is bound to cause a disillusionment to the most unprejudiced mind. It is just as impossible to give, in literature, a natural interpretation of the Christian mythology, as it is of the Greek mythology. The rationalization of the supernatural in the Bible has been abandoned long ago by our theologians as absurd. But try as a playwright might, he will find it almost impossible to remove the supernatural element completely out of the passion story and yet have an intelligent plot, conformable to logic. Deviations from the plot abound for this reason in the two passion plays under discussion, and yet the subject-matter has not been made dramatic according to our present-day conceptions of the drama in either of them, as the writer hopes to point out.

In *Jesus* we are assured on a fly-leaf at the beginning of the book that "the persons who founded Christianity (?) are here stripped of supernatural embellishment; and they are represented as simple, real, ardent Orientals in the throes of a great and impending tragedy." How many of the numerous persons in the five

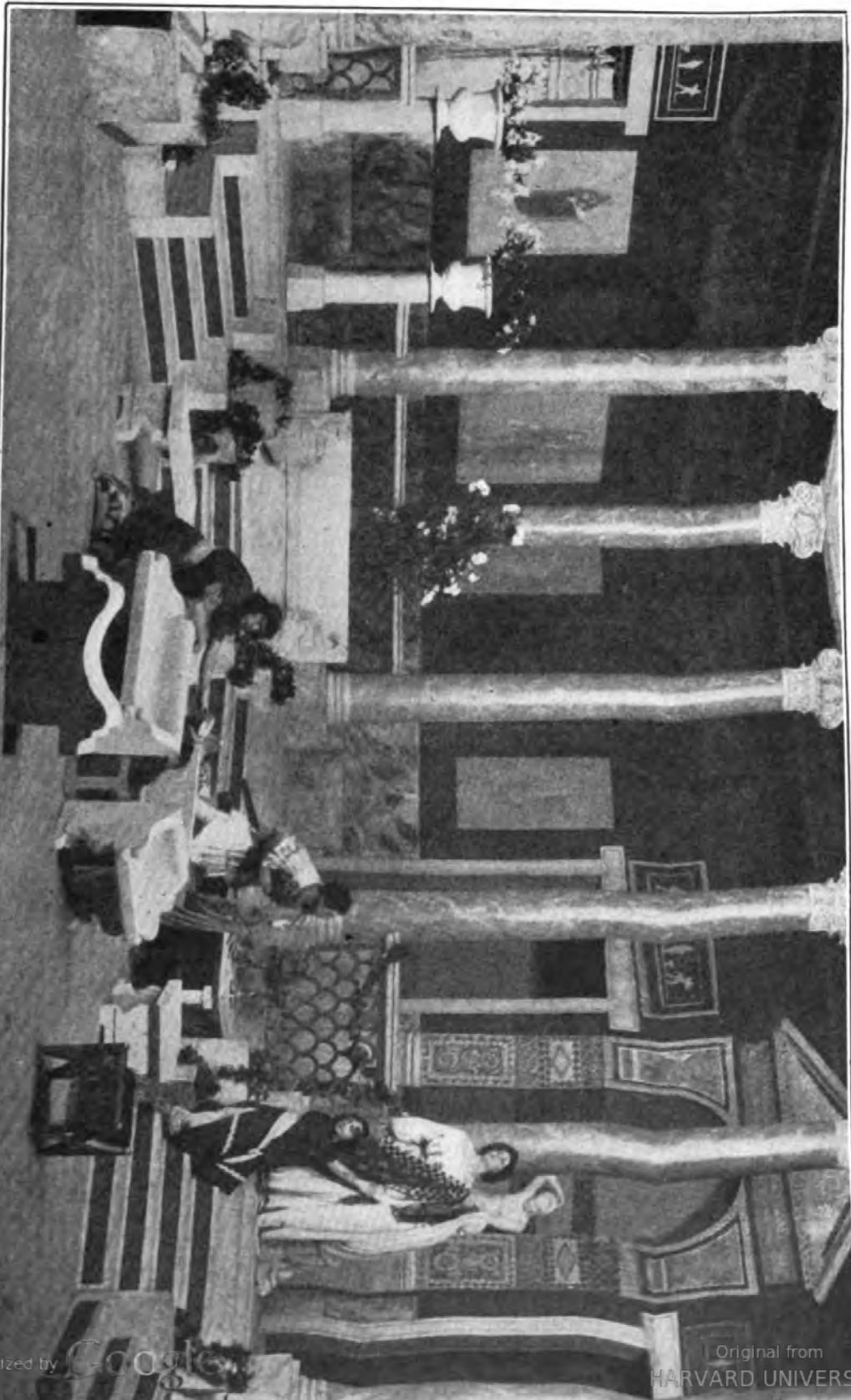
⁹ *The King of the Jews: A Sacred Drama*. From the Russian of "K. P." (The Grand Duke Constantine). By Victor E. Marsden. Funk & Wagnalls Co. This play was performed at the Imperial Theater at St. Petersburg in December, 1913, and January, 1914, with the author in the role of Joseph of Arimathea. The "K. P." appearing on the title-page is a printer's error. The initials always used by the late Grand Duke Constantine were "K. K." (Konstantin Konstantinovitch).

Jesus: A Passion Play. By Max Ehrmann. Baker & Taylor Co.
M. Dearmer's *The Soul of the World: A Mystery Play of the Nativity*

long acts of this drama¹⁰ the author includes among those who have founded Christianity is for the writer hard to tell. He surely cannot mean the priests, traders and money-changers, who are in the majority in this play, and who talk the language of our present-day peddlers. But this much is quite evident, that Jesus has been divested in this passion play of the aureole of divinity, and represented as a rebel-prophet, but not in rebellion against the Romans, as Karl Kautsky, the eminent socialist, once interpreted the "Lamb of God" to have been, but against the rich traders, and the priests and scribes, who are in their employ. The people revolt against the greedy traders and money-changers in the temple, who are paying high rent to the priests for the privilege of doing business and robbing the poor in the house of God, and yearn for a strong man to lead them against their oppressors; and when Jesus with his large following of Galilean peasants appears in the court of the temple, they immediately see in him the desired leader and lend him their support in his rebellion against the temple authorities.

Of the miracles with which the Gospel writers credit Jesus, we hear in this passion play only from the mouth of Judas, but he does not claim to have been an eye-witness. The raising of Lazarus from the dead by Jesus was told him when he later came to Bethany. All other miraculous acts of his master he also knows only from hearsay.¹¹ The only miracle he saw was when Jesus commanded the sea, but then, as one of his hearers, an Alexandrian, remarks, no doubt the storm had spent itself.

The play does not however ignore Jesus's claim to the Messiahship; and this it is which is used by the priests as pretext for his death. He is, as his brother Joses sees him, "a fool upon whom a terrible thought has seized that he was the Son of Man told of by the prophet Daniel." And not only Pilate sees in Jesus "a man-loving fool who fancied himself to be a god," but even Joseph of Arimathæa, who once dreamed the same dreams, acknowledges that by his claim to the Messiahship Jesus greatly erred, but "he is not the first, nor will he be the last to fancy himself touched with fire from the clouds, and called by heavenly voices in the night." In this interpretation of the character of Jesus the author of this passion play has undoubtedly been greatly influenced by Gerhard Hauptmann, whose hero, Emanuel Quint, in *Emanuel Quint: Ein*



ACT II, "THE KING OF THE JEWS."
Watching the trial from the next room.

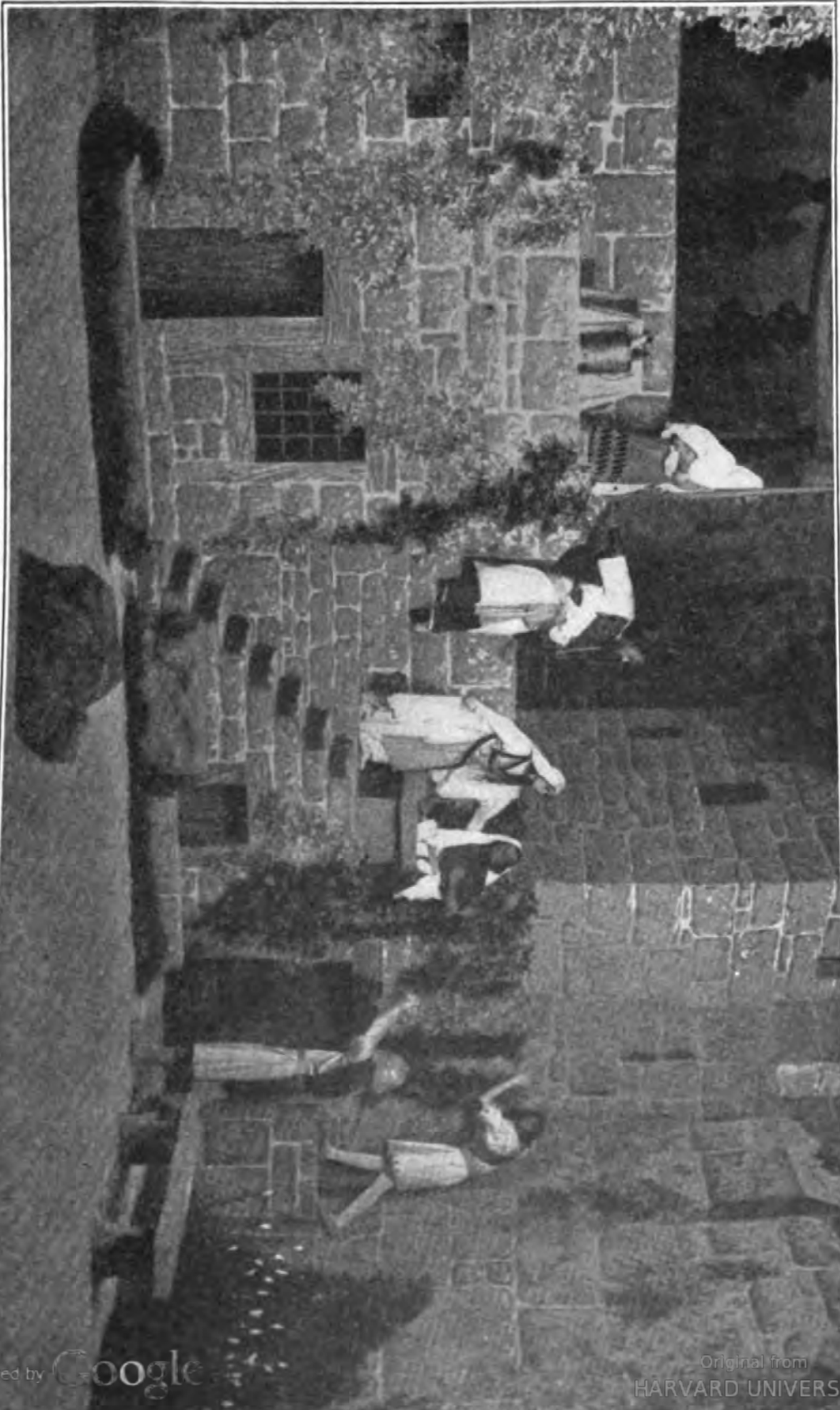
Narr in Christo (1910),¹² a Silesian pietist, who in all honesty believes himself to be the re-incarnated Christ, is only a symbolic figure for the Galilean Essene.

The character of Judas is drawn in this modern passion play very sympathetically. He is not the God-murderer who sells his Master for thirty pieces of silver, but an unwise *Stürmer*, outwitted by the cunning priests. Judas is impatient with Jesus, he wants to bring a crisis into his life and to force him to declare himself. He realizes that the worldly people in Jerusalem cannot be so easily won over as the Galilean peasants and that Jesus would have to show his Father to the people before he could convince them of the approaching judgment day. Judas does not lead the soldiers upon Jesus in the night, they follow him against his will to discover the hiding-place of his master. Neither does he betray Jesus by a kiss; the kiss which he wants to bestow upon his worshiped teacher as a greeting and which is refused him, is not by any means a pre-arranged sign of identity. Jesus is pointed out to the Roman guards not by Judas, but by one of the money-changers. And Judas has not lost his faith in his master till the last minute. From the moment that the soldiers take Jesus captive in the Garden of Gethsemane, till he is led to the cross, Judas does not cease urging him to show that he is the Son of God and to free himself by the divine power within him, in which Judas has not the least doubt. Moreover Judas is the only one of his disciples that remains loyal to Jesus. It is he who of all his disciples pleads for him with the accusers and finally shares his fate at the hands of the Roman soldiers.

But though we gladly forgive the author for his deviating from the traditional character of Judas, which is indeed incomprehensible, we cannot do so in the case of Mary Magdalene. Mary, who came from Magdala, and out of whom seven devils had been driven, who was the most faithful and loving of all the women that followed Christ from Galilee, who brought spices to the tomb, and who later was privileged to clasp Christ's feet, has been identified by some with the sinner who anointed and kissed Christ's feet in the house of Simon, and according to medieval belief was also the same as the sister of Lazarus and Martha,¹³ but she can by no means be identified, as in this play, with the adulteress. Adultery, according to Old

¹² This master-piece of the greatest of all living German writers has recently been made accessible to English readers by the New York publisher B. W. Huebsch. The translation is by T. Seltzer.

¹³ In Maeterlinck's play *Mary Magdalene* is identified with the sinner in the house of Simon the Leper, but not with the sister of Lazarus. On the other



ACT III, "THE KING OF THE JEWS,"
In the garden of Joseph of Arimathaea.

Testament law, is sexual intercourse of a married woman with any other man than her husband, and this relation alone was punished in Judea by death; unchaste relations between an unmarried woman and a man were disapproved of, but were not punishable by death.

Ehrmann is indebted for the character of the Magdalene to Maeterlinck, just as Maeterlinck is to Heyse,¹⁴ but Ehrmann has gone one step farther in his motivation of Mary Magdalene's love



FROM MAETERLINCK'S "MARY MAGDALENE."

Suggesting to Mary how she could save Jesus.

for Jesus, and this step has proven fatal for him. Already Maeterlinck makes Mary's conversion and love for Jesus spring from her gratitude to the Galilean for having saved her from the condemna-

hand, Martha, the sister of Lazarus, is the wife of Simon the Leper. Another deviation from tradition in this play is that the Last Supper takes place at the home of Joseph of Arimathæa.

¹⁴ In both plays the crisis is Mary Magdalene's dilemma of saving or killing Jesus according as she consents or refuses to give herself to the Roman tribune, who from jealousy has arrested Jesus in the first place; and her

tion of the rabble. But Maeterlinck's Mary Magdalene is not the adulteress who is brought before Jesus for judgment, as is the case in Ehrmann's drama,¹⁵ though the followers of Jesus throw stones at her and call her "adulteress" when she approaches them from curiosity. Adulteress in Maeterlinck's drama is equivalent to harlot, soldiers' wench. Maeterlinck could not have meant to imply that she was a married woman.¹⁶

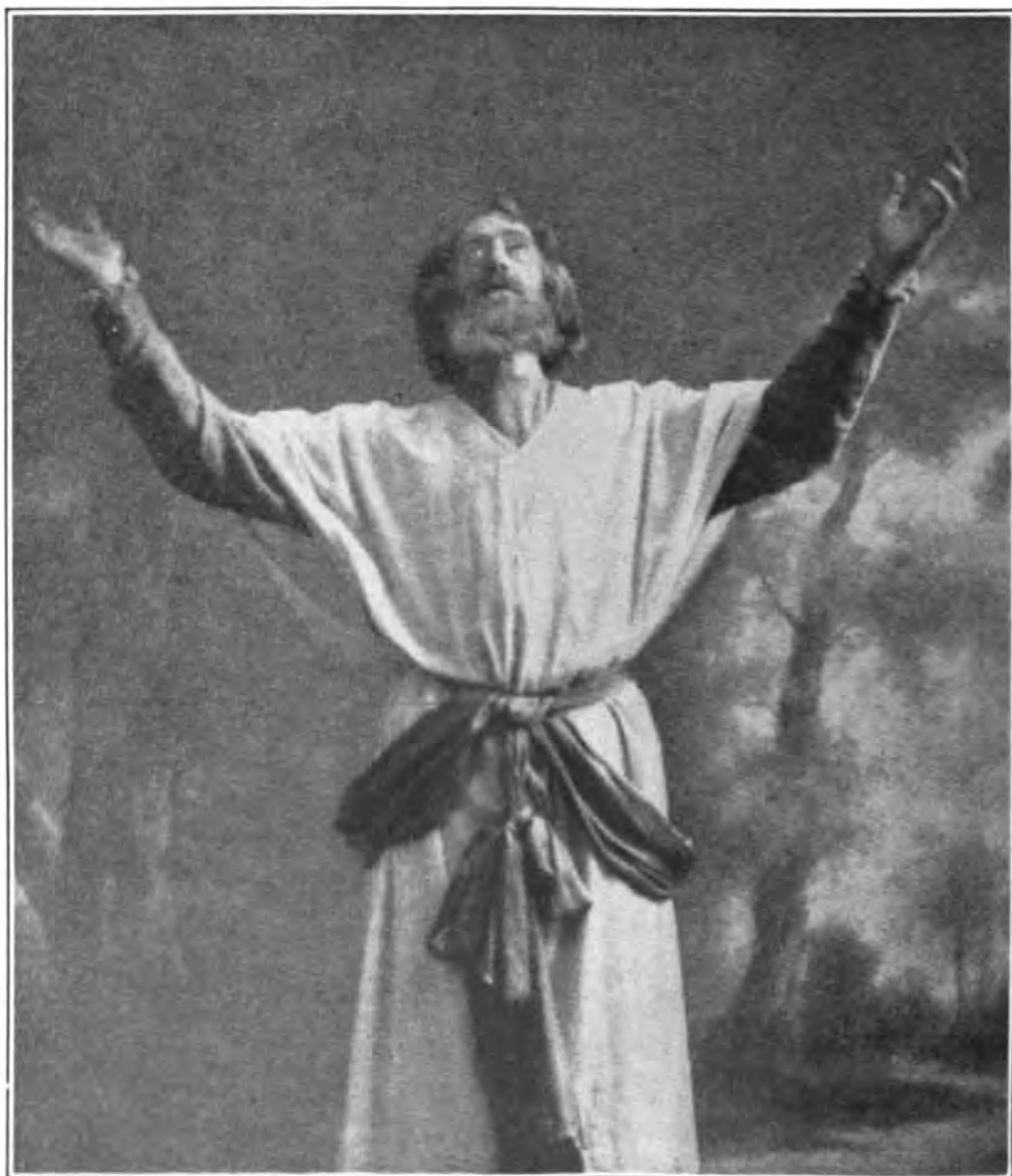
The whole love episode between Mary Magdalene and Terreno, captain of the Roman guards, whom she would meet every year at Easter in Jerusalem¹⁷ and with whom she seems to entertain more than friendly relations even after she has seen "him who told me of the love of God," is distasteful to the reader. The similar scenes between Mary Magdalene and the tribune Virus in Maeterlinck's play are far less objectionable, although the entire play is based upon her sensuality. Much more does Mary of Magdala appeal to us in the medieval passion plays, where from a *Dame aux Camélias* she is immediately transformed to a saint by the touch of the spirit of God.

The resurrection-scene of this play destroys the unity of action. The author follows tradition in this respect, and the medieval passion plays in the later phase of their development included the resurrection scene, i. e., became merged with the Easter play. It is moreover very probable that the passion play grew out of the Easter play. But the resurrection in this play has only taken place in the feverish mind of Mary Magdalene. Joseph of Arimathæa takes Jesus out of his family tomb,¹⁸ where he laid him two days before, in order to please his wife and children, who say that he thus dishonored and defiled their tomb, and hides him in the earth that no man shall know where he lies, "not even his followers, for they would betray the place," and the priests might carry out their threat and tear his flesh and burn it to ashes in order to prevent his ever rising from the dead, as was rumored. When Mary arrives at the scene, and sees

refusal is due not to any abhorrence of the deed proposed, but rather to her unwillingness to destroy in her soul and throughout the earth that which is the very life in her new life, as some one has expressed it. She cannot purchase the life of Christ through that which he abhors. In spite of all his explanations in the foreword Maeterlinck is in the plot of his drama guilty of plagiarism.

¹⁵ In this play, by the way, Mary is already converted before Jesus for judgment on the accusation.

the stone rolled away, the tomb empty, and discovers blood-stains on the piece of linen, with which her persistent lover Terreno dried her tears, a part of the linen with which the body of Christ was wrapped and which was left behind in the tomb by Joseph and his two servants in their haste to get away at the approach of the women



thetically portrayed. It is interesting to note in this connection that of all the characters in the medieval passion plays of Germany, Pilate has perhaps been best and most finely analyzed. Even Lucifer, one of the chief characters in the medieval drama, has for the first time been consistently drawn only in Arnold Immessen's play of the *Fall of Man*, which dates from the second half of the fifteenth century.¹⁹

A very attractive character is the old Joseph of Arimathæa, an admirer of the young heaven-stormer, who in his eyes was "love and fire and storm and love again," and in whom he saw again "my youth, and thought I heard again the far voice singing and almost heard God whispering behind thy words." His apostrophe of Jesus at the grave is one of the most beautiful passages of this poetically arid drama.

This passion play may well be called modern in so far as it attempts to show us the motives for the actions of the characters, while the characters in the medieval passion plays were like figures on the chess-board. The clerical authors of the Middle Ages, whose sole object it was to visualize the life and passion of Christ for the common people, were content to put the Gospel narratives in dialog form without taking the least effort to motivate the actions. It was a sufficient explanation for a man's evil actions that the devil possessed him, but the modern man has to have the actions necessarily flow out of the characters. Nevertheless I would hesitate to call this drama realistic. I cannot help thinking that in spite of all his ingenious manipulations of the plot Ehrmann has not succeeded in giving us a modern realistic drama. In his reproduction of the milieu and the motivation of the actions the drama may be modern, but in the treatment of plot and character the play does not adhere to the laws of modern dramatic technique. There is development in but a few of the characters. Nor do all the characters stand out concretely. This is especially true of the central figure. Jesus does not stand out in bold relief against the large and confused living back-ground as does for example Shakespeare's Julius Cæsar. The plot, with all the deviation from the Biblical account, is a manifest pre-arrangement by the author rather than the result of the inevitable action of character upon character. Nor is the plot fairly rounded out, since in the final act the whole structure of the plot collapses, too, as though we had no interest in any one but Jesus.

The weakest points in this drama are the long-drawn-out mass-scenes which in places almost border on the grotesque. One cannot help comparing them with the Judean mass-scenes in Hebbel's youthful drama *Judith*.²⁰

As we turn from *Jesus* to *The King of the Jews* we are transferred into a higher sphere, and we feel that we are now breathing purer air. The modern realistic technique and the ancient devotion cannot be united. *Jesus* fails to move us, and here it is where the failure of the drama lies. One sees that the author's heart-strings were not moved, and hence the absence of emotional content in the play. We would gladly forgive the author his multitude of details if he had spared us the barterings of the traders, the wranglings of the scribes and the bargaining of the disciples with their master; and we would rather have the slaves in the household of Pilate talk in blank verse, as is the case in *The King of the Jews*, than hear Jesus speak in realistic unrythmic prose. though we must acknowledge that the author of *Jesus* tries hard to make his title-hero speak a more select language than the other characters.

The King of the Jews is a poetic drama with minute scenic directions which are typical of the present-day Russian drama. The epic element is very prominent, and the lyric passages are not missing either. There is very little action going on on the stage; hence the liberal use of the dialogue. The trial of Jesus takes place behind the scene, and we at times hear the voice of the crowd demanding his death. The author was especially anxious not to have Christ brought on the stage. You look in vain for him among the *dramatis personae*. The author shares the aversion of the medieval playwrights, who for a long time hesitated to present Christ on the stage. But even if Christ does not disclose himself to our sinful eyes in this play we are not left in the dark as to his outward appearance. While, in *Jesus*, Christ's face is presented as "ugly to look upon," "horrible," "terrible," "frightful," "like one ready for the tomb," Jesus has, in *The King of the Jews*, a beautiful countenance, "majesty and meekness, grief and patience, all in one," out of which a godlike charm flows, and leads all hearts captive. Christ's face shows no trace of his Jewish origin, and even Pilate, the haughty Roman, recognizes in him "that air of majesty, as't were in beggar's filthy rags a king disguised."

The principal sin of Jesus in this play, as the title suggests, is his assumed royalty,—the fact that he allows his followers to call him "King of the Jews." The Sadducees fear that the people in

²⁰ In English translation in *Poet Lore Plays*, No. 36.

their blind belief in him as the Messiah might proclaim him king over Judea, and this would bring on the country the wrath of the Romans, who would then take away from them the little independence which they had so far enjoyed, and in the eyes of the Pharisees he forfeits his life because he declares himself the Son of God.



PRINCE CONSTANTINE AS PREFECT OF THE ROMAN COHORTS.

The third son of the Grand Duke.

With all his efforts at motivation the author of *Jesus* fails to account for the barbarous maltreatment of Jesus by the Roman soldiers, unless he wishes to infer that the leader of the Roman guard in Jerusalem, Terreno, takes revenge on Jesus for having alienated from him the affections of Mary Magdalene. In *The King of the*

Jews the torturers of Jesus are not Romans but nearly all Samaritans by birth. And the Samaritans, who hate the Jews, take advantage to vent their spite on their fancied king. The Roman idolaters and heathens, on the other hand, are "more humane than all the Jews professing to believe in one true God," and the Samaritans.



PRINCE IGOR AS RUFUS THE GARDENER.

The fifth son of the Grand Duke.

In this play also, as in *Jesus*, Pilate, the Roman procurator of Judea, is well portrayed. He may be a pitiable figure, yet one that wins our full sympathy. Indeed he almost overshadows the title-hero in prominence. Of the four acts one and a half play in Pilate's palace; and if we miss among the *dramatis personae* Judas, Mary

Magdalene, the disciples, the mother and brothers of Jesus, we are compensated by tribunes, centurions, prefects, Syrian slaves and dancers of both sexes, and flower-girls(!). It is evident enough that it was meant as a court-drama, and the performance was indeed favorably received at the Czar's court.

A foreign element in this drama is the discussion between Procula and the tribunes in regard to the decadence of the Roman women, by which the author of course means our modern women as well. The women are altogether too prominent in this play. Joanna, one of the women, who, according to the Scriptures, followed Christ from Galilee, but who in this play is a bosom friend of Procula, reminds us more of a modern society woman than a Galilean peasant. All too much is made of Procula's dream. Altogether Procula's anxiety for the Jewish "vagrom-beggar-man," as she herself called him but a few days before, is highly improbable. She sees Jesus for the first time at his entry into Jerusalem, and at his trial and crucifixion takes his fate even more to heart than his two admirers, Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathæa. To have her, a Roman woman, speak of Jesus as

"He! He—the Just One—the Messiah!—He,
The Truth Incarnate and the Son of God"

is more than the author can make us believe.²¹

The author of *The King of the Jews*, as a member of the Orthodox church, follows tradition in the smallest details, even down to the washing of hands of Pilate. Nay, he does not have enough with the miracles attested by the Gospel writers, but also draws on the New Testament Apocrypha. We find it therefore strange that he makes no mention of the miraculous birth of Christ. The angel with the white lily wand appears to Mary when she becomes a mother, bringing glad tidings of the birth of Christ, but not earlier. The divinity of Christ is not emphasized either. All that his followers believe is that he has been sent by God from heaven to earth to preach charity and peace.

²¹ That Procula should have conceived all of a sudden so deep a reverence for Jesus is as unbelievable as for Wilde's Salomé to have conceived so fleshly a love for the melancholy prophet of the desert. The same criticism can also be made of Maeterlinck's play. Mary Magdalene's transition from sinner to saint in the Belgian's drama is all too sudden. Mary of Magdala, who came at the eleventh hour, becomes the only being that has seen into Christ's soul. She knows all that he is as if she were within him, as she expresses herself. But far more incredible is that courtesan's sudden change of attitude toward the followers of Jesus,—“the uncouth creatures, the oldest, the ugliest, the dirtiest, the most pestilential Jews,” as she called them a few days before in the house of the Roman. Modern technique precludes direct divine intervention.

In the miracle of the resurrection the author deviates from the Bible. The one who in this play first sees Christ resurrected is Mary the Mother, and it happens not at the grave but in her little chamber at the house of the beloved disciple John, and she herself thinks it is no more than "a dream, a vision marvelous." The women of Galilee also saw

"Beneath the cedar while the dawn was pale,
Our Lord Himself in yonder silent vale."

A very happy deviation from the Biblical story is that Simon of Cyrene, whose steps, according to the Gospels, chance turned toward the city of Golgotha, rushes here, of his own free will, toward Jesus and swings the cross on his back, remembering the words, which he, who is now led as a lamb to the slaughter, addressed to him at his triumphal entry into Jerusalem when he caught the ass's bridle-rein and helped him dismount:

"One service thou hast done for me this day;
Full soon I want from thee another, Simon."

While neither of these two passion play authors has, in the mind of the writer, done justice to the subject-matter, the method of treatment in *The King of the Jews* seems to appeal more to us, as it is in accordance with tradition. *Jesus* undoubtedly satisfies more our dramatic demands, but our esthetic sense is more gratified by *The King of the Jews*. The former play with its central and commanding figure of the Nazarene and its wealth of historical detail has greater dramatic value than the latter play with its indirect characterization of the title-hero, who is relegated to a secondary place in our interest, and the prevalence of the epic over the dramatic element, so that several of the most important acts are reported in the dialog and we are thus robbed of our participation in them, almost defeats its purpose as a drama. But if the public has to choose between unpoetic realism and poetic unrealism in the passion there is no doubt in the writer's mind that the latter would be the general choice. He need but refer to the hold which survivals of the medieval supernatural and irrational presentation of the Passion such as at Oberammergau still has over the minds of even the most enlightened men and women. *Jesus* is moreover not an acting drama, while *The King of the Jews* has at its presentation at the Imperial Theater in St. Petersburg exerted a most profound and soul-stirring impression upon the court-audience.²²

²² Illustrations with description of the St. Petersburg performance are found in *Illustrierte Zeitung*, Vol. CXLII (Jan. 29, 1914), pp. 189-191.

Mr. John Masefield's *Good Friday*,²³ the latest and most modest attempt at a dramatization of the Passion, is not a drama, but, as the author himself calls it, a dramatic poem. It is of course outside of the province of this paper to pass judgment on this dramatic poem, as well as the sonnets, which together make up the small volume, as poetry, but its dramatic value is so insignificantly small that it can easily be gone over in silence in a discussion of modern passion plays. This latest dramatic attempt of Mr. Masefield, whose contributions to dramatic literature are generally held by his admirers in as high an esteem as his narrative poems, rather serves to prove how little the Passion lends itself to modern dramatic treatment. The author was fully aware of the difficult task before him, and as a result we have a most modest dramatic poem from the great English bard, author of *The Tragedy of Nan* and other beautiful dramas. His only achievement lies in his retelling the Gospel narratives of the events of the last day of Jesus's walk among men in rhymed couplets. He hesitates to swerve from the path of tradition and makes no serious attempt to give a new meaning to the events he reclothes in modern poetic diction. Yet he realizes that many traditional features of the plot cannot be employed successfully in modern dramatic poetry, and so he is forced against his will to deviate on several very important points from the reports of the Evangelists.

Realizing the fact that Christ does not lend himself to treatment as a dramatic hero, he does not bring him into the action at all, and the central figure of his dramatic piece is thus stubbornly kept off the stage. Pontius Pilate, the procurator of Judea, stands in the foreground of the action, and the chief effort of the author seems to be to interpret the vexed soul of this Roman. The mental processes of Pilate are very vaguely expressed in the Gospels. The Evangelists represent him as a weakling, who yields to the popular demand and is forced to commit an act which he himself condemns. His historical character is thus to be pitied, but not condemned. Masefield however in his interpretation of the Roman procurator, portrays him wholly as a Roman, who metes out justice to a deluded man guilty of treason against Rome. He sentences Jesus not for fear of the Jews and against his own will, but, as he justifies his

In his interpretation of the character of Judas, Masefield leaves the traditional ground altogether; and in order not to offend the sentiments of his readers, he does not mention him by name. The envoy of the Sanhedrin speaks of him only as a friend of Jesus. Like Heyse, Masefield tries to make his act humanly intelligible. Judas, who has sold all to follow the Galilean teacher, does not betray him after a while, from sheer lust of money, for thirty pieces of silver in order that a certain Old Testament prophecy be fulfilled. In Masefield's dramatic poem Judas is moved by deep scruples. He considers the claim Jesus lays to the Messiahship as blasphemy, and like other friends and followers falls away from him, although he found him kind in friendship. He is horrified by this self-delusion of the master he reveres, and takes this course to bring it to an immediate end. In Heyse, Judas acts as a patriot; here he is actuated by religious motives. The betrayal does not consist here in pointing out to the authorities a man whom every child in Jerusalem must have known, but in betraying his secret teachings.

But while the actions of Pilate and Judas are well motivated, Procula's intervention on behalf of Jesus is the result in this poem of pure intuition, the effect of a very vague dream. She has never seen Jesus, and like her husband has a deep scorn for all Jews, and yet as a result of a dream pleads obstinately with her husband for Jesus's life, tells him that she would have gone to Herod to plead for Jesus had she but dared, and when she learns of the tragic end of this Galilean peasant, she, the Roman patrician woman, stabs her arm with a dagger in order to wash away her guilt with her blood. And all this on account of a dream as vague as a dream can be. To her husband she describes this dream in the following words:

"I saw a gleam
Reddening the world out of a blackened sky,
Then in the horror came a hurt thing's cry
Protesting to the death that no one heard."

Procula's action is far better motivated in the medieval passion plays. There the dream contains an explicit warning from Heaven for her husband to beware of shedding innocent blood, and it is the fear of a terrible punishment for her husband that prompts her to plead so persistently for a man in whom she has not and cannot have the least interest.

Mr. Masefield's own creation is the madman, who is the vessel of the author's thoughts and emotions. This blind old madman with his lilies is reminiscent of the Sixth Blind Man with his asphodels

in Maeterlinck's symbolical drama, *Les aveugles* (1890), and may perhaps symbolize the idea that truth and response to beauty come only to him who is blind to the world of sense, and that the greatest power of insight lies in insanity. The madman also concludes the dramatic poem, and a brief dramatic monologue, "The Madman's Song," closes the book.

The scene of this little piece is placed in the paved court outside the Roman citadel in Jerusalem. It opens with a dialogue between Pilate and the centurion Longinus. The procurator commands Longinus to set Barabbas free and to have Jesus scourged and put outside the city gate with a warning not to make more trouble in Jerusalem. He wants to spare Jesus however, and asks Longinus to see that the sergeant be not too severe. When Longinus leaves, Procula enters, tells her husband her prophetic dream, and begs him to spare "that wise man." At her departure the chief citizen, the envoy from the Sanhedrin, comes and demands the death of Jesus. He tells Pilate that he has learned from a friend of Jesus (Judas) that this "leader of a perverse crew" claims to be the great king foretold by the prophets, who shall arise and free Israel from the Roman domination. After having examined the depositions in the hands of the envoy in regard to Jesus's sedition Pilate leaves to examine personally the defendant.

A madman enters, who sings a song about lilies he has for sale. He is old and blind, but comes to ask for the release of Jesus, because he has been kind to him. He even offers his life instead to the sentry. A number of citizens appear on the scene, who denounce Jesus for his blasphemy, and thirst for his blood. In the midst of this noise and confusion a voice (Peter's) is heard, denying his master.

Pilate returns after having made an unsuccessful attempt to persuade Jesus to recant, and pronounces sentence upon him. Having achieved his purpose, and seeing Jesus led to his death, the envoy of the Sanhedrin protests to Pilate against the tablet which Pilate out of contempt for the Jews ordered to be hung over the cross and on which Jesus is called King of the Jews, for, as he says, "it cuts his people to the soul."

We hear the Jews mock at Jesus as he struggles past, carrying his cross on his way to Golgotha. Procula, upon hearing from her husband of the crucifixion of Jesus, is horrified and stabs her arm with her dagger to wash away with her blood the stain of guilt. Joseph of Ramah comes to Pilate to ask for the body of his master, and Longinus comes back to describe the horrible scene on the Old

Skull Hill. This condemnation and death of the rebel Jesus offers Herod an opportunity to reconcile himself with Pilate and Rome.

As an interpretation of the Great Tragedy, and likewise as a piece of dramatic art, *Jesus* marks a forward step in the dramatization of the Passion, but whether the next step is going to be in the direction the author of the natural *Jesus* has mapped out, is hard to say. Is it at all possible to present the great tragedy of Golgotha as a human experience in full conformity to logic? Can the story of Christ at all be rationalized and humanized? Or are ancient devotion and modern technique totally irreconcilable, as suggested above? It would almost seem so. Moulding a religious legend into a contemporary drama is at best a thankless work, and in the mind of the writer the drama of the future is not to be sought in the fables of the past. Why anticipate the miracle of the valley of Jehoshaphat?

POSSIBLE ORIGIN OF THE RESURRECTION STORY.

BY FRANK R. WHITZEL.

THERE is no fact in early Christian history more certain than that the disciples, within the lifetime of men who were adults when Jesus was crucified, believed universally and confidently in the resurrection. It is attested by Paul's letters and preaching, by the Gospels and by constant tradition. Yet great is the difficulty of finding any rational basis for this steadfast belief, great, that is, to those who cannot accept the literal story and who yet agree with Paul that "these things were not done in a corner."

The several accounts of the resurrection, in respect both to the central incident and to the details, are not merely extraordinary, they are frankly contradictory; and any explanation, to be plausible, must take cognizance of the contradictions as well as of all other salient features in the narratives. Ernest Renan's conjecture, as unsatisfactory to himself as to his readers, is but one of the many melancholy failures to find a rational explanation. A new one is herewith hazarded.

Our authorities are of course primarily the four Gospels, with hints from other sources like the Acts or Paul's Epistles. But it should be remembered that the first three Gospels, the Synoptics, are merely variants of a single tradition, hence are but one authority. These Gospels certainly give us a vivid idea of the man Jesus. He lives before us, and few can doubt the historicity of the man therein depicted. But with his death the bright outlines of this portrait fade. All is vagueness and confusion. Jesus, not a spirit, not a living man, flits in and out like a dream image. The accounts of his appearances are wholly irreconcilable, having all the aspect of myth or legend. The disciples are commanded to go to Galilee, to stay in Jerusalem. Jesus is recognized or not at his pleasure, passes locked doors, vanishes; yet he eats food like a living person.

His ascension is unmentioned, or it takes place the night of the resurrection Sunday, or forty days later. There are no consistencies.

The fourth evangelist, more liberal of details, is equally tantalizing in his vagueness. Whether John's Gospel was composed by the evangelist or by the elder, or, as is now widely believed, was written after the apostle's death by a young and ardent follower from recollection of his preaching aided perhaps by his literary remains, it at all events embodies a second tradition. John as well as the Synoptics paints a lifelike picture of Jesus, though naturally a different one. But his story of the resurrection is not the variant account of an equally trustworthy historian. All four narratives have divergencies so great that under ordinary circumstances we would be compelled to say that if any one of them is correct the others must be downright fabrications.

But a careful examination of the four Gospels will suggest to most students that the resurrection story, though it could not have been veridical, must yet possess some element of truth to serve as a basis for all these mutually contradictory legends. Of these legends consider but two.

The ascension of Jesus is not mentioned in any way by Matthew or John, or by Mark in the authentic part of his Gospel. In the closing verses, rejected by practically all critics, Mark says, "He was received up into heaven and sat at the right hand of God." The time is indefinite and the fact metaphorical, or it happened the night of the resurrection. Luke alone gives a definite account, and he generously gives two. In his Gospel, if the plain meaning of the words be accepted, he places the ascension at Bethany on the evening of the resurrection. In Acts he makes it at Mount Olivet forty days later.

Again, Matthew and Mark report the angel at the empty tomb as instructing the disciples to go to Galilee there to meet Jesus, the former adding that they did so. Luke knows nothing of this, though his angel repeats words Jesus spoke "when he was yet in Galilee." On the contrary he asserts that Jesus issued a specific command to the disciples to remain in Jerusalem. John notes no instructions of any kind but does relate an incident which he says happened in Galilee after the resurrection.

Consider the contradictions or unaccountable omissions in this list, remembering too that the accounts purport to be of the central and most vital incident of Christianity, the one incident where precision and certainty are indispensable if thinking men are to be convinced. A religion based upon a resurrection from the dead

should certainly offer a history of that resurrection full, explicit and concordant, no historian making an assertion which, if true, absolutely negatives the assertions of all its other historians, even

APPARITIONS OF JESUS.

TIME	WRITER	ACCOUNT
Day of Resurrection	Matt. Mark, John Luke	To women leaving sepulcher. To Mary Mag. near sepulcher. No mention.
Day of Resurrection	Mark, Luke Matt., John	To two disciples going to Emmaus No mention.
Day of Resurrection	Mark, John, Paul Luke Matt.	To eleven at supper. Same, and the Ascension. No mention.
Eight days later	John Matt., Mark, Luke	To eleven, to convince Thomas. No mention.
Indefinite	Matt. Mark, Luke, John	To disciples in Galilee. No mention.
Indefinite	John Matt., Mark, Luke,	To disciples at Lake Tiberias. No mention.
Indefinite	Paul only	To Peter, no details.
Indefinite	Paul only	To above 500, no details.
Indefinite	Paul only	To James, no details.
Indefinite	Paul only	To apostles, no details.
Indefinite	Paul only	To Paul, no details. Probably meant as subjective experience.

CHART I.

if we grant that in minor matters the story might show discrepancies. The best attested apparition in the list is the appearance to the

COMMON DETAILS OF THE RESURRECTION.

		SYNOPTICS		ALL FOUR GOSPELS	
		AGREED DETAILS	ADDITIONAL MENTION	AGREED DETAILS	ADDITIONS BY JOHN
Crucifixion		Time, Friday, 15th Nisan Present Mary Magdalene Mary, mother of Jesus	Salome, Joanna Zebedee's wife, others	Time, Friday Present Mary Magdalene Mary, mother of Jesus	14th Nisan Mary, wife of Cleophas
Joseph of Arimathæa		Disciple, influential Begged body of Jesus Wrapped it in linen Laid it in tomb Rock hewn Closed by stone Disappears from story.	Rich. A Counsellor Fine, clean, new linen Tomb never before used	Disciple Begged body from Pilate Wrapped body Laid it in tomb Rock hewn Closed by stone Disappears from story	Secret disciple For fear of Jews Tomb in garden In place of Crucifixion Nicodemus, and a Hundred weight of spices
Women and Resurrection		Mary Magdalene, Mary, mother of Jesus Present at Crucifixion and Burial Sunday dawn visited tomb Found tomb open, body gone Saw angel Received command Obeyed command	Salome, Joanna, others To see tomb; anoint body Matt. Earthquake; guards Luke. Two angels, inside tomb Matt. Angel sat on stone Mark. Angel inside tomb	Two Marys at Crucifixion Mary Mag. alone, Sunday dawn Found tomb open, body gone Saw apparition which Announced Resurrection Received command Obeyed. (Mark ambiguous)	Saw two angels (Cf. Luke) Saw Jesus Command from Jesus Not from angels
Angel		Appeared to women Announced Resurrection Bade women tell disciples Said (Matt. and Mark.) He goeth before you into Galilee, there shall ye see him.	Luke. Two angels Luke. Implied only Luke. Told them that Jesus when in Galilee said he must be crucified and rise the third day.	Appeared at sepulcher Spoke to Mary Magdalene	Speaks of two angels (Cf. Luke)
Jesus		Appeared to some disciples but no agreement as to time, place or persons.		Appeared to some disciples but no agreement as to time, place or persons.	Appeared to Mary Magdalene Appeared twice to eleven Appeared at Lake Tiberias

CHART 2.

early on that Sunday morning, and this is one of the signs pointing toward a possible explanation.

The next chart is intended to show the points in agreement, first of the three Synoptics, then of all four Gospels. The columns of additional mention include further particulars given by a single authority in regard to common points, not to points missing altogether from one or more Gospels.

Upon examining this table and comparing it with a table which could be drawn up for each of the four writers, we may at once eliminate certain features from consideration.

1. The command to go to Galilee, or to stay in Jerusalem. Where would the followers of Jesus, all Galileans, flee upon the death of their leader except to Galilee? Yet tradition has the church growing from a nucleus in Jerusalem. Evidently some disciples did not flee or else soon returned. The commands of the angels are plainly made to fit this situation. Hence the contradiction.

2. Matthew's story of the earthquake. This seems a mere device to account for the removal of the stone which closed the sepulcher, taking its origin, like the tale of angels at the tomb, from the improbability that the women could themselves have had the physical strength to roll back the heavy stone. Likewise Matthew's story of the guards is obviously a fiction put forth later for argumentative reasons. The guards would ordinarily have been Roman soldiers, and Roman or Jew could never have confessed either to being bribed or to sleeping on duty.

3. All the apparitions of Jesus. No two accounts are sufficiently alike to warrant study with a view to discovering a substratum of fact. If any one authority be accepted the others must be denied. Compare Matthew with John relative to the very first appearance of Jesus after his death. More than one author speaks of an appearance to the eleven that Sunday night, but aside from the mere assertion all is again mutually contradictory.

4. Minor particulars, such as mention of John's friend Nicodemus, of the women who accompanied Mary Magdalene to the tomb, the purpose of her visit and the like. These may be disregarded as either apocryphal or of no significance.

We are left then with a very few plain statements upon which to build a theory.

Present at the crucifixion and doubtless at the burial were Mary mother of Jesus, Mary Magdalene and perhaps a few other women. The morning after the Passover Sabbath Mary Magdalene, probably alone, went to the sepulcher and found it empty with the

stone rolled away from the entrance. Puzzled and alarmed she hurried to the disciples with the news. The latter, hastening to the tomb, verified her story and then returned wondering to their rendezvous.

Joseph of Arimathæa, an influential man, rich and a disciple though perhaps not an avowed one, happened to possess a new rock-hewn tomb convenient to the place of crucifixion. He begged the body of Jesus from Pilate, removed it from the cross, wrapped it in linen and laid it away in the sepulcher late in the evening. He then, the proprietor of the tomb, the one figure that stands out in all narratives, disappears most unaccountably from the story.

In searching for the explanation of any mysterious occurrence all authorities agree upon one principle: he is most likely responsible who had both the motive and the opportunity to do the act in question. Let us apply this principle to Joseph of Arimathæa.

That he had ample opportunity to remove the body of Jesus is self-evident. He had hastened to secure its possession. He, by chance or otherwise, owned the tomb, hence was familiar with its surroundings and had access to its site. He had placed the body in the tomb, had himself closed the entrance and could as easily uncloset it. If he had not previously formed any design he had still two nights and a day in which to plan and carry out the removal of the body, and he was too high in station to be readily an object of suspicion or the subject of an inquiry. For him and apparently for him alone, the abstraction of the body was both safe and feasible.

The motive is not so evident, yet it too becomes apparent upon consideration. Joseph was undoubtedly a well-informed Jew, hence familiar with Messianic prophecies. He was likewise presumably acquainted with any remarks Jesus may have made in regard to his inevitable fate, and with the young Rabbi's views of life after death. He was committed to the new doctrine. He no doubt felt all the dislike which a man in his station, rich, educated, influential, would naturally feel of being made ridiculous, of being proved a dupe, and he must have realized keenly what Jesus in his exaltation disregarded, that the Master's ignominious death would overwhelm his sect in contumely and contempt. He had a great affection for Jesus, which implies an antagonism toward his persecutors whose bigotry he probably recognized, had perchance suffered from. He felt that the only hope of relief from the intolerable burden of Jewish orthodoxy was in the success of some such movement as this one promoted by Jesus, and therefore believed that its failure would irretrievably ruin the cause of liberalism. He could easily guess that

the disappearance of the body of Jesus, especially if a few judicious hints were dropped of fulfilment of prophecies, of appearances of the risen Lord, would inflame the disciples, already taught to expect the immediate end of the world and the arrival of the kingdom, with a burning faith which might triumph over every obstacle. The disciples were now depressed and despondent, but not yet ready to surrender all the teachings of their beloved Master and admit that he and they were deceived. One ray of light, one possible explanation offered them and they would blaze into renewed enthusiasm during which at the worst he might gracefully retire. Joseph had all to gain and nothing to risk. It was worth the trial.

Such thoughts as these might easily have passed through his mind and led him to the attempt. That he kept in the background and out of the story but supports this hypothesis. Having started the conflagration he would want no attention directed toward himself. Let matters take their course, his triumph was complete.

If this explanation be conceived as possible, and that is all the claim that is made, subsequent events become understandable. The absence of definite facts about the resurrection combined with an unshakable belief in its reality would most certainly give rise in that uncritical and superstitious age to the many legends of what happened at the sepulcher and of later apparitions of Jesus, legends which infallibly would be in contradiction one with another, having no truth to which they need conform. A story of an ascension would spring up to dispose of the risen Christ, and very likely real incidents, however magnified, in the life of Jesus would be transferred to a time after his death, as for instance John's account of the draught of fishes.

Not only are the legends accounted for but the facts, or what may be accepted as facts, are explained. The depression and despair of the disciples followed so soon by their aggressive and triumphant belief; their willingness to suffer torture and death for their faith; their power in the conversion of both Jew and Gentile; their confident appeal to eye-witnesses of these things "not done in a corner"; all these are so many proofs of their sincerity. The solution here outlined seeks to be a rational explanation of the problem, one that makes of the apostles neither fools nor hypocrites and yet relieves

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN CHINA.

BY GILBERT REID.

FOR years China politically has been in a state of flux. Withal she has steadily progressed. Could she be as free in independent action as Japan has been since the days of restoration, her future would be full of hope. She has determination and ability enough to surmount all internal difficulties. What perplexes and threatens her is the continuance of interference and dictation from without.

China reached her depth in reactionary blindness during the Boxer upheaval of 1900, though this had its birth in excessive intrusion of European powers. Soon the blindness disappeared, and China's eyes were opened. The reforms undertaken by the Emperor Kuang-hsü in 1898 were re-started under the patronage of the old empress dowager. Even after her death and that of the emperor the reform movement continued under the patronage of the prince regent, brother of the late deceased emperor. A program of constitutional government—a monarchy of course, but a limited monarchy—was, in the orderly manner of the Chinese, being carried forward unto completion. The time for completion, including two houses of representative parliament, was 1912, or not later than 1913.

But what happened? Nothing less than a revolution to overturn this very progressiveness. The so-called reform party of Kang Yiu-wei and Liang Chi-ch'iao favored a constitutional monarchy, though still critical of the corrupt political practices, which, strange to say, even increased in the atmosphere of progress. The distinctive revolutionary party under the leadership of Dr. Sun Wen could not countenance the Manchus, in spite of their adherence to constitutionalism. Though the majority of officials were Chinese, and though the Manchu race had long since been absorbed into the Chinese way of thinking, yet the dynasty was Manchu, and this irritated the

Chinese who in spirit were revolutionary, and yet, from a better point of view, patriotic.

With the revolution there came the establishment of a republic. Apparently this was the will of the people; but as a matter of fact only a few, and they the leaders in the revolution, decided the question. There was at the time only one drawback to a real republic under these revolutionary leaders. Yuan Shih-k'ai, who had come forth from retirement, and was for the time being the voice of the Manchu government, must be considered by revolutionists as well as by Manchus, if the whole country was to have one government. He preferred a constitutional monarchy, even to the retention of the Manchu boy-emperor. The Manchu government had no revenue for continuing the war against the revolutionists, and the revolutionists on their side insisted that the Manchu emperor retire, and that a republic be established. The result is known; Yuan Shih-k'ai became the first president of the republic, while the boy-emperor is still an emperor, though not of China, and still lives in the old palace. Yuan Shih-k'ai has sworn to abide by the provisional constitution, which meant a republic and not a monarchy. He also received the government at the hands of the Manchus. Meanwhile the final constitution has awaited future action.

The pro-republic set of officers, whether in Peking or in the provinces, failed to live up to their great responsibilities. As a class they were more corrupt than those who had served under the Manchu rule. The people, and even the merchant class, felt that the republic was something of a delusion. The president went so far as to dismiss the two houses of parliament. A clash in the form of the second revolution came between President Yuan and the anti-Yuan faction. The President won, and the old revolutionary element, which had argued for a republic, disappeared. Only a few remained who were strenuous for a republic, while opposing the second revolution. The military throughout the country from then till now has been composed of northern troops and Yuan's men. The civil officers of the government have more and more been pro-Yuan rather than pro-republic or pro-monarchy.

Thus it is that enthusiasm for a republic has died out, and in
the first enthusiasm has turned into a feeling of disgust

acquaintance, except through a few students from America and France.

Early in 1914 there were a few who argued that the boy-emperor should again be recognized as the emperor of the whole country, with a strong Chinese premier like Yuan Shih-k'ai. The opposition was too great, coming both from those hostile to the Manchus, and those hostile to a return to a monarchy. There were some who favored a monarchy but did not want a restoration; they wanted a new and a Chinese dynasty, with President Yuan as first emperor. The agitation for the boy-emperor soon died away; even President Yuan discountenanced the restoration.

In the autumn of 1915, after suffering humiliation at the hands of Japan, to whom China was compelled to yield up many of her rights and guarantees of security, a number of the government authorities suddenly opened up anew the question as to whether a republic or monarchy was more suited to the country. It was at first stated to be only an academic question. It soon became a strong political movement. The final constitution was soon to be determined, and of necessity it must be determined first of all whether the state shall be monarchical or republican. From the outset the president refused to interfere. The question was for the people and the people's representatives to decide. As for himself, he declared, so long as he remained president he must support the republic. The name or status of emperor he sought not for himself or his sons.

The agitation however has been not only for a monarchy but for Yuan as emperor. The military and civil governors have all petitioned to this effect. Few have dared to speak contrary. Liang Chi-ch'iao, though originally an advocate of a monarchical form of state, has argued that the existing government should not be overturned. He stands opposed to both a peaceful and a bloody revolution. The republic, being started, should be upheld. There are many of the younger element who want the republic fairly tried. Others have supported with a faint voice the monarchical idea, but only as a restoration. They are of the minority. Naturally they have hesitated to declare openly against the president. Moreover the representatives of the people in all the provinces have not really been representative of the people any more than those who decided matters in the first revolution. The men selected have cast their votes as their superiors gave the hint. The whole country in this peculiar fashion has decided for a monarchy and for Yuan Shih-k'ai

as first emperor. Probably the common people are only concerned in having protection for their lives and business.

In the midst of all this movement, entirely a Chinese matter and no concern of foreign powers, one side of the warring nations, Great Britain, France, Russia and Italy, under the leadership of Japan, issued a warning to China that the change of government be delayed, lest an uprising take place. Japan has also made it clear that if the advice is not accepted she may find it necessary to take further measures for enforcing compliance. Japan's previous dictation as to rights and privileges in Mongolia, Manchuria, Shantung, Fukien and Central China, has taught China that for the present she must submit to the rule of force. So this question as to which form of state is more suited to China, a monarchy or a republic, is not left to China alone to determine.

Following this first intrusion the same powers have made it appear that it would be well for China to join their Entente, in opposition to Germany and to all rights and privileges accorded to Germany by China. This scheme, which originated more from England than from Japan, has amounted to nothing save a stirring of Japan's suspicions to the discredit of England and the harm of China. It would have been better if all proposals for taking sides with any set of belligerents had from the start been discountenanced by China and she had remained completely neutral. Through all this scheming Germany has remained unruffled, but Japan has taken offense and has vented her wrath on China rather than on England.

Other warnings have been issued to the Peking government, always under the leadership of Japan. She does not propose to "take a back seat," having through the fortunes of war suddenly sprung to the front. She has convinced Americans that her policy is sound and righteous, because she too has a Monroe doctrine for Asia, and Americans fail to understand that this doctrine, rightly applied, does not authorize perpetual intermeddling in the internal affairs of a great country, and a neighbor too like China. Still less is Japan authorized to plot the subjugation of China.

The first warning from this group of nations was based on the fear that the agitation for a monarchy would lead to disturbances and perhaps another revolution. This was enough to encourage the revolutionists to go ahead, knowing that an uprising would only prove that Japan in her forecast was right.

The disturbances, according to book, have arisen. The government in Peking still continued to push ahead its monarchical program and to arrange for enthronement. Japan therefore let it be

known that so long as the new revolution was unchecked the enthronement would be an offense to Japan's dignity and to her kindly advice. Japan probably would then recognize the revolutionists as representing the true republic, and the Japanese minister would be withdrawn from Peking. The only thing then for China to do was to postpone the enthronement and proceed to suppress all disturbances, which are encouraged by many Japanese.

Sufficient is known to prove that Japan means no good to China. China has as much right to decide her form of government as Japan has her form. Chinese revolutionists should no more be helped by Japan than Japanese anarchists should be helped by China.

The danger came at the outset of the great war, when England appealed to Japan to eliminate Germany from China and thus withdraw one friend and put in place one not a friend but more and more a reinvigorated foe.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE PASSING OF CARMEN SYLVA.

The daily press announced the death of Elizabeth, Queen of Roumania, well known and highly respected the world over, not only as a worthy representative of European royalty, but what is more, as a poet. She came of an old German noble family bearing a princely title,—sovereign rulers, but not however of the highest rank of nobility. Nevertheless she was destined by fate to rise to the dignity of a queen. In her maiden years she was wooed by a German prince, a member of the Swabian Hohenzollern, the second and less important branch of the imperial family of Germany, and in the course of events it happened that the Roumanian people called this same prince to the throne of Roumania. The young Princess of Wied yielded to her noble suitor with reluctance, and so it happened that the young German poetess ascended a throne and achieved the distinction of royalty. She never wrote over her own name, but used the pseudonym "Carmen Sylva," and in all parts of the world she was better known by this name than by her real titles of princess and queen.

Carmen Sylva had friends and sympathizers not only throughout her native country, Germany, and in Roumania, but also in many other lands, and in literary circles everywhere her name was a name of honor. Nor was she distinguished only in the field of literature; she was widely known as a patron of the arts and sciences as well, and of humanitarian effort. She always showed her sympathy with the modern woman's movement, and it was in the interests of this that she wrote a poem for publication on the occasion of the Hague Conference, held a few years ago for the furtherance of that cause. The poem, which sets forth the right of mothers not to sacrifice their sons in international struggles between nations, was written before the war, and it may be of interest now to read the protest of a mother against surrendering the lives of her sons. The ideal she presents is one whose fulfilment is devoutly to be desired, but so long as this world is a world of struggle it will scarcely be realized, and we do not believe that her sentiments fulfil the expectations which in times of crisis we may hold of mothers. It is certain that the mothers of her own country have been compelled by circumstances to offer this most terrible of sacrifices on the altar of the fatherland.

The protest of Carmen Sylva is here reproduced in her own handwriting, and we append, with a few alterations, a translation of it as found in the publication of the International Woman's Demonstration.

Für's Vaterland! Für's Vaterland
Kint' unsern Namen! Niemand
des Glück, des unser Glück, die Grund,
der Geist, die Kraft die Pflicht —

Für's Vaterland in Freiheit
Die jedes Ganges Pflichten!
Auf unsern Boden vor der Zeit
Gewiß an diesem Tag, —

Und wir in Eitelkeit gepflanzt
Mit Meinen besten Tugenden —
des Takt von ihrem Blut getränkt,
Ihr Gänge in Eitelkeit,

Die Fortschritt von der Mitternacht
Man können nicht sein!
des jungen große Begabung
Ihr Kinderstube für sie!

Für's Vaterland die Freiheit,
die Fortschritt der Arbeit!
Auf unsern Gängen Todestunde
Kriegszeit der Krieg, v. Land!

Und Göttern neuen Götter! Feind!
Auf nicht im Krieg!
die Götter für sie hervorzuheben,
Und kulturen für sie!

Und sagen: Mutter! — hat und stillt
Mit Meinen Tugenden. — Mein,
des Vaterland: die Fort! will
fing wieder über sie!

Carmen Sylve

Bucarest, 13. Mai, 1899

"For Fatherland, for Fatherland
Are all our sons—their powers
Of mind and soul, their strength of
hand—

But not their blood—'tis ours!

"For Fatherland eternally
Be every true heart's beat!
Yet, ere their time cut off, to see
Our sons slain at our feet—

"Those to whom we've given birth
Whom reared with tender care,
Their heart's blood to bedew the
earth,

To sleep their last sleep there—

"This of a mother ask no more!
Speak not of enemies!

In hostile troops led forth to war
But mothers' sons she sees!

"Triumphs of science, useful arts
Be for our native land—
But sacrifice that breaks our hearts
It never will demand.

"Christians have called their brother
foe!

Save in the sick-ward.—There
United in their pain and woe
They whispered but one prayer.

"The one word "Mother!" loud or low
On pale lips trembled. Nay,
The Earth, our Fatherland, will know
Yet Eden's peace one day."

CONSTANTINE CONSTANTINOVITCH.

Grand Duke Constantine Constantinovitch, whose drama, *The King of the Jews*, is discussed elsewhere in this number, died on June 15, 1915, in St. Petersburg of heart-disease at the age of fifty-seven years. He was born in 1858, and married Princess Elizabeth of Saxe-Altenburg, Germany, a school-friend of the German empress, in 1884.

As a member of the reigning family and general of infantry the grand duke was one of the commanding figures in the Russian nobility, and one of the most influential men around the czar. He was severely arraigned with other grand dukes in 1908 for attempting to influence the actions of the Duma. He was also not immune from revolutionist plots. The previous year an attempt had been made to blow up at Orel the train on which he was a passenger. When the present war broke out he and his wife with their children were at Willungen in Germany for their health, and had to leave the hostile country. It is believed that he was strongly opposed to the war and that his death was due to the sudden shock the outbreak of hostilities between his country and Germany gave him. Who knows whether he might not have been able to prevent the war if he had been in St. Petersburg in July, 1914.

Grand Duke Constantine represented that type of a Russian in higher circles which is highly respected by the Western world. He had little of the Tartar and more than a mere veneer of civilization, and his sudden death at this critical hour was a severe blow for the intellectual, liberal party in Russia. Providence was indeed favorable to him in taking him away before he could live to see the misfortunes of his country.

President of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, and head of the Department of Military Schools, Constantine Constantinovitch was the most educated and scholarly man in the imperial family, and throughout his lifetime was deeply interested in the sciences, arts and letters. He was noted as a Shakespearean scholar and translated Hamlet into Russian. He also had this play staged for the imperial family and he played the title-role. It was said in

1907 that his constant study of the melancholy Dane had preyed upon his mind until he became insane and was ordered under restraint by the czar. (Was the czar of all the Russias afraid of his influence?) Emperor Nicholas issued a decree appointing his younger brother Demetrius guardian of his eight children, but later the grand duke was reported to have recovered from his mental aberration. (In other words, pressure was brought upon Little Father, and he had to yield to the general clamor of the St. Petersburg aristocracy.)



THE GRAND DUKE CONSTANTINE.

He was also the author of several popular volumes of poems and dramas, all of which are signed "K. K." (= Konstantin Konstantinovitch).

Besides Hamlet he also staged his play, *The Bride of Messina*, in 1909, and his sacred drama, *The King of the Jews*, in 1913-4, before Emperor Nicholas and the imperial family. In the latter play he took the role of Joseph of Arimathea. With regard to the latter see Dr. M. J. Rudwin's article on "Modern Passion Plays" on another page of this issue.

MR. WHITZEL ON THE RESURRECTION.

In publishing Mr. Frank R. Whitzel's suggestion entitled "Possible Origin of the Resurrection Story," I wish to say that he certainly does not underrate the significance of the part which Joseph of Arimathæa plays in the disposal of the body of Christ, and he points out that this mysterious figure disappears suddenly and definitely from view. It is improbable, however, that this rich man should have followed a clear plan with a purpose that indicates a deep foresight of a great movement such as actually took place in the origin of Christianity and the foundation of the church. But there is another possibility, suggested some years ago by Dr. Paul Schwartzkopff of Wernigerode, who asked himself the question, what can have been the motive of Joseph of Arimathæa in demanding the body of Jesus from Pontius Pilate? Joseph is regarded in tradition as a disciple, but it is neither probable that he had met Jesus before the crucifixion nor that he joined the Nazarenes afterwards. We would most certainly have been informed of it in the Acts of the Apostles. It is probable therefore that he was an outsider, and his motive for procuring the body of Jesus was not because he was a believer. Schwartzkopff calls attention to the superstition prevalent in ancient times, verifying it by quotations, that a violent death conveys magical powers. The nail used in crucifixion, the wood of the cross, the ropes with which a criminal has been hanged, etc., can be used and have been used for exorcism. The bodies of men who died an unnatural death were believed to be a protection against demons or evil spirits. Such remains would therefore be thought of value to safeguard a tomb; and it would thus seem probable that Joseph had some such thought in mind, and that, being afraid lest some one else might steal the body, he took it out of the tomb and hid it in a secret place. The resurrection story of Mark closes with the statement that the women found the grave empty; and, following this abrupt conclusion, there is appended the concluding portion of Mark, which is drawn from another source.

P. C.

SOME RECENT FRENCH BOOKS ON THE GREAT WAR.

BY THEODORE STANTON.

The Paris press, like those of most other countries, has been teeming, during the past year, with books and pamphlets on the great war. I propose, in this article, to touch briefly on some of these publications, all of which, of course, present events from the pro-Allies standpoint.

Six mois de guerre (Paris, Hachette, 3 frs. 50), by the veteran Paris journalist, M. Gaston Jollivet, is excellently planned and covers the period extending from August, 1914, to February, 1915. It consists of the official reports issued by the French general headquarters and the chief ones given out by the German headquarters; of the principal political and diplomatic events which have happened among the warring and neutral nations; of extracts from official documents, speeches of prominent public men, articles from leading reviews and newspapers, etc.; of side-lights on the conflict, such as matters concerning hospitals, prisoners, heroic actions, etc. The book contains plans and maps, and is a real *vade-mecum* for the present war. It will probably be followed by several other similar volumes. In fact the second of the series is now being prepared.

M. Jollivet's book of facts is well supplemented and completed by *L'Alle-*

magne contre l'Europe (Paris, Perrin, 3 frs. 50), which is more the philosophy of the contest. This highly instructive volume from the pen of M. Francis Charmes, of the French Academy, is made up of the political *chroniques* which appear every fortnight at the end of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, of which M. Charmes is the editor. Divided up into chapters, with proper headings, they form a connected, very readable and exceedingly instructive whole. When it is remembered that M. Charmes, besides being an academician, is a senator and has held very high office in the French Foreign Office, it will be seen that he speaks with more than ordinary authority in these pages, which are perhaps the weightiest contribution from the French side to the contemporary literature of the war.

These two volumes are still further supplemented and completed by *Les causes et les conséquences de la guerre* (Paris, Félix Alcan, 3 frs. 50), by M. Yves Guyot, formerly Minister of Public Works and now editor of the *Journal des Economistes*. This veteran French free trader, by a political and economical study of the causes, both recent and remote of the war, aims in this book at an examination of the conditions which must be observed for the preparation of lasting peace. M. Guyot considers that it is indispensable that the public mind should be drawn to the consideration of these questions in such manner that the fate of Europe may not be abandoned to esoteric diplomacy. He sets forth some of the errors committed by such diplomacy, as for instance in 1815 and in 1878, errors which are the origin of the present war. The book contains five parts: the political causes of the war; the economical causes of the war; the historical causes: constitution of the German empire; the historical causes: the Austro-Hungarian monarchy; the consequences. M. Guyot examines theories as to race and nationality, the claims and falsehoods of historical law, and he criticizes certain traditional phrases used in the vocabulary of international law. He points out, according to Bentham's conception, the necessity of a utilitarian policy. This book is a manual for statesmen who may be called upon to settle the conditions of peace.

Several of the points treated by M. Guyot are taken up in *La guerre* (Paris, Félix Alcan, 3 frs. 50), a volume of lectures delivered at the well-known School of Political Sciences in the Rue Saint Guillaume, Paris. Prof. Emile Bourgeois examines the question of the origin of the war, placing the blame on Germany; M. Louis Renault discusses international law in its bearing on the conflict; General Malleterre, who has just recovered from a severe wound, presents the French side of the battle of the Marne; M. Raphael G. Lévy treats of the financial questions which concern the belligerents, and M. Daniel Bellet goes into the bearing of modern industry on war.

One of the best authorities in France on Germany is unquestionably M. Georges Blondel, professor at this same School of Political Sciences. Before the war broke out he had written more than half a dozen volumes touching on

The volume to which we have just referred leads up to the author's recent one, fresh from the press, *La doctrine pangermaniste* (Paris, Chapelot, 1 fr.), which is a study of the more immediate cause of the war, the development of the idea of the superiority of Germany in the civilization of to-day and the consequences springing therefrom. The spirit of the book is found in the very last lines: "All those who have at heart the progress of civilization are convinced to-day that the destruction of the Pangermanist doctrines is necessary to insure the triumph of liberty over tyranny, respect for the feeble, the preservation of small nations and the victory of right."

Problèmes de politique et finances de guerre (Paris, Félix Alcan, 3 frs. 50) is also a collection of lectures delivered at one of the special schools of Paris,—that of Superior Social Studies. The lecturers were Professor Jèze, Barthélemy and Rist of the Paris Law School, and Professor Rolland of the Nancy Law School. The questions treated have to do with the financial, political, administrative and economic problems brought up for solution by the present struggle. The only one of these lectures touching directly on Germany is the last one, "How Germany Has Maintained its Economic Life During the War," by Professor Rist, who says that the success of her plan depended upon a short and victorious war, while a long and uncertain one may upset all her calculations.

In *D'Agadir à Sarajevo* (Paris, Félix Alcan, 2 frs. 50), the French publicist M. Pierre Albin, who has already published two volumes on Germany, traces in this new one the history of the military and political development of the empire during the past three or four years. All the facts, especially those concerning Germany, which led up to the present catastrophe, are here given in a clear and connected manner. An excellent chronological table at the end of the volume is of great use to the reader. This book is especially valuable in its presentation of the origin, scope and consequences of the various alliances, treaties and *ententes* which have characterized international politics during the past quarter of a century.

La guerre devant le Palais (Paris, Ollendorff, 2 frs.), by M. Gabriel Mourey, conservator of the State Palace at Compiègne, is one of the many admirable monographs on the war which are now beginning to appear in large numbers all over Europe. It is a well-told account, by a practiced writer, of what happened at Compiègne between the beginning of August and the middle of September, 1914, during the on-rush of the Germans from Belgium to Paris. Many curious details are given, all told in a language as delicate and artistic as it is full of feeling and ardent patriotism. Let us hope that the many monographs to come will be modeled after this one.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

SOCRATES: MASTER OF LIFE. By *William Ellery Leonard*. Pages, 118. Cloth, \$1.00.

"Great men taken up in any way," Carlyle assures us, "are profitable company." But Carlyle was sure of his Yea and Nay, and what thoughtful man of the present is? Not long ago, it is true, we could prate of progress, efficiency, and what not? scorning to reply, or replying with a condescending smile, when asked whither we were progressing or for what we were efficient. Now, however, we have been sobered by the catastrophe which overtook the human family a year ago last August, and, like the man who would listen to

reason after he had been knocked down, we are in a receptive state of mind. Everywhere men and women are asking, *cui bono?*

Most opportunely, therefore, appears *Socrates: Master of Life*, by William Ellery Leonard. In this little volume of scarcely more than a hundred pages, issued by the Open Court Publishing Company, the story of Socrates, his times, his life, his ideas, his influences, is told in a manner so simple, so sincere, and yet so graphic, that one is charmed out of the agitated present and led over stretches of space and centuries of time to the "glory that was Greece," and into the presence of Socrates, Master of Life. And it all seems quite natural; the shock is in coming back to the States and to 1915.

"That Socrates was born at Athens in 469 may," as the author says, "be a line of print, a point of departure for a lecture in philosophy, or a vision of life. It is one thing to string together a number of facts like beads on a thread, and many there be of us who know how to do it. It is another thing to weave an appealing story out of the imagination and few of us know the art. And it is yet another thing, and one still more rarely accomplished, to rescue from gluttonous Time an actual figure or period of history and to bring it to us in something of its true proportions and clothed with somewhat of the warmth and intimacy (to borrow three words from William James) characteristic of experiences which we call our own. And just this Professor Leonard succeeds in doing. Neither poet without philosophical insight, nor philosopher without poetic genius, could have written the little volume before us. Combined as they are in the author, the result is a portrait of Socrates whose "moral grandeur still towers over Athens and her shattered temple to rebuke the world."

The book makes no pretensions to original philological discoveries, although it rests evidently upon a first-hand reading, with critical meditation, of the Greek sources. Nor is there any hint that the author intended the chapters devoted to the consideration of Socrates's philosophical significance to be received as a full and final treatment of this large subject. Although offering an original critical interpretation of Socrates's personality and ideas, the author is not technical in his method or treatment. The book is addressed to the thoughtful reader, for whom, as the prefatory note says, Socrates has become "too often but a name or an anecdote."

M. C. OTTO,

Mr. Theodore Stanton writes us as follows from Paris:

Your first article in the October *Open Court*, "Victor Hugo's Estimate of Germany," contains two rather important errors, which I have waited, but in vain, for somebody else to correct. In the first paragraph of your introduction to the poet's "Choix entre les deux nations," from his volume, *L'année terrible*, you say that, in his eulogy of Germany, he calls her "the greatest of all nations." This is incorrect, and is based on a wrong translation, found four pages further on, where the first line of Victor Hugo's poem,

"Aucune nation n'est plus grande que toi,"

is given as,

"No nation is so great as thou";

whereas it should read,

"No nation is greater than thou,"

which is quite another thing.

GERMANY AND BELGIUM

By DR. J. H. LABBERTON

Chief of the Third Division of the Provincial Record of
Zeeland, Holland.

8vo. Cloth \$1.00.

Translated from the Dutch by
William Ellery Leonard, University of Wisconsin.

Holland is a country of highly educated men and women. The close contact between Holland, Germany and Belgium in territory, commerce and education, gives Dr. Labberton a right to be heard when he speaks of Belgium's fate and the German invasion.

It is significant that those scholars and public men who know Germany from practical experience, who have lived in Germany for years, have studied in her schools and universities, who have enjoyed her social hospitality, should believe in German ideals, racial virility and honor. It is only those who know Germany from the superficial side and prejudiced or malicious press reports, who find it easy to believe that Germany was entirely unjustified in disregarding Belgium's neutrality.

Dr. Labberton is a doctor of law and a doctor of political economy from the University of Groningen, where he was a pupil of the distinguished philosopher, Pro. Gerh. Hermyns.

This fact, instead of prejudicing the open minded reader, really entitles Dr. Labberton's book to a careful reading and consideration. For in the first place it must be admitted a trained mind is capable of logical reasoning.

Secondly a fuller knowledge of German character is possible only after having lived among the German people, studied in their colleges and universities and enjoyed the hospitality and intimacy of German homes.

The third reason why Dr. Labberton is a reliable guide in the search for truth in the mass of rubbish called evidence of German barbarism is that he is at present an official of the Dutch government.

The whole world knows how difficult the position of Holland is in maintaining neutrality between the world's most powerful navy on the English side and the world's most powerful army on the German side.

England today admits that the violation of Belgium territory was not the real reason for her entering the war against Germany. Read Dr. Labberton's book. It will reveal many interesting policies that may illuminate American minds to the gathering storm on this side of the Atlantic.

ABOVE the BATTLE

By ROMAIN ROLLAND

Translated by C. K. OGDEN, M. A.
(Editor of the Cambridge Magazine)

Cloth \$1.25

A plea for international socialism which will establish a
a high court, a tribunal of conscience that would come
and solidify The Hague Court.

M. Rolland has been denounced as a traitor by his com-
patriots with the exception of a few who have defended him
in the Parisian Press.

Almost alone Romain Rolland has held firm. He has
made every effort to open the eyes of Europe to the horrors
of war and to raise his voice for truth that "co-operation, not
conquest is the right destiny of nations and that all that is valuable
in each people may be maintained in and by friendly inter-
course with others."

Open Court Publishing Company
CHICAGO

Carlyle and the War By MARSHALL KELLY
Cloth \$1.00, pp. 338

This book is an attempt to find in the present world war a fulfillment of many of
Carlyle's prophecies regarding democracy and aristocracy.

"Carlyle was the greatest man of the 19th century, and he knew Germany, German
character and German history as no other Briton has ever known."—Author's Preface.

Open Court Pub. Co., 122 So. Michigan Ave., Chi.

Original from

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

ANDOVER HARVARD
THEOLOGICAL LIBRARY
JUN 14 1916
HARVARD
DIVINITY SCHOOL

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

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELEZ

VOL. XXX (No. 6)

JUNE, 1916

NO. 721

CONTENTS:

	PAGE
<i>Frontispiece. Pushkin Reciting his Poems. ILJA REPIN.</i>	
<i>Russia's Treatment of her Jewish Subjects. VICTOR S. YARROS</i>	321
<i>Trebizond, a Lost Empire. JOHN T. BRAMHALL</i>	329
<i>Russia in War and Peace. MICHAEL M. VICTOROV</i>	335
<i>Repin, the Russian Artist (Illustrated). PAUL CARUS</i>	346
<i>Little Russia and its Claim for Independence</i>	350
<i>The Poet Pushkin. PAUL CARUS</i>	362
<i>Rasputin. PAUL CARUS</i>	367
<i>Russia's Tibetan Policy. EKAI KAWAGUCHI</i>	370
<i>Dostoyevsky. PAUL CARUS</i>	381

The Open Court Publishing Company

CHICAGO

Per copy, 10 cents (sixpence). Yearly, \$1.00 (in the U.P.U., 5a. 6d.).

Entered as Second-Class Matter March 26, 1897, at the Post Office at Chicago, Ill., under Act of March 3, 1879
Copyright by The Open Court Publishing Company, 1916

PEACE OR WAR?

The Great Debate in Congress on The Submarine and the
Merchantman

Compiled from *The Congressional Record* by

WILLIAM BAYARD HALE

Price \$1.00

The present volume is the result of a conscientious reading and rereading of the entire proceedings of Congress since the introduction of the GORE RESOLUTION and the McLEMORE RESOLUTION, and of a faithful attempt to make a just and fair record of the sentiments of Senators and Representatives as set down in the *Congressional Record*.

This book is a record of what was said by twenty-six United States Senators and eighty-nine Representatives in Congress in the great debate over the question of warning Americans not to travel on armed belligerent merchantmen.

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY

122 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago

Contributions to the Founding of the Theory of Transfinite Numbers

By GEORG CANTOR

Translated, and provided with an Introduction and Notes, by PHILIP E. B. JOURDAIN, M. A.

Cloth. Pages x, 212. \$1.25 net

This volume contains a translation of the two very important memoirs of George Cantor on transfinite numbers which appeared in 1895 and 1897. These memoirs are the final and logically purified statement of many of the most important results of the long series of memoirs begun by Cantor in 1870. A very full historical work and the work of others which led up to it is given in the introduction at the end contain indications of the progress made in the theory of transfinite numbers since 1897. This book is a companion volume to

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING CO.

Chicago and London

Original from

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

record of what was said by twenty six
and eighty-nine Representatives in Congress in the
the question of warning Americans not to travel
merchantmen.

COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY
22 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago

s to the Founding of the
of Transfinite Numbers



PUSHKIN RECITING HIS POEMS.
From a painting by Ilya Repin.

...ce to *The Open Court*.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

VOL. XXX (No. 6)

JUNE, 1916

NO. 721

Copyright by The Open Court Publishing Company, 1916

RUSSIA'S TREATMENT OF HER JEWISH SUBJECTS.

BY VICTOR S. YARROS.

THE Jewish problem is a world problem. The tragedy of the Jews is one of the tragedies of history. It would be mere hypocrisy to pretend that there is no Jewish problem in the most advanced and progressive countries of either of the hemispheres. It would be hypocritical to pretend that there is no Anti-Semitism in America or in western Europe. But there are Jewish problems and Jewish problems. There are problems which must be left to time and tide, to processes and forces which law and government cannot successfully control. Religious bigotry, social prejudice and snobbery, racial antagonism, the vague dislike for the unlike (as Zangwill puts it) which characterizes the provincial and the ignorant, inherited and traditional notions—such factors as these cannot be combated by legislation. The law cannot compel men to meet in friendly social intercourse against their instinct and will. The law cannot compel intermarriage. It cannot compel respect or sympathy. It cannot even force us to study the causes of certain unfortunate and deplorable antagonisms and make us ashamed of this or that narrow prejudice. What education, habit, familiarity and experience can do or are slowly doing to solve those Jewish problems that exist in the most enlightened countries, no legal compulsion could possibly do. Indeed, legal compulsion would only intensify the evil and retard the application of the remedy.

In this paper the writer wishes to discuss the Jewish problems as they present themselves in the empire of the "White Czar," in "Holy Russia." They are different and peculiar there; they are added unto all the other Jewish problems. They test the quality

and measure the extent of Russian political progress and of Russian culture. Some of them are problems created by the character of the Russian government. The right and inevitable solution of not a few of these peculiar problems is resisted and rejected by the Russian autocracy and bureaucracy, although liberal opinion is ready for it, and the masses, to say the least, are indifferent and not positively hostile.

What are the Jewish problems in Russia and Russian Poland?

The greatest problem of all is that of obtaining or forcing recognition of the fundamental human right to equality of treatment by the law itself. Russian law still treats the Jew as a pariah, as a nuisance and a danger to the empire. It deliberately discriminates against him, oppresses and persecutes him, and by precept and example invites the ordinary subject, and especially the ignorant and superstitious subject, to maltreat, insult and persecute the Jew.

Equality of rights and opportunities under the law is guaranteed by the organic law of every civilized state. Russia has a so-called Constitution, a code of fundamental laws, but very little benefit has accrued to the Jewish millions of Russia from this Constitution. Irony and mockery have merely been added to injury.

Equality of rights is the plain correlative of the equality of duties. The Jews of Russia serve as privates in the army and navy, die on the battlefields, pay taxes, but equality of rights is denied them. They are denied the right of residence and travel and the right to carry on legitimate business within the empire. They are confined within a medieval "pale" (certain provinces of Russia and Poland), and the overwhelming majority of them cannot live outside of that pale of settlement. This alone would mean congestion, lack of economic and industrial opportunity, misery and degradation. But with this restriction is coupled a whole series of other galling and poverty-breeding restrictions.

Jews may not own agricultural land. They may not live in any of the villages of the pale. They are thus herded in the cities and towns. Certain of the liberal professions are closed to them. They are practically barred from all the higher branches of the public service.

In Russia, as elsewhere, the Jews have developed a passion for education, realizing perhaps that education is their best shield against aggression. Russia is in every way backward and sadly needs educated men. But education spells disaffection, and the educated Jew is even more dangerous than the educated Slav. As the Jewish children flocked to the schools and colleges and technical institutions,

a reactionary minister devised an ingenious "percentage" plan—ostensibly in the interest of the "true Russians"—for the avowed purpose of curbing the educational zeal of the Jews and keeping as many of their boys and girls as possible out of the schools and colleges. The scheme was simple enough: If the Jews in a given city or town constituted a certain percentage of the population, their children in the local educational schools must not exceed that same percentage, and that regardless of the actual educational situation. If the number of Jewish applicants exceeded the prescribed proportion, the overflow had the delectable choice between emigration and the renunciation of all educational aspirations. Of course many of the Jewish children have had to be sent to western Europe to receive a liberal or professional education and to remain there—until the age of military service. Russia might deny them educational facilities, but she could not permit them to avoid military service.

This denial of equality of civil and legal rights to the Jews of Russia and Russian Poland has begotten the unspeakable "pogrom." The pogrom creates another Jewish problem—the problem of obtaining security of person and property. The pogrom is lynch law on a large scale. It means murderous mob assaults on the Jewish population of a city, or province, or whole group of cities and districts. The pogroms have a certain periodicity; they are not exactly annual or biennial affairs, but they have occurred frequently enough to cause every liberal-minded and honest Russian, or every Russian who has a decent regard for the opinions of mankind, the deepest humiliation and sorrow.

The first anti-Jewish riots and disorders occurred "spontaneously," relatively speaking. The persistent and relentless persecution of the Jews, with charges of ritual murder thrown in occasionally, had naturally resulted in such riots. The Hooligans and the drunken loafers knew well the attitude of the officials, the police and the soldiers toward the Jews. It was comparatively safe to mob a Jewish quarter and to burn and destroy, or steal and carry away, Jewish goods and savings. Such "sport" was tolerated if not maliciously encouraged by the provincial satraps, and they had little to fear from their superiors. A mild rebuke, meant for "European consumption," was the worst possible punishment they had to fear in an extreme case.

Not unnaturally, this policy on the part of the government gradually led to the adoption of the pogrom as a direct political weapon. When the Black Hundreds were organized all over the empire in

the years 1904-1905 as part of the counter-revolution the anti-Jewish pogrom was their first resort. High and low police officials and even governors and heads of the secret service instigated and financed pogroms. Police printing presses turned out inflammatory circulars denouncing the Jews and hinting at the necessity of teaching them their proper place. Certain officials boasted that they "could make pogroms to order" on any scale desired. When Witte, a quasi-liberal, was premier and his ministry sought to conciliate public opinion and induce the czar to grant various reforms, his bitter enemies fought him chiefly by means of the pogrom. The bureaucracy was against him, and his orders and instructions were flouted by the provincial rulers. On one occasion he had police pogrom circulars brought to him and he was startled to learn that these circulars were printed "next door," as it were, in the very heart of the capital of the "reformed" empire. (All of these statements, by the way, are based on official reports subsequently submitted to the Duma and read to that body amid consternation and amazement.)

The third Jewish problem in Russia—the one that grows out of the other two—is a grave moral problem. What happens to a race, or class, or element that is systematically persecuted and oppressed? History is full of instances that supply the answer to this question. Unjust and cruel oppression breeds cunning, trickery, chicane, corruption. The influence of environment and atmosphere on character can hardly be overestimated. Now, the Russian Jews are charged with persistent violation and evasion of the law by means of bribery and fraud. Not a few American and European travelers have written harshly or ironically on this subject and have "testified" to the fact that the legal prohibitions and restrictions, harsh as they appear, do not prevent the Jews from settling and doing business outside of the pale, or from invading the forbidden professions, or from carrying on business prohibited to them, or from exploiting and plundering the ignorant and shiftless peasants. There is, undeniably, considerable truth in this indictment. There is no little successful evasion of the cruel and discriminatory laws where opportunity is presented. Jews do as "agents" what they cannot do as principals, and the so-called principals may be mere dummies. Jews occasionally bribe the extremely susceptible and easy-going Russian officials, who sell their "discretion" in a way calculated to make the most hardened American spoilsman or police "grafter" virtuously proud of his moderation.

But at whose door does the responsibility for all this properly

lie? Laws that cannot be strictly obeyed without suicide, or a fate worse than suicide, will be evaded and violated. Where justice is denied, favors will be bought and sold. Where equal freedom and equal opportunity are things not to be hoped for, license will reign and immunity will be procured for corrupt "considerations." The Russian system invites and begets bribery and corruption, and to blame the victims for seeking some slight measure of relief through bribery is to exhibit grotesque ignorance of the simplest principles of political and social life. The tyrannical and stupid government that corrupts men has no grievance or case against the men. It is the men corrupted by the government who have a serious grievance against it. When the Russian government accuses the Jews of corruption it adds insult to injury. If it sows the wind, what can it expect to reap but the whirlwind? The western apologists of Russian anti-Semitism merely display ignorance and shallowness.

Well might the Jewish millions of Russia exclaim: "Give us equal opportunities and equal rights not so much for the sake of our bodies, of our physical needs and decent comforts, as for the sake of our humanity, our dignity, our character. Do not degrade us; do not force us to defeat injustice by artifice and cunning." But, after all, only handfuls here and there are able to evade the law. The majority are miserably poor, helpless, defenseless.

Let me now glance at the defense or excuse offered by the Russian government and its anti-Semitic spokesmen for its treatment of the Jewish millions. Briefly it is this: "There is no racial or religious prejudice behind the policies in question. We may not like the Jews, but that is not why we discriminate against them. The discrimination is based solely on economic and cultural considerations. Russia is young and undeveloped; the peasants and the wage-workers are actually or practically illiterate; the Jews are more intelligent and more ambitious and progressive than the Slavs; the latter need the protection of law and legal policy if they are not to lose all their property and to mortgage their future. Give the Jew freedom and opportunity, and he will become the economic and financial master of Russia in a quarter of a century. He will own all the land, monopolize the banks and public utilities, control all big business and capture all the prizes in the liberal professions. To give the Russians a chance, the Jews must be handicapped and held down."

Perhaps of the politicians, bureaucrats and journalists who take this position a few take it in good faith and really believe that no racial or religious prejudice animates them. But it is impossible

that it should never have occurred to them that if the Russian peasants and laborers need to be protected against the Jews, they also need to be protected against the Germans, the French, the English, the Swedes, the Danes and the Finns who reside and carry on business in Russia. The cultural level of all and any of these peoples is admittedly higher than that of the Russian masses, and if the Jew is dangerous because of his superiority, every other superior element of the population is equally dangerous. Why, then, is the oppressive and discriminatory legislation limited to the Jews alone?

The truth is, the anti-Jewish policies are conceived in hatred and prejudice, and the "passionless economic argument" is an afterthought, a semi-respectable pretext. To say to Europe and America that the Jews are persecuted because they are hated and detested is to write Russia down as an uncivilized power. To argue that the discriminatory laws are regrettable necessities, and at bottom a tribute and compliment to the "superior" Jews, is to raise issues that are at least worthy of discussion. Most of those who use the economic argument use it because it sounds better, not because they believe it to be valid or related to fact.

Were proof of this demanded the pogrom would furnish it. Are pogroms also a means of benevolently handicapping more alert and intelligent people and permitting the less intelligent to occupy a place in the sun? The sentiment that inspires and condones the pogrom is the sentiment which prompts and cheerfully acquiesces in discrimination and oppression. The sentiment that grasps at ritual murder charges and instigates trials and perjured testimony is the sentiment that encourages anti-Semitic legislation.

The Jews constitute but 7 or 8 percent of the population of all the Russias. The notion that if they were scattered and distributed all over the empire they would appropriate all the land and industry and trade of the empire, is too ridiculous to demand serious discussion. No one in Russia who is capable of honest thinking is deceived by the "economic" argument. The hatred and contempt felt for the Jews are altogether too manifest to admit of any illusion or deception.

The more candid and straightforward of the anti-Semites, moreover, have not used the argument. They do not even care to hold out a vague promise of emancipation in the distant future. They bluntly tell the Jews that Russia doesn't want them, would gladly get rid of them, and does not care to assimilate them. There are those who have openly advocated the policy of treating the Jews as aliens, regardless of the fact that they are natives and that their

fathers and forefathers had never known any other native land than Russia or Poland. Even the most ferocious of the anti-Semitic ministers and senators, however, have not ventured to bestow public approval on this remarkable idea—the idea of definitely conferring on all Russian and Polish Jews the status of permanent aliens incapable of naturalization.

Is there any hope for these victims of prejudice and bigotry? Perhaps revolution might emancipate the Jews of Russia. No legislation conferring genuine equality of rights on them will pass the Duma and Council of State. Few of the existing parties or groups favor equality of rights and opportunities. The moderate conservatives stand with the reactionaries on this question, and even some of the liberal groups are hardly to be depended on. Only the radicals and revolutionists have the courage of their principles and their "humanities." These are only a handful in practical politics.

Pressure from without, such as the United States has attempted to apply in connection with the Russian passport and treaty questions, is not, at present, likely to succeed. There is no probability that the government will alter its position. It believes that the Congress of the United States is wholly insincere and demagogical in demanding a treaty of residence and travel that shall be free from discrimination on any racial or religious ground. It believes that American politicians are willing to flatter and fool the Jewish voters, but by no means willing to offend Russia by insisting on equal treatment of all American citizens. It knows that to grant equality to American Jews traveling or doing business in Russia is to surrender the whole anti-Semitic position. It is the first step that is proverbially difficult, and the Russian official anti-Semitic cabal has no intention of permitting the first step to be taken. The American-Russian passport problem simply defies solution under the present order of things. If the American government does not yield, there will be no new treaty of commerce, residence and travel with Russia. This may be extremely inconvenient and unsatisfactory, but how can the United States weaken and yield after it has once taken the position that it cannot directly or indirectly permit and sanction discrimination by another government against certain of its law-abiding citizens merely because they are of this or that race or faith, or because they are too alert and successful (to adopt the Russian "economic" argument) in a fair and free field?

Russia must be made to feel that the position the United States has taken on the passport and treaty issue amounts to a declaration that

as long as Russia persists in discriminating against American Jews, the United States will maintain *a sort of moral and legal boycott against her*. This is exactly what the absence of a treaty means, and this is what the Russian government richly deserves at the hands of the American people. England and France, though repeatedly challenged by progressive men, have not dared take a similar position. They have not dared to protest against Russian oppression and persecution of the Jews, to proclaim a boycott against the Russian government. They have, in fact, acquiesced in discrimination, thus making a mockery of their professions and principles. But "military and diplomatic considerations" are all-sufficient and all-controlling in Europe. No such situation exists here. The American attitude contributes to a sharp, definite formulation of the Jewish problem in Russia and may in one way or another, sooner or later, prove a factor in forcing a just and civilized solution of that problem.

TREBIZOND, A LOST EMPIRE.

BY JOHN T. BRAMHALL.

IF the empire of Trebizond was the creation of accident, as Dr. Finlay would have it, its history was, by another curious accident, made known to the world by the chance discovery by Professor Fallmerayer, the distinguished traveler and archeologist, of the Chronicle of Michael Panaretos in the remains of the library of Cardinal Bessarion at Venice. For prior to this discovery the history of this medieval empire was buried in the dust and ruins of the Dark Ages.

And how came the soldier and Bavarian liberal, Fallmerayer, to be interested in Venetian manuscripts?

Jacob Philipp Fallmerayer was the son of a peasant at Tschötsch, in the Tyrol, and was born at the close of 1790. Placed in the cathedral choir at Brixen he ran away, studied theology at Salzburg and entered the abbey of Kremsmünster. Some red tape however stood between him and holy orders, and after further studies we find him in the army fighting Napoleon. Battles and garrison life over, he is at Lindau, studying Greek and Oriental languages. Then he traveled in the East, delving into the musty manuscripts of the monasteries at Venice and Mount Athos. From the parchments of Cardinal Bessarion, with the aid of such information as he could find in the published histories of the period, he wrote his *Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt* (Munich, 1827). After visiting Trebizond in 1840 Fallmerayer published the results of his personal researches at Trebizond and Mount Athos in the Transactions of the history class of the Royal Academy of Munich. His *Geschichte* won for him the gold medal of Copenhagen, but his political activities as an opposition member of the "rump" parliament of Stuttgart caused him to lose his professorship in the university of Munich and to become an exile in Switzerland, and again a traveler in the East. He saw the Russian bear crouching in the Caucasus, and

knew the impending danger to the weak defenses of the sultan. He maintained with great vigor and pertinacity the theory that the capture of Constantinople by Russia was inevitable and would lead to the absorption of the whole of the Balkan and Grecian peninsula by the Russian empire, a consummation which would be a standing menace to the western Germanic nations. For the Greeks he had little love, regarding them as a degenerate mixture of Slav and Albanian rather than true Hellenes.

Cardinal Bessarion (1395-1472), patriarch of Constantinople and archbishop of Nicaea, was not only one of the most learned scholars of his time, but he was a man of a temper uncommon at that period, who loved the whole Christian church and labored to unite those of the East and the West. After visiting Rome, Paris and other capitals as a prince of the church, he so loved his own city on the shore of the Euxine and the eastern gate of Christendom that he left a eulogium of it in his own hand, "The Praise of Trebizond," which, after the capture of the city by Mahomet II, was deposited with his other manuscripts, valued at 30,000 crowns, in the library of St. Mark in Venice. By another accident Trebizond missed the honor of furnishing a pope to the church in the person of Bessarion, who was given a cardinal's hat by Pope Eugenius IV. The occasion, as related by Moreri, was as follows: "Several popes chose him for their legate but the legation of France cost him his life; for Sixtus IV having ordered him at the same time to visit the duke of Burgundy, the cardinal paid his first visit to the duke, which King Louis XI took so ill that as he presented himself to the audience, he put his hand upon his great beard and said unto him: *Barbara Græca genus retinent quod habere solebant*, and commanded him to dispatch his business. The resentment of this grieved him so that a little while after, returning to Rome, he died, and was interred in a chapel of the Church of St. Peter."

But the record that throws the strongest light upon the history of the lost empire of Trebizond is not the *Eugenikos* of Bessarion nor the Chronicle of Panaretos, but a later discovered work of one Critobulus, who styles himself "The Islander." His life of Mahomet II, who took the city and "empire" in 1461, was brought to light by Dr. Dethier some fifty years ago in the Seraglio library at Constantinople, and was translated by him. Herr Karl Müller also translated it and published it in 1883 (preface dated 1869). Nothing is known of Critobulus except what is contained in his life of Mahomet, and that is little. After the capture of Constantinople, when the archons of Imbros, Lemnos and Thrasos feared that

the Turkish admiral would shortly approach to annex these islands, messengers were sent to the admiral, and by offering a voluntary submission and paying him a large bribe succeeded in avoiding the general pillage which usually followed a Turkish conquest. Shortly afterwards Critobulus took service under the sultan and was made archon of Imbros, in which capacity he received the submission of Lemnos and other places. His history covers the first seventeen years of Mahomet's reign. It is dedicated to the sultan and is followed by an apology to his fellow Greeks for having written it. He wrote only a few years after the great siege of Constantinople, and the work, says Edwin Pears, bears evidence of great care and a desire to know the truth of what he relates. He writes as a Greek but also as a servant of the sultan. He expresses sympathy with his own people, extols their courage and laments their misfortunes. In places his life of the sultan reads like the report of an able and courageous official, and Edwin Pears uses it as the nucleus of his *Destruction of the Greek Empire*.

The late Dr. Dethier, who devoted much time and study to the topography and archeology of Constantinople, compiled four volumes of documents relating to the siege, including the Critobulus, many of which were previously unknown.

Mahomet followed his conquest of the Byzantine capital with that of the ports of the Euxine eastward to Trebizond. The so-called empire of Trebizond, stretching along the southern shore of the Euxine, of varying length but in the time of its glory reaching from near to Batum on the east to a point within sight of the Bosphorus and including a large portion of the old kingdom of Armenia, might have played an important part in the history of the Greek empire and of Christendom, of which it was the eastern outpost in Asia, but for the supine and unmanly character of its people as evidenced by the conduct of its rulers. We read that when the Latin invaders were on the point of capturing Constantinople two young Greek princes, grandsons of the unspeakable tyrant Andronicus Comnenus, escaped to Trebizond and defeated the Byzantine governor, while one of them, Alexis, being acclaimed emperor, took the high-sounding title of "Grand Comnenus and Emperor of the Faithful Romans." It seemed for a short while as if he instead

But the power of the Trebizond empire did not increase, although the city from which it took its name became wealthy and populous. Not by arms but by tribute did they maintain peace with the Seljuk sultans for the greater part of the thirteenth century. A series of more or less incompetent emperors continued to hold a semi-independent position amid alternate intrigues and struggles with Turkoman and Turkish tribes on land and the Genoese who attacked by sea, until the advent of Timur, who reduced the boasted "empire" to a state of vassalage. The emperor Andronicus, indeed, made a brave and successful defense against the Seljuks, under the son of the sultan Ala-ad-din, but after the capture of Constantinople by Mahomet II Emperor John consented to become his vassal, at once entering into negotiations with the Christian kings of Georgia and the lesser Armenia. He died however before he could profit by their aid, and when Mahomet returned from his triumph in the Morea and offered the new emperor David the alternative of unconditional surrender or massacre he chose the former. A large part of the population was sent to repopulate Constantinople. And so ended the empire of Trebizond, famous for its wealth and the luxury that wealth engenders, and for the beauty of its women, whose princesses were sought as brides by the Byzantine emperors, by western nobles, and by Mahomedan sultans.

The city of Trebizond, says Finlay, wants only a secure port to be one of the richest jewels of the globe. It is admirably situated to form the capital of an independent state. The southern shores of the Black sea offer every advantage for maintaining a numerous population, and the configuration of the country supplies its inhabitants with excellent natural barriers to defend them. There are few spots on the earth richer in pictorial beauty or abounding in more luxuriant vegetation than the southeastern shores of the inhospitable Euxine. The magnificent country that extends from the mouth of the Halys to the snowy range of the Caucasus is formed of a singular union of rich plains, verdant hills, bold rocks, wooded mountains, primeval forests and rapid streams. In this fertile and majestic region Trebizond has been for more than six centuries the noblest and fairest city. The original Greek society had embraced a social organization that enabled the people to nourish a rapidly augmenting population in territories where mankind had previously barely succeeded in gleanings a scanty supply of the necessaries of life for a few families. Many cities on the shores of the Euxine which received Greek colonists several centuries before the Christian era have since retained a body of Greek inhabitants, and Trebizond is

the most notable example of this ethnological peculiarity, having stood for centuries as a Greek outpost in the land of the Turk. The Chronicle of Eusebius places the foundation of Trebizond at 756 B. C., and while this chronology may not be more accurate than the date given by Livy for the foundation of Rome, we have the record of Xenophon, who visited it in one of the most famous tours of history, that it was then a Greek city, and a colony of the Sinopians. Xenophon's address to his army on that occasion, when they saw the Colchians drawn up to dispute their passage, could not have been improved upon by the gentle Sir Nigel Loring: "Gentlemen, the enemy you see before you are now the sole remaining obstacle that hinders us from being already in the place whither we are so long hastening. These, if we can, we ought even to eat alive."

To turn the pages of history back some twelve centuries before the conquest by Mahomet II, we find the Goths creeping up in their flat-bottomed houseboats along the southern coast of the storied Euxine (*axenus*, "unfriendly"), after devastating the little faction-torn kingdom of Bosphorus, toward the country of the Colchis, famed for the expedition of the Argonauts and the rich trading city of Trebizond. This Tyrus of the Euxine derived its wealth from the munificence of Emperor Hadrian, who had constructed an artificial port on a coast left destitute by nature, as Xenophon describes it, of secure harbors. The city was large and populous, a double enclosure of walls seemed to defy the fury of the Goths, and the usual garrison had been strengthened by a reinforcement of ten thousand men. But, as Gibbon points out, there are not any advantages capable of supplying the absence of discipline and vigilance. The numerous garrison, dissolved in riot and luxury, disdained to guard their impregnable fortifications, and the Goths, discovering the supine negligence of the besieged, erected a lofty pile of fascines, ascended the walls in the silence of the night and put the inhabitants to the sword, while the cowardly garrison escaped through the opposite gates of the city. The most holy temples, the most splendid edifices, were involved in the common destruction. The booty that fell into the hands of the Goths was immense since the wealth of the adjacent countries had been deposited in Trebizond as a secure place of refuge. The number of captives, as described by Gregory Thaumaturgus, was incredible, as the victorious barbarians ranged without opposition through the extensive provinces of Pontus. The rich spoils of Trebizond filled a great fleet of ships that had been found in the port; the robust youth of the sea coast were chained

to the oar; and the Goths, satisfied with the results of their first naval expedition, returned in triumph to their new establishments in the kingdom of Bosphorus.

The strategic advantages of Trebizond to the Russians cannot be great, although the moral advantage of the capture of this important commercial city which has been in the hands of the Turks for nearly five centuries, must be a notable one. Russia gained a port on the Black Sea, but nothing more, for the city has no connection with the country behind the Taurus except by a difficult mountain trail which only by euphony can be called a road. If it be the intent of the grand duke to move westward from Erzerum along the old caravan route to Angora, he must consider a march of some five hundred miles through a hostile country. But if his forces are sufficient for such a movement, he would find at Angora (the ancient Ancyra) the key to the Turkish capital, for this is the rail-head of the Anatolian railway, only about three hundred miles from Constantinople, and while the capital has been strongly fortified against Europe it lies unprotected from the east, and with Erzerum fallen the gates are open. The Turks have not forgotten how Ibrahim Pasha, the son of Mehemet Ali, the rebellious pasha of Egypt, conquered all Syria and Konia, took Angora and Nezib in 1832, and would doubtless have made himself master of the Turkish empire had it not been for the intervention of England and Austria. It may be that the fate of the Turkish empire, both in Europe and Asia, was sealed when the Russian army took the outposts of Erzerum and Trebizond, as indicated by Germany's peasant scholar, Fallmerayer, nearly a hundred years ago.

RUSSIA IN WAR AND IN PEACE.

BY MICHAÏL M. VIKTOROV.

SO much has been said and written in America and Europe concerning the role of Russia in the present "World War," and concerning the white czar's plans, intentions and purposes as the ally and defender of western culture, that a candid article on Russia from the pen of one qualified to speak should possess some interest, at least to candid minds. The present writer is of Russian birth though long since naturalized and Americanized—an American without a hyphen (as he flatters himself) who, however, has not lost his profound sympathy with and concern for Russian progress, nor his affection for the land and people oppressed and misgoverned by the autocracy and bureaucracy of Petrograd.

Let it be said by way of introduction as briefly as possible that the writer hurriedly left Russia when a mere youth of nineteen, not to seek a fortune in "the land of promise," not to better his economic condition, which at that time was fairly satisfactory, not to gratify any desire for adventure and change, but solely in order to save his life and liberty for what he trusted would be a career of modest service. He was a student and as such a member of a secret politico-cultural society in one of the leading provincial cities. The society, like many others, had for its object the political and economic emancipation of Russia or, as the government's official prosecutors always put it, "the subversion of the existing order."

The secret society was actually quite harmless; the members were mere boys and girls who were proud of their nominal and slender connection with a mysterious, awe-inspiring central revolutionary body in the capital and who had no thought of political crime. They called themselves "terrorists," it is true, and they knew enough of Marx, Lasalle, French Utopian socialism and British practical socialism of the Robert Owen school to regard themselves as Social Democrats of a somewhat nondescript species, but they did nothing and planned nothing in the way of terror. They

other boys and girls to their style of thinking. They collected money occasionally for "the cause," giving theatrical performances and concerts, selling revolutionary journals and pamphlets, and giving away some of their own pocket money. Most of them were Gymnasium or *Realschule* students, and some were college freshmen. A few—very few—were skilled workmen or apprentices, and these were cordially welcomed by the "bourgeois" and "intellectual" members who were supported by their respective parents and who ardently admired the self-supporting, hard-toiling, noble and independent "proletarians."

A reasonable humane government would not have taken such youthful, dreamy "revolutionists" too seriously, nor punished them mercilessly for their political activities and "plots." But whenever the government, acting on information supplied by spies or careless friends, arrested the members of such a group, the slightest evidence of revolutionary affiliations or activities sufficed to secure savage verdicts—banishment to Siberia with labor in the mines, solitary confinement in filthy prisons that often led to insanity, and even the gallows. The agents of the Russian government sometimes absolutely run amuck and act like infuriated madmen. When they are in one of these panic moods nobody is safe, and no allowance is made for youth, inexperience, juvenile enthusiasm, naïveté, ignorance and rashness.

Now, it happened that the secret society to which the writer belonged committed certain glaring indiscretions in the way of "propaganda," and the police apprehended several of its active members, including the "librarian" or keeper of the illegal books. A list of members' and patrons' names was found in the librarian's room. Those arrested had to take their medicine; two were tried and sent to Siberia, and two others received prison terms. But the leaders of the society decided to induce several other "suspects" to escape; they wisely thought that the provincial secret society had not done enough to resign itself to needless sacrifices and to justify the surrender of more victims to the cruel government. The writer, with several others, was urged to take a train at midnight and make his way to the Austrian frontier, which was not too distant. Money was somehow found; no other preparations were possible; not even a farewell to parents and intimate friends was to be thought of. The idea, moreover, was pressed upon them that Russia needed workers abroad as well as at home, and that even exiles had important patriotic tasks, educational and practical, cut out for them. Not without reluctance, not without doubts, the

writer and his comrades took leave of their native soil and made their way, without a passport and with much danger and difficulty, into western Europe and later to America.

Much has happened since that time in Russian life and politics. But what of the government? What of Russian freedom and civilization? What of the cause of reform and progress? Where do we in the west stand with reference to the still mysterious and unknown empire of the czar? To these questions let me now turn.

Russia has been described as a land of the most amazing contrasts. One meets in her the noblest and truest culture as well as the nakedest and most revolting savagery, the finest education as well as the darkest superstition and the extremest ignorance, the utmost gentleness and charity as well as the most ferocious brutality. The truth is, there are several Russias not only in the familiar geographical sense, but in the unfamiliar moral and cultural sense. One of the Russias has no enemies; it is the Russia of Tourgeniev, of Tolstoy, of Gogol, of Kropotkin, of Tschekhoff, of Tchaikowski, of Tchernishevski. It is the Russia that has all her windows open to true western culture,—the Russia that is European, that recognizes the great need of domestic reform in every direction, and that has for several decades so eagerly and so profitably studied the best thought of Europe.

Another of the Russias is the Russia of the peasantry and the proletariat uncorrupted by the spies and the *agents provocateurs* of the autocracy. It is the Russia of the Mir, the Artiel (ancient forms of co-operation, which a benevolent and progressive government would have made every effort to protect and to perpetuate), the religious dissenters, the haters of official and stereotyped dogma and of bitter persecution in the name of the Christian faith. This Russia likewise has no enemies and many friends and well-wishers.

But there is still another Russia, the Russia of the tyrannical rulers, the selfish, perverse, bureaucratic cliques, the idle and useless grand dukes, the systematic grafters, the reactionary fanatics, the captains of the Black Hundreds, the organizers of "pogroms," the active and reckless apostles of hate and inhumanity. This is the Russia of the czars, of ministers like Plehve and Stolypin, of violent anti-Semitic and anti-German and anti-European newspapers, of hangmen and torturers. This is the Russia that makes war and concludes peace, that negotiates secret treaties, that crushes nationalities and races, that destroys every vestige of freedom at home and abroad. It is with this Russia that the world, alas, has had to reckon, and still has to reckon.

We shall presently glance at the recent record of this Russia. But before doing this it is well to pause and advert to the view of certain British liberals and liberal conservatives—a view not shared by other liberals or by laborites and radicals, by the way—that this Russia, the Russia of the white terror, of blood and guilt and unrestrained barbarism, is about to purge and reform herself, to abandon her evil ways, to repent of her crimes and atrocities, to take her place at the forefront of civilization and become a worthy exemplar and exponent of culture. A real Russian scholar, Professor Vinogradoff—an exile, by the way, who has held a chair in history at Oxford for many years—has called the war “a war of emancipation” for Russia, and the same expression has been used by other Russians. What do they mean? From whom did or does Russia as a power need to emancipate herself? Who has attacked her sovereign rights, and when? The Russian people need to be emancipated from their autocratic government and their incompetent and corrupt bureaucracy; but did the ruling spheres of Russia contemplate *such* emancipation when they took up Servia’s cause last summer? Can it be said that Russia is in the present conflict because of her conscious or unconscious desire to overthrow or reform her governmental system? Any such statement is absurd on its face. Either by evolution or by revolution—probably by both—Russia will in the course of time emancipate herself, but her enemies are chiefly within her own household. There is not a liberal or progressive person in Europe who has not sympathized with the reform movement in the czar’s dominions, and if any despot or reactionary clique in any other country had ever openly espoused the cause of Russian tyranny and obscurantism, the people of that country would have sharply resented and effectually nullified such aid and comfort to a foe of human freedom and human progress.

But let the strange and vague references to the “war of emancipation” be dismissed as the product of some confusion of thought and looseness of expression. A much more important point is to be noted here. If the Russian government, because of its alliance with France, England and Italy, is to turn over a new leaf, to repent and mend its ways, to turn liberal and forward-looking, assuredly this is the time to proclaim its intention, to announce the glad tidings. The opportunity has, however, been totally neglected. Immediately after the outbreak of the war a number of meant-to-be significant hints did appear in the British papers and in their Russian correspondence. The world was told, darkly, that great and joyful news might be expected from the Russian capital at any moment—

news that would vindicate Russia's government and make it altogether worthy of its allies. Especially positive and convinced was the London *Saturday Review*, the high Tory organ of Britain, that momentous internal reforms were imminent in Russia, and its readers were encouraged to anticipate wonderful happenings. All such predictions and forecasts have ceased. A change has come over the spirit of Russian correspondence and comment. In some English organs of opinion there are expressions of impatience, disappointment and indignation. Can we feel any astonishment at this? Let us see what the Russian government might have done, *would* certainly have done, had it intended to reverse its politics, *and has utterly failed to do.*

In the first place, it would have proclaimed wide and liberal amnesty for the majority of its political prisoners. Many fully expected such a step as this. Has it been taken? Not only has it not been taken, but when Bourtseff, the famous exile and successful assailant of the Russian police espionage system, with its terrorist adjuncts and its complicity in assassinations and crimes, returned voluntarily and impulsively to his native land last fall to place his ability and energy at the service of the government, he was cast into prison, promptly tried for treason and sentenced to a term in Siberia. The same fate overtook other revolutionists who had rashly reckoned without their Russian host and had assumed that the war meant a new regime at home and a change of heart on the part of the "popular" czar and the "heroic" commander-in-chief of all the armies. It should be stated that the treatment of Bourtseff was a deep shock to the British radicals, although they deemed it discreet to restrain their wrath and make their criticism mild and cautious.

In the second place, the government would have discontinued its policy of compulsory Russianization of Finland, of nullification of Finnish autonomy and liberty, and would have restored at least some of the high privileges that it had taken away from Finland contrary to solemn treaties and pledges. Has this been done? On the contrary, the Russianization of Finland appears to have continued without interruption or relaxation.

In the third place, equal right and equal opportunity in every direction would have been granted to the oppressed Jewish millions of Russia. Several hundred thousand Jews are fighting in the czar's armies; fighting without enthusiasm, interest or faith. They are suffering and dying for a government that denies to their people the right to own land in rural sections, the right to till the soil, the

right to enter certain professions, the right to educate their children, the right to settle in any section of Russia that is not set apart as a "zone" for them. They are suffering and dying for a government that treats them as outcasts and pariahs; that has instigated massacres and pogroms against them; that has slandered and libeled them; that has accused them of ritual murders, and that has rewarded insane degenerate monks and frenzied fanatics for virulent and truculent attacks on the whole Jewish race. Has anything been done for the Jews of Russia? Not a single, insignificant measure of amelioration has been vouchsafed to them. The campaign of persecution has not been suspended. And it has been charged that in Poland and Galicia the Russian generals and commanders have executed hundreds of Jews and brutally maltreated hundreds of others merely because of alleged suspicions that they had given information to the military enemy or had failed to give information to their own rulers, permanent or temporary.

In the fourth place, the Russian government might and would have granted actual autonomy to her own Polish provinces, instead of vaguely promising autonomy to a reunited Poland after the war in the event of Russian annexation of the Austrian and German parts of the old kingdom of Poland. This has not been done, either, and the American and other free Poles, it is plain from their actions and utterances, have little confidence in the promises of the Russian government. A manifesto appears to have been issued promising Russian Poland local self-government and the right to use her own tongue in the schools and elsewhere; but even Russian correspondents have thrown much doubt on the value and practical significance of this grant. They speak of conditions, reservations and restrictions that may break the promise to the heart even if it should be kept to the ear. Moreover, the Council of State may tack on additional limitations.

In the fifth place, the Russian people might have been granted some general measure of social and political liberty as a promise of greater things to come. Nothing whatever has been done by the government in the direction of reform. The government is what it has been. It has not seen fit, even during so soul-trying a conflict, to make a single concession to the spirit of liberalism. It has remained deaf to progressive appeal and advice; it has sullenly resisted every effort on the part of the most moderate reformers to convert the war into an instrument and agency of national progress.

What reason, then, has the Russian government given to any one for the belief or notion that it means to inaugurate an era of

reform and become a modern, enlightened, liberal government? The answer is, None. Can ground for such belief or hope be found in its general record, in the history of the last thirty or forty years? Is the Russian government better and saner in times of peace than in times of war? Let us see.

Prior to the war with Japan and the revolution of 1904-5, as all will admit, there was nothing in the conduct and policies of the Russian government to inspire respect, confidence or admiration. It had systematically suppressed all liberal and progressive activities and aspirations with a ruthless hand. It had driven young dreamers and idealists, whose sole desire and purpose it was to serve the peasant and proletariat millions, to rebel and adopt terrorist tactics. It had made popular education a crime and an assault on the "existing order." It had forbidden the discussion of political and governmental problems, and had ordered all the best books of modern times to be placed on its "Index." It had remorselessly imprisoned and banished editors and publishers for daring to disobey capricious and stupid police orders. It had so savagely suppressed the moderate reform societies and the labor unions that when these became revolutionary its reprisals and vindictive penalties knew no checks or bounds.

All this inevitably begot irresponsibility, lust, cruelty and corruption in government. The local satraps vied with one another in proving their loyalty to the autocracy. Bribery, waste, lawless official arrogance, rank favoritism, ignorance and brutality reigned in the empire, from one end to the other. Thousands of noble men and women were in prisons and fortresses or in the wilds of Siberia. Other thousands were forced to seek refuge in Europe and America. Russia had no room and no use for the best that she was capable of producing. The best only furnished victims for the gallows and the hangmen.

Revolution was unavoidable. It had to come sooner or later. The events of the eighties and nineties of the last century could have no other climax than a catastrophic upheaval. The war with Japan merely hastened the revolution. Russia's crushing defeats and disasters on land and sea only attested the bankruptcy of the regime, the dishonesty and the inefficiency of the military, naval and civil agents of the autocracy. The government was so completely discredited that the revolutionary forces saw their chance and took it. The army was thousands of miles away; the war had no supporters or defenders among the people; the labor unions could use the strike weapon without fear of the knout and the

bayonet. The intellectual and professional elements were free to make common cause with the proletariat. The revolution followed, and then the apparent surrender of the autocracy, the imperial rescripts and decrees proclaiming reforms, the Witte ministry, the grant of a so-called constitution, the creation of a national Duma and the assembling thereof. For a short time Russia enjoyed free speech and free discussion. The government was weak and the bureaucracy disorganized and dismayed.

But, alas, the peace treaty with Japan came too soon—too soon for the cause of Russian progress and the peace and welfare of the nation. The army returned and the autocracy recovered its audacity and its Bourbon stubbornness. The counter-revolution was not long in making its appearance. The concessions extorted from the autocracy were one by one withdrawn or nullified. The so-called “Fundamental Laws,” or constitution, received the same cavalier and contemptuous treatment. The local satraps ignored the paper restraints on arbitrary power. The country was placed under martial law in order to get rid of inconvenient legal limitations. The first Duma was dissolved with little ceremony, not because, as the government pretended, it was “inefficient and incapable of service,” but because it was fearless and honest, because it protested vehemently against the reactionary and nullification policies of the court. The electoral system was changed in violation of the laws the czar had signed and proclaimed. The object of this illegal change was to convert the Duma into an instrument of the aristocratic and privileged classes, and to reduce the representation of the liberals, the organized workmen and the peasants.

Other and similar measures followed in rapid succession. The freedom of speech and the press guaranteed by the Constitution became a snare and a mockery. Even the parliamentary debates could not be reported outside of the capital. Provincial editors were fined and imprisoned for republishing articles and reports which had appeared, with the censor's approval, in the newspapers of St. Petersburg or Moscow. The Duma itself was in serious danger. The leaders of the Black Hundreds urged the czar to abolish it and with it every vestige of the brief reform period. These fanatics had the support of the influential ministers and bureaucrats, and the liberals were fully prepared for a perfidious decree wiping out the Duma and the constitution. It is believed that nothing but shame, fear of European opinion, and the need of foreign money saved the Duma as an institution.

But although the Duma was saved, it was reduced to impotence.

The cabinet regarded it as a subordinate agency that might do routine work and meekly carry out the orders of the government. It was useful as a blind or mask; it passed budgets and authorized bond issues. It was deprived of all real power; its bills had no chance whatever in the upper chamber or Council of State. All its reform measures were foredoomed to failure. It found every way blocked. It could not help the Finns, or the Jews, or the Poles. It could do little for popular education or for simple justice and personal liberty. Meantime the ruling cliques, entrenched once more, were diverting national attention, to the the extent of their ability, to sham issues, to alleged external dangers. Attacks on Germany began to appear in the inspired press. Anti-Semitic and anti-Polish campaigns were instigated. The government demanded extraordinary appropriations for defense and preparedness. A "National" party was formed to back the government. The true liberals and non-revolutionary radicals opposed all this and exposed the stratagems and tricks of the government so far as the censors and the prosecutors permitted criticism. But this opposition was of little avail. Jingoism and intolerant nationalism steadily made headway. Yet the abuses in the army and navy—the things that had caused the defeat of Russia in the war with Japan—were hardly touched. It was "unpatriotic" to tell the truth about the cabals and the corruptionists that controlled these services. Even moderate suggestions of army and navy reform were frowned upon and denounced.

This was the general situation in Russia on the eve of the present war. The liberal elements were profoundly pessimistic and disheartened. Many predicted the revival of the terrorist movement and revolutionary outbreaks all over the empire. The students and youth of the country appeared to be ready for another great wave of intense and tragic political activity. The best informed Russians, as well as sober-minded European observers, entertained but little doubt that the reaction or counter-revolution was heaping up explosive material and that another sanguinary upheaval against the Russian autocracy and bureaucracy was imminent. Some did not hesitate to say that a popular war alone would save the government and avert revolution. But was a popular war possible? The war with Japan had been extremely unpopular, and another such conflict might be absolutely fatal to the old regime. The course of the two Balkan wars afforded no opportunity to the Russian court. Its diplomacy had made enemies rather than friends in the Balkan peninsula. It was necessary to wait. Delay was dangerous, but there was no alternative. For, to repeat, the return to reform and

liberalism did not for a moment present itself to the ruling cliques in the light of a possible alternative.

The Austrian ultimatum to Servia, one of "the little Slav brothers," gave the czar and his intimate advisers and agents their opportunity. They knew that a war over the question of Serb independence or sovereignty, and over Russia's moral claim to a sort of Slav protectorate, would be popular.

The rest is familiar history. Into the actual responsibility for the awful conflict the writer will not go in this article. He merely wishes to record the facts and to direct attention once more to the spirit and attitude of the Russian government with reference to reform, culture and civilization. So far, certainly, the war has not been a war of "emancipation" for the Russian people, or for any race or nationality subject to Russia. Further developments—good or bad—it would be unprofitable to speculate upon; comment may well await accomplished results.

However, in dealing with Russia's role and function in the present war, it is necessary to bear in mind one important fact—namely, that the Slavophil professions of the government and some of its literary spokesmen are essentially hollow and insincere. Slavophilism and Pan-Slavism as literary and historical factors in Russia are one thing; official and autocratic patronage of the smaller Slav states and principalities is a very different thing. The autocracy and its diplomatic tools have used the Pan-Slav idea, have exploited it, but have never shown any real belief in it except as another and less objectionable slogan for expansion and increased power and prestige. The idealistic Pan-Slav group, never very large or potent, was at one time intellectually and morally respectable. It had curious, semi-mystical and irrational notions, but it was honest. It believed that Russia had a sacred mission in the world; that she was working out a new civilization; that the west was effete and degenerate; that democracy, freedom, modern industrialism, individual rights and all the rest were false and destructive of true spiritual grace; that a benevolent, religious, divine autocracy was to be Russia's unique contribution to progress; that Europe and America would ultimately, after many troubles and anarchical disorders, adopt the Russian form of government. This was foolish and absurd, but it was historically explicable and it was honest. It hardly needs explaining why the autocracy and bureaucracy always

ideas. The fervent Slavophiles played into the hands of the blind, selfish, corrupt and cruel autocracy, but few of them perceived this.

The Russian liberals, the radicals, the social democrats and the other progressive parties and schools, have never shared a single one of the notions of the genuine Slavophiles, and they have, of course, always perceived and pointed out how the government perverted Slavophile ideas and converted them, so to speak, to its own pernicious use. But the Slavophile poets and essayists had little interest in territorial ambitions and in schemes of annexation: they really had the welfare of the peasant and laborer at heart, and they hoped to render the government benevolent and pure. To-day the old Slavophile school can hardly be said to have a following worthy of mention. The doctrine that Holy Russia has a great message for the world, is going to teach us how to make the autocratic church truly religious and the autocratic state truly benevolent—how to reconcile things the West deemed irreconcilable—is dead. No one takes it seriously.

The educated and progressive classes are patriotic in the rational sense of the term, but they have no illusions concerning Holy Russia. They know that Russia must continue to follow the West, to grapple with her political, social and moral problems as the West has grappled with these problems, and to curb and shackle her autocracy and her bureaucracy. Russia has many schools of thought, as the West has, but the alignment is the same there as with us. Russia has positivists, monists, Kantists, Hegelians, neo-realists, Bergsonians and what not. She has socialists and individualists and opportunists. Russia has been profoundly influenced by German thought—her greatest critic was a Hegelian, and some of her leading authors and economists are Marxians. But all these schools have this in common—they regard Russia as a backward power whose development must follow the western course of evolution. They wish to be national and to cultivate whatever worthy traits the Russian character may possess, but they have nothing but contempt for the notion that Russia can dispense with free institutions, with free criticism, with western culture. They have no sympathy with aggression and bigoted nationalism, with any policy that spells reaction within or greed and conquest without.

These elements will judge the war and its political or territorial consequences by one criterion—the political, social and moral progress of Russia. They will not long be deceived. There can be no change in their point of view, their philosophy of life.

REPIN, THE RUSSIAN ARTIST.

BY THE EDITOR.

ILJA REPIN, the great master of Russian painters, last year celebrated his seventieth birthday, and looks back upon an eventful and highly successful career. He is typically Russian,



THE COUNT AND COUNTESS TOLSTOY.

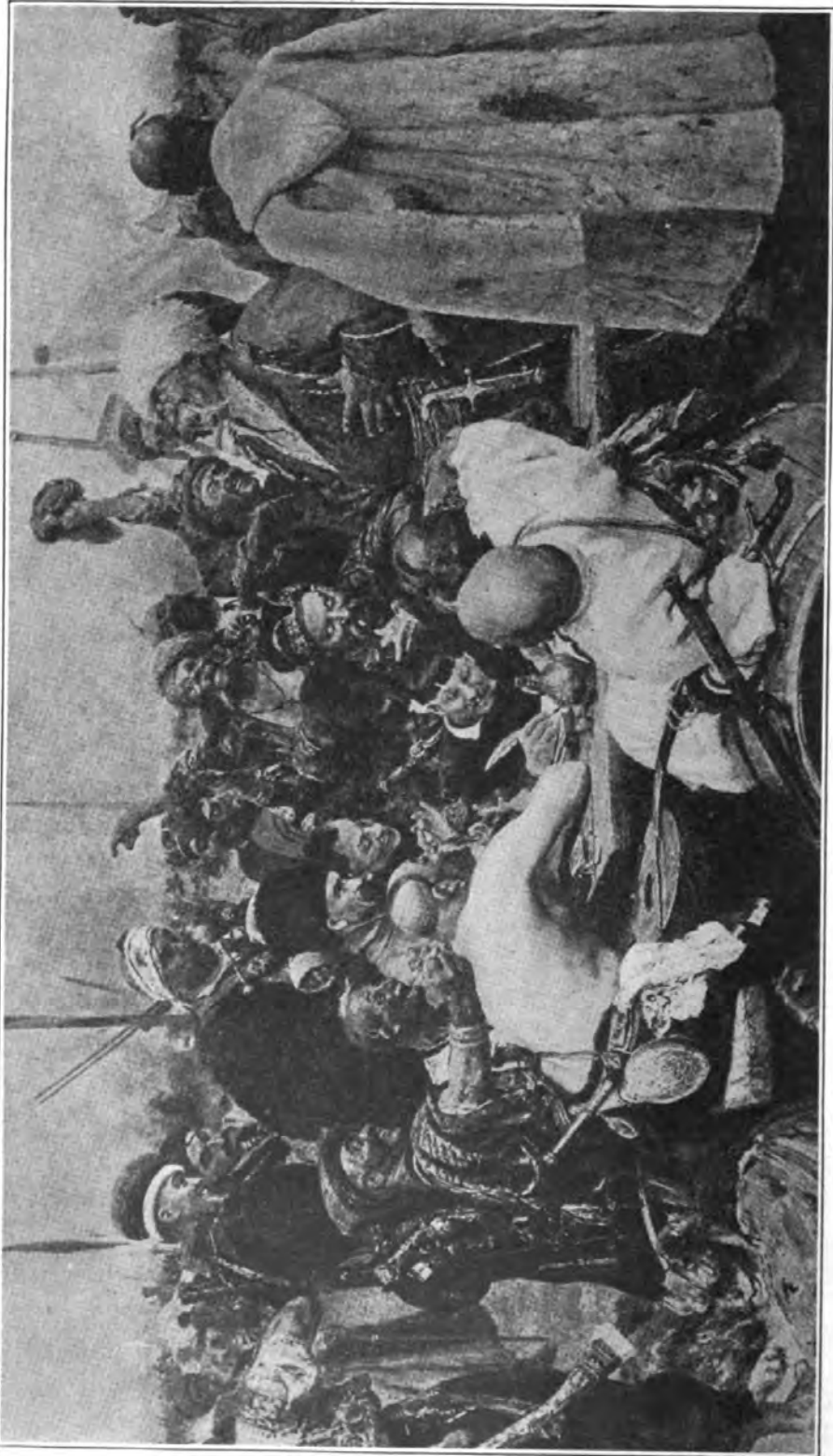
and has gathered about him a number of younger painters. Having been a great personal friend of Tolstoy he has painted his fellow countryman many times and in many different attitudes,

just as he happened to observe him, lying down, or rising, or walking the street barefoot, or driving behind the plough, whip in hand, or seated in his study with his wife. The last-named picture is so very expressive that we reproduce it here; it shows the old Russian philosopher in a very happy and characteristic position.



ILJA REPIN.

Another of his pictures, a very famous one, portrays a group of Saporog Cossacks scornfully dictating an answer to the ultimatum of Sultan Mohammed the Fourth. Repin has distinguished himself by a great psychological insight into the characters of his subjects, and here, in the picture of the Saporog Cossacks, we find a group



COSSACKS DICTATING AN ULTIMATUM.

of most interesting types taken from actual life, all of them animated by the one spirit of exultant scorn for their arch-enemy, the Turkish Sultan. Every one of the faces before us is that of a distinguished Cossack, and well shows the vigorous warlike qualities of these people. The distinguished officer to the right, with the white fur cap is General Dragomirow. His loud and boisterous laugh dominates the whole situation. He is a man of great importance, and has allowed himself to become immortalized in this famous painting. The scribe, the only one among this horde of Cossacks who knows the art of writing, as he wields his pen cannot suppress a smile of satisfaction at the jeers of defiance hurled at the arch enemy of Russia, and the men who by their combined wisdom indite the letter are evidently enjoying the thought of its later delivery in Constantinople.

Russian art has not reached the heights which have been attained among the more western peoples. The majority of Russian artists have studied under French influence. They have accomplished remarkable things, but we still feel in their productions a strange note of Barbarism—the cruder elements of the East with a veneer of European civilization. One thing is certain, that if Russia is allowed to have a peaceful development she will accomplish wonderful things in painting as well as in music, and we may safely say that in the world of art Ilja Repin is one of the most remarkable phenomena of the present age.

LITTLE RUSSIA AND ITS CLAIM FOR INDEPENDENCE.

BY THE EDITOR.

PANSLAVISM is an ideal. It is based upon the kinship of all the Slavs and may be described as the hope that all Slavs shall be unified in one great empire. The most powerful of the Slavic peoples are the Russians, and so Russia regards herself naturally as entitled to have the leadership and the Czar as the rightful head of all.

The Czar (an abbreviation of Cæsar) is not only emperor, i. e., the worldly head of Russia, but also pope, i. e., the spiritual head of the Russian church. Thus in him is united everything that means authority, whether worldly or religious, secular or ecclesiastical. The march of civilization has proceeded from nation to nation, from the east westward and northward; from Babylon and Egypt to Hellas; from Hellas to Rome; from Rome to France and Spain and Germany. And now the Russians believe it will turn to the northeast. They regard Russia as the land of the future and watch the advance of its empire. They expect a new standard of Christian orthodoxy to be established—the faith of Grecian Christendom—and a higher realization of a state, the dominion of a Slavic Czar, vicegerent of God on earth, a faithful Anointed One in whose empire the highest ideals of mankind will find their fulfilment.

Such is Pan Slavism as it appears to a pious and patriotic Russian; but the ideals of Russia mean slavery to other Slavs and dangers to Russia's non-Slavic neighbors. Poland is a Slavic country and the greatest part of Poland has been a Russian province for more than a hundred years. Ask the Pole what he understands by Pan Slavism. He is not satisfied with it, for Russia has been to him the *non plus ultra* of tyranny. If Poland could be freed from Russian dominion she would hail the day as the beginning of a new era of her political glory.

There are three Russian nations, the Great Russian or Muscovite, the Little Russian or Ukrainian, and between them the White Russian which is much smaller in numbers as well as in inhabited territory. They number but six millions according to the latest census. There are other Slavs in Austria-Hungary and in the Balkans. There are Czechs in Bohemia, there are Ruthenians in Galicia, there are Croatians and Slavonians, and further south of these the several Balkan nations. The Muscovite speech is the accepted language of the Russian empire, and the Ukrainian dialect has been doomed to extinction by Russian authorities.

Before me lies a book entitled *Ukraine's Claim to Freedom—An Appeal for Justice on Behalf of Thirty-five Millions. Published by the Ukrainian National Association and the Ruthenian National Union, New York, 1915.* It contains a number of articles by several scholars who unroll before our eyes pictures of a national misfortune showing a desperate struggle for the development of their own language and for the existence of a literature of their own. In Russia the most harmless poets and authors who dare write in their Ukrainian mother tongue are treated as traitors and rebels; while in Austria-Hungary although in theory they enjoy personal liberty and the right by law to the use of their own language, yet in actual fact this is not the case. In the Austro-Hungarian empire the Ukrainians are called Ruthenians, and they number 500,000 in northern Hungary, 300,000 in Bukowina and between three and four millions in Galicia. They are Roman Catholics, but have adopted some Greek rites. They are tillers of the soil, but not owners of it. The soil belongs to a Polish nobility, and these severe task-masters know how to make use of the liberalism of Austrian legislatures for their own benefit.

The preface of our book describes the situation thus:

"In Austria, having in theory the rights which the Constitution of 1867 gave to the nine nationalities of the empire, and being entitled to equality before the law, *de facto*, the Ukrainians, on the one hand, find themselves to a great degree deprived of the practical exercise of these rights, and on the other hand, have become the actual slaves of a nobility alien to them in origin, historical traditions, and future aspirations. We refer to the Polish nobility who, by a coincidence of historical events, have entrenched themselves in Eastern Galicia, and, strange as it may seem, continue as of yore, with privileges and monopolies, their existence as a feudal

inance of this aristocracy has resulted in the absolute control of all organs of public life, as well as of all sources of information. It is because of this that the cry of Ukraine and its dramatic struggles have not reached the ear of the world."

In the first chapter Mr. Edwin Björkman explains the origin of the Ukrainians in the south of Poland and Russia as follows:

"Ukraine means 'borderland.' The name was first applied to the steppes along the southern Polish frontier, where the Tartar was a constant menace. Large numbers of peasants fled to these steppes to escape the tyranny of Polish *pans* or Russian *boyars*, and there they began to form nomadic organizations with a minimum of discipline. From their hostile neighbors, the Tartars, they borrowed the name of *kazak*, which comes from the Turkish *qussaq* and means adventurer or free-booter. As they grew in numbers and became hardened by their strenuous life, their former masters conceived the idea of granting them land and a large degree of self-government under elected *hetmans*, on the condition that they should furnish an ever-ready force of defense against the marauding Tartar. Both land and freedom were taken back long ago, the Tartar menace having disappeared, but the man of the old frontiers still dreams of the bygone days of free fighting. Still he likes to call himself a Ukrainian, and still he insists on considering himself a man having a race, a language, a history, and a future of his own.

"One of the main reasons why all efforts at assimilation have proved futile, must probably be sought in the numerousness of the Ukrainian people. Exact figures are hard to find, as the falsifying of census reports has been one of the favorite methods employed by the oppressors. Nevertheless official figures have had to admit that, as far back as 1897 there were 22,000,000 Ukrainians in Russia alone. It seems safe to place their total present numbers in all the world at 35,000,000, distributed as follows: Southern Russia, 28,000,000; the rest of European and Asiatic Russia, 2,000,000; Galicia, 3,500,000; Hungary, 500,000; Bukowina, 400,000; the United States, 500,000; Canada, 300,000; South America, 50,000.

"The European territory where the Ukrainians constitute an overwhelming majority or a considerable percentage of the population is larger than Germany and twice as large as France. It is

in Russia. In these districts the Ukrainians form 70% or more of the population, while they average 40% in northwestern Bukovina, in four of the Carpathian districts of Hungary, and in several Russian governments. They have a large colony by the river Kuban in the Caucasus, where the Zaporogian Cossacks of Byron's "Mazeppa" were finally permitted to settle, after Catherine II had rooted them out of their stronghold on an island in the Dnieper.

"The original and principal home regions of the Ukrainians are among the richest known to man. Since the days of ancient Greece they have been one of the world's main granaries. They comprise the better part of that black-earth belt (*chornozem*) which reaches from the foot-hills of the Carpathians to the Ural Mountains. The peculiar color and almost unequaled fertility of its soil are caused by the presence in its upper layers of an unusually large proportion—from five to seventeen percent—of humus, or decaying vegetable matter. As the climate is milder, too, the Ukrainians are able to harvest immense annual crops of every sort of grain, of Indian corn and beet-root, of water-melons and pumpkins, of tobacco and grapes. And their territory is also rich in mineral resources. Left to themselves, they would be as wealthy as Iowa farmers. Instead they are poor—beyond description in some districts—and getting poorer every year.

"Official Russia has sedulously fostered the impression that, no matter how many races or nationalities may be represented within the empire, the Russians properly so called form a homogeneous ethnic and lingual group. This, however, is merely a political theory, developed to serve the centralizing and leveling process which, for good or ill, has made Russia what it is to-day....

"The Little Russians differ from the Great Russians not only in language but in physical type, customs, domestic architecture and folklore,' says the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. The physical differences are marked enough to be noted by every traveler. The Ukrainians have broader and shorter heads, for one thing. They are darker, looking more like Serbs than Russians, and they are considerably taller, although they don't equal the short-set Great Russians in muscular strength. An English writer, W. Barnes Steveni, has described them as 'bullet-headed and bull-necked.'" And I have heard it said that the late Prince Bismarck, though sprung from a northern Slavic strain, looked the typical Little Russian.

"The psychological differences between the Ukrainians and the Great Russians are equally marked. 'They seem to surpass the

Great Russians in natural intellect, good taste and poetical fancy, but they are less practical, solid and persevering,' writes the noted French geographer, Elisée Reclus. They are gayer and gentler than their brothers to the northward. Their women are soft-voiced and picturesquely dressed. Art and poetry, music and craftsmanship have always been at home among them—in so far as their rulers have permitted. They love the theater. Their folk melodies are admired throughout Russia and ought to be known everywhere. 'The national poetry of few languages excels that of the Ukrainians in energy of expression and depth of feeling,' says Reclus. They are good workmen, too, and great gardeners. Even a very poor Ukrainian home looks like a house rather than a hut, is kept scrupulously clean, contains some touch of beauty, and possesses a garden patch that yields flowers as well as vegetables.

"Love matches, so rare among the Great Russians, are common among the Ukrainians. Their whole outlook on life is democratic. There is a strain of the nomad in most of them, and they are likely to over-estimate freedom of movement and external equality. . . .

"When we turn to the Ukrainian tongue, we find that its position as an independent language—not a mere dialect—was officially recognized by the Imperial Russian Academy of Sciences in 1905, when that body, after a most careful study of every question involved, recommended that the people of Little Russia be granted the long denied right of using their mother tongue for educational, scientific, social and artistic purposes. At the same time the myth of the 'Pan-Russian' language, of which Ukrainian had been declared a dialect, was unequivocally denounced. When analyzed, Ukrainian shows radical deviation from the Great Russian, both in grammar and vocabulary. The words for many common objects or actions are totally different. Still more confusing is the fact that words common to both languages frequently have different meanings. Thus, for instance, the same word means 'charming' in Ukrainian and 'ugly' in Great Russian. Consequently, a peasant from Poltava or eastern Galicia can no more understand a man from Moscow than a Pole or a Slovak. In fact Ukrainian has more points in common with Serbian than with any other Slavonic language.

"The nature of the differences enumerated above suggests that the initial point of divergence from a common Slav stock must be placed very far back in time. . . .

"The earliest efforts at state building among the new settlers were made by Swedish vikings, who first established themselves

[among the Great Russians] at Novgorod and [among the Little Russians] at Kiev. From the ninth to the eleventh centuries, innumerable small states of this kind sprang into being, all of which formed a loose confederacy with the Grand Duke of Kiev at its head. For several centuries Kiev was the political and intellectual center of eastern Slavdom, representing the entire territory in its dealings with the outside world. It was from Kiev that Christianity spread eastward and northward. And to-day Kiev is still the 'holy city,' to which thousands make pilgrimage annually from all over Russia. It is also called 'the mother of the Russian cities.'

"With the advent of Jenghiz Khan's Tartar hordes, the glory and power of Kiev came to an end. The city was razed in 1240, and the fertile plains along the middle Dnieper were laid waste and depopulated. The southern Slavs were again driven westward, where independent principalities remained in Galicia and Volhynia. These regions were the first to be named Little Russia, and in 1334 we find a duke of Halicz and Vladimir proclaiming himself 'Lord of all the Little Russians.' As the Tartar invasion ebbed, the Slavs flowed back once more, carrying the new name of their country with them. But meanwhile their chance of ever building an empire of their own had been lost. Poland and Lithuania had been growing rapidly, and the Grand Dukes of Moscow were already laying the foundations of modern Russia. Galicia soon fell into the hands of Poland, while Volhynia and Podolia became Lithuanian. Then (about the year 1400) a union was formed between Lithuania and Poland, and Little Russia became a part of that Greater Poland which for a time reached from the Baltic to the Black Sea.

"The Lithuanians made Little Russian the language of their court and of their public administration. The Poles tried to force not only their language but their religion on all the peoples subject to them. . . .

"For a brief while, however, it looked as if the course of events might take a new turn. The first Cossack organizations appeared as autonomous communities in the sixteenth century. By the beginning of the next century they had increased tremendously in numbers and power. At that time already they were able to raise an army of 60,000 men, and had established a strongly fortified central camp, the *sitch*, on an island below the Dnieper Falls, whence their name Zaporogians, or 'men living below the falls.' Among them the religious intolerance of the Poles was deeply resented, and about the middle of the seventeenth century an unusually able and

Ukraine and wresting it from the Poles. But he found his people too weak to stand alone, and was thus forced to arrange a union with Moscow (in 1654). The step proved fatal, and it was only rendered more so by an effort to undo it. In spite of the guarantee of autonomy given the Ukrainian people, the rulers of the rising empire in the north proceeded quickly to make a mere province out of their new territory. A Ukrainian attempt to win freedom through an alliance with Charles XII accomplished nothing but the reduction of Sweden to the position of a minor power. Before the end of the eighteenth century Russia was absolute master of the main parts of Ukraine. After the final division of Poland, it held all the Little Russian territory except Galicia, which had fallen to Austria.

“As soon as the Russians had the upper hand, the work of Russification began. The native tongue was prohibited, the first ukase against its use being issued in 1690. The schools were closed or forced to adopt Russian. The indigenous literature was destroyed as far as possible. The final resistance of the Cossacks was beaten down with force, their fortified camp was destroyed, their autonomous institutions were abolished, and they themselves were deported to new homes in the Caucasus, or sent northward to die by thousands in the swamps of Lake Ladoga, where the new capital was being built. The magnates were easily coaxed into siding with the new rulers by grants of additional power over the peasants. The Polish policy of creating a commercial and industrial middle-class of imported Germans and Jews was continued, thus widening the distance between the mass of the people and those who should have been their leaders. Many scholars were lured or driven into adopting the Russian language and moving to Moscow or the new capital in the north. In this connection we must remember that the Ukrainians, up to the very last, had remained ahead of their conquerors in many matters of learning.

“The first Little Russian version of the Bible was printed in 1580-81, while no Great Russian edition appeared until 1663. While we know of sixty-seven prints in Little Russian dated prior to 1600, we have records of only sixteen such prints in Great Russian. Normal schools were established at Lemberg in 1586, at Kiev and Vilna in 1588, and so on. In 1631 the school at Kiev was developed into a university that long remained the finest in Russia. A higher school of any kind was not established at Moscow until 1679. When Peter the Great began his enormous task of turning Russia into a civilized country, he had to draw his staff of Slav assistants almost

wholly from Ukraine. And up to the middle of the eighteenth century there was hardly to be found a single Great Russian bishop in any part of the country (cf. Harald Hjarne Oestanifran, Stockholm, 1905)

“The Finlanders, whose fight for national self-preservation has been followed with intense interest all over the world, were left unmolested until a couple of decades ago. The efforts to turn Poland into a truly Russian territory did not begin in earnest until after the rising of 1830. But the Ukrainians in Russia have been the object of a merciless process of Russification for nearly two hundred and fifty years, while their brothers in Galicia have successfully resisted a no less desperate process of Polonization for six centuries.

“The stronghold of the Zaporogians was destroyed in 1775. Ivan Kotliarevsky, whose travesty of the ‘Aeneid’ in the vernacular may be regarded as the starting-point of the neo-Ukrainian movement, was already born at that time. At first, however, the assailed nationalism of the Ukrainians found its only refuge among poor and ignorant peasants, who seemed to cling to it out of blind racial instinct. From those layers nearest the soil it spread gradually upward, gaining in clearness and intensity as it took new hold of the intellectual classes that had once deserted it. The earlier movement had been political. But the futility of resistance along such lines had become thoroughly realized, and so the new movement took a literary and spiritual aspect from the first. It was a question, above all, of preventing the people from ever losing its sense of racial distinction. With this purpose in mind, the songs and tales and legends of the Ukrainians—their *kazky* and *dumy*—were collected and studied. The language itself was analyzed and assigned its proper place in relation to other Slav languages. Scientific societies were founded to carry on the new work—and were generally dissolved as soon as they began to show any genuine activity. Finally, groping efforts were made to build up a new indigenous literature, and not without success.

“At the very heart of this movement we find the picturesque and pathetic figure of the poet-painter Taras Shevchenko, its foremost prophet, martyr, and genius. Born a serf in the government of Kiev, he was of age before he was set free—and we should bear in mind that his freedom was obtained by the generosity of Russian literary men who had come to admire his gifts. Yet the one object of his glowing poetry was to make his own people realize and cherish their essential distinction from the ruling branch of eastern

Slavs. For this purpose he pictured their life as it had been and as he found it. His poems were spread broadcast. Then the inevitable happened. He was arrested, put into a disciplinary regiment and sent to Orenburg in Siberia. On the order for his deportation the Czar wrote with his own hand: 'Must not be allowed to paint or write.' Set free after ten years, he returned to his native land a mere ruin of his former self, within which hardly a spark of the old flame could be discerned. Three years later, in 1861, he died at the age of forty-seven. But his work had been done. His name had already become the rallying cry of his people. On the banks of his beloved Dnieper they raised a simple monument in memory of his faith, his martyrdom, and his achievement. When, a year ago, the Ukrainians wished to celebrate the centenary of his birth, the Russian government placed a military guard around the monument.

"Many others have worked in the spirit of Shevchenko—political writers, historians, philologists, folklorists, poets. It would be meaningless to mention their names here. Some suffered as did Shevchenko; some grew tired and surrendered; some went abroad or moved into Galicia in order to be able to continue their work. Always the work went on and gained in momentum—until the war broke out."

A few more facts. A Russian minister of state declared in 1863, "There never has been and never will be a Ukrainian language or nationality," and when, in 1887, a Kiev philologist submitted the manuscript of a Little Russian grammar, the censor forbade its publication on the ground that "it would be impossible to print the grammar of a language doomed to extinction."

"During the war against Japan, the government would not let the British and Foreign Bible Association distribute New Testaments in Little Russian among the soldiers speaking no other language. Not even circulars issued by the health authorities to instruct the people how to meet a possible cholera epidemic have been allowed to appear in the only language understood by the population concerned. An exception has been supposed to exist in the case of literature designed for entertainment only, but it has been largely annulled by the activity of the censor. Theatrical performances in Ukrainian have either been prohibited or put under restrictions rendering them practically impossible. The printing of Ukrainian text to music of

tongue in conversation has been frowned on and often made the excuse for arrests. I have no figures as to the part played by arrests, fines and deportations in connection with this policy of suppression, but I know that it has been important and horrible.

"No use of the Ukrainian tongue in any school has been permitted under any circumstances. In general, Great Russians have been preferred as teachers, and the child of seven, who has never heard any Russian, has been expected to use a primer where, out of forty-seven words contained in the first five lessons, thirty are unintelligible to a Ukrainian. The direct result of this policy—against which even Russian bishops of the Orthodox church have protested—may be found in the number of analphabets among the Ukrainians of the present day. In the rest of Russia there are many peasant districts to-day where the number of those unable to read and write has been reduced to twenty percent. There are no such Ukrainian districts where it falls below fifty percent. When a ukase was issued in 1905, ordering the establishment of Lithuanian and Polish schools, not a word was said about Ukrainian. . . .

"After 1905 permission was issued for the printing of newspapers in the native tongue, and a number of these sprang up at once, and with them many bright hopes. Again the censor took back what the law was supposed to grant, and the police took care of anything that might be overlooked by the censor. This is the record of suppression established by the governors of three governments, Kiev, Kherson and Kharkov, in a single year (1913): twenty-one editors arrested; twenty-six newspapers confiscated; eighty-five fines inflicted, aggregating a sum of 20,525 rubles. To what extent a press will be able to speak freely under such circumstances may be easily imagined."

"Ukraine sent forty representatives to the first Duma, who stood for home rule of a kind that could not possibly menace the coherence of the empire. . . . But in official circles those demands were branded as 'Mazeppism,' which is the established Russian term for Ukrainian separatism. Their bitterest opponents were found in the Polish group of representatives, composed exclusively of big aristocratic landowners. . . . Since the outbreak of the present war began to raise new hopes for an autonomous Poland, the Poles all too often have insisted that their ambitions will remain unachieved unless they are given control of all provinces that, at one time or another, used to be Polish—provinces, that means, where the majority of the population hate a Polish nobleman as much as the devil and much more than a Russian."

In Austria the Ruthenians suffer greatly from the insolence of the Polish nobility in whose service they live like slaves. "Nevertheless," says Professor Björkman, "the Ruthenians have in many respects been better off than under Russian rule. They have had schools and clubs and a literature of their own—about 2500 of the schools—and they have generally been allowed to discuss their own affairs in their own language. Thanks to this fact, much of the Ukrainian propaganda in Russia has been directed from Lemberg in recent years. . . . The university of Lemberg, established by Emperor Joseph II for the use of the Ruthenians alone, was at once seized and appropriated by the Poles. On one occasion, when the Ruthenian students dared to protest openly against the unfair conduct of this university, one hundred of them were arrested and kept in jail for weeks on trumped-up charges. In recent years, however, the number of Ruthenian professors has been gradually increased. . . .

"Two days after the occupation of Lemberg by the Russians they closed all the Ruthenian book-stores, which meanwhile had been crowded with Russian officers and soldiers eager to buy the literature forbidden at home. Under such circumstances one may well doubt the Russian claims of having been greeted as liberators by the Slav population of the province. In fact, it has been asserted that no Austrian regiments have fought with more stubbornness or bitterness than those composed of Ruthenians. . . .

"Taking it all in all, the outlook for the Ukrainians in Russia seems rather gloomy just now. Yet they are asking for so little: the free use of their own language, and a reasonable amount of local self-government. The Ukrainian dream in Russia for many years has been the reorganization of the Russian empire into a federation based on the American model. As far back as 1825, they sent delegates to this country for the purpose of studying our political institutions, and especially the relationship between the states and the federal government. If, as it has been rumored from time to time lately, Russia should actually decide to reconstruct the empire into a federation of locally autonomous and centrally represented nationalities, and if the new principles should be applied squarely, then the Ukrainians would become no less loyal than the people of Great Russia. But the one thing they fear most of all is their own inclusion within an autonomous Greater Poland—an alternative that is not very likely to materialize."

This interesting book on Ukraine contains a special chapter on "The Misrule of the Polish Aristocracy" by Simon O. Pollack,

which demonstrates the fact that when the Slav has a chance he can easily be a tyrant and go to the utmost extreme. There is another chapter on this same subject entitled "The End of the Idea of Polish Empire," by Carl Leuthner.

Other chapters are "The Ukrainian Revival" by M. Hrushevsky, a Russian subject and a well-known Ukrainian leader and university professor who was arrested in Kiev in January, 1915, as he was returning to Lemberg from Venice; "The Position of the Ukrainians in Galicia," by Yaroslav Fedortchuk; "Ukrainian Aspirations in Austria," by Dr. Longin Tzegelsky; "The Ukrainian Movement in Russia," by Prof. Otto Hoetzsch; "The Political Parties in Russian Ukraine," by W. Doroschenko; and three short articles from the *Ukrainische Rundschau*. The last chapter comprises a collection of passages reprinted from American newspapers, 1914-1915, dealing with the recent Russian conquest of Galicia and exhibiting the effects of this conquest upon the Ukrainian population.

The book offers us a remarkable insight into the conditions of a large nation that is practically unknown,—a nation of highly gifted people with great and unlimited possibilities.

THE POET PUSHKIN.

BY THE EDITOR.

RUSSIA can scarcely claim to rank with the other European nations in science, art and literature, but on careful consideration we must after all grant to her a certain prominence, and characteristics peculiarly her own in the fields of intellectual and artistic endeavor. There are great scientists of Russian blood who have distinguished themselves by a boldness of hypothesis and sureness of imagination almost unrivaled among the nations of western Europe. Though we do not meet with them frequently, still there have been Mendelejeffs and Metchnikoffs, and we must recognize with gratitude the work they have done.

Perhaps the Russian type shows most distinctly in music, painting and poetry. Russian music may lack the logical clearness of a Beethoven and the orderly beauty of a Mozart, but their composers possess fervor, sentiment, or rather sentimentality, and we might say a combination of northern wildness and Oriental languor. Russia is still in the beginnings of her history, and she may in time make revelations in art and verse. What products of her genius we now have show sufficient originality to augur well for a future characteristically Russian art. We will here briefly review the accomplishments of one of Russia's most prominent poets, one who may be regarded as typically Russian.

Alexander Sergeyevitch Pushkin was born May 26, 1799. He was descended from an old Russian noble family, but, strange to say, on his mother's side there was African blood in his veins, from his great-grandfather, General Abraham Hannibal, whom Peter the Great had bought when a child. His royal master gave Hannibal a good education, so that, with all the benefits of his master's confidence, he was enabled to enter the government service and rise to the position of general.

The features of Pushkin still showed some indications of his

southern progenitor, in the shape of his chin and forehead, perhaps also in his crisp hair. But should we not consider that Hannibal may possibly have been a Nubian or Lybian, rather than a negro? In that case it is quite possible that Pushkin is more closely related to the story-tellers of *Arabian Nights* than to Uncle Remus.

Pushkin entered life under exceptionally favorable circumstances. Born of rich parents, he grew up in the highest circles of the aristocracy. He received a good education, especially in modern languages,—French, Italian and English. At any rate he allowed himself to be influenced by Lord Byron who best suited his Russian *Weltschmerz*. A description of his own personality is still extant in French verse which reads thus:

“Vous me demandez mon portrait,
Mais peint d’après nature;
Mon cher, il sera bientôt fait,
Quoique en miniature.

“Je suis un jeune polisson
Encore dans les classes;
Point sot: je le dis sans façon,
Et sans fades grimaces.

“Onc il ne fut de babillard,
Ni docteur en Sorbonne,—
Plus ennuyeux et plus brailard
Que moi-même en personne.

“Ma taille à celle des plus longs
Ne peut être égalée;
J’ai le teint frais, les cheveux blonds
Et la tête bouclée.

“J’aime le monde et son fracas,
Je hais la solitude;
J’abhorre et noises et débats,
Et tant soit peu l’étude.

“Spectacles, bals me plaisent fort,
Et d’après ma pensée,
Je dirais ce que j’aime encore....
Si je n’étais au lycée.

“Après, mon cher, il te suffit,
L’on peut me reconnaître.
Oui! tel que le bon Dieu me fit,
Je veux toujours paraître.

“Pour la malice un biablotin,
Vrai singe par la mine,
Perdant son grec et son latin:
Ma foi—voilà—Pouchkine.”

From the hands of his private tutors he passed into the Imperial Lyceum at Tsarskoye-Selo, where, as a young student, he once recited one of his own poems at a public examination in the presence of a large company of guests, and was warmly applauded. The venerable poet Derzhavin happened to be in the audience. He rose from his seat and placed his hand in benediction upon the head of the promising youth. The Russian painter Ilja Repin has depicted the historical scene in an oil painting which we reproduce as frontispiece to this issue.

Such was Pushkin’s introduction into the great world of Russian life. Besides the favor of Derzhavin he enjoyed the friendship of Zhukovski, the other great poet of that age, and was in personal contact with the emperors Alexander I and Nicholas, the

former only temporarily, the latter very intimately. Pushkin, in 1817, exchanged the Lyceum for an appointment in the Foreign Office which gained him an audience in court circles and gave him unusual social prominence. His poetry was much noticed and greatly admired. In 1820 Pushkin completed an epic composition entitled "Ruslan and Ly'udmila" which showed genuine talent and promised still greater achievements for the future. Emperor Alexander I loved to pose as a liberal, and his attitude created a liberal spirit among the rising generation. Pushkin seems to have been affected by this; but when his "Ode to Liberty" fell into the hands of the Czar, Pushkin was banished from his gay circle to Bessarabia. He must have continued to transgress the bounds of imperial prescription, for in 1824 the poet was condemned by the Czar to retirement upon Mikhailovskoe, one of his family estates near Pskoff.

The poet well utilized his solitude by beginning his most important and best work, "Eugene Onyegin," of which the first installment appeared in 1826. He also finished a historical drama entitled "Boris Godunoff" and some uncensored poems which could not be published on Russian soil and so are extant only in written copies. Pushkin did not remain long banished from imperial favor, for when Alexander I died his successor Nicholas summoned the poet to court at once by special messenger to attend the coronation ceremony at Moscow.

Czar Nicholas appointed Pushkin historiographer of Peter the Great at a salary of 6000 rubles, with the title "Imperial Chamberlain," a title which was not to the poet's liking and gave rise to many jokes in the circle of his friends.

Pushkin had first been regarded as the leader of the liberal party, but his friendship with the Czar made him an object of suspicion among the friends of freedom and he was charged by them with being a traitor. The truth was that the poet was not a partisan at all and had never been one. He gave vent to his liberal or patriotic feelings as they came to him without swearing allegiance either to the ideals of nihilism or to the reactionism of Czardom.

In 1829 Pushkin published a historical composition entitled *Poltava*, and two volumes of poems in all of which the Emperor took a personal interest, and, on Pushkin's complaint of the mutilation of his poems by the censor, even went so far as to undertake their censorship himself.

In the same year the poet accompanied Field Marshal Paske-

vitch to Erzerum and described the expedition in a book which is still regarded as a model of Russian style.

In 1830 Pushkin continued his literary work on his estate more industriously than before. He wrote a tale, "The Cottage in Kolumna," in eight-lined stanzas, also a series of dramatic sketches, "The Miserly Knight", "Mozart and Salieri" and "A Festival During the Plague."

One of his literary friends, Baron Delwig, published many of Pushkin's shorter poems in his poetical periodicals, *Flowers of the North* and the *Literary Journal*. When Delwig died in 1831 Pushkin felt the loss deeply.

Pushkin was married on February 22, 1831, and the marriage was a very happy one. Pushkin spent most of his time in Tsarskoye Selo, near the capital, where he could often see Zhukovski and other friends.

About this time he wrote "The Legend of King Saltan," and patriotic poems, and he also began his "History of Peter the Great," which, however, was never completed.

In 1833 he wrote a romance entitled "The Captain's Daughter," and in 1836 "The Iron Ride," "The Stone Guest," "The Nymph of the Stream" and "Galub."

At this time Pushkin also finished his versified romance, "Eugene Onyegin," if such a composition may ever be called finished. It characterizes a definite type of Russian society and is either a story or a drama. A type like that which Pushkin describes in Onyegin exists only in Russia. He is a hero of society, endowed with every social advantage as well as natural intellectual endowment and educational equipment. Nevertheless his life is a failure. He is blasé and weary of life. He is unhappy because the social order of Russia does not offer him a field for his talents. He feels out of harmony with it. He has sufficient sympathy for mankind to feel the misery of his fellow men, but he sees no way to help. He is blasé for he has drained the cup of pleasure to the very lees and has nothing to expect in the future; even the most desirable pleasures have become stale to him. All he has to do is to kill time and please himself. He tries the arts, but without success, for his schooling is after all insufficient in its foundation, and he lacks energy to do serious work, without which he can accomplish nothing lasting. He also lacks seriousness of purpose and the determination to distinguish himself. He is a typical product of Russian conditions in aristocratic circles. There are nobler characters in Russia, and Pushkin contrasts Onyegin with the ideal

figure of Vladimir Lensky who still believes in a better and brighter future. He was educated far away from the turmoil of society and received a thorough intellectual equipment. He studied at the German universities and knows the shortcomings of his own country, but proves to be unable to make his influence felt, so that Russia is not benefited either by his talents or his aspirations.

It is characteristic of Pushkin's poem, which appears in several instalments, that no real plan pervades the whole, that it contains no hope for a higher future for Russia; but this peculiarity seems to be characteristic not only of Pushkin's work but of Russian poetry in general, for in fact the typical Russian's attitude toward social conditions is one of hopelessness, and he seems to regard any improvement or reform as impossible. This situation explains the existence of the nihilist propaganda which seeks salvation in a general destruction, hoping that after the deluge a new mankind will gloriously rise from the general ruin.

The unsatisfactory nature of "Onyegin" will naturally perplex the western reader, but such is the nature of the Russian character and of Russian poetry, and from this point of view we will also understand that stormy and inclement weather was most congenial to a poet of Pushkin's temperament. He felt that he could work more efficiently when wintry blasts from the north, or gray and heavy fogs, would confine ordinary people thankfully to the house and to the comforts of the fireside.

In 1836, when Pushkin lost his mother, he reserved a grave for himself at her side as if he felt that his own death was near at hand. Only a few months afterwards, on January 27, 1837, he became implicated in an unfortunate duel with Baron d'Anthès whose bullet cut short the life of Russia's most gifted poet.

RASPUTIN.

BY THE EDITOR.

GREGORY RASPUTIN was assassinated on May 11 according to the Overseas News Agency which bases its report upon information received from Petrograd; why and by whom is not reported. Has the war party removed him? Possibly! He has always been a most vigorous advocate of peace. Witte died suddenly when it was known that he intended to persuade the Czar to make peace, and there are a number of other advocates of peace who were either assassinated or died of untraceable causes in different countries.

Rasputin was a wonderful man, a simple peasant, but a pious man and his faith was power. It was the power of a deep conviction, an unshakable trust in God, a living Christian faith. Thousands and thousands of people believed in him, for his prayer has proved a help to many. He laid his hands upon the sick and their fears were calmed. Many patients were cured by him where physicians' drugs had failed.

The fame of Rasputin spread and reached Tsarskoye Selo, the residence of the imperial family. The son of the Czar, the heir apparent to the throne, is of delicate constitution, and during an illness the pious peasant was called to pray for the patient. Rasputin came, exercised his powers, and the prince recovered. Since that incident Rasputin gained great influence with the Czar and became famous all over Russia as a miracle-worker.

Nicholas II, Czar of Russia, is not a warrior, nor is he ambitious. He is not personally to be blamed for the present war, which was undertaken at the instigation of Grand Duke Nicholas Nicolaivitch. The latter hungers for military glory; he has been head of the war party and is a powerful factor in Russian statecraft.

The Czar's wife has always tried to keep peace and is opposed to the Grand Duke, but when the formation of the Triple Entente

offered the prospect of an easy success in the conquest of Germany the war party gained the upper hand; and, as we all know, the Serb difficulty duly became the sufficient pretext for war,—a war which was certain to develop into a general European conflagration. The last straw which was to break the camel's back was, according to a letter of the Belgian ambassador at Petrograd, the assurance given by Great Britain that she would under all conditions stand by France; for thus it was designed that Russian weakness on the sea should be supplemented by England's naval supremacy. It was taken for granted that the English would bombard the German cities on the Baltic and North Seas and protect Russian transports landing a Russian army in Pomerania.

How the Czar was induced to overcome his objections to the war is not known. Some even hint that threats were used and that Nicholas, nominally autocrat and sole ruler over the Russian empire, was intimidated by the alternative of resignation or war. Possibly he may have been offered as alternative a worse fate than resignation. At any rate he uses the expression, in his correspondence with the Kaiser, that he would try to keep peace if he could withstand the pressure exercised on him.

Dr. Rohrbach informs us that the Czar, at the request of his advisers, visited the army in order to show himself to the troops and inspire the nation with the thought that the ruler of Russia is as martial as the Kaiser and, among the allies, the King of the Belgians.

When the Czar returned to Tsarskoye Selo he called Rasputin into consultation. In addition to his healing powers, Rasputin is said to have possessed the faculty of clairvoyance, and he gave warnings firm and unequivocal against the war, saying that if persisted in it would bring misfortune to the empire. As Rasputin's prophecy has so far turned out true, the Czar is believed to be inclined to accept his advice, but Nicolaivitch, the grand duke, is still in favor of continuing the war. Some time ago he blamed one of his generals, said to be the best and most efficient of his officers, for the defeat which he had suffered at the hands of Hindenburg; but Russia's supply of new armies seems to be inexhaustible, and the grand duke, although he has already lost three armies, is ready to risk a fourth in the hope that at last he will be successful. Germany cannot afford to have a single serious defeat, while Russia has enough men to be even wasteful of them, and a final triumph would make up for the enormous sacrifices which she has so far made. It is difficult to say what will be the end of this terrible embroglio,

but this much is sure, that the original hope of the Allies that England should become a power in the Baltic, that Germany could be starved into submission, and that Russia, with her tremendously superior numbers, should overwhelm the Germans, has absolutely failed. It looks as if Rasputin was to remain justified.

In speaking of Rasputin, the healer and prophet, we must not omit to mention that there is another side to the story of his great accomplishments and the religious halo that surrounds him. He may be very religious, but unfortunately he cannot be called moral. On the contrary he has been accused of gross immorality and habitual drunkenness. The charges against him seem to have been corroborated in the courts, and even his friends have apparently not been in a position to deny them. It would be interesting to have all the facts concerning this modern miracle-worker gathered and critically sifted, and thus obtain a psychological picture of him. The factors that have made him successful in his remarkable career would then be seen; for a remarkable career his surely was, even if his character would have to be condemned as corrupt and debased. Possibly his death has atoned for his misdeeds if his end was a martyrdom for the cause of peace.

* * *

As our issue is going to press we find the following additional item reported through the Associated Press, from its correspondent in Christiania, Norway: "Details of a plot to murder Rasputin were revealed by Heliodorus, the 'Mad Monk of Tsaritsyn,' a fantastic leader of the masses of the Volga region, who has figured prominently in the Rasputin case and is now a refugee in Christiania. According to Heliodorus, a representative of the Russian minister of the interior, Khovstoff, arrived in Christiania last January and proposed that Heliodorus become party to a conspiracy to assassinate the mystic monk. Khvostoff's envoy is said to have declared that Rasputin was working for a separate peace between Germany and Russia. Heliodorus, desiring to learn the whole plot, posed as willing to enter the conspiracy and signed a contract to engage a band of murderers for 60,000 rubles."

RUSSIA'S TIBETAN POLICY.¹

BY EKAI KAWAGUCHI.

THE attitude of the Tibetan people toward their country by no means does them credit. So far as my limited observation goes, the Tibetans, who are sufficiently shrewd in attending to their personal interests, are not so sensitive in matters of national importance. It seems as if they were destitute of the sense of patriotism, as the term is understood by ordinary people. Not that they are totally ignorant of the meaning of "fatherland," but they are rather inclined to turn that meaning to their own advantage in preference to the interest of their country. Such seems to be the general idea of the politicians of to-day.

The Tibetans are more jealous for their religion. A few of them, a very limited few it is true, seem to be prepared to defend and promote it at the expense of their private interest, though even in this respect the majority are so far unscrupulous as to abuse their religion for their own ends. In the eyes of the common people, religion is the most important product of the country, and they therefore think that they must preserve it at any cost. Their ignorance necessarily makes them fanatics and they believe that any one who works any injury to their religion deserves death. The hierarchical government makes a great deal of capital out of this fanatical tendency of the masses. The holy religion is its justification when it persecutes persons obnoxious to it, and when it has committed any wrong it seeks refuge under the same holy name. The government too often works mischief in the name of religion, but the masses do not of course suspect any such thing—or even if they do now and then harbor a suspicion, they are deterred from given vent to their sentiments, for to speak ill of the religion is a heinous crime in Tibet.

¹ This article forms the seventy-first chapter of a large and interesting

In general the Tibetan women are highly selfish and but poorly developed in the sense of public duty. One might naturally suppose that the children born of such mothers must be similarly deficient in this important point. I thought at first that the Tibetan men were less open to this charge than their wives and sisters, but I soon found this to be a mistake. I found the men not much better than the women, and equally absorbed in their selfish desires while totally neglecting the interests of the state. A foreign country knowing this weak point, and wishing to push its interests in the forbidden land, has only to form its diplomatic procedure accordingly. In other words, it has only to captivate the hearts of the rulers of Tibet, for once the influential cabinet ministers of the hierarchical government are won over, the next step will be an easy matter. The greedy ministers will be ready to listen to any insidious advice coming from outside, provided that the advice carries with it literally the proper weight of gold. They will not care a straw about the welfare of the state or the interest of the general public, if only they themselves are satisfied.

However, foreign diplomatists desiring to succeed in their policy of gaining influence over Tibet must not think that they have an easy task before them. Gold is very acceptable to all Tibetan statesmen, but at times gold alone may not carry the point. The fact is that Tibet has no diplomatic policy in any dignified sense of the word. Its foreign doings are determined by sentiment, which is necessarily destitute of any solid foundation but is susceptible to change from a trivial cause. A foreign country which has given a large bribe to the principal statesmen of Tibet may find afterwards that its enormous disbursements on this account have been a mere waste of money, and that the recipients who were believed to have been secured with golden chains have broken loose from them for some mere triviality. It is impossible to rely on the faith of the Tibetan statesmen, for they are entirely led by sentiment and never by rational conviction.

The Russians conduct their Tibetan policy with consummate dexterity. Their manœuvres date from a long time (at least thirty years) back, when Russia's activity toward Tibet began to attract the public attention of the powers concerned. Russia has selected

great pains to insinuate themselves into the grateful regard of this tribe. Contrary to their vaunted policy at home, they have never attempted to convert the Mongolians into believers of the Greek church, but have treated their religion with a strange toleration. The Muscovites even went farther and actually rendered help in promoting the interests of the Lamaist faith, by granting its monasteries more or less pecuniary aid. It was evident that this policy of Russia originated from the deep-laid plan of captivating the hearts of the priests, whose influence was, as it still is, immense over the people. From this tribe quite a large number of young priests are sent to Tibet to prosecute their studies at the principal seats of Lamaist learning. These young Mongolians are found at the religious centers of Ganden, Rebon, Sera, Tashi Lhunpo and at other places. There must be altogether two hundred such students at those seats of learning; several able priests have appeared from among them, one of whom, Dorje by name, became a high tutor to the present Dalai Lama while he was a minor.

This great priest obtained from the hierarchical government some twenty years ago the honorable title of Tsan-ni Kenbo, which means an "instructor in the Lamaist Catechism." There were besides him three other instructors; but he is said to have virtually monopolized the confidence of the young Lama chief. Nor was this confidence misplaced, so far as the relation of teaching and learning was concerned, for the Mongolian priest surpassed his three colleagues both in ability and in learning, and as he omitted no pains to win the heart of his little pupil, the latter was naturally led to hold him in the greatest esteem and affection.

The Tsan-ni Kenbo returned home when, on his pupil's attaining majority, his services as tutor were no longer required. It is quite likely that he described minutely the results of his work in Tibet to the Russian government, for it is conceivable that he may have been entrusted by it with some important business during his stay at Lhasa. Soon the Tsan-ni Kenbo re-visited Lhasa, and this time as a priest of great wealth, instead of as a poor student as he was at first. He brought with him a large amount of gold, also boxes of curios made in Russia. The money and the curios must have come to him from the Russian government. The Dalai Lama and his ministers were the recipients of the gold and curios, and among the ministers a young man named Shata appears to have been honored with the largest share. The name of the Tsan-ni Kenbo had been remembered with respect since his departure from Lhasa,

and his re-appearance as a liberal distributor of gifts completed his triumph.

The Dalai Lama was now ready to lend a willing ear to anything his former tutor represented to him, while the friendship between him and the young premier grew so fraternal that they are said to have vowed to stand by each other as brothers born. The astute Tsan-ni did not of course confine his crafty endeavors to the higher circles alone; the priestly classes received from him a large share of attention, due to the mighty influence which they wield over the masses. Liberal donations were therefore more than once presented to all the important monasteries of Tibet, with which of course the priests of these monasteries were delighted. In their eyes the Tsan-ni was a Mongolian priest of immense wealth and pious heart, and the idea of suspecting how he came to be possessed of such wealth never entered their unsophisticated minds, so they had nothing but unqualified praise for him. When at rare intervals some inquisitive priest asked the government officers about the origin of the Tsan-ni's fortune, the latter would inform him with a knowing look that the Mongolian Lama was regarded with something like regal respect by his countrymen, who vied with each other in presenting gold and other precious things to that venerable priest; there was nothing strange about his acquisition of wealth. And so the government and priesthood placed themselves at the feet of the Tsan-ni and adored him as their benefactor.

The Zaune's program of "conquest" was really comprehensive and included a general plan intended for the masses. It was based on an old tradition of Tibet and involved no extra disbursements on his part. It must be remembered that a work written in former times by some Lama of the new sect contained a prophetic pronouncement—a pronouncement which was supported by some others—that some centuries hence a mighty prince would make his appearance somewhere to the north of Kashmir, and would bring the whole world under his sway, and under the domination of the Buddhist faith.

The Tibetan prophet bequeathed us this important forecast with the idea that when the Tibetan religion degenerated, it would be saved from extinction by the appearance of that mighty Buddhist prince, who would extend his benevolent influence over the whole world. I should state that this announcement is widely accepted as truth by the common people of Tibet.

The Tsan-ni Kenbo was perfectly familiar with the existence of this marvelous tradition, and he was not slow to utilize it for

promoting his own ambitious schemes. He wrote a pamphlet with the special object of demonstrating that "Chang Shambhala" [the name of the future great country given by the prophet] means Russia, and that the Czar is the incarnation of Je Tsong-kha-pa. The Czar, this Russian emissary wrote, is a worthy reincarnation of that venerable founder, being benevolent to his people, courteous in his relations to neighboring countries, and above all endowed with a virtuous mind. This fact and the existence of several points of coincidence between Russia and the country indicated in the sacred prophecy indisputably proved that Russia must be that country, that anybody who doubted it was an enemy of Buddhism and of the august will of the founder of the new sect, and that in short all the faithful believers in Buddhism must pay respect to the Czar as a new embodiment of the founder, and must obey him.

Such is said to be the tenor of that particular writing of the Tsan-ni Kenbo. It seems to exist in three different versions, Tibetan, Mongolian and Russian. I have not been able to see a copy, but it was from the lips of a trustworthy person that I gathered the drift of the exposition given in the pamphlet. Indeed the Tsan-ni's pamphlet was preserved with jealous care by all who had copies of it, such care as is bestowed by a pious bibliographer on a rare text of Buddhist writing. I knew several priests who undoubtedly possessed copies of the pamphlet, but I could not ask permission to inspect them, for fear that such a request might awaken their suspicion. The one from whom I confidentially obtained the drift of the writing told me that he found in it some unknown letters. I concluded that the letters must be Russian.

Tsan-ni Kenbo's artful scheme has been crowned with great success, for to-day almost every Tibetan blindly believes in the ingenious story concocted by the Mongolian priest, and holds that the Czar will sooner or later subdue the whole world and found a gigantic Buddhist empire. So the Tibetans may be regarded as extreme Russophiles, thanks to the machination of the Tsan-ni Kenbo.

There is another minor reason which has very much raised the credit of Russia in the eyes of the Tibetans; I mean the arrival of costly fancy goods from that country. Now, the fancy goods coming from British India are all cheap things which are hardly fit for the uses for which they are intended. The reason is obvious; as the Tibetans cannot afford to buy goods of superior quality, the merchants who forward these to Tibet must necessarily select only

those articles that are readily marketable. The goods coming from Russia, on the other hand, are not intended for sale; they are exclusively for presents. Naturally therefore the goods coming from Russia are of superior quality and can well stand the wear and tear of use. The ignorant Tibetans do not of course exercise any great discernment, and seeing that the goods from England and Russia make such a striking contrast with each other they naturally jump to the conclusion that the English goods are trash, and that the people who produce such things must be an inferior and unreliable race.

I heard during my stay in Tibet a strange story the authenticity of which admitted of no doubt. It was kept as a great secret and occurred about two years ago. At that time the Dalai Lama received as a present a suit of episcopal robes from the Czar, a present forwarded through the hands of the Czar's emissary. It was a splendid garment glittering with gold and was accepted, I was told, with gratitude by the Grand Lama.

The Czar's act in giving such a present is open to a serious charge. If he presented the suit as a specimen of an embroidered fabric, then that act amounted to sacrilege, for the bishop's ceremonial robe is a sign of a high religious function, and when a person receives it from the superior head of the holy church it means that that person has been installed in the seat of a bishop. On the other hand if the Czar presented the suit from religious considerations his act is equally inexplicable and deserves condemnation, for he must have been perfectly aware that Lamaism is an entirely distinct religion from the state religion of Russia, and that the head of the Tibetan religion therefore has nothing to do with such an official garment. It was really a strange transaction. On the part of the recipient there were extenuating circumstances. The fact is, he must have been entirely ignorant as to the real nature of the present. He must have accepted it merely as a costly garment with no special meaning attached to it. I am certain he would have rejected the offer at once had he had even a faint inkling of its nature. He was therefore a victim of ignorance and perhaps of imposition, for the Tsan-ni Kenbo, who knew all about this present, must have made some plausible explanations to the Dalai Lama when the latter asked him about it. Shata, the premier and bosom friend of the Tsan-ni, probably played some part in the imposture.

Who is Shata? Shata, whose name I have before mentioned,

poche, acted as regent before the present Dalai Lama had been installed. At that time the star of Shata was in the decline. He could not even live in Tibet with safety, and had to leave the country as a voluntary exile. As a wanderer he lived sometimes at Darjeeling and at other times in Sikkim. It was during this period of his wandering existence that he observed the administration of India by England, and heard much about how India came to be subjugated by that power. Shata therefore is the best authority in Tibet about England's Indian policy. His mind was filled with the dread of England. He was overawed by her power and must have trembled at the mere idea of the possibility of her crossing the Himalayas and entering Tibet, which could hardly hope to resist the northward march of England, when once the latter made up her mind to invade the land. He must have thought during his exile that Tibet would have to choose between Russia and China in seeking foreign help against the possible aggression of England. Evidently therefore he carried home some such idea as to Tibetan policy when affairs allowed him to return home with safety, that is to say, when his enemy had resigned the regency and surrendered the supreme power to the Dalai Lama.

Shata was soon nominated a premier, and the power he then acquired was first of all employed and abused in destroying his old enemy and his followers. The mal-administration and unjust practices of which those followers had been guilty during the ascendancy of their master furnished a sufficient cause for bringing a serious charge against the latter. The poor Temo Rinpoche was arrested for a crime of which he was innocent, and died a victim to his enemy.

Shata is an unscrupulous man and is resourceful in intrigues. But he is nevertheless a man of vigorous mind and does not hesitate about the means, when once he makes up his mind to compass anything. He is the best informed man in Tibet, comparatively speaking, in diplomatic affairs, and so he must possess a certain definite view about the foreign policy of Tibet, and his pro-Russian tendency must have come from his strong conviction, though this conviction rested on a slender base. This tendency was of course stimulated and encouraged by the Tsan-ni Kenbo, who did not neglect to work upon the other's inclination when he saw that it was highly favorable to him. Shata on his part must have rendered help to his Mongolian friend when the latter wished to offer the strange present to the Dalai Lama. I do not say that the other ministers approved of Shata's acts in this significant transaction, or even of his pro-Russian

policy. On the contrary some of them may have deprecated both as being opposed to the interests of Tibet. But they could hardly speak out their minds, and even if they did they could not restrain Shata, for the simple reason that the executive authority practically rests in the hands of the senior premier. He very seldom consulted his colleagues, still less was he inclined to accept advice coming from them. Under the circumstances they must have connived at the acceptance of the bishop's apparel, even if they knew about it.

China's loss of prestige in Tibet since the Japano-Chinese war owing to her inability to assert her power over the vassal state has much to do with this pro-Russian leaning. China is no longer respected, much less feared, by the Tibetans. Previous to that war and before China's internal incompetence had been laid bare by Japan, relations like those between master and vassal bound Tibet to China. The latter interfered with the internal affairs of Tibet and meted out punishments freely to the Tibetan dignitaries and even to the Grand Lama. Now she is entirely helpless. She could not even demand explanations from Tibet when that country was thrown into an unusual agitation about the Temo Rinpoche's affair. The Tibetans are now conducting themselves in utter disregard or even in defiance of the wishes of China, for they are aware of the powerlessness of China to take any active steps against them. They know that their former suzerain is fallen and is therefore no longer to be depended upon. They are prejudiced against England on account of her subjugation of India, and so they have naturally concluded that they should establish friendly relations with Russia, which they knew was England's bitter foe.

It is evident that the Dalai Lama himself favors this view, and it may safely be presumed that unless he was favorably disposed towards Russia he would never have accepted the bishop's garment from the Czar. He is too intelligent a man to accept any present from a foreign sovereign as a mere compliment.

The Dalai Lama's friendly inclination was clearly established when in December, 1900, he sent to Russia his grand chamberlain as envoy with three followers. Leaving Lhasa on that date the party first proceeded towards the Tsan-ni Kenbo's native place, whence they were taken by the Siberian railway, and in time reached St. Petersburg. The party was received with warm welcome by that court, to which it offered presents brought from Tibet. It is said that on that occasion a secret understanding was reached between the two governments.

It was about December of 1901 or January of the following

year that the party returned home. By that time I had already been residing in Lhasa for some time. About two months after the return of the party I went out on a short trip on horseback to a place about fifty miles northeast of Lhasa. While I was there I saw two hundred camels fully loaded arrive from the northeast. The load consisted of small boxes, two packed on each camel. Every load was covered with skin, and so I could not even guess what it contained. The smallness of the boxes however arrested my attention, and I came to the conclusion that some Mongolians must have been bringing ingots of silver as a present to the Dalai Lama. I asked some of the drivers about the contents of the boxes, but they could not tell me anything. They were hired at some intermediate station, and so knew nothing about the contents. However they believed that the boxes contained silver, but they knew for certain that these boxes did not come from China. They had been informed by somebody that they came from some unknown place.

When I returned to the house of my host, the minister of finance came in and informed him that on that day a heavy load had arrived from Russia. On my host inquiring what were the contents of the load, the minister replied that this was a secret. I took a hint from this talk of the minister and left the room. I had however by good chance discovered that the load came from Russia, and though I could not as yet form any idea about the contents, I tried to get some reliable information.

Now I knew one government officer who was one of the worst repositories imaginable for any secret; he was such a gossip that it was easy to worm anything from him. One day I met him and gradually the trend of our conversation was turned to the last caravan. I found him quite communicative as usual, and so I asked him about the contents of the load. The gentleman was so far obliging, that he told me (confidentially, he said) that another caravan of three hundred camels had arrived some time before, and that the load brought by so many camels consisted of small fire-arms, bullets, and other interesting objects. He was quite elated with the weapons, saying that now for the first time Tibet was sufficiently armed to resist any attack which England might undertake against her, and could defiantly reject any improper request which that aggressive power, as the Tibetans believe her to be, might make to her.

I had the opportunity of inspecting one of the guns sent by Russia. It was apparently one of modern pattern, but it did not impress me as possessing any long range nor seem to be quite fit

for active service. The stock bore an inscription attesting that it was made in the United States of America. The Tibetans being ignorant of Roman letters and English firmly believed that all the weapons were made in Russia. It seems that about one-half of the load of the five hundred camels consisted of small arms and ammunition.

The Chinese government appears mortified to see Tibet endeavoring to break off her traditional relation with China, and to attach herself to Russia. The Chinese Amban once tried to interfere with the Tsan-ni Kenbo's dealings in Lhasa, and even intended to arrest him. But it was of no avail, as the Tibetan government extended protection to the man and defeated the purposes of the Amban. On one occasion the Tsan-ni was secretly sent to Darjeeling and on another occasion to Nepāl, and the Amban could never catch hold of him. It appears that the British government watched the movements of the Tsan-ni, and this suspicion of England against him appears to have been shared by the Nepal government.

The existence of the Siberian railway can hardly be expected to give any great help to Russia, if ever the latter should be obliged from one reason or another to send a warlike expedition to Lhasa. The distance from the nearest station to Lhasa is prohibitive of any such undertaking, for the march, even if nothing happens on the road, must require five or six months and is through districts abounding in deserts and hills. The presence of wild natives in Amdo and Kham is also a discouraging factor, for they are people who are perfectly uncontrollable, given up to plunder and murder, and of course thoroughly at home in their own haunts. Even discipline and superior weapons would not balance the natural advantages which these dreadful people enjoy over intruders, however well informed the latter may be about the topography of the districts. Russia can hardly expect to subdue Tibet by force of arms. It was in consideration of this fact that the Tsan-ni Kenbo has been endeavoring to impose upon the Tibetans that audacious fiction about the identity of the Czar's person with that of the long dead Founder of the New Sect, so that his master might accomplish by peaceful means what he could hardly effect by force.

Under the circumstances, something like a reaction seems already to have set in against the pro-Russian agitation ingeniously planned by the Tsan-ni Kenbo. It remains to be seen what steps Russia will take towards Tibet to prevent the Lama's country from slipping away from her grasp.

Apparently therefore the Russian manoeuvres in Tibet have succeeded, and the question that naturally arises is this: "Is Russia's footing in Tibet so firmly established as to enable her with any hope of success to make an attempt on India with Tibet as her base?" I cannot answer this question affirmatively, for Russia's influence in Tibet has not yet taken a deep root. She can count only on the Dalai Lama and his senior premier as her most reliable friends, and the support of the rest who are simply blind followers of those two cannot be counted upon. Of course those blind followers would remain pro-Russian if Russia should persist in actively pushing on her policy of fascination; but as their attitude does not rest on a solid foundation they may abandon it any time when affairs take a turn unfavorable for Russia. For it must be remembered that by no means the whole of the higher classes of Tibet are even passive supporters of the policy marked out by the Dalai Lama and his trusted lieutenants. On the contrary, there are some few who are secretly suspicious of the motives of Russia. The Czar, they think, may be the sovereign who is the incarnate Founder, but his very munificence towards Tibet may have some deep meaning at bottom. That munificence may not be for nothing; if it is, then Russia must be regarded as a country composed of people who are quite godly—a very rare thing in this world of give and take, where selfishness is a guiding motive. Is it not more reasonable and safer to interpret those repeated acts of outward friendship as coming from her ambitious design to place a snare before Tibet and finally to absorb the country? But such ideas are, I say, confined to only a very limited section, and are exchanged in whispers between confidential friends. They do not seem to have reached the ears of the Dalai Lama and the senior premier.

DOSTOYEVSKY.

BY THE EDITOR.

A READER has called my attention to Dostoyevsky's instructive little fable of "The Onion" which is found in the great Russian's novel, *The Brothers Karamazov*, and reads as follows:

"Once upon a time there was a peasant woman, and a very wicked woman she was. And she died and did not leave a single good deed behind. The devils caught her and plunged her into the lake of fire. So her guardian angel stood and wondered what good deed of hers he could remember to tell to God. 'She once pulled up an onion in her garden,' said he, 'and gave it to a beggar woman.' And God answered: 'You take that onion then, hold it out to her in the lake, and let her take hold and be pulled out. If you can pull her out of the lake, let her come to Paradise; but if the onion breaks, then the woman must stay where she is.' The angel ran to the woman and held out the onion to her. 'Come,' said he, 'catch hold and I'll pull you out,' and he began cautiously pulling her out. He had just pulled her out, when the other sinners in the lake, seeing how she was being drawn out, began catching hold of her so as to be pulled out with her. But she was a very wicked woman and she began kicking them. 'I'm to be pulled out, not you. It's my onion, not yours.' As soon as she said that the onion broke, and the woman fell into the lake and she is burning there to this day."

Having myself written a little tale, the story of the spider-web, to illustrate the same idea, I naturally take an interest in all kindred expositions and come to the conclusion that this doctrine must be a very ancient inheritance of the human race, likely of a pre-Christian date. According to my version an evil-doer is suffering torture in hell, and when he calls on Buddha for succor the poor wretch cannot remember a single good deed he ever performed on earth. But the All-compassionate One, in his omniscience, recalls that once the

sinner took pity on a spider crawling before him on his path and avoided stepping on it. Then the blessed Buddha allowed the spider to go to his benefactor's rescue. He spun a web from paradise to hell and bade the evil-doer take hold of it and be drawn upward out of the fiery pools. This he did; but other denizens of hell took hold of him, and the spider-web stretched but still held out. Then, in fear that it would break, he shouted, "Let go, the web is *mine*." Thereupon it broke at once, and he fell back into hell.

Dostoyevsky's story is very similar to another version of the same thought in Italian folklore, told of St. Peter's mother. It was quoted at length some time ago in *The Open Court* (Vol. XIX, 1905, pp. 756-758), and I will add here that when I wrote the story of the spider-web I was unacquainted with either the Italian or Russian version.

The origin of my story is mainly rooted in a Buddhist tradition. We read that the man who has overcome the error of selfhood says, in reply to Mâra, the Evil One, the Tempter, "Naught is of *me*."¹ Whatever other recollections may have combined to shape the spider-web episode, they were unconscious at the time I wrote the story *Karma* in which it occurs.

Hell is the thought of "I" and "me," the thought of "myself" and "mine." Liberation or salvation is gained only through an utter abandonment of all selfhood, and even if we were living in paradise, so long as we harbored the thought of self in our heart, we would be in hell. This is the Buddhist doctrine.

Religion is ultimately an all-feeling, a panpathy, a love for all that lives, and this thought is not confined to Buddhism; it is the natural faith of mankind. Primitive religion, as it existed in the prehistoric mind and lingers still in many old traditions, as in Grimm's fairy tales, and especially in "The Ancient Mariner," is much broader than we are inclined to grant. Coleridge has faithfully expressed it in the all-comprehensive declaration:

"He prayeth best who loveth best
All things both great and small;
For the dear God who loveth us,
He made and loveth all."

This religion is not mere fancy; it has existed and still exists to a great extent among the people whom we call savages, and also characterizes Dostoyevsky's story of the onion.

Dostoyevsky was naturally of an impressionable nature, and

¹ See *Dharma*, 5th ed., p. 78, quoted from Warren's translation of the Samyutta-Nikâya.

the hardships of his life served to increase the sensitiveness of his soul.

From the "Translator's Preface" to Dostoyevsky's *The Brothers Karamazov*, we quote the following passage:

"Though neither by temperament nor conviction a revolutionist, Dostoyevsky was one of a little group of young men who met together to read Fourier and Proudhon. He was accused of 'taking part in conversations against the censorship, of reading a letter from Byelinsky to Gogol, and of knowing of the intention to set up a printing press.' Under Nicholas I (that 'stern and just man,' as Maurice Baring calls him, this was enough, and he was condemned to death. After eight months' imprisonment he was, with twenty-one others, taken out to the Semyonovsky Square to be shot. Writing to his brother Mihail, Dostoyevsky says: 'They snapped swords over our heads, and they made us put on the white shirts worn by persons condemned to death. Thereupon we were bound in threes to stakes, to suffer execution. Being the third in the row, I concluded I had only a few minutes of life before me. I thought of you and your dear ones, and I contrived to kiss Plestcheiev and Dourov, who were next to me, and to bid them farewell. Suddenly the troops beat a tattoo, we were unbound, brought back upon the scaffold, and informed that his Majesty had spared our lives.'

"The sentence was commuted to hard labor. One of the prisoners, Grigoryev, went mad as soon as he was untied, and never regained his sanity. The intense suffering of this experience left a lasting stamp on Dostoyevsky's mind. Though his religious temper led him in the end to accept every suffering with resignation and to regard it as a blessing in his own case, he constantly recurs to the subject in his writings. He describes the awful agony of the condemned man and insists on the cruelty of inflicting such torture. Then followed four years of penal servitude, spent in the company of common criminals in Siberia, where he began the 'Dead House,' and some years of service in a disciplinary battalion.

"He had shown signs of some obscure nervous disease before his arrest, and this now developed into violent attacks of epilepsy, from which he suffered for the rest of his life. The fits occurred three or four times a year and were more frequent in periods of great strain. In 1859 he was allowed to return to Russia."

The fact that war has its benefits as well as its horrors was felt by Dostoyevsky at the time of the Crimean war when England and France were arrayed against Russia. In 1877, soon after the

outbreak of the war, he wrote a series of articles in its defense, maintaining that war is not always a scourge, but often means deliverance. This interesting work closes with the following words whose prophetic content may well be called to mind to-day:

“We may say in general that when human society is unsound and degenerate even such a useful thing as a long peace brings only injury instead of benefit. . . . It is not an accident that in the history of Europe every generation has had its war. Hence indeed war too probably has its use; it brings healing and relief to mankind. When we think of it in the abstract this may seem revolting, but it is a fact. . . . But war is really an advantage only when it is undertaken in the name of a high principle and not for material advantage, not for the purpose of greedy acquisition or haughty oppression. Otherwise war has always led nations upon false paths and brought them to ruin. If we ourselves will not live to see England’s end, at least our children will.”

NEUTRALITY

By

S. IVOR STEPHEN

(Cloth, \$1.00; paper, 50c.)

PRESS NOTES.

"This book is an impressive mass of facts which cannot fail to startle even the most indifferent American newspapers which, under the protection of so-called 'freedom of the press,' dare to exploit private interests in time of excitement, although they well know public opinion is practically a powder magazine which a false alarm may explode."—*Chicago Examiner.*

"A stab at the press who ruthlessly ride over public opinion and do not preserve the neutrality which our nation has expressed."—*Fort Smith Times Record.*

"This book is a humdinger."—*Trenton Times.*

NEUTRALITY PRESS, Chicago

Rent an



Underwood Typewriter

Simplicity is its
fundamental
principle

Used by

Largest corporations
All Champion typists
and
Most Expert operators

"The Machine You Will Eventually Buy"

MITHRAISM

By W. J. PHYTHIAN-ADAMS

New Volume added to the Series

RELIGIONS ANCIENT AND MODERN

Small 8vo, Cloth, 40 cents net

PRESS NOTICES

"For more than 100 years Mithraism and Christianity struggled for mastery, each professing to satisfy man's craving for blessedness and eternal life. This account is worth reading."—The Continent.

* * * * *

"Mithraism was the Roman soldier's faith. It was a secret cult, not unlike Freemasonry. The author of this brief volume has succeeded in compiling an astonishing amount of information on his subject."—The Independent.

* * * * *

"The mysticism of the religion itself, and the fragmentary state of modern knowledge about it add much interest to the subject."—Springfield Republican.

* * * * *

"A scholarly presentation of the subject."—Ave Maria.

* * * * *

"Mithraism was an essentially masculine religion. No goddess appears on Mithraic monuments. The emperor, Julian, called the apostate, and his followers were initiates of Mithraism."—The Post-Express.

* * * * *

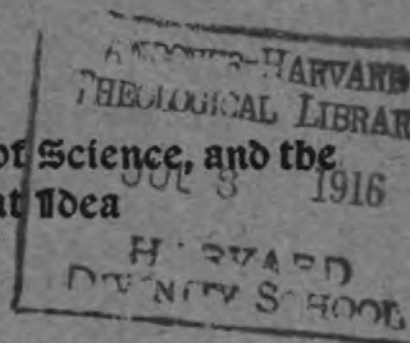
"The student of comparative religions will welcome this little book, traces the birthplace of Mithraism far north as

The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER.



VOL. XXX (No. 7)

JULY, 1916

NO. 722

CONTENTS:

	PAGE
Frontispiece. Desiderius Erasmus. HOLBEIN.	
<i>The Economic Aspect of the War.</i> C. A. VERRIJN STUART	385
<i>In Reply to Mr. Charles T. Gorham.</i> JOHANNES MATTERN	408
<i>Symposium on Erasmus from Several Sources</i> (Illustrated)	419
<i>Richard Dedekind</i> (With Portrait)	437
<i>Mr. Gorham's Reply to Mr. Mattern.</i> EMIL REACH	438
<i>The Thermometer</i> (With Editorial Reply). C. A. BROWNE	439
<i>Water-Power Conservation</i>	443
<i>"L'accuse"</i>	444
<i>Mr. Mangasarian Again.</i> PAUL CARUS	446

The Open Court Publishing Company

CHICAGO

PEACE OR WAR?

The Great Debate in Congress on The Submarine and the
Merchantman

Compiled from *The Congressional Record* by

WILLIAM BAYARD HALE

Price \$1.00

The present volume is the result of a conscientious reading and rereading of the entire proceedings of Congress since the introduction of the GORE RESOLUTION and the McLEMORE RESOLUTION, and of a faithful attempt to make a just and fair record of the sentiments of Senators and Representatives as set down in the *Congressional Record*.

This book is a record of what was said by twenty-six United States Senators and eighty-nine Representatives in Congress in the great debate over the question of warning Americans not to travel on armed belligerent merchantmen.

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY

122 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago

Contributions to the Founding of the Theory of Transfinite Numbers

By GEORG CANTOR

Translated, and provided with an Introduction and Notes, by PHILIP E. B. JOURDAIN, M. A.

Cloth. Pages x, 212. \$1.25 net

This volume contains a translation of the two very important memoirs of George Cantor on transfinite numbers which appeared in 1895 and 1897. These memoirs are the final and logically purified statement of many of the most important results of Cantor's theory of sets. The volume is a very full historical

eighty-nine Representatives in Congress in the
question of warning Americans not to travel
merchantmen.

COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY

2 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago

to the Founding of the
Transfinite Numbers



DESIDERIUS ERASMUS.

From a portrait by Holbein in the Amerbach Collection.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

VOL. XXX (No. 7)

JULY, 1916

NO. 722

Copyright by The Open Court Publishing Company, 1916

THE ECONOMIC ASPECT OF THE WAR.¹

BY C. A. VERRIJN STUART.

THE economics of war is not an alluring topic for a political economist to discuss. His proper task is to study the efforts made for the advancement of human welfare, and to test the fitness of whatever means may serve to promote such endeavors, whereas an investigation of the economic aspect of war compels him rather to occupy himself with the destruction both of material and immaterial values that is now taking place on a much larger scale than ever before in the history of mankind. The task is all the more painful, since when I have finished my discussion I shall hardly be able to disclose a hopeful prospect for the future with any degree of certainty.

And yet what Europe is now experiencing cannot fail to interest the economist deeply, because the present monstrous struggle is above all an economic one in its origin, in the way it is conducted, and in its probable consequences. It is evident that within the narrow limits of a lecture one cannot attempt to exhaust the problem. One can only give a few examples from the abundance of details, but I hope these will be sufficient to throw light on what seems to me the paramount issue.

Before I take up the real subject in hand, I wish to make a few preliminary remarks. Whoever talks about the war in a neutral country while the conflict is still raging must of course speak with restraint, if only out of gratitude for the inestimable benefit of neutrality. I hope I shall not transgress this foremost duty. But it does not follow that it is necessary sullenly and cowardly to con-

¹ A lecture delivered in Groningen before the student association "Conamur" by Dr. C. A. Verriijn Stuart, Professor of Political Economy and Statistics in the University of Groningen, Holland. Translated into English by Dr. K. D. Bülbring, of the University of Bonn.

ceal one's personal opinion about the cause of the war and the way in which it is carried on. In other neutral countries (Scandinavia, Switzerland, not to mention the United States) the duty of neutrality does not appear to be thus understood, nor in the Netherlands either, for here too it is remarkable what many newspapers dare put before their readers without restraint.

But while expressing my opinion freely about this war I wish to add emphatically that it is not my intention to inquire into the responsibility for what happened during the eventful days from July 23 to August 1 of last year. We may confidently leave this problem for later historians to solve, especially since its importance can easily be overestimated. From causes soon to be more minutely explained it appears to me that the war had to come with a fatal inevitability, and that a somewhat different attitude on the part of one or another of the great powers during the sultry summer days could not possibly have been of any importance except in so far as on it may have depended the moment when the first shot was to be fired. In determining this point of time, each government, in proportion to its influence, must take into consideration only the interests of its own country, and need not for that reason be regarded by those who consider the war unavoidable as having been more or less anxious for war.

In one respect I most confidently hope that my expositions will really be neutral, and that is in suppressing my personal sympathies. This is not too difficult if we realize how sympathies originate: namely, from pity for the sufferings of those engaged in the war; from gratitude for the excellent services in the highest departments of human activity, such as science, art, technical inventions, political liberty and so forth; from race feeling and other feelings of affinity; and from admiration for unimpaired vitality, for magnanimous unity without party-spirit where interests of the native country are at stake and in face of the calm acceptance of the miseries and ravages of war. All these sentiments may be the cause of originating or strengthening sympathy. It would therefore be difficult to find any of the nations now engaged in war that could not lay claim to our sympathy for one reason or another.

Perhaps people will point to facts that might weaken such sympathies which in themselves are surely justified. But I think that in this respect extreme caution is necessary, especially for us in Holland. Professor Simons has already warned against injudicious credulity, even against believing the accusations against belligerents based on inquiries by various governments. Conflict-

ing investigations cannot be held on the same spot, and the psychology of evidence furnishes ample proofs that it is possible even for eye-witnesses to exciting facts to give virtually false evidence in perfectly good faith.² We may leave it to later inquirers to make clear as far as can be done whether one party of the belligerents is more to blame in this regard than another.

If, after all, the war has been forced upon Germany against her wish she can plead self-defense with respect to many things which might otherwise be severely condemned, for according to the law of all nations this excuse secures immunity even as regards deeds which in other circumstances are severely punished. Are we to limit self-defense to the internal law of individual states, and to supplement the undisputed maxim "Necessity knows no law," by adding the words "but must not break a treaty"?

Moreover the two empires of central Europe have so far succeeded in mainly carrying on the war on hostile ground, and to some extent close to the Dutch frontier. Therefore the inevitable misery of war (for it is impossible to carry on war humanely, because its very nature is inhuman) is charged, with inexorable partiality, to the account of only one side of the belligerents; and just because the Netherlands have been inundated with fugitives from the scene of war, they are most imperfectly informed in this regard. Is the fate of East Prussia, Galicia and Bukowina less deplorable than that of the regions on the western front? What has been the effect of the steam roller that was to move in the direction of Berlin and Vienna, as England and France hoped in the beginning of the war?

Whose heart does not ache when he reads of the misery in those countries laid waste by the war? But, however paradoxical and cruel it may sound, the wounds caused by war are only the smaller part of the affair, when once it has broken out. I regret that our great Dutch daily press, by endeavoring, particularly at the beginning, to turn the dreadful misery of the war to *literary* account, has thereby held the attention of the Dutch people so fixed on this aspect that they have had no eye for the glorious greatness of the time. This misconception must also eventually make its consequences painfully felt.

I have spoken of the war as having been brought about by

economic causes. This statement will not be accepted by those who regard the struggle as directed against German (or, rather, Prussian) militarism. Now I must honestly confess that I have not succeeded in understanding this watchword for the war.

If one takes the word militarism to mean an antagonism, or at least a separation, between the military and civil parts of the population, one might suppose that it would manifest itself for instance in England, where only a small proportion of the population take part in the defense of the country of their own accord, as was also the case elsewhere in earlier days (for instance in Napoleonic times). But in countries like the France or Germany of to-day, where the national defense involves the entire nation through all its classes, because it rests on the universal personal and compulsory service of the men, militarism in this sense is simply impossible. Has not Germany manifested the astounding phenomenon that at the beginning of the war besides the millions of soldiers in her armies nearly two millions of volunteers came forward?—a much larger number than Kitchener's appeal brought together for "service abroad," and that too in a country without conscription. Nowhere is the unity between people and army so perfect as in Germany. Annihilation of militarism in this sense would mean the annihilation of the whole nation.

It may, of course, occur even in Germany that professional soldiers, commissioned and non-commissioned officers, on account of the cruel dangers of their calling, may claim certain privileges which would not readily be granted in countries where for many generations the army has had only garrison service to perform. Of course it is not generous to claim such privileges, but just as certainly is it narrow-minded to measure the worth of culture in the German nation by the attitude of a Prussian lieutenant!

And if we understand by militarism the effort of state and citizens to put above all other duties the one which ensures the highest possible power of defense, then it is not only an indispensable principle for Germany on account of her geographical position and history, but one that applies to all great powers. In one of his latest statements, the Count de Mun³ describes his English allies as moved "by noble solicitude for their national greatness." Has not England, the one really imperial power, until very recently made the open demand that her navy, the weapon on which her safety chiefly depends, should be at least superior to a possible combination of the navies of any other two powers?

³ *Bulletin des armées*, August 19, 1914.

There is in fact no power above the sovereign state. It must maintain itself by its own power if it cannot rest on the conflicting interests of other states. To rely solely on the authority of law is an idealism which must in reality bring bitter disappointment, however congenial it may be in other respects. Even in ordinary legal procedure one does not really take that risk. Doubtless most legal and other obligations are fulfilled without requiring the interference of the power of the state, but the very fact that this power exists acts far beyond its express limits, even in cases where its assistance might otherwise have to be called upon. There cannot be the least doubt that if the law-courts, the police and the army were to disappear from a state the citizens themselves would take to arms. Self-defense is the supreme instinct alike for states and individuals.

The parallel often drawn between the juridical intercourse of nations and of persons is therefore in reality a comparison of two incomparable things, because in the former case the impartial instruments of effective power are wanting. And this is true for still another reason. If the rights or interests of certain persons come into conflict with the higher rights or interests of the state there are means and laws to make the former yield, as for instance in expropriation proceedings. What analogy to such cases can one find in international law? If, for example, the higher interests of humanity demanded that France should hand over to other countries some part of her colonies which she may have conquered to a much larger extent than she is capable of developing to their best possibilities, what means would there be to carry this out?

Finally, can any one seriously believe that such a war as is now being waged can be the means of annihilating the militarism of any nation involved in it? Homoeopathy is usually applied according to the principle of minimal and not of maximal doses. However one may wish that the war may pave the way to an international intercourse based on co-operation, the consciousness of the necessity for being always ready for war has impressed itself firmly and indelibly even on those nations where it did not exist before, or only to a small extent.

From whatever side we may look at it, it is evident from this that the battle-cry "against German militarism" is but a transparent mask and means nothing else than war on Germany herself. This watchword, first originated by England, discloses clearly the real object of the war, namely, to prove whether Germany, as a strong and rapidly rising power, shall be able to maintain herself on an equal footing with England. Viewed in this light it follows clearly

that the causes of the world-conflagration are chiefly of an economic nature.

It seems to me that among these causes one can distinguish some of a general and others of a special character. First a few words about general economic causes, which are really of but little significance for the comprehension of this war, or of wars in general. These are the capitalistic system of production, and protective tariff.

Socialists who are always inclined to charge the faults and failings of human society to the account of the great *Carthago delenda* of capitalism, have not hesitated to do the same with reference to the war. Now it is worth noting that this accusation comes from a group which has shown itself extremely combative in social and national life, and whose system, if carried out by any country, would surely involve serious danger in the way of foreign complications. Just think (to mention only one instance) of the measures against the sweating system sure to be taken after the war in countries with low wage-standards. But aside from this, the enormous losses which the capitalists of all countries will have to stand as a consequence of the war and which can be avoided by only comparatively few industries can surely prove sufficiently that capital receives no advantage from war, but only from the peaceful development of economic life. That war raises the rate of interest is an incontestable fact of great importance to all those who can make newly formed capital productive. But the value of all existing sources of fixed or slightly raised income is diminished by this rise.

As to the advantage accruing to those industries engaged in producing war-materials, it may well be asked whether a state of armed peace (unarmed peace is as yet only a dream) would not serve their purposes just as well or better than a war involving all sorts of risks. Complaints are raised against the undue influence exerted on public opinion through the press by manufacturers of war materials. Are there not ways to counterbalance this? Or does any one think it is possible for any government in the present century to go to war without being certain that they have the people behind them?

It seems to me somewhat naive to put down the four millions of German social democrats whose deputies have unanimously accepted the war-budget, as minors and blockheads misled by Krupp and his abettors, or to regard their French colleagues, to whom the same applies, as blind followers of Schneider-Creusot. In view

of the immense increase of power which any government is likely to gain in time of war, and which even in the Netherlands has been so great that a purely capitalistic institution like the stock-exchange has been obliged to surrender to the mercy of the Minister of Finance as far as its opening and closing hours, the admission or non-admission of shares and the fixing of minimum quotations are concerned, one is inclined to look upon the war as serving the interests of socialism rather than those of capitalism. Another reason for this is that the war will inevitable promote the democratization of political life in countries with compulsory service. It is not only in social-democratic circles that the antiquated Prussian system of election according to three grades of assessment is looked upon as doomed to destruction on the battle-fields in the west and east.

The case is somewhat different with protective tariff. There is no doubt that its object, which is to put the foreigner at an economic disadvantage as compared to the native citizens of a country, increases the chances for friction in international intercourse. Not without reason does the motto of the Cobden Club mention "free trade, peace and good will among nations" in one breath. But I believe that we injure the good cause of free trade if we entertain exaggerated expectations about its success. Protection has its root partly in economic errors, but on the other hand also in precisely those international conflicts of interests which under certain circumstances lead to war. Among the battle-cries with which the belligerents have entered the field, there is none to my knowledge that declares war against protection. Universal free trade will not bring us everlasting peace; and it is greatly to be feared that after the termination of this war the system of protection will prove to be strengthened in a number of countries—for reasons of national psychology to begin with, but in addition on account of empty treasuries and the need for national defense. The international atmosphere will not be of such a nature all at once that the foreigner will forthwith be admitted on equal terms of trade in countries hitherto under a protective tariff. Moreover, protection is not the only method by which to draw considerable revenues from customs duties, as England can testify. But a protective tariff yields considerable profits to the exchequer, unless so high as to be prohibitive. Lastly, England will not care to run the risk again of seeing her colonial food-supplies endangered by an enemy. She will doubtless be able to promote the cultivation of cereals and fruits and the breeding of cattle in a better and less expensive way for the people

than Germany has done by its tariff, and yet I cannot think it out of the question that England may eventually introduce the German method.

Lambert, a manufacturer of Charlevoix, in a recent pamphlet, argues appealingly for a world-congress which shall introduce and safe-guard the policy of the open door in all colonies as a sure means to do away with international greed and make lasting peace possible. I wish with all my heart that this object could be attained in such a comparatively simple way. But I cannot think that it would be a matter of indifference to the Netherlands, for instance, if under such an international control of their colonial trade-policy (which has been successful for the last forty years) the Dutch East Indies should be divided between England and Japan on the basis of a perfect equality between Dutch and foreign importers.

If, as we have seen, these two general economic causes cannot be made to explain the origin of this war, it nevertheless has its roots in economic causes of another kind, though not, to be sure, exclusively. A historical event of such gigantic proportions obviously cannot be explained simply by causes of one kind. Motives of an immaterial or ideal nature have doubtless a prominent share in Serbia's effort to escape, if possible, from the domination of the Danube monarchy by the union of all Serbs in one great federation; in the wish of France to make up for the defeat of 1870 and to liberate Alsace-Lorraine from German rule; in Russia's dream of a new conquest of Constantinople for the Greek orthodox Church.

But in all of these considerations economic interests also play an important part; for Serbia the desire to share in the world's commerce without hindrance from Hungary, for which purpose, not content with the route through Montenegro, she regards a port of her own as indispensable; for Russia likewise the urgent need for a free access to the highways of traffic which would not be blocked by ice during part of the year nor lead past the forts of a naturally hostile foreign state;⁴ and for France, where even Maurice Barrès in the *Echo de Paris*⁵ must confess his disappointment at the sentiment of the population in the provinces of Alsace-Lorraine, their re-conquest is primarily of economic and strategic importance.⁶

⁴ The fact that this goal will not be reached by obtaining possession of the Dardanelles, since they but open into an inland sea both of whose entrances, Gibraltar and Port Said, England holds in easy control, will sooner or later be the cause of new wars. Russia's wishes can be satisfied only at the expense of Sweden and Norway.

⁵ See the letter of the Paris correspondent in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* of December 29, 1914.

⁶ Is it not most tragic that the French have obtained this insight only by

The conflicts of interests here alluded to between different states might, it is true, have led locally to armed encounters, though the possibility of a fresh war over the left bank of the Rhine was growing less every day; but it is my firm conviction that the world-conflagration which broke out in the beginning of August, 1914, and which has thrown the human race into the most tremendous crisis that has ever come upon it is the consequence of the economic antagonism between England and Germany and of the policy pursued by England on account of this for many years.

The remarkable increase in the population and economic life in Germany which had begun as early as the foundation of the German *Zollverein* continued after the peace of Frankfort at an incredibly rapid pace. Between 1871 and 1910 the number of inhabitants rose in Germany from 41 to 65 millions, in Great Britain from 32 to 45 millions, and in France from 36 to 40 millions. This increase of her population, finally almost at the rate of one million souls per annum, placed upon Germany the necessity of exporting either men or goods, as Caprivi once put it.

Without entirely neglecting the former, Germany has chiefly striven after the latter alternative, and has taken upon herself the immense task of conquering the world-markets for her own products. In so far as the attainment of this purpose was not hampered by the policy of protection adopted in 1879, German trade and industry vigorously supported by the government, have been surprisingly successful. Intimate touch between science and industry, unflinching diligence and energy, and a model organization—these are the forces that have promoted German trade, industry and shipping. The place in world-economics which has gradually been conceded to the German empire is not due to any lucky chance but solely to her own exertions.

The export trade rose from an average of 2,357,000,000 marks during the period from 1872 to 1875, to 8,246,000,000 marks in the period from 1909 to 1913, therefore an increase of 250 percent. In the same period the exports of Great Britain rose from about 302,000,000 to 559,000,000 pounds sterling, or 85 percent; those of

means of a new war for which billions of francs have been sacrificed? As far as Alsace is concerned this insight might have been gained in a different manner. In the *Journal de la Société de Statistique de Paris*, Huber not long ago published the figures of the German census of 1910, showing that French is the mother tongue of 3.8 percent of the inhabitants in Lower Alsace, of

France from about 3,781,000,000 to 6,323,000,000 francs, about 68 percent increase.

The British empire, which had held an unchallenged supremacy in industry, trade and shipping ever since the end of the eighteenth century, began to feel that a powerful, well-equipped rival had sprung up at her side. German exports to the value of 727,000,000 marks found their way to England in 1889 and 1,880,000,000 in 1913; and whereas Germany's share in the entire commerce of the world rose from 10 percent in 1886-1890, to 12.9 percent in the year 1912, England's share went down in the same time from 19.6 to 16.6 percent, and that of France from 9.5 to 9.0 percent. The moment was rapidly approaching when German exports would exceed those of England in actual amount. In 1913 the former amounted to 10,097,000,000, the latter to 10,719,000,000 marks. It is true that in the shipping line England is still *facile princeps*, but here also the figures show that the progress in Germany has been far more rapid than in England. The volume of the mercantile fleet rose from 4,000,000 to 11,000,000 registered tonnage in England in the years from 1885 to 1913, or from 100 to 275 percent; in Germany from 400,000 to 2,700,000 tons, or from 100 to 675 percent.

The movement to which these figures testify found its explanation chiefly in the tremendous rise of German industry. Here too I shall only mention a few figures from the abundance of the material. I only wish to point out that the coal production of Great Britain which in 1887 was still double that of Germany, was exceeded by the latter as early as 1912. England produced 7,700,000 tons of pig iron in 1887 and Germany 4,000,000 tons; for 1912 the figures were 9,000,000 and 17,600,000 tons respectively. The development of the steel industry is even more wonderful. In 1887 England produced 3,200,000 tons and Germany 1,200,000, to 6,600,000 and 17,300,000 tons in 1912.

The number of looms in the textile factories in Germany rose from 4,200,000 in 1875 to 11,400,000 in 1914, in Great Britain from 41,900,000 (1874) to 56,000,000, an increase of 171 and 34 percent respectively. In other industrial branches, especially in chemistry, the same proportion is to be noted.

The rapid development of German economic life naturally brought great national prosperity, and the German national capital began to exceed that of the English in absolute figures. According to a reliable estimate the figures in 1913 were 15,500,000,000 and 13,000,000,000 pounds sterling. The wealth of England is still 25

percent higher per capita than in Germany; but on the other hand we must bear in mind that Germany has invested her capital at home to a much larger extent.

From the foregoing examples which might easily be multiplied, it is evident, I think, that an economic community with a fabulous power of expansion had arisen by the side of England. There is no doubt but it was to the interest of all mankind that this flourishing development should not be stopped, for it brought forth much good fruit far beyond the borders of its own country. I need not prove in detail that this is true as far as the Netherlands are concerned. Every one who is in the least familiar with economic theories knows that if productive energy, hitherto latent or manifesting itself only imperfectly, finally comes somewhere to full development, the struggle against a deficit in the economic budget of the world (which is based on the exchange of goods and labor) is everywhere promoted. England found in Germany one of her best customers, who by buying 7.8 percent of England's export in 1913, took her place immediately after the British colonies and possessions. Short-sighted people, however, thought differently and in the rise of a new rival saw first of all losses for their own country. Instead of trying by supreme efforts in the lines of industry and commerce to maintain and extend her threatened markets, England strove to obtain her object of safeguarding her preeminence in the economic sphere by checking the possibilities of trade for her competitor. The Merchandise Marks Act of August 23, 1887, which was intended to warn the English buyer against buying German goods imported under English trademarks, had had just the opposite effect, for it then became evident that all sorts of goods, which up to that time had passed as of purely English make, had really come from Germany. In 1896 E. E. Williams published his alarming pamphlet, *Made in Germany*; and a few years later, in 1903, under the strong and suggestive leadership of Chamberlain began the activity of the tariff reformers who endeavored to bring about a closer union between the mother-country and her colonies by offering special inducements in the treatment of imports, and by handicapping foreign competitors, especially Germany.

These attempts have so far suffered defeat in England in three successive elections. But their advocates have won many adherents, for the desire to block German progress has dominated English politics in an increasing measure.

Bismarck at first opposed the plan of a firm colonial policy and found the peaceful establishment of commercial settlements suffi-

cient to secure for the empire a proper share of the trade with those parts of the earth newly opened to traffic. And later, when it became clear that colonies of her own would be, if not the only means to accomplish this purpose, at any rate very efficient ones, Germany found England and France everywhere in her way. In dividing up the still unappropriated regions of the earth, not only England but especially France has greatly enlarged her colonial territory, large as it was before. Tunis (1881), Tonquin and the Congo districts (1884), Senegal (1889-1893), Dahomey and Mauretania (1893), and Madagascar (1896) were added, not to mention smaller territories, although the stationary population of the mother-country is not sufficient to bring about a strong, spontaneous development of the new territory.⁷

In the interest of the peaceful development of the world's trade it would have been desirable if Germany could have secured for herself at that time a considerable part of this great colonial territory, which is not least important for France as a never-failing source for recruiting her army. There now remained for Germany only comparatively small pieces, which on the whole were of very little value. Kiao-chow which has been snatched from her by Japan without any direct connection with the European war, formed a very valuable exception. It was in German possession for about fifteen years, and in that short time developed into a model commercial colony. Since 1901 the volume of trade had increased elevenfold, and in the end it had almost reached that of all the other German colonies put together.

And even where Germany wanted to open up new regions to world-traffic, without any intention of making direct settlements, she experienced the powerful resistance of England and France. One need only think of the long history of the Bagdad railway.

In 1904 the Anglo-French agreement about Africa was concluded. According to its conditions England, fearing that Germany might some day gain a foothold on the other side of Gibraltar, gave her sanction to the active collaboration of France with the Sultan of Morocco in carrying out administrative, economic and military

⁷ The French colonial territory (not counting Algiers, Morocco and the Sahara) according to the latest information comprises an area of 2,800,000 geographical square miles and a population of 34,600,000 inhabitants. The corresponding German figures are 1,000,000 and 12,000,000. The rapid economic development of the German colonies, all acquired within the last thirty years, is evident from the fact that the whole volume of colonial trade had reached 464,500,000 marks in 1912, that of the much larger and older French colonial territory (not including Algiers and Morocco) 1,856,000,000 francs or 1,485,000,000 marks.

reform in that empire in return for the recognition by France of England's actual sovereignty over Egypt. In this settlement no attention was paid to the economic interests which Germany also had in Morocco. Without any question the object was to work as much as possible against the flourishing development of the German empire.

But Germany's spontaneous vitality was stronger than the pressure that hampered her from outside; and when she began to complete her immense continental military power (which has come so conspicuously to the fore in the last months) by building a navy with which to protect her fast growing trade and her shipping interests, a navy of which England could not assert that it had aggressive intentions on account of its moderate size,⁸ Germany began to be systematically hemmed in on all sides and began also both openly and secretly to offer resistance.

Germany has never been imperialistic like England in the sense of striving after an extension of her frontiers and the formation of a world-empire. She desired no increase of territory within Europe, and she knew very well that she could not make any conquests outside of Europe against the will of England. But England cannot permit a rival of equal rank in trade or shipping on the continent, and especially not if that rival happen to possess colonial ambitions. This is evident from English history throughout its entire extent. First, in the sixteenth century, England broke Spain's power by the help of Holland. Then, when Holland had become the first commercial power in Europe there followed the Navigation Act, and from 1652 to 1674 there were three wars between Holland and England which drove Holland forever into the background. After this, the supremacy of the French was curtailed and finally after a series of wars England acquired it for herself on the field of Waterloo.

Now Germany's turn has come, and eventually England may have to settle with Russia, should she emerge victorious from the present struggle. Naturally England would have preferred to obtain her object, to prevent the development of Germany, without war. For this purpose she made use of two kinds of currents hostile to Germany. A glance at the map is sufficient to show that Germany cannot give up Austria-Hungary, the only ally on whom she can count with certainty, and whose twelve millions of German inhabitants make up the largest of her various groups of people. To keep

⁸ Von Tirpitz as well as Von Jagow agreed to Churchill's suggestion that the ratio of battle-ships should be 16:10.

the Danube-Monarchy a strong power, to make sure of her friendship and loyalty, and to support her foreign policy as far as possible: these are really vital interests for Germany. Now, since the Balkan policies of Austria-Hungary and Russia necessarily diverge, the German alliance with Austria was incompatible with fostering closer relations between Germany and the empire of the Czar. Even Bismarck could not be insensible to the logic of that fact; and while he was still chancellor he saw the first French loan of millions of francs on their way to Russia.

It was inevitable that the Russian policy in the Balkans, though directed in the first instance against Austria-Hungary, should react on Russian feeling against Germany,—especially since Russia nursed an old grudge against Germany because the latter nation had failed to consider Russian interests sufficiently at the Berlin congress in 1879. Soon afterward Russia conceived the idea of coming into closer touch with France, who might perhaps be prevailed upon to give up her great riches, which Russia urgently needed for the development of her immense resources, in return for the promise of assistance when she should be ready to take revenge on Germany for the losses of 1870. In 1888 the first Russian loan was arranged with France, and it was soon followed by other and larger ones, so that the amount of Russian bonds in French possession has risen to twenty milliards of francs. As early as 1894 this financial alliance had developed into a political defensive alliance.

England tried to get into connection with both these powers and succeeded first with France. For a moment Fashoda (1898) threatened to bring once more into serious conflict the two countries that had so often contended against each other; but France yielded, and soon after the accession of Edward VII in 1901, the negotiations led to the desired Entente, as became evident to every one in 1904 from the Morocco treaty which put an end to the last differences. In spite of the Doggerbank incident with the Russian Armada (1904) in which England showed remarkable forbearance, the Anglo-Russian treaty concerning Persia (1907) was concluded, though not without opposition from the press, e. g., *The Economist* realized perfectly well whither this policy must eventually lead. In that treaty, Persia,⁹ though with a certain respect for its integrity, was divided into three portions, of which the largest northerly one was recognized as belonging to the Russian sphere of influence, the

southern part fell to the share of England, while the middle one was to serve as a neutral buffer-zone between the two others. This agreement paved the way to the Entente with Russia, concluded during the visit of Edward VII at Reval in 1908. Lastly the Balkan alliance lately formed under the lead of Russia was bound to neutralize the influence of Austria-Hungary in the Balkans and to weaken the prestige of that empire, and, indirectly, of Germany as well.

Thus Germany was driven into a dangerous position which, like overpressure on the safety-valve of a steam-engine, could not but lead to an explosion. A state with such strong natural power of expansion in the economic sphere cannot be pushed back indefinitely without fighting.

Certainly Germany has been a sincerely peace-loving nation throughout the reign of William II. The government knew very well that in order to reap the fruits of her tremendous economic efforts the country required peace and tranquillity first of all, and so they acted accordingly.

But of course the empire had to maintain her place as a great power with all the authority to which she could lay claim. And the blunt honesty—not always as tactful as it might be—of her sometimes gruff behavior and harsh words, could easily create the impression that Germany was not averse to war. Thus in his famous speech at the city hall of Vienna in 1908, the emperor referred to the Niebelung faith of Germany in coming to her ally's aid in shining armor and guarding her from danger, at the time when Russia was threatening to make a *casus belli* out of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, although this was but the natural outcome of thirty years of valuable civilizing labor whose success is clear to every one who will compare the present condition of these regions with that of Servia, also born at the Berlin congress. Another instance occurred in 1911, when the French method of putting in practice the policy of the open door—established in the Algeciras Treaty, but further restricted between France and Germany in 1909—led to the Agadir incident and the more exact agreement of November 1911. But when in 1913 Austria-

four years, though we must not forget that only one third of the *Wehrbeitrag* (1913) had been paid when the war broke out. This contribution amounted in full to a milliard marks and was meant to cover the expenses of Austria-Hungary's loss of strength through recent events in the Balkans. The second third, according to section 51 of the act, was due by February 15, 1915, and the third by February 15, 1916. Therefore, Germany certainly was not quite as prepared as she ought to have been for the emergency of a possible war on one or more frontiers; but no more were the other powers. However, to be ready for war and to be eager for war are two very different things. Had Germany really been eager for war, how is it that she let slip the favorable opportunity furnished by the Fashoda incident, or the Russian revolution after the war with Japan, during which, moreover, she even protected Russia's western frontier against Austria? Indeed, Germany's fundamental love of peace cannot be doubted, and the same feeling certainly existed also in other quarters. But since England with the co-operation of France and Russia had so intensified even politically the antagonism of economic interests, a settlement by arms was bound to follow sooner or later, though later historians may possibly show that even in July of 1914 there might have been some chance of postponing it for a little while longer.¹⁰ And as soon as the murder at Serajavo had brought the central powers of Europe into a conflict with Russia and with France, her unfortunate ally, it was only a logical conclusion of English policy,¹¹ directed by Sir Edward Grey himself since December 17, 1905, that on August 1 he should refuse (as shown by the English Blue Book, No. 123) to inform Prince Lichnowsky of the conditions under which England would remain neutral, or to make a promise of neutrality in case Belgium's neutrality should be respected and the integrity of France and her colonies guaranteed. This at once brands as untenable the claim that England went to war for the sake of Belgium, which has suffered so severely and was so feebly defended by her allies. It has been asserted that Sir Edward Grey refused the expected an-

¹⁰ Of course there can be no question that Germany could have avoided the war at that time had she wished to do so *at any price!* For this end, it is true,—as simple-minded people believed—all that would have been necessary would be to have declared in Vienna that now with Russia threatening to interfere by force if the Serbian ultimatum were not withdrawn, Germany's assistance must not be relied upon, and that perhaps the possibility of an armed action together with Russia might even be expected!!

¹¹ A conclusion for which three members of the English cabinet, Morley (the biographer of Cobden and Gladstone, "honest John" as he is called in England), Trevelyan (the biographer of Bright) and Burns, the former leader of the labor party, refused to take the responsibility.

swer because he knew that the German ambassador did not at the time speak on behalf of his government but in his own name. This way of putting it seems to me psychologically unsound. On the contrary Sir Edward Grey might easily have made a promise of neutrality containing whatever conditions he thought necessary, while reserving for himself the privilege of taking any final decision which might prove necessary or desirable in case the ambassador should be denied by his government.

Thus the conflict between the two nations is based upon the deeply rooted antagonism between their interests. It has, moreover, been proved by a remarkable letter written on July 30, 1914, by M. de L'Escaille, the Belgian ambassador at St. Petersburg, to his government, but intercepted and published by Germany without its genuineness being ever denied, that the assurance Russia had received that England would side with France, was considered decisive and did much to increase the influence of the war party in Russia. If these things are duly considered, I think we may say that it is the quarrel between Germany and England that was at the very root of the conflict which has since assumed such great dimensions. From the agreement made in London that no separate peace should be concluded, it is evident that England has taken the political lead in this war. For her the issue is the unabated maintenance of her supremacy and the further extension of her colonial empire; for Germany the issue is therefore above all, to break the English spell in order to gain recognition on equal terms with England as a great power in world politics and to put an end to England's uncontested lordship of the seas.

Can we then believe that it is in the interest of the small states, particularly those with large colonial possessions, for the German empire to be vanquished and all counterpoise against British domination to be thereby annihilated for the near future? Can we believe that the United States is a match for England and her eastern ally? On the other hand no one can imagine such a complete victory of the central powers that England would lose her place as a great power. And we may suppose that Germany has come to realize sufficiently well how valuable in facilitating the defense of her own frontiers is a circle of really independent neutral small states.

In my opinion the manner in which the war is being conducted is in perfect harmony with the view of the root of the quarrel here presented. While England has left the fighting for the most part to her allies for the present, she has set herself the task of exhausting the economic power of Germany. From the very begin-

ning of the war, she proceeded in various ways to carry out this purpose: by cutting the German cable; by forbidding her subjects under severe penalty to carry on any business with the Germans or to pay them any money; by enforcing prize courts, although we may be sure that England herself will be the first to abolish the custom if she loses her supremacy at sea; by hampering commerce in various ways with utter disregard for the rights of non-combatants and neutral nations; by extending the list of contraband goods far beyond the limits acknowledged by international law. To my mind it is such measures as these which have caused many sincerely neutral persons in Scandinavia, Holland and elsewhere to sigh, "If only the building of the German navy had progressed at a quicker rate and on a larger scale!" The London *Economist* did not go too far when it complained in its issue of January 16, 1915, that the international law of naval warfare could be called nothing but a "rag."

Moreover, England has taken a number of measures with the intention of winning for herself that share in the world's commerce which Germany loses, and if possible even more, and to banish Germans from English business life in so far as they had gained a footing in it. I will only mention here the release of English employers from their contracts toward German employees; the cancelling, for the duration of the war, of patent rights acquired by Germans in England; and an officially organized system of instruction about trademarks and packings in which the Germans had been so successful in the markets of the world.

It is not my task to pass judgment on this conduct nor to answer the question whether England will not soon realize that by her own actions she has thus cut off her nose to spite her face and has damaged very important English interests. Will the policy of a British life insurance company meet with the same confidence abroad after the war as heretofore, when it becomes evident that payments due from it to citizens of a hostile country are now kept back? Heretofore a "bill on London" bearing reliable endorsements was worth its face value in gold in international trade, because it was known that the amount would be paid down in gold when due. Will not this mode of exchange, which has been so popular that London has been until now the first clearing-house of the world, have lost some of its attraction after the war, for the reason that England now refuses to meet its bills of exchange if subjects of a hostile country have had a share in the transaction upon which the claim is based?

We might continue to ask questions of this sort; but it is worth noting that now after half a year of war its chief object, the exhaustion of Germany, does not begin to be even dimly in sight. This seems to me to be a new and striking proof of the enormous development of economic life in that country. Formerly it was often thought that a modern war could not possibly last long, especially one involving five great powers and four smaller ones. I have never shared this view, though we cannot easily imagine a war of the magnitude of the present one lasting for thirty years or even for seven. In my article in the September issue of the Dutch *Ekonomist*, I have termed the possible duration of the war rather a question of national psychology than of national economy. And this is still my opinion, in which I have been confirmed by later experience, unless the new phase of the war, started a few days ago in the Irish sea, whereby Germany has turned against its originator a plan of war first adopted by England, should seriously threaten or entirely cut off the imports to England. In this case the war might rapidly come to an end for economic reasons.¹²

As a matter of fact there is not the slightest danger of starving out Germany. For a time, to be sure, there will be a change in her methods of food-supply. It is certainly true that Germany gets about half of her wheat from abroad and barley in still larger proportion. But these facts are met by some others: first, by the fact that the per capita consumption of wheat and rye in Germany is about fifty percent higher than in England, whereas the consumption of meat is about the same in both countries. This is due to the fact that large quantities of rye are used for cattle-feeding in Germany. If necessary the quantity of grain available for bread could be increased by butchering cattle from time to time and smoking the meat, and this would also increase the supply of meat for consumption. Moreover, Germany is the chief sugar-importing country of Europe; and now that England, the largest buyer of German sugar, refuses it, the domestic consumption of this excellent food can increase in Germany, and inferior qualities (molasses) can be used for cattle-feeding. Lastly one must consider that huge quantities of barley are regularly used in breweries. If necessary the quantities of grain available for other purposes can also be increased by restricting the production of beer.¹³

¹² In this connection it is food for thought that at the mere announcement of a German submarine war against merchant vessels the British admiralty, without regard to neutral interests, thought it necessary to advise shipping companies to continue their sailings—but under a false flag!

¹³ This restriction has since been ordered.

Certainly no one can deny that the war puts tremendously heavy burdens and gigantic losses on the central powers of Europe as well. In my article in the *Ekonomist*, mentioned above, I ventured to find the economic significance of the war in the fact that it is a sudden, forced shifting of a very large part of the productive energy of the countries involved in it in the direction of a production of ideal possessions for which the struggle is being fought,—a production which, as long as mankind knows no other means of obtaining the object of the war, is only possible at the sacrifice of the cost of production of a very special kind and of tremendous amount. The expenses, as far as they can be covered by money, are borne in the first place by that portion of the income of the people which the nation is able and willing to spare for this purpose for some time. This portion is very large in England and in France, but certainly no less in Germany, where the whole nation is firmly convinced that it is engaged in a war of self-defense forced upon it from outside, in which its position as a great power is at stake. The average income of the German people, according to Dr. Helfferich, has risen from 445 marks per capita in 1896 to 642 marks in 1913. There can be no doubt that it is now greatly reduced by the war, but even a large portion of the revenue of 1896 will be available for the state should necessity demand it. Suppose that the difference between these two figures can be sacrificed temporarily in the service of the fatherland, this would make about 14,000,000,000 marks, an amount naturally increased by the value of the requisitions in the newly occupied territories, in so far as these are paid only provisionally by vouchers that do not need to be redeemed until after the war. Moreover in all countries the war is carried on by all sorts of credit, by drafts on the future, which will press heavily on the economic life of the nation after the conclusion of peace, whatever the issue of the war may be. Germany is well prepared to liquidate this credit. The Reichsbank has a far larger reserve of gold than the Bank of England (108,000,000 as against 69,000,000 pounds sterling at the close of January, 1915).¹⁴ I think there is no doubt that Germany will be able to carry on the war (the immediate costs of which are estimated at about 7,000,000,000 marks a quarter), at least for one year without there being any question of exhaustion.

If exhaustion should come at some future day, will Germany

¹⁴ Even taking into account the gold-reserve of the private banks in England and the amount still in circulation in Germany, the balance is very probably in favor of Germany. However, Germany's allies are much weaker in this respect than are England's.

be the only country to feel it? Will not France and Russia fall victims to it, where rich industrial districts have been occupied by the enemy for months past?¹⁵ Especially in Russia is an early exhaustion more probable than in Germany. During the winter Russia is entirely cut off from the outer world, including her allies. Railway communication via the north of Sweden (now closed for the transportation of war material) and via Vladivostock are quite insufficient for the needs of this great empire, and transportation by way of Archangel is available only in the warmer season and has also but a very limited capacity. The economic preparation for the war was much more incomplete in Russia. Her isolation from the world's intercourse is of advantage to Russia in so far as she can now apply her harvests (unsatisfactory in 1914) entirely to her own purposes, whereas in normal times they were used for the most part to pay the interest on the foreign debts of the nation. But England, that up to this time had not been one of the creditors of the Czar's empire, placed 12,000,000 pounds sterling at its disposal as early as December, 1914, for the payment of the Russian January coupons. Nor should it be forgotten that the internal conditions of Russia are never safe. She is the only country where the social democrats have not voted the war loans desired. It was therefore a wise precaution to prohibit alcoholic drinks at the beginning of the war, a measure that has apparently been well carried out. But this prohibition cost the empire a revenue estimated at 936,000,000 rubles for 1914.

No doubt—though England has been warned from an authoritative quarter not to expect an early exhaustion of Germany's financial resources—the expenses of the war are immense. The estimates of the direct and indirect costs to all the belligerent countries together (including the losses in trade and industry) vary from 30,000,000,000 (Wolf) to 51,000,000,000 guilders (Guyot)¹⁶ per half year [\$12,000,000,000 to \$20,400,000,000]. These are figures of whose gigantic size we shall perhaps get the clearest idea

¹⁵ A remarkable view (a symptom too that the comparative distribution of the advantages and drawbacks of the war was no longer left to Count Witte) is contained in a letter from the French correspondent of the English *Economist* in the issue of January 26, 1915. Some figures he gives concerning the great reduction in the yield of French taxes and in the volume of French trade in 1914 go, in his opinion, to prove "how enviable is the position of Great Britain in comparison to that of France.... All over France," he complains, "the workers are gone, and in many departments every kind of commercial and industrial activity is at an end, while the transport service is seriously disorganized. Moreover Germany was one of France's best customers."

¹⁶ His estimate includes the capitalized value of the human lives lost.

if I place beside them the fact that the costs of the whole European railway system including all construction-work—tunnels, viaducts, bridges—and stations, amounted to 66,000,000,000 guilders at the end of 1912 [\$26,400,000,000]. And the end is not yet in sight.

This world-war, whatever its end may be, will certainly press heavily on economic life for years. The mere fact that the payment of its expenses is for the most part put off till after the close of the war must lead to this result, as I have just said. I for my part cannot believe in a rapid recovery of the world's economics immediately after such tremendous breaches have been made in the male population of the most efficient periods of life, and in the available capital which has suffered from the destruction of buildings, railways, fields, horses, etc., and from the one-sided and gigantic increase in the consumption of war-materials of every kind.

It might be different if war materials did not have to be replaced. But is there the very remotest prospect of this? Certainly we Dutch people are better situated in this respect than the nations engaged in the war, if we can continue to prevent the spread of the world-conflagration to our territory; but we too are hard hit by the fact that a large part of our best customers abroad will be immensely impaired in their buying powers. I must confess that what of all the consequences of the war disquiets me most is the reaction it will, in my opinion, have on the size and distribution of the national resources for some years after peace has been concluded. Hard times, socially and economically, are before us.

For the rest, I do not propose to enlarge now on the consequences of the war. Reflections on this topic necessarily bear a very speculative character as nothing whatever can be said with certainty about the duration of the war or the circumstances under which it will end. There are well meaning patriots who even now dream and write of a European federation, founded on the principle of nationality, that shall emerge as a welcome result of this conflict. If the realization of such an idea should come to pass the most far-reaching economic consequences would be bound to ensue. But the attainment of this ideal presupposes the dissolution of Russia and Austria-Hungary (since both states are conglomerates of many nationalities), entailing complete exclusion of Austria-Hungary from access to the sea, and important changes in the boundaries of these countries, and of the Balkan States, Italy, Germany, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Denmark. Its realization demands single-hearted collaboration in the service of the higher interests of civilization on the part of those nations at present separated by abysses

of hatred which can only be bridged after the strenuous exertion of the best efforts of all countries for many long years. This ideal is so far removed from all reality that I forego the task of pointing out the enormous practical difficulties with which it would be confronted at he outset.

Let me say only this in conclusion. Could the peace that is bound to come some day be one not of negative character only (non-war), but—as in 1866—a substantial and positive one—a peace which from the nature of the conditions imposed and accepted would pave the way to a better understanding between at least some of the belligerents; a peace which would not constitute an immediate new danger to European safety by reducing Germany to the boundaries she had before 1870 or even narrower ones; a peace, finally, which by abolishing prize courts and establishing a balance of power at sea so urgently needed by the smaller states as well would contain in it the germ of a limitation of armaments which would only then be possible—then the night of terror that humanity is at present living through would prove, though after a wearisome period of transition, to be the herald of a morn full of promise.

IN REPLY TO MR. CHARLES T. GORHAM.

BY JOHANNES MATTERN.

MR. Chas. T. Gorham has seen fit to write a "few lines in reply to Mr. Johannes Mattern's article in *The Open Court* for December." In his "few lines," as they appeared in the April number of *The Open Court*, he has proved that he does not deserve the serious attention which I gave to his original article of September last and, what is more regrettable yet, that he is not capable of appreciating my rather too friendly criticism of his untenable assertions concerning the attitude of the Belgian civilians and their treatment by the Germans. I shall therefore in this instance proceed against his "few lines" without the former restraint. I shall, so to speak, don the mittens instead of kid gloves.

In his article of September, 1915, Mr. Gorham made the unqualified assertion that "before the entry of the Germans into Belgium orders had been given in every town, village and district of that country that all arms were to be delivered up to the authorities," that "the evidence shows that these orders were faithfully complied with," that "the fact of the official order to deliver up arms and the compliance therewith show that no forcible resistance by non-combatants was sanctioned or contemplated," and that "the evidence proves that none took place." He even called the German claim that the burning of houses and the killing of civilians had been retributive for the franc-tireur warfare of the Belgians "base and cowardly lies by which they [the Germans] have sought to excuse. . . . that. . . . deliberate, cold-blooded cruelty, unprovoked by the individuals against whom it is manifested." However, when in the December number of *The Open Court* I proved by the *sworn* testimony as found in about 80 depositions of German soldiers and officers; by the testimony of U. S. Lieutenant-Colonel Emerson, to whom the Belgians of Louvain themselves admitted the folly of their wholesale attack on the unsuspecting Germans; by the testi-

mony of the anti-German correspondent of the *New York World*, Alexander Powell who, in his book *Fighting in Flanders*, describes the attack of a furious mob in Ghent upon two German soldiers who were saved from the *Belgian bullet* only by the prompt interference of Powell and the U. S. Consul; by the testimony of a number of Belgian newspapers writing of "the wave of heroism" that "animates the souls" of the "youths and grown men" whom "one meets on the roads," armed as they are "with old muskets. . . . shotguns. . . . revolvers," describing how the "citizens, like madmen, shot at the invaders from the roofs and windows of their houses" and how "even women took part in the shooting"—when I thus from German, neutral and Belgian sources proved beyond a shadow of a doubt that the Belgian civilians did *not* "faithfully comply with the orders to deliver up arms," that *instead*, they were well supplied with them and that they *have made* ample use of their muskets, shotguns, revolvers—I had of course swept Mr. Gorham completely off his feet. For, not with one word does he now repeat his former assertions, but, reversing the premises, he now, with bold face, exclaims that "the inhabitants of an invaded country have a natural right to resist by every means in their power," that "this right has been more or less clearly recognized by all civilized nations," and that "no nation has recognized it so explicitly as Germany." And to prove his new point he goes back to the Prussian *Landsturm* law of 1813. According to Gorham, "article 1 of this law, which—as he claims—has never been repealed, runs thus: 'every citizen is required to oppose the invader with *all the arms* at his disposal, and to prejudice him *by all available means*,' and article 39 says: 'The *Landsturm* will not wear uniforms, in order that it may not be recognizable.'"

Mr. Gorham's quotations of articles 1 and 39 are substantially correct, but his statement, that they have never been repealed is *substantially* false. Does Mr. Gorham himself actually believe, and does he think that he can make his American readers believe, that the Prussian *Landsturm* was called out in 1914, in accordance with the "unrepealed" *Landsturm* law of 1813 to resist the late Russian invasion of Eastern Prussia, that this *Landsturm* in 1914 fought the Russians *without uniforms*, that "every citizen" of Prussia was "required to" and did "oppose" the Russians in Eastern Prussia with *all the arms* at his disposal," and did "prejudice" them "*by all available means*"? Hardly!

For the benefit of those who care to have the facts and nothing but the facts I shall state here what Mr. Gorham must know and no

doubt does know, namely, that a year after the creation of the *Landsturm*, Prussia, through the law of September 13, 1814, made the *Landsturm* an integral part of its military system, subjecting to it all *men* 17 to 50 years old not already included in the standing army and the *Landwehr*; that by the law of November 9, 1867, the age limit was reduced from 50 to 42 years for the North German Federation; that the law of February 12, 1875, applied the *Landsturm* regulations for the entire German empire; that the same law of 1875 has given the *Landsturm* a military organization with the intention of placing it within the sphere of international law; that according to the same law the *Landsturm* be called only in case the country is threatened by foreign invasion and that it [the *Landsturm*] *must* bear *insignia* (*Abzeichen*) recognizable by the enemy (see *Militär-Lexikon* of J. Castner, Leipsic, 1882).

This law of 1875 reserves and acknowledges a right essentially the same as that formulated in article 2 of the Hague Convention of 1899 and 1907 to the effect that "the population of a territory which has not been occupied, who, on the enemy's approach, spontaneously take up arms to resist the invading troops without having time to organize themselves in accordance with article 1, shall be regarded as belligerents if they respect the laws and customs of war."

Mr. Gorham who first denied any resistance of Belgian civilians now seems intent on justifying such resistance by this article, which, however, he does not quote nor mention. Only on this supposition can he ask the question, "Who says it was unlawful for the Belgians to defend their homes and families?" And yet, when he adds that "it was no violation of mutually understood rights, but... (if it occurred) a violation of an unwritten military usage which has not even the sanction of German military law," one must doubt if he thought or even knew of article 2 of the Hague convention of 1899 and 1907.

In order to answer his question why it "was unlawful for the Belgians to defend their homes and families" one need point out only two reasons: (1) article 2, as quoted above, specifically stipulates that such resistance by civilians is justified only in regions *not* occupied by the enemy and that attacks by Belgian civilians on German troops have taken place in localities where occupation by the Germans had been accomplished days before, as for instance in Louvain; (2) the findings presented by the Belgian Royal Commission to President Wilson at Washington, September 16, 1914, contains the following passage: "From the beginning of the invasion

of its territory by German troops, the Belgian government had posted each and every day, in all the towns, and the papers have each day repeatedly printed, instructions warning the non-combatant civilians not to offer any resistance to the troops and soldiers invading the country." This assertion stamps as "against the law," that is, as "unlawful," the resistance of the Belgian civilians even where it took place in unoccupied regions, i. e., while occupation was in progress.

These "unlawful" attacks of Belgian civilians *during* and *after* the occupation of their territory the Germans have—as I conceded in December, and as I concede again to-day—answered and stopped by means of "relentless" retribution. Mr. Gorham takes exception to the word "relentless." He thinks the retribution should have been merely "just." Does Mr. Gorham expect the German regiments storming a village in which the citizenry, lawfully or unlawfully, offers resistance to cease storming at once and courteously go from house to house asking which one of the members of the household did shoot or desires to shoot at them, so that they may shoot back at those and no others? Does Mr. Gorham expect that in a case where, as at Louvain, a treacherous assault by the civilians was launched *after* occupation against the unsuspecting Germans, the soldiers so attacked would ceremoniously arrest the culprits and in the meantime let the rest of their troops stand at attention to give a sure aim to other civilians looking for what they may kill? No, Mr. Gorham! The Germans had their first experience with this kind of franc-tireur warfare in 1870 and 71, and this experience has taught them to be prepared to meet its repetition in Belgium and elsewhere. It can be met only by "relentlessly" shooting and bayonetting every one who offers resistance in any form and by burning the barns, houses and churches from which such resistance is offered. If such "relentless" retribution is cruelty, if its consequences are the atrocities of which the Germans have been accused and which, according to Gorham, the German conception of warfare involves and excuses—then, I think, Germany's apologists can well afford to let their client plead guilty. But when unsworn, unnamed, would-be witnesses under high pressure of inquisitorial commissions charge the Germans with transfixing little girls, with cutting off the heads, hands and feet of little children, with mutilating pregnant women, with violating *en masse* mothers, grandmothers and great-grandmothers, girls, grown and little, and that with the consent and under the leadership of officers, when there can be found human beings stupid enough to believe any and every one of these

unspeakably shameful allegations, then it is high time that the thinking part of the world pass judgment on these infernal concoctions produced either by an insanity born of hatred or by hatred born of insanity. And the thinking world has indeed passed its judgment. It regards these official and unofficial reports of the allied atrocity mongers as a well-calculated, miserable swindle and even the "saving remnant" of England openly and frankly confess that this judgment is correct. In my article of December last I quoted for instance Macdonald's and Toulmin's statements to that effect, but Mr. Gorham "discreetly passes them over in silence." In fact, none less than the inquisitorial Bryce commission itself seems to concede that it does not care to vouch for the truth of the allegations nor for the so-called evidence to support them. What else could be the construction to be placed upon the fact that the Bryce commission submits its findings not as a report of evidence regarding outrages *committed*, but as "a report upon the evidence which has been submitted to them regarding outrages alleged to have been committed by the German troops. . . ." Still, Mr. Gorham admits that he attaches "to this [unsworn, nameless] Bryce report a credence" which he "should not give to pro-German assertions" and, while doing so, is of such a "peculiar frame of mind" that he "fails to understand why Mr. Mattern should accept German evidence [in form of affidavits of soldiers and officers under oath and with record of name and rank] against Belgians, while rejecting Belgian evidence [of the character as found in the Bryce report] against the Germans"! Mr. Gorham: *Habeas tibi!*

Reversing the premises and muddling the issue are the two ignominious tricks usually resorted to by would-be logicians when driven into a tight corner. Having convicted Mr. Gorham of the former I shall now proceed to prove him guilty of the other. Mr. Gorham writes: "Mr. Mattern considers that a quotation from *The New Statesman* (dating prior to the publication of the Bryce report) in which a general scepticism as to atrocity stories is recommended 'disposes of the myth' of certain incidents detailed in the report." Now the facts are these: In my article of December I had quoted *two* passages from the same article of *The New Statesman* of January 30, 1915. The one passage contained a general warning against atrocity stories, the other ridiculed and denied point blank the existence of the "Belgian child *sans* hand and *sans* feet," that had been shipped in "train-loads to Paris and in boat-loads to London." Referring to and citing the latter quotation denying the existence of the "Belgian child *sans* hands and *sans* feet" I claimed

then, and again claim now, that "thus *The New Statesman*, more effectively than a thousand sworn denials could have done, disposes of the myth of the 'Belgian child *sans* hands and *sans* feet,'" and that thus "likewise, it disposes just as effectfully of the baby-killing related in document *a 33*" and of similar incidents, as for instance the bayonetting and lancing of little girls as related by Mr. Gorham and in Le Qeux's *German Atrocities*. However, Mr. Gorham, while holding to and criticising the second part of my statement, substitutes for my reference to the second passage of the quotation from *The New Statesman* the citation from the first passage containing the general warning against atrocity stories. By means of this manipulation he does indeed produce a version to which I would not care to attach my name. I shall let the reader judge of Gorham's motive for this as well as the former sample of literary acrobatics!

Mr. Gorham further quotes a passage from *The New Statesman* of January 8, 1916, in which this English journal seems to recant its warning against atrocity stories of a year ago. Strange to say though, even here in the passage from the issue of January 8, 1916, *The New Statesman* is cautious enough to give as authority for its apparent change of front *not* the Bryce report, but "the greater part of the English press"!

Mr. Gorham refers to the "Kaiser's exhortations to 'frightfulness,'" to the "order of General Stenger"; he claims that "the innumerable demands of German publicists for relentless punishment of all who dare to resist Germany, cannot be supposed to have had no effect upon the German armies." His reference to the "Kaiser's exhortations to 'frightfulness'" must be repudiated until he brings trustworthy authorities for them, that is, authorities other than the *London Times*, the *Saturday Review*, the *Literary Guide*, and their kind. The much talked-of order of General Stenger as "quoted" (?) by Bédier in his *Les crimes allemands* is nothing but a conjecture, and the fact that Bédier has attached to it the names of its supposed signatories constitutes Bédier's undertaking as an act of falsification of documentary evidence. Even Bédier himself admits that "no doubt" he "cannot produce the autograph of General Stenger" and

“construed” this order of General Stenger and that its form as given “may be possibly incomplete or altered”!¹

Gorham’s reference to the “innumerable demands of German publicists for relentless punishment of all who dare to resist Germany” and his claim that these demands “cannot be supposed to have had no effect upon the German armies” are again assertions unsupported by sources and evidence. Interesting in this connection should be even to Mr. Gorham what his own countrymen think of “relentless” warfare when England does the warring. The *German Information Service*, a daily news bulletin formerly issued by M. B. Claussen of New York for the dissemination of reliable news, quotes in the issue of May 6, 1915 the following items from the British trades union organ *The Labour Leader*:

“In an interview in 1910 to his friend, the late Mr. W. T. Stead, Lord Fisher, the first sea lord, declared: ‘The humanizing of war! If I am in command when war breaks out I shall issue as my orders: The essence of war is violence. Moderation in war is imbecility. Hit first, hit hard and hit everywhere.’

“It was not a German who wrote, ‘The worst of all errors in war is a mistaken spirit of benevolence.’ It was an equally well known British military writer, Major Stewart Murray.

“It was not a German who wrote: ‘The proper strategy consists in the first place of inflicting as terrible blows as possible upon the enemy’s army and then in causing the inhabitants so much suffering that they must long for peace and force their government to demand it.’ It was a well-known British military critic, Dr. Miller Maguire.”

In my concluding sentence I had paraphrased a “wise” word attributed to Anatole France and I had expressed the hope that the Germans “may [as Anatole France says] succeed in murdering—or as I would [and did] express it—in abolishing war.” This Mr. Gorham thinks “illustrates” my “mentality” inasmuch as it is “an implication that extreme severity in war is the speediest method of abolishing war.” I consider it hardly worth while to haggle with a Mr. Gorham over a mere case of interpretation. Assuming that his interpretation of my expression of hope were correct I

would certainly be revealed in Mr. A. Maurice Low's dictum found in the March, 1915, number of the *National Review*. "The business of a nation," so Low wrote, "is to crush its enemy, and no distinction can be made. The innocent have to suffer, but that is inevitable. War is hell."

Mr. Gorham asks, "what were the Germans doing in Belgium at all?" and he charges that "Mr. Mattern looks with equanimity upon their insolent and treacherous invasion of a weak state whose integrity they were pledged to defend." My reply is that in charging me as he does Mr. Gorham betrays a considerable amount of insolence himself. How does he know how I look at the invasion of Belgium if, as he can easily verify, I did not express myself one way or the other on this subject? That I did not do so then and that I shall not do so now is due to the one reason that I must refuse to answer such a question in a mere sentence of two and that in order to treat this issue adequately and exhaustively I would have had to transgress the scope of the former article and that of this final reckoning with Mr. Gorham. However I take great pleasure in calling Mr. Gorham's attention to a book on this subject, just published by two of his countrymen, C. P. Sanger, of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister at Law, and H. T. J. Norton, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. This book is entitled: *England's Guarantee to Belgium and Luxemburg*, and in it the authors come to the only possible conclusion that "from all the evidence it is clear that in the past [that is, previous to 1914, namely in 1870 and 1887] the British government has not considered that the treaty of 1839 imposed a binding obligation to go to war with any power which infringed the neutrality of Belgium." In this same book are quoted an article by one "Diplomaticus," which appeared in the *Standard* of July 4, 1887 and a leader of the *Standard* of the same date, commenting on the subject broached by its correspondent. Both agreed that in 1887 Britain should not go to war if during the expected Franco-German war either party invaded Belgium. Both agreed that England threatened intervention in 1870 only because in 1870 such threat was cheap inasmuch as there was absolutely no danger of either France or Prussia crossing into or marching through Belgium. The *Standard* for instance wrote: "On the declaration of war by France against Prussia in 1870, Earl Granville, as we all know, with more promptness and decision than he usually displayed, sought to secure respect for Belgian territory by notifying that should either combatant ignore the neutrality secured to it by public treaty England would side actively with the other combatant. It

may be said, why cannot the same course be pursued once more, in the event of a similar condition of affairs coming into play? The answer is that a similar condition of affairs no longer exists. . . . Neither combatant was much tempted to do so [to violate Belgian soil in 1870]; and thus the engagement assumed by England—a very proper one at the time—was not very serious or onerous, and saved appearances rather than created responsibility. Now [in 1887] the position is entirely changed. If England, with a view to securing respect for Belgian territory, were to bind itself, as in 1870, to throw its weight into the balance against either France or Germany, should either France or Germany violate Belgian ground, we might, and probably should, find ourselves involved in a war of giants on our own account. We think that 'Diplomaticus' understands the English people when he hints his suspicions that such a result would be utterly alien alike to their wishes and to their interests. For, over and above the fact that, as we have seen, the temptation to violate Belgian territory by either side is much greater [in 1887] than it was in 1870, the relations of England with the European powers have necessarily and naturally undergone considerable modification during that period. We concur with our correspondent [Diplomaticus] in the opinion he expresses that for England and Germany to quarrel, it matters not upon what subject, would be [in 1887] highly injurious to the interests of both. . . . Would the violation of Belgian territory, whether by Germany or France, be such an injury to our honor and such a blow to our interests? It might be so in certain circumstances, and it would assuredly be so if it involved a permanent violation of the independence of Belgium. But as 'Diplomaticus' ingeniously suggests, there is all the difference in the world between the momentary use of a 'right of way,' even if the use of the right of way be, in a sense, wrongful, and the appropriation of the ground covered by the right of way. . . ."

Diplomaticus, as the *Standard* says, "speaks with high authority," and the *Standard* itself was the organ of the conservative party then in power in England.

Now I ask Mr. Gorham, and for that matter all the Gorhams in England and America, how could Germany's demand for the right of way and her forcing of the way through Belgium in 1914 be "insolent and treacherous," if in 1887 the British government through the mouth of its organ, the *Standard*, admitted that the demand for a temporary right of way and the forcing of the way through Belgium would not have constituted a violation of the

treaty of guarantee of 1839 and when, as Sanger and Norton concede, "it is true that in 1887 Great Britain would not have considered it obligatory to try to prevent Germany from sending troops through Belgium?" How could it be so, unless Great Britain in 1887 was ready and willing to approve of as legitimate what it now pleases her to decry as "insolent and treacherous"?

In answer to Mr. Gorham's question how I "explain away the evidence of the German diaries, photographs of which are given?" I again plead that a critical examination of this kind of "evidence" would make up a pamphlet in itself. In a letter to the editor of *The Open Court*, accompanying the manuscript of the article of December last I expressed the hope that I soon would be able to give my attention to the "German war diaries." I have since carefully studied Bédier's *German Atrocities from German Evidence* (*Les crimes allemands. . .*) and I have had occasion to read Dr. Max Kuttner's and Karl Larsen's annihilating expositions of Bédier's tendentious mistranslations, omissions, additions, changes of punctuation and the like. Of Bédier's *opus* there can be but one opinion: it is absolutely worthless as evidence. I shall cite one case of many.

Bédier reproduces what purports to be part of the diary of private Z. . . . whoever that be, and he translates as follows (given here in B. Harrison's English translation):

"Last night, a man of the *Landwehr*, a man of thirty-five, and a married man, tried to rape the daughter [in the supposed German original: *die noch junge Tochter*; in Bédier's French translation: *fillette* = little girl, instead of *jeune fille* = young girl or daughter] of a man in whose house he had been quartered, she was a child [here Harrison follows Bédier's tendentious mistranslation]; and as the father tried to interpose he kept the point of his bayonet on the man's breast."

Here ends Harrison's English translation because Bédier's French translation of the supposed German text ends here too. However, the photographic reproduction of the supposed section of the diary continues thus: "*Hält man so etwas für möglich? Doch der sieht der gerechten Strafe entgegen.*" "Is such a thing possible? But he is facing his just punishment." Why did Bédier suppress these two sentences? Because they prove beyond a doubt that the act charged against this soldier was condemned by the writer of the diary and was punished by the German military authorities. Of Bédier's *German Crimes from German Evidence* I have said in the *Baltimore Evening Sun* of June 8, 1915, that it defeats its own purpose, that

is, the purpose for which the French professor has sent it into the world. These diaries, mutilated and distorted as they have been, in order to prove that German savagery is approved of and systematized by the military authorities, tend to show the contrary of what they are supposed to establish. They prove, if anything, that the German soldier is quick to reprove, and the German authorities are unrelenting in punishing wrong where it is done or even attempted, as in the case cited. And this is the least one can say of the diaries reproduced in the Bryce report.

Before leaving this subject however I assure Mr. Gorham that a study of Professor Larsen's and Dr. Kuttner's treatment of Bédier's diaries, and especially Kuttner's highly interesting collection from French diaries *in the original*, not in *distorted* translation, will, if he can read French, deprive him of any desire to ever mention diaries again! Other critics of Bédier's *opusculum* are Dr. Paul Wernle, professor of church history at the University of Basel, Switzerland, and Dr. Nils Elis Wadstein, professor of modern European linguistics at the University of Göteborg, Sweden. The latter's exposition of Bédier's *Tendenzschrift* has just appeared in Chicago in the language of the "United States" and will thus serve to disillusion the few "Gorhams" in this country, who, hypnotized by Bédier's name, have heretofore accepted his *German Crimes* in good faith. Still another instructive work in this respect, covering, as it does, a much wider ground, is Dr. Ernst Müller-Meiningen's *Der Weltkrieg 1914-15 und der Zusammenbruch des Völkerrechts. Eine Abwehr- und Anklageschrift gegen die Kriegsführung des Dreiverbandes* (Berlin, Georg Reimer, 1915), which has recently been issued in an English translation under the title: *Who Are the Huns? The Law of Nations and its Breakers....* translated by R. L. Orchelle, Berlin, Georg Reimer (sold at Stechert & Co., New York).

Having consumed much space already I must ignore whatever other items Mr. Gorham's few lines of reply may contain, even at the risk of again being accused of "discreetly passing them over in silence."

In conclusion I move that Mr. Gorham descant on the Baralong "victory." He may be it is a pity that the British fleet was not

SYMPOSIUM ON ERASMUS.

COLLECTED FROM SEVERAL SOURCES.

MARCH 1, 1916, was the four-hundredth anniversary of the publication of the first edition of the New Testament in Greek prepared by Desiderius Erasmus, the "most versatile and most ingenious humanist" and citizen of the world. In the March issue of *The Open Court* we celebrated this anniversary by publishing as frontispiece a reproduction of Holbein's most famous portrait of Erasmus, and the same number contained also an article by Dr. Bernhard Pick on "The Four-Hundredth Anniversary of the Publication of the First Greek New Testament" and one by Mr. C. K. Ogden, of Cambridge, England, on "Desiderius Erasmus and his Significance for the Reformation." There are other phases of interest connected with this earliest of the moderns, a few of which we here group under one general heading.

THE "ENCOMIUM MORIAE" AND HOLBEIN.

Erasmus was born in Rotterdam in 1466 (some authorities state 1465) and came to Basel in 1513 in order to get into touch with the printer Froben. Next to Koberg of Nuremberg and Amerbach of Basel Froben was regarded as the most zealous and inspired disciple of Gutenberg's art. He was the publisher of the *Adagia* (Maxims) of Erasmus, as well as of his edition of the Greek New Testament. The learned scholar was well received by Froben, and during the following year used to come regularly to Basel from his home at Louvain. Later he took up his permanent residence in Basel.

In 1514 Froben published the *Encomium Moriae*, Erasmus's biting and jesting Latin satire with its punning title on the name of his friend, Sir Thomas More. The preface states that this book was written during Erasmus's journeys on horseback and was done to beguile the weariness of the way. A copy of the first

edition containing Holbein's famous pictorial commentary is now preserved in the Basel Gallery. The original drawings were little sketches done with pen on the broad margins of the book, opposite the paragraphs of the text to which they referred.

All that is known of the history of this volume is that it may have belonged at one time to Erasmus himself, or to the printer who used to employ young artists to make drawings, title-pages and other suitable embellishments for books. Among these young struggling artists of that time was Hans Holbein. It is supposed that a copy of the book was lying on the printer's table and fell



ERASMUS WRITING THE
"ADAGIA."



SEARCHING THE SCRIPTURES
Looking for the key of knowledge
and grinding out truth for
others to swallow.

into the hands of Holbein while he was waiting for orders from the printer. Finding the book very amusing, he sketched his comments in pictures as he read the text.

It is thought that the printer showed the drawings to Erasmus who was greatly pleased with the illustrations for in them the meaning of his text finds a fitting artistic echo. It is supposed that

This history of the book is based on the facts that Molitor's ownership is proved by an inscription on the title-page, and that the earlier ownership of Erasmus is established by a second inscription on the second title-page. These inscriptions prove that the marginal illustrations were completed in ten days and that Erasmus derived much entertainment from them.

The book contains annotations in Molitor's handwriting, and from one of them it is learned that the illustrations were done in 1515. The questions as to the original ownership of the volume and who gave the permission to Holbein to make the illustrations is fully discussed in Hes, *Ambrosius Holbein*, pages 83-94. The



THE SYMBOL OF THE HOLY GHOST.

It is the dove and not the eagle.



FOLLY IN CAP AND BELLS.

Addressing her praises to the fools among men.

drawings have been subjected to a searching examination and comparison, and Dr. Hes points out that it is impossible to accept all of them as the work of Hans Holbein. He is inclined to think that the illustrations may have been begun by Holbein in an idle moment in a copy of the book found lying in the printer's office, and that other young artists may have added their sketches until several drawings had been made. The work may then have been shown to Erasmus by Froben and together they may have encouraged Holbein to finish the drawings, which are eighty-two in number. Those which we here reproduce are among those generally recognized to be by Holbein's own hand.

Holbein's originals were copied a number of times, both during his life and afterwards. Some of them verge on the flippant. One of them, representing "the brutish man," shows a young man drinking wine from a bottle and making love to a young woman; and while this drawing is harmless enough in itself, it was the direct occasion of undeserved slander.

It happened that on one of the drawings Holbein has inscribed Erasmus's name, and Erasmus objected because he did not want to be included among the foolish of mankind. To revenge himself on the artist for doing this, Erasmus wrote Holbein's name on the



THE SOVEREIGN.

Said to be King Maximilian.



ALMS-GIVING.

The over-religious man is always foolish in the distribution of charity.

drawing illustrating the young man drinking the wine and flirting with the girl. Poor Holbein never quite recovered from the consequence of this practical joke.

The spiritual affinity between the humanist of mature years and the youthful illustrator eventually developed into a permanent friendship. Erasmus took a personal interest in the lad, let him paint his portrait, and later recommended the restless painter to his friends Peter Aegidius in Antwerp and Thomas More in England. This was in 1526. Holbein's native country had no suitable commission for him, but through Erasmus he made his fortune in England. He portrayed his patron a number of times,

for Erasmus was fond of having pictures of himself made for his friends. In 1524 the latter sent two portraits to England and a third to France—all three by Holbein. Besides these Holbein made the drawing for a woodcut which shows Erasmus in full figure *im Gehäus*, that is, in a rich Renaissance frame. The small circular portrait which we reproduce as our frontispiece was probably painted in 1530, and belongs to the Amerbach collection. It has



THE DEVIL AND ST. BERNARD. The Devil promises that by repeating daily seven verses from the Psalms Heaven may be won.



THE COURTIER PRACTISED IN DISSEMBLING.

"To feign the fool when fit occasions rise,
Argues the being more completely wise."—*Horace*.

always been a favorite subject for copyists. Our reproduction is from E. A. Seemann's series, *Die Galerien Europas*.

LUTHER ON ERASMUS.

Erasmus was before all else a scholar, and was not a man of deep religious feeling. Though in the main well disposed toward the Reformation, he was skeptical and cautious. Ardor and impetuosity such as Luther and Hutten evinced were repugnant to him. He was a clear thinker, skilful satirist, and accomplished author, and yet, though standing very high intellectually, he was indecisive in matters of business. The theologians said that he laid the egg that Luther hatched. Theoretically he went farther than

Luther, but only theoretically, so that consequently his position was somewhat ambiguous. To him the Reformation was as unsatisfactory as the traditions of the orthodox church. He thought for a while that he could gain the friendship and alliance of the reformers, but they were vigorously opposed to anything that was not devout Christianity, and so his attempts at coming to an understanding with Luther naturally and necessarily failed. Erasmus's work is of immense value to New Testament scholars. A man like



THE BIRTH OF WISDOM.

"When Jove went big of Pallas in his brain, he was forced to use the midwifery of Vulcan's axe to ease him of his teeming burden."—*Erasmus*.



KING SOLOMON.

"Folly is joy to him that is destitute of wisdom."—*Proverbs xv. 21.*

Melanchthon was capable of appreciating it, but otherwise Erasmus was regarded as an enemy to the movement and even an infidel. The situation will be best characterized by a few extracts from Luther's *Table Talk*, which we here reprint from Hazlitt's translation.

"Erasmus of Rotterdam is the vilest miscreant that ever disgraced the earth. He made several attempts to draw me into his snares, and I should have been in danger, but that God lent me

special aid. In 1525, he sent one of his doctors, with 200 Hungarian ducats, as a present to my wife; but I refused to accept them, and enjoined my wife to meddle not in these matters. He is a very Caiphaz.

“Qui Satanam non odit, amet tua carmina Erasme,
Atque idem jungat furias et mulgeat orcum.

“Erasmus is very pitiful with his prefaces, though he tries to smooth them over; he appears to see no difference between Jesus Christ our Saviour, and the wise pagan legislator Solon. He sneers



THE FOOL AND THE WISE
MAN.

Fools speak the truth; while the wise man, as Euripides observes, carries a double tongue—the one to speak what may be said, the other what ought to be said.”—*Erasmus.*



THE ASTRONOMER.

“A judicial astrologer pretending to keep correspondence with the stars . . . a presumptuous imposture, yet some, to be sure, will be so great fools as to believe them.”—*Erasmus.*

at St. Paul and St. John; and ventures to say that the Epistle to the Romans, whatever it might have been at a former period, is not applicable to the present state of things. Shame upon thee, accursed wretch! 'Tis a mere Momus, making his mows and mocks at everything and everybody, at God and man, at Papist and Protestant, but all the while using such shuffling and double-meaning terms, that no one can lay hold of him to any effectual purpose. Whenever I pray, I pray for a curse upon Erasmus. . . .

“Erasmus was poisoned at Rome and at Venice with epicurean doctrines. He extols the Arians more highly than the Papists; he ventured to say that Christ is named God but once in St. John, where Thomas says: ‘My Lord and my God.’ His chief doctrine is, we must carry ourselves according to the time, or, as the proverb goes, hang the cloak according to the wind; he only looked to himself, to have good and easy days, and so died like an epicurean, without any one comfort of God.

“This do I leave behind me as my will and testament, where-



CREDULOUS PROSELYTE PRAY-
ING TO ST. CHRISTOPHER.

He invokes protection from danger and misfortunes while journeying.



THE TURK AND HIS GOD.

Like the Christian the Turk worships his own image.

unto I make you witnesses. I hold Erasmus of Rotterdam to be Christ's most bitter enemy. In his catechism, of all his writings that which I can least endure, he teaches nothing decided. Not one word says: Do this, or, do not this; he only therein throws error and despair into youthful consciences. He wrote a book against me, called *Hyperaspites*, wherein he proposed to defend his work on free-will, against which I wrote my *De servo Arbitrio*, which has never yet been confuted, nor will it ever be by Erasmus, for I am certain that what I wrote on the matter is the unchangeable truth

of God: If God live in heaven, Erasmus will one day know and feel what he has done.

"Erasmus is the enemy to true religion, the open adversary of Christ, the complete and faithful picture and image of Epicurus and of Lucian."

Luther appears in these comments in all his narrowness, but it would be a great mistake if we judged Luther from the modern standpoint of breadth. It was because of his very narrowness that Luther was great. If he had not been possessed of that narrow-minded courage he would probably not have taken the stand he did before the Diet of Worms, and would not have been a fit man for his work in history. There he stood and faced very probable death



FOLLY TALKING TO HER
PUPPET.



PENELOPE AT HER LOOM.

on the faggots—the fate which had befallen John Huss. Would he have done the same if he had been as broad-minded as Erasmus? Scarcely. The man needed at the time was Luther with all his childlike faith, who called Copernicus a fool for trying to upset the whole *scientia astronomiae*, and who himself was of a mentality that could see the Devil with horns and hoofs bodily before him.

QUERELA PACIS.¹

"If in courts of judicature the judge will not admit of suits which are frivolous and vexatious; if he will not admit of all sorts

¹ Extract from a rare English translation of Erasmus's "Complaint of Peace" in which Peace speaks, *propria persona*.

of evidence, especially that which arises from a personal pique and resentment, how happens it that in a business of far more consequence to human nature even than courts of judicature, in an affair the most odious and abominable, such as the promoting discord among human creatures and whole neighboring nations, causes the most frivolous and vexatious are freely admitted as competent and valid? Let the lovers of discord and the promoters of bloodshed between nations divided only by a name and a channel rather reflect



THE SOLDIERS OF CHRIST.

The one-armed cap-a-pie, the other with syllogism and arguments; both fighting for tithes and power over the people.



ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST.

Or the Good Shepherd and the Lamb of God.

that this world, the whole of the planet called earth, is the common country of all who live and breathe upon it, if the title of one's country is allowed to be a sufficient reason for unity among fellow countrymen; and let them also remember that all men, however distinguished by political or accidental causes, are sprung from the same parents, if consanguinity and affinity are allowed to be available to concord and peace. If the church also is a subdivision of this one great universal family, a family of itself consisting of all

who belong to that church, and if the being of the same family necessarily connects all the members in a common interest and a common regard for each other, then the opposers must be ingenious in their malice if they can deny that all who are of the same church, the grand catholic church of all Christendom, must also have a common interest, a common regard for each other, and therefore be united in love.

"In private life you bear with some things in a brother-in-law



FORTUNE, THE EMPRESS OF
THE WORLD.

"To wise men she is always stingy and sparing of her gifts, but is profusely liberal and lavish to fools."—*Erasmus*.



ATLAS SUPPORTING THE
WORLD.

"Supporting the Catholic church with the props and pillars of proposition and syllogisms no less effectually than Atlas carries the world on his shoulders."—*Erasmus*.

which you bear with only because he is a brother-in-law; and will you bear with nothing in him who by the tie of the same religion is also a brother? You pardon many little offenses on account of nearness of kindred, and will you pardon nothing on account of an affinity founded in religion? Yet there is no doubt but that the closest possible tie among all the Christian brotherhood is confraternity in Christ.

"Why are you always fixing your attention upon the sore place

where the insult of injury received from a fellow-creature festers and rankles? If you seek peace and ensue it, as you ought to do, you will rather say to yourself: "He hurt me in this instance, it is true; but in other instances he has aften served or gratified me, and in this one he was perhaps incited to momentary wrong by passion, mistake, or by another's impulse." As in the poet Homer the persons who seek to effect a reconciliation between Agamemnon and Achilles



THE SPIRITUAL PRINCE OF ROME.

The Pope does not imitate the humble life of Christ, but "gets himself elected by bribery and holds his seat by pistol, poison, force and violence."—*Erasmus*.

throw all the blame of their quarrel on the Goddess Ate, so in real life offenses that cannot be excused consistently with strict veracity should good-naturedly be imputed to ill-fortune, or, if you please, to a man's evil genius; that the resentment may be transferred from men to those imaginary beings who can bear the load, however great, without the slightest inconvenience.

"Why should men show more sagacity in creating misery than

in securing and increasing the comforts of life? Why should they be more quick-sighted in finding evil than good? All men of sense weigh, consider, and use great circumspection before they enter upon any private business of momentous consequence. And yet they throw themselves headlong into war with their eyes shut, notwithstanding war is that kind of evil which when once admitted cannot be excluded again at will, but usually from a little one becomes a very great one, from a single one multiplies into a complication,



THE CARDINAL.

Some apostolic retainers surpass the magnificence of secular princes.

from an unbloody contest changes to carnage, and at last rises to a storm which does not overwhelm merely one or two, and those the chief instigators to the mischief, but all the unoffending people also, confounding the innocent with the guilty.

“If the poor people of the very lowest order are too thoughtless to consider these things, it can be no excuse for the king and the nobles, whose indispensable duty it is to consider them well; and it is the particular business of the clergy to enforce these pacific

opinions with every argument which ingenuity and learning can derive from reason and religion; to enforce them, I say, and inculcate them on the minds of both the great, vulgar, and the small; 'instantly, in season, and out of season'; whether they 'will bear, or whether they will forbear.' Something will at last stick, if it is incessantly applied; and therefore let the pulpits and conversation of the clergy teach the bland doctrines of peace and love everywhere and always.

"Mortal man! (for so I address thee, even on a throne) dost thou exult at hearing the rumor of an ensuing war? Check thy joy



MEDAL OF ERASMUS IN 1519, WITH HIS *MEMENTO MORI* DEVICE

Obverse.—Bust of Erasmus in profile to left. In the field: ER. ROT. ("Erasmus of Rotterdam"). Legend: IMAGO . AD . VIVA . EFFIGIE . EXPRESSA . THN . KPEITTO . TA . ΣΤΥΠΠΑΜΑΤΑ . ΔΕΙΞΕΙ ("His image modelled to the living features. His writings will represent it better"). Below the bust is the date 1519.

Reverse.—A man's head to left on a cubical boundary stone inscribed, TERMINVS. In the field: CONCEDO NVLLI ("I yield to none"). Legend: OPA . ΤΕΑΟΣ . ΜΑΚΡΟΤ . ΒΙΟΤ . ΜΟΡΣ . VLTIMA . LINEA . RERVM ("Keep in view the end of a long life. Death is the final goal of all").

a moment and examine accurately the nature and consequences of peace and the nature and consequences of war; what blessings follow in the train of peace and what curses march in the rear of war; and then form a true and solid judgment, whether it can ever be expedient to exchange peace for war. If it is a goodly and beautiful sight to behold a country flourishing in the highest prosperity—its cities well built; its lands well cultivated; the best of laws well executed; arts, sciences, and learning, those honorable employments of the human mind, encouraged; men's morals virtuous and honest—then may it please your Majesty to lay your

hand on your heart and let your conscience whisper to you, 'All this happiness I must disturb or destroy if I engage in this meditated war.' On the other hand, if you ever beheld the ruin of cities, villages burnt, churches battered down, fields laid desolate, and if the sight could wring a tear of pity from thine eye, then, Sire, remember that these are the blasted fruits of accursed war! If you think it a great inconvenience to be obliged to admit an inundation of hired soldiers into your realms, to feed and clothe them at the expense of your subjects, to be very submissive to them, meanly to court their favor in order to keep them in good humor, well affected and loyal; and, after all, to trust (which is unavoidable in these circumstances) your own person and your safety to the discretion of such a rabble; recollect, that such is the condition of a state of warfare, and that these evils, great as they are, become necessary when you have made yourself their slave in order to enslave or destroy an imaginary enemy.

"If you detest robbery and pillage remember these are among the duties of war, and that to learn how to commit them adroitly is a part of military discipline. Do you shudder at the idea of murder? You cannot require to be told that to commit it with dispatch and by wholesale constitutes the celebrated art of war. If murder were not learned by this art, how could a man who would shudder to kill one individual, even when provoked, go in cold blood and cut the throats of many for a little paltry pay, and under no better authority than a commission from a mortal as weak, wicked and wretched as himself, who does not perhaps know even his person and would not care if both his body and soul were annihilated? If there cannot be a greater misfortune to the commonwealth than a general neglect and disobedience of the laws, let it be considered as a certain truth that the voice of law, divine or human, is never heard amid the clangor of arms and the din of battle. If you deem debauchery, rapes, incest, and crimes of still greater turpitude than these, foul disgraces to human nature, depend upon it that war leads to all of them in their most aggravated atrocity. If impiety, or a total neglect of religion, is the source of all villainy, be assured that religion is always overwhelmed in the storms of war. If you think that the very worst possible condition of society is when the worst of men possess the greatest share of power, you may take it as an infallible observation that the wickedest, most unprincipled, and most unfeeling man has been the greatest way in a state of war.

Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

battle. For who can lead the troops through secret ways more skilfully than an experienced robber who has spent an apprenticeship to the art among thieves? Who will pull down a house, or rob a church, more dexterously than one who has been trained to burglary and sacrilege? Who will plunge his bayonet into the enemy's heart, or rip up his bowels with more facility of execution than a practised assassin, or thorough-paced cut-throat by profession? Who is better qualified to set fire to a village, or a city, or a ship, than a notorious incendiary? Who will brave the hardships and perils of the sea better than a pirate long used to rob, sink, and destroy merchant vessels inoffensively traversing the great waters? In short, if you would form an adequate idea of the villany of war, only observe by whom it is carried into actual execution.

“If nothing can be a more desirable object to a pious king than the safety and welfare of those who are committed to his charge, then, consistently with this object, war must of necessity be held in the greatest conceivable abhorrence. If it is the happiness of a king to govern the happy he cannot but delight in peace. If a good king wishes for nothing so much as to have his people good like himself, he must detest war as the foul sink of sin as well as misery. If he has sense and liberality enough to consider his subjects' riches the best and truest opulence he can himself possess, then let him shun war by all possible means; because, though it should turn out ever so fortunate, it certainly diminishes everybody's property, and expends that which was earned by honest, honorable and useful employments, on certain savage butchers of the human race. Let him also consider again and again that every man is apt to flatter himself that his own cause is a good one; that every man is pleased with his own schemes and purposes; and that every measure appears to a man agitated with passion the most equitable, though it is the most unjust, the most imprudent and the most fallacious in the issue. But suppose the cause the justest in the world, the event the most prosperous, yet take into the account all the damages of war of every kind and degree, and weigh them in the balance with all the advantages of victory, and you will find the most brilliant success not worth the trouble. Seldom can a conquest be gained without the effusion of blood. Therefore, in the midst of the rejoicings, illuminations, acclamations, and all the tumult of joy excited by knaves among fools, it must occur to a king with a feeling heart that he has embrued hands, hitherto unspotted, in the pollution of the human gore. Add to this circumstance, distressing to every humane heart, the injury done to the morals of the people and the

general good order and discipline of the state, and you will find this a loss which neither money, nor territory, nor glory, can compensate. You have exhausted your treasury, you have fleeced your people, you have loaded peaceable good subjects with unnecessary burdens, you have encouraged all the wicked unprincipled adventurers in acts of rapine and violence; and, after all, even when the war is put an end to, the bad consequences of the war still remain, not to be removed by the most splendid victory. The taste for science, arts, and letters, languishes a long while. Trade and commerce continue shackled and impeded. Though you should be able to block up the enemy, yet in doing it you in fact block up yourself and your own people; for neither you nor they dare enter the neighboring nation, which before the war was open to egress and regress; while peace, by opening a universal intercourse among mankind, renders in some measure all the neighboring dynasties one common country.

“Consider what mighty matters you have done by thus boldly rushing into war. Your own hereditary dominions can scarcely be called your own. The possession is rendered insecure, being constantly exposed to hostile invasion. In order to demolish a poor little town how much artillery, how much camp-equipage and all other military apparatus, do you find requisite? You must build a sort of temporary town in order to overthrow a real one; and for less money than the whole business of destruction costs you, you might build another town by the side of that you are going to level in the dust, where human beings might enjoy, if you would let them, the comfort of that life which God has been pleased to bestow in peace and plenty. In order to prevent the enemy from going out of the gates of his own town, you are obliged to sleep for months out of yours in a tent of the open air, and continue in a state of transportation and exile from your own home. You might build new walls for less than it costs to batter down the old ones with your cannon-balls and all the expensive contrivances formed for the hellish purposes of marring and demolishing the works of human industry.

In this cursory computation of your expense (for that I am chiefly considering, and the gain that accrues from victory) I do not reckon the vast sums that stick to the fingers of commissioners, contractors, generals, admirals and captains, which is certainly a great part of the whole. If you could bring all these articles into a fair and honest calculation, I will painfully suffer myself to be everywhere driven from you mortals as I am, unless it should appear that

you might have purchased peace, without a drop of blood, at a tenth part of the expenditure. But you think it would be mean and humiliating, inconsistent with your own and your nation's honor, to put up with the slightest injury. Now I can assure you that there is no stronger proof of a poor spirit, a narrow, cowardly and unkingly heart, than revenge; especially as a king does not risk his own person in taking it, but employs the money of the people and the courage of the poor. You think it inconsistent with your august majesty, and that it would be departing from your royal dignity, to recede one inch from your strict right in favor of a neighboring king, though related to you by consanguinity or marriage and perhaps one who has formerly rendered you beneficial services. Poor strutting mortal! How much more effectually do you let down your august majesty and royal dignity when you are obliged to sacrifice with oblations of gold to foreign and barbarous mercenaries, to the lowest dregs, the most profligate wretches on the face of the earth; when, with the most abject adulation, and in the meanest form of a petitioner, you send ambassadors or commissioners to the vilest and most mischievous nations around, to ask them to receive your subsidies; trusting your august majesty's life, and the property and political existence of your people, to the good faith of allies who appear to have no regard to the most sacred engagements and are no less inclined to violate justice than humanity."

MISCELLANEOUS.

RICHARD DEDEKIND.

Julius Wilhelm Richard Dedekind died on February 12, 1916, at the advanced age of eighty-three, at his home in Brunswick, Germany. He had won international renown for his work in the theory of numbers, and two of his classical pamphlets have been translated by W. W. Beman under the title



Essays on the Theory of Numbers, and published by the Open Court Publishing Company. In the current (July) number of *The Monist*, Mr. Philip E. B. Jourdain, of Fleet, England, presents an appreciation of Dedekind's scientific achievements and we refer our readers to this article for further details.

MR. GORHAM'S REPLY TO MR. MATTERN.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

Allow me a few lines relative to Mr. Gorham's reply to Mr. Mattern in the April issue of *The Open Court*. It seems to me that Mr. Gorham is right within certain limits. In view of the collected evidence it is not possible to contend that the German army in Belgium has remained free of guilt. Nevertheless, it is my conviction that Mr. Gorham looks at the whole matter through English glasses—smoked glasses, penetrable only to certain rays of light. He is blind to the truth that Mr. Roland Hugins has well expressed when he said that "we do not have here white angels fighting black fiends, but human beings all smeared with the same scarlet."

There was no need for Mr. Gorham to refer to a Prussian law of a hundred years ago, in order to settle the question whether or not the civil population are entitled to offer armed resistance to an invader. According to Article 2 of the Annex to the Hague Convention of 1899, the civil population are entitled to do so, however, *only at the moment of invasion*. Has the occupation once been accomplished no civil person has a right to attack soldiers. In occupied territory, "Very generally acts of disobedience or hostility are made punishable with the penalty of death." (*American and English Encyclopedia of Law*, 2d. ed., Vol. 16, p. 157).

But the army of what country is likely to care for law if outnumbered by a hostile civil population? The British perhaps? Frederick F. Schrader, in one of his essays, (*Fatherland*, December 2, 1914) quotes from the *London Truth* an article by Lt. Morrison of the Canadian Artillery, as follows: "During the trek our progress was like the old times forays in the highlands of Scotland, two centuries ago. We moved on from valley to valley, lifting cattle and sheep, burning, looting and turning out the women and children."

The trek referred to by Lt. Morrison took place during the Transvaal war. The point I wish to make is that we may admit that the German soldiers have committed atrocities in certain sections of Belgium and at the same time ask whether any other army under similar circumstances would have acted in a more humane manner. In the Transvaal the British were fighting for extension of their colonial empire. They had no cause for desperation. The Germans in Belgium, however, knew very well that a defeat in the west would have meant defeat in the east; they had to save the women of Berlin from the fate that befell the women of East Prussia. Moreover, the Transvaal was but thinly populated and the invading army was smaller there than in Belgium, hence the points of contact were fewer, the temptation less.

Considering also what is known about the punishment for sniping during the Transvaal war and about the concentration camps of those days, the conclusion seems to be ineluctable that Europe would have been a thousand times worse off had the Germans not invaded Belgium, but the Cossacks and the Tommy Atkins, together penetrated central Europe; that after all the smaller of two evils has come to pass; and that no nation under the sun can turn to Germany and exclaim, "I am holier than thou!"

Should you think that what I have said might help to clear the thought on the subject, you are welcome to make use of these lines in *The Open Court*.

EMIL REACH.

THE THERMOMETER.

In connection with Dr. Carus's article on thermometers in *The Open Court* for March, 1916 (p. 187), it is of interest to note that the original memoirs of Fahrenheit, Réaumur, and Celsius were collected and reprinted in No. 57 of *Ostwalds Klassiker der exakten Wissenschaften*. The subject is also referred to in the English translation of Mach's *Principles of the Theory of Heat* which is now in the press and will shortly be published by the Open Court Publishing Company. The little volume of the *Klassiker* just mentioned is edited by A. J. von Oettingen, and from it the following particulars are taken. Gabriel Daniel Fahrenheit (1686-1736) was a son of a merchant in Danzig, and went to Amsterdam to study business. Here he learned physics, and traveled to England where he wrote five memoirs for the *Philosophical Transactions* of 1724. These memoirs were the only ones he ever wrote, and though they are not at all connected immediately with his famous thermometer, they are all translated from Latin into German in the above little volume. Fahrenheit seems to have lived in Amsterdam by the making of meteorological instruments, but was of some scientific eminence, since he was elected a member of the Royal Society of London. Fahrenheit was the first to use mercury in thermometers, but Christian Wolff, who is best known as a follower of Leibniz, had used it in *thermoscopes* in 1709. René Antoine Ferchault, Seigneur de Réaumur, des Angles et de la Bermondière (1683-1757) became a member of the Paris Academy of Sciences in 1708, published much on the technical arts, and later on constructed his thermometer and took up studies connected with it. His memoirs on thermometry appeared first in the Paris *Mémoires* for 1730, 1731, and 1733, and were of great length, in contrast to Fahrenheit's short and excellent writings. Anders Celsius (1701-1744) was born and died at Upsala in Sweden, was professor of astronomy there, and his memoir on thermometers appeared in the publications of the Swedish Academy of Sciences for 1742.

The above accounts of Fahrenheit, Réaumur, and Celsius are confirmed by the biographies in the latest (eleventh) edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Vol. X, p. 126; Vol. XXII, p. 947; Vol. V, p. 609, respectively). ☐

Comments upon the Editorial Article concerning our Thermometer.

The recent article in the March number of *The Open Court* upon "Our Thermometer" has no doubt been read with considerable interest. Several statements in it, however, are very misleading and require to be corrected.

It is said for example on page 188: "There is no doubt that to Fahrenheit belongs the honor of having invented the thermometer; all the essentials of temperature measurement were invented by him and we shall never forget that he was the pioneer in the field." The Editor's desire to award the invention of the thermometer to a German is of course perfectly natural; if he will turn, however, to two perfectly trustworthy German authorities, Poggen-dorff's *Geschichte der Physik* (p. 225) and Gerland's more recent *Geschichte der Physik* (p. 339), he will find that Fahrenheit instead of being a pioneer was a comparatively late comer in the field of temperature measurement. Galileo, an Italian, invented the thermometer about 1592; his first instrument, based upon the expansion of air, was really a development of the work of a Greek, Hero of Alexandria. Galileo soon found air to be unsatisfactory and

in 1612 invented the alcohol thermometer in which each degree represented $\frac{1}{1000}$ the volume of the bulb. Many of these old Galilean thermometers can still be seen in museums. Réaumur based his alcohol thermometer upon that of Galileo, and having fixed his zero at the freezing point of water let each degree above this represent $\frac{1}{1000}$ the volume of the bulb and stem below the zero division. With the strength of alcohol which he used the boiling point of water happened to fall at the 80th division. There is no truth whatever in the statement that Réaumur graduated his scale by dividing the interval between the freezing and boiling points into 80 degrees; this method of graduation was adopted by Réaumur's successors but not by Réaumur himself.

The use of mercury for thermometers in place of alcohol was first tried in Florence and later in Paris. Fahrenheit's first experiments were made with alcohol, but about 1720 he abandoned alcohol for mercury, and his technical skill, which exceeded that of his predecessors, soon made the mercury thermometer, what it never was before, an accurate instrument of measurement.

The zero point of Fahrenheit's thermometer was based upon the temperature of a mixture of ice, water and salt (which he believed to be the lowest possible cold) and not upon that of the coldest day which he had experienced, as incorrectly stated by the Editor (see Poggendorff's *Geschichte*, p. 519).

Fahrenheit fixed the freezing point of water upon his scale and divided the interval between this and his zero into 32 divisions, probably for the reason that he was able to reach the length of a single degree mark by a simple process of bisection. (The English inch is divided in the same way into $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{16}$ and $\frac{1}{32}$, and this method of bisection is a great convenience for many purposes.) By extending these divisions above the zero division Fahrenheit arrived at the upper register of his scale. The temperature of the human body which Fahrenheit found to be 96° (three times the interval from 0 to 32) formed the third fixed point upon his scale. By means of these three fixed points Fahrenheit could easily standardize his thermometers and it was in this way that his instruments were brought to their high point of accuracy. Fahrenheit did not employ the temperature of boiling water as a fixed point. Upon the scale graduated as described the boiling point of water happened to fall at 212° . At the present day it is customary to graduate the Fahrenheit scale by fixing the freezing point of water at 32° and the boiling point at 212° , the interval between these two divisions being divided into 180 degrees. By extending these divisions below 32° the lower register of the scale is reached.

The Editor omits to state in his article several advantages which the Fahrenheit scale has over other systems. In the first place by setting his zero point very low Fahrenheit obviated the necessity of employing minus degrees for most meteorological measurements. Of course we know now that a much lower cold can be produced than by a mixture of ice and salt, the absolute zero being several hundred degrees below this (-273° Centigrade and -460° Fahrenheit). The principle of starting with the lowest possible cold, however, is sound and many scientific measurements are based upon a scale which begins with absolute zero.

Another great advantage of the Fahrenheit scale is that it largely does away with the necessity of using fractional degrees. The one hundred divisions of the Centigrade scale are hardly sufficient to express ordinary observations without the use of fractions.

These advantages of the Fahrenheit scale and the natural inclination of most peoples to conform to natural usage explain the continuance of its use in England, Holland, the United States and other parts of the world. The statement "That America has so long followed the English conservatism is only a sign of our lack of independence" is wholly unwarranted. Would the Editor explain the use of the Fahrenheit thermometer in Holland in this way? Surely there is such a thing as persistence of natural customs! As good a philosopher as Dr. Carus must recognize this and he should be less hasty in forming his generalizations. Would it be permissible to say that the barbarous custom of the student duel, which persists in Germany notwithstanding all efforts to abolish it, is a sign that all Germans are barbarians? Would Dr. Carus call the tenacity with which the German people cling to their black letter type, when other nations centuries ago adopted the simpler and much more beautiful Roman type, a sign that the German people are unprogressive? In spite of the fact that reformers in Germany have shown their people that the old black letter produces eye-strain and myopia, and is a severe handicap in the education of young children, old custom continues to assert itself and the use of Roman type is making only gradual headway.

Adopting the reasoning which Dr. Carus has used, an unfriendly critic of German customs might retort: "The Germans, most conservative of all, cling to forms of type used by their inventor, a native of Holland. Koster selected as the model for his types the old Gothic letter, and notwithstanding the fact that the people of Holland and of other nations centuries ago abandoned the Gothic for the simpler and more pleasing Roman letter, the Gothic is still the letter for every German mind. This settled the question and no change has occurred down to the present day, for if the German mind accepts one method of action it will stick to it until the end of time." The Editor would very justly repudiate any such conclusions as these, and yet they are strictly analogous to those which he has drawn in his article upon the thermometer.

The pages of *The Open Court*, whose chief aim has been to encourage the philosophy and religion of science, should be above every display of petty nationalism.

These comments upon the article of Dr. Carus concerning the thermometer might be applied to other recent contributions of his, where strong racial feeling has apparently prevented him from looking upon many questions with his former broad-minded spirit of fairness and impartiality. The many friends of *The Open Court* dislike to see its Editor forsake his previous love for scientific accuracy and truth, for the sophistries of a partisan propagandist.

C. A. BROWNE.

NEW YORK.

Editorial Reply.

Mr. C. A. Browne's letter is very welcome because Mr. Albert Johnson, member of the House of Representatives, has introduced a bill to abolish the Fahrenheit thermometer and is anxious to collect the opinions of specialists on the subject. Here is the revised draft of the bill which is "submitted for criticism":

"Be it enacted, etc., That the centigrade scale of temperature measurement shall be the standard in United States Government publications, the use of the

Fahrenheit scale being discontinued, at the option of the chiefs of bureaus, either immediately upon the signing of this bill or after such interval as may in the opinion of each bureau chief seem advisable as regards the publications issued by his bureau.

"Sec. 2. During the period of transition, the Fahrenheit equivalent of centigrade degrees may be added in parenthesis or as a footnote or in any other way, if in the opinion of bureau chiefs it seem necessary in order to prevent misunderstanding.

"Sec. 3. The introduction of the centigrade scale as the standard is not intended to interfere with the use of the absolute scale, in which zero represents the absolute cold."

I must confess that the note which I had jotted down on the thermometer was merely a comment to be used in reference to the proposed bill, and that by mistake it was published prematurely; but it serves its purpose if it has called out the criticism of specialists. That is exactly what is needed.

Mr. Brown seems to be a specialist, I am not; and Mr. Browne will do a good service to the cause if he can advise our legislators whether it would be wiser to retain the Fahrenheit thermometer as being possessed of qualities which make it more desirable than the centigrade now used in scientific work on the European continent.

I feel reluctant to reply to Mr. Browne's critical remarks so far as they are directed at me personally. I am inclined to let them stand. Still I feel that I should make a few comments in explanation of my convictions.

I know very well that mankind is conservative, and the English are more conservative than other nations. They are often conservative to a fault, but we must consider that conservatism is a virtue, and England's pre-eminent position among the nations is mainly due to the conservative character of her people.

It is strange that Gothic type is frequently considered as a peculiar kind of alphabet which results in difficulties for school-children when attempting to learn German. The Gothic form of letters, often called the German alphabet, is the same as the old Roman, only it is a peculiar style which at the time of its invention was considered ornamental. You can trace in every Gothic letter the shape of its Roman equivalent, the only difference being a twist given to the straight line of its Roman prototype. It is really the same mode of tracing letters which in English is called "black letter," and it is an invention to be traced back to the monks who were the scribes and copyists in the middle ages long before Koster. I will no more belittle Koster's innovation in introducing the black letter type into print, than Mr. Browne denies the merit of Fahrenheit in making the first practical thermometer, even when insisting upon the fact that he had predecessors in Galileo and Hero of Alexandria.

Considering my partisanship for the Germans, of which Mr. Browne accuses me, I plead guilty. But I will add that I am not pro-German because I am a native German; I am pro-German because after a careful investigation I have acquired the conviction that in the present war Germany is right and the Allies are wrong. I am very sorry that the war has come upon the world. It is a terrible struggle, terrible for all, and I am sorry for every nation and for mankind in general; but I am positive that Germany did not start the war,

and I feel sure that, although greatly outnumbered by her enemies, she will hold her own on account of her efficiency.

The English are of German extraction and the English language is a modified Saxon or Low German dialect. The English are nearer kin to the North Germans than are the Danes or the other Scandinavians,—nearer even than the South Germans are to the North Germans. I have always cherished a high opinion of the English nationality as well as the English language. I am positive that if I could be shown by facts and sound argument that the Germans are wrong in this present war I would vigorously stand up against them as I did at the time of the Dewey-Dietrich quarrel when I did not hesitate to express my views on the subject in unequivocal terms. I would consider it a sign of cowardice on my part if I shrank from speaking out plainly what I have found to be the truth. Convince me that I am wrong, but do not attribute my position to "racial feeling" which makes me "forsake love for scientific accuracy and truth, for the sophistries of a partisan propagandist."

I know that most people do not take sides in this war on rational grounds but from sentimental impulse, and it is hopeless to convince any one by argument after he has once taken his stand. The large masses of people are absolutely deaf to argument. Nevertheless I would act against my conscience if I concealed my conviction.

My duty to speak out boldly is the more imperative since I see a tremendous danger threatening our national independence. I came to this country as an American, not as a German. I believe in American ideals, but I am shocked at the sight of Americans turning traitors to their own Americanism. We are not endangered by Germany, but we are endangered by England and her ally Japan. At present the Japanese danger is the more acute, but the English is the more insidious. It has poisoned the minds of our leaders, and the final result will be the loss of our independent development. I know that some of my pro-British friends would not grieve over it because they bow down before the British ideal. They think that we would gain by recognizing English superiority, by overcoming our crudeness and imbibing English civilization, yea, identifying ourselves with Anglicism. I am an American of the old style, and if the new pro-British Americanism should become our national ideal, officially recognized not only by one transient administration but with full conviction endorsed by the people, by the whole people, I would regret ever having set foot on this shore and would feel a longing to emigrate to some other country where the spirit of the old Americanism, the spirit of Washington and Franklin, of Jefferson and Hamilton, and of Lincoln, is alive. I would bid goodby to my American countrymen and would wish them God speed, but would say: You are no longer truly American! you are pseudo-American; you have lost the old vigorous American spirit; you have forsaken your own traditions; you have forfeited the blessings for which your fathers fought.

WATER-POWER CONSERVATION.

While our president keeps us bewildered with his pro-British policy and while our dailies concentrate our attention on the chase our troops are giving to Villa, there are those who claim that the American people are being robbed in the most legal and thorough style by laws which are donating enormous

riches of national resources to some bold grabbers, and that those whose duty it would be to protect the people are too much interested in other affairs to come to the rescue.

The law under special consideration is the Shields bill, and its supporters claim that its purpose is to make possible the development of water-power which has been held up for eight years by the absence of proper legislation. Mr. Gifford Pinchot on the other hand believes that this measure would turn over to the power interests in perpetuity (although there is a pretended fifty years limitation) water-power equivalent to twice the mechanical power of every kind now used in the United States, or enough to meet the needs of two hundred million people. Former Secretary James R. Garfield agrees with Mr. Pinchot in regarding the Shields bill as iniquitous. He says:

"These laws turn over to private monopoly public power in perpetuity. The fifty years' limitation as proposed is nothing more than a mere fiction. I realize the need of water-power development. I have no patience with that conservation which ties up our natural resources, but neither have I any patience with that conservation which destroys the public interest."

Strangely enough the Conservation Congress which met in Washington during the first week in May favored the passage of the bill but its opponents claim that the Congress was greatly under the influence of the special power interests. Mr. Pinchot favors the Ferris bill but considers the Myers bill an unsatisfactory substitute.

"J'ACCUSE."

The book "I Accuse! (*J'accuse!*) by a German" was highly recommended to me by several of my anti-German friends. So I bought it and perused it in the hope of learning some new facts about the war and finding some arguments in favor of the Allies' cause which I had not sufficiently appreciated. But I was disappointed. In fact I doubt the statement which the editor of the book, Dr. Anton Suttner, a Swiss lawyer, makes in his preface: "The book *J'accuse*, written by a German patriot, and entrusted to me, is herewith presented to the public. I regard this work as an act which can only confer a blessing on the German people and on humanity, and I accordingly assume responsibility for its publication."

A perusal of the book proves positively that the author is not a German patriot. He is well informed concerning German affairs and accordingly we may assume that he is a German and that the misstatements which he introduces here and there are intentional. The treatment of the material indicates that he is plainly a traitor and has written the book for the sake of misrepresenting the German cause. There are however some strange and ridiculous statements in the book, such as would be almost impossible for a German,

disbarred for doubtful practices. In the book the author—a certain Dr. Richard Grelling—is introduced as a patriotic German. He is neither a patriot nor a man of high standing, but a fugitive from Berlin, where he is sought by the courts on account of questionable proceedings in his profession. It is stated that if he had not escaped from Berlin he might now be in the penitentiary.

After his flight he lived for some time in Florence, and then in Paris. Being hostile to the German authorities, he obtained at the beginning of the war official permission to stay in France, and there wrote the book for which he was supplied with useful material by the French government. It is also stated that he was paid for writing the book, and there is no truth whatever in the assumption that he is a German patriot and has written his accusation of Germany from pure motives.

TOLSTOY ON THE FRANCO-RUSSIAN ALLIANCE.

One of our subscribers sends us an old clipping from the *Weserzeitung* of Bremen, which has a special interest in the light of current history. The *Weserzeitung* contains an account of Tolstoy's opinion given at the time of the conclusion of the Franco-Russian alliance. With a sound judgment born of a large outlook upon the world, Tolstoy pronounced the alliance an unmitigated evil in terms which to us to-day seem almost prophetic. The extract from the Bremen newspaper is as follows:

"Count Tolstoy has for some years past been honored in France with real enthusiasm; his spoken and written words almost always make a very deep impression in that country, and carry the weight of law. The *Revue Blanche* has asked the Russian savant and eccentric some questions relative to the Franco-Russian alliance, and he has replied most unequivocally that he condemns it. He says: 'My answer to the first question, what the Russian people think of the alliance, is as follows: The Russian people, the real people, have not the slightest idea of such an alliance; but even if they knew of it the whole populace would be indifferent about it, in the general feeling that this exclusive alliance with another people can have no other result than the arousing of enmity and the provoking of wars. And for this reason the alliance would be extremely displeasing to the people. To the question, whether the Russian people shares the enthusiasm of the French, I would answer that the Russian people does not share their enthusiasm, if such enthusiasm exists; and that, if it knew all that is being said and done in France in regard to this alliance, it would have a feeling of distrust and antipathy to a people that, suddenly and without apparent reason, is at pains to manifest a spontaneous and extraordinary enthusiasm for an alliance.

"To the third question, as to what result the alliance would have for civilization in general, Tolstoy answered as follows: 'I am justified in assuming that it can have no other purpose than war or the threat of war against other peoples, and so can only be pernicious in its results. And even for the two peoples that have concluded the alliance it can bring nothing but the greatest disaster in its train, both now and in the future. The French government, the press, and all classes of French society, which have been active in the demand for the alliance, have already made great concessions from their traditions of freedom and humanity, and will make still greater ones. In

appearance, or even in fact, they will have to bring themselves into accord with the reactionary and most despotic and brutal government in Europe; and that will mean a great loss for France. While the alliance has already had a disintegrating influence on Russia, this influence will become even more powerful if the alliance endures. Since the conclusion of this unhappy treaty the Russian government, which formerly entertained a certain fear of European sentiment, and reckoned with it, no longer troubles about it. France claims to be the most civilized of peoples, yet inwardly she is rotten and disintegrated; and friendship with such a people must naturally lead to the Russian government becoming more and more reactionary and despotic. So the only possible result of this strange and unhappy alliance will be an unholy influence on the welfare of the two peoples as well as on civilization in general.'

"By a coincidence the famous Italian philosopher of law, Lombroso, has also recently discussed the Franco-Russian alliance with Tolstoy. Professor Lombroso writes as follows in *Das freie Wort* concerning his interview:

"'Before taking leave I could not refrain from inquiring what his views were on the Franco-Russian alliance. And the answer he gave me was one of those utterances which seem paradoxical but are nevertheless eminently true: "It was the greatest misfortune that could have befallen the Russian people, for hitherto the government has at times been deterred from over-tyrannical conduct, through fear of European public sentiment, whose great center lies in France; while now this fear will no longer exist.'" And the facts, especially the sad oppression of Finland, bear him out all too well."

MR. MANGASARIAN AGAIN.

Mr. Mangasarian prints an extract from my answer to him where I say that "if God stands for anything he means truth and justice, and the main thing in a war will ever be to have these on one's side." By this I mean that if people sincerely believe in God they will endeavor to purify their souls, and their belief will help them to think right and to do the right thing. As to my own conception of God, I will add that I define God as those factors in the world which constitute the world-order and find their clearest expression in what scientists call natural laws, including those highest laws which result in what has been called the moral world-order. In this sense I say that the laws of nature are the eternal thoughts of God.

In discussing the problem of God I have taken the course of inquiring what God meant to our ancestors in their experience, and in trying to understand their experience I have come to the conclusion that God meant to them truth, right and justice; that they personified their ideals in the belief of a supernatural personality.

Now to my mind the underlying idea of God contains a great truth, but it should be purified of errors and poetical imagery which can easily lead us into superstitions.

If I call God the All-Being I mean to say that he is not a concrete being that is in a definite place, but omnipresent; he is everywhere in the All. He is as omnipresent as is every law of nature which takes effect wherever conditions permit its application.

Mr. Mangasarian says: "If Carus makes God the 'determinant' then he must hold him responsible for the war and all the crimes and follies connected with it." I am not a quibbler so I will say: In a certain sense, yes; in another, no! God is the law of causation. He determines the results of conditions; therefore he is the blessing of good deeds and the curse of evil deeds. War is the result of egotism, ill will, greed, envy, hatred and other vices. In this sense war is a punishment sent by God, but in so far as the vices and the evil deeds that result from vices are men's own doings and not God's, God can not be blamed for them, unless we understand God in a pantheistic sense and identify the creator with his creation. But here I do not follow. I am opposed to pantheism. If I call God the All-Being, I do not identify him with the All, as Mr. Mangasarian assumes. It seems so hopeless to explain anything to Mr. Mangasarian. Nevertheless I would have patience enough to explain, if I had not the impression that he draws wrong conclusions intentionally, simply for the sake of argument.

Proper worship of God does not consist in ceremonies or prayer, but in knowing and appreciating the worth of this character of existence. In the course of evolution it has made man a moral being, and man must obey its rules for the sake of progress and general well-being. This God is the God of truth, the God of justice, the God of history.

Mr. Mangasarian has taken special offense at my saying that "God is neutral." He has misinterpreted and perhaps misunderstood me, but I mean what he says in his criticism, that the law of gravitation is neutral. Indeed all the laws of nature are neutral, but they serve him who adapts himself to them. In the same sense God is neutral, even as neutral as the sun that shines upon the evil as well as on the good and the rain that falls alike on the just and on the unjust. I still believe that God is neutral, and Mr. Mangasarian's sarcasm convinces me as little as it has convinced some members of his congregation who called at my office in search of further literature on the subject. One gentleman told me that he had been interested in Mr. Mangasarian's attack on me, but judging from his (Mr. Mangasarian's) statement alone, he thought that I had the better of him.

I grant, however, that others of Mr. Mangasarian's congregation agree with him. One of his admirers makes the following comment on the case:

"No one is so blind as he who *will not* see.

"No one is so deaf as he who *will not* hear.

"Also—any one with any 'sense of humor' and fair degree of knowledge, logic and FACTS surely must *smile* over your 'hypothesis of God' and 'God is Neutral' writings. Your *reasonings, statements, and conclusions* in them are ALL so absurd, and simply *creations of your own brain* and mere reflections of your *individual conceptions and wishes*."

In reply to this conception I will say that the formulations of all natural laws are the creations of the brains of naturalists, be they Galileos, Keplers or Newtons. There is no harm in that. But if their formulas are true, they possess a meaning beyond themselves and become very serviceable. My critic's view will please Mr. Mangasarian and I quote it because I do not begrudge him the satisfaction he will derive therefrom.

Mr. Mangasarian has continued his attacks on me but I do not understand what he is driving at, for he makes statements that are irrelevant. He says, for instance: "The name of God has fenced in all manner of crimes,

to use a thought of Shelley. Does a massacre become 'holy' because it was started with a shout of 'Allah is great!' or 'Glory be unto God!'?"

In trying to understand me, he continues: "Can the good doctor be serious with his suggestion that the Christian and 'heathen' belligerents in invoking the God of battles are only praying to truth and justice? Truth and justice are not existences or entities, they are qualities. It would be just as unmeaning to pray to *hardness* or *softness* as to pray to truth or justice."

I did not attribute my God-conception to others, not even by way of suggestion; nor did I speak of prayer, or have I ever advocated it. I remind my readers of Kant's attitude toward prayer, and he rejects it except for oratorical reasons. It is well known that the pious Buddhists replace prayer by vows, and Jesus prays to God, "Thy will be done." The Lord's Prayer is not an appeal to God to change His will, but a vow that we shall adapt ourselves to God's will.

These are only incidental remarks on a topic which does not properly belong here, but Mr. Mangasarian raises the question to attack me and for the sake of effect does not mind shooting into the empty air. It does not hit me. Truth and justice, he declares, are qualities, not existences or entities. Let them be qualities or whatever you may call them. So long as they possess objective significance we would better heed them as much as we heed the laws of nature.

Mr. Mangasarian winds up his attack on me with a tirade on war prayers and his notions of Allah. He says:

"The God of both Turk and Christian is a *person*. The prayer which is recited by order of the Kaiser in all the churches to-day reads: 'Almighty and merciful God! *God of the armies!* . . . Bless the entire German war force. Lead us to victory, etc.' That is a very different God from the attenuated divinity of Paul Carus. And the English God is as anthropomorphic as the German: 'Oh, Lord our God arise. Scatter his [the king's] enemies. And make them fall. Confound their politics. Frustrate their knavish tricks. On thee our trust we fix, etc.' And when the Moslem obeys God's command to put every unbeliever to the edge of the sword, but to save the young maidens for his harem, he is not thinking of the made-to-order God of Dr. Carus—who is a mere adjective—a sort of stage God who appears and disappears as his managers pull the strings, but of a personal Being seated on a throne—one who hates the *Giavour* and loves the Moslem."

I have read Mr. Mangasarian's exposition of the God of the German Kaiser and the English king, like all his other comments, with much edification but also with indifference and without profit, for I do not know what these opinions have to do with me or my views. I enjoy a good controversy, but I do not care to meet an antagonist who either does not want or does not care to understand the meaning of my statements. We might as well listen to

NEUTRALITY

By

S. IVOR STEPHEN

(Cloth, \$1.00; paper, 50c.)

PRESS NOTES.

"This book is an impressive mass of facts which cannot fail to startle even the most indifferent American newspapers which, under the protection of so-called 'freedom of the press,' dare to exploit private interests in time of excitement, although they well know public opinion is practically a powder magazine which a false alarm may explode."—*Chicago Examiner*.

"A stab at the press who ruthlessly ride over public opinion and do not preserve the neutrality which our nation has expressed."—*Fort Smith Times Record*.

"This book is a humdinger."—*Trenton Times*.

NEUTRALITY PRESS, Chicago

Rent an



Underwood Typewriter

Simplicity is its
fundamental
principle

Used by

Largest corporations
All Champion typists
and
Most Expert operators

"The Machine You Will Eventually Buy"

New Volumes

of the

Open Court Classics of Science and Philosophy

The Geometrical Lectures of Isaac Barrow. Translated from a first edition copy and provided with an Introduction and Notes by *J. M. Child*, B.A. (Cantab.) B.Sc. (London). With a portrait of Barrow. Cloth, \$1.00.

The translator claims to have discovered in these lectures, concealed under the geometrical form of theorems and constructions for drawing tangents and finding areas, an absolutely complete elementary treatise on the infinitesimal calculus; i. e., a complete set of standard forms for the differentials and integration of algebraic and trigonometric functions together with a logarithm and an exponential, and the rules for their combination as a sum, a difference, a product, a quotient or a power of a function; for the rest it is noticeable that all Barrow's results are given in the form that would be obtained algebraically by logarithmic differentiation.

Diderot's Early Philosophical Works. Translated and edited by *Margaret Jourdain*. With portraits of Diderot and Saunderson. Cloth, \$1.00.

This translation includes the *Philosophic Thoughts* (1746), a development of Shaftesbury's scepticism in which Diderot is still theistic, yet he shows how the arguments against design have impressed him; the *Letter on the Blind* (1749) in which the transition to rationalistic negation is complete, and Diderot criticises the argument from design through the mouthpiece of Nicholas Saunderson, a blind English mathematician of the early years of the eighteenth century; and the *Letter on the Deaf and Dumb* (1751), an interesting but composite fragment dealing with esthetics, which was an inspiration to Lessing.

The Open Court Publishing Company

Digitized by Google 122 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE

Original from
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER.

VOL. XXX (No. 8)

AUGUST, 1916

NO. 723

CONTENTS:

	PAGE
<i>Frontispiece.</i> James Clerk-Maxwell.	
<i>Recent Social and Political Changes in China.</i> FREDERICK GOODRICH HENKE.	449
<i>Centralia: The Outcome of the War.</i> PAUL CARUS	467
<i>The Bible in Modern Light.</i> G. H. RICHARDSON	479
<i>Pictures from the Theater of War</i> (Illustrated)	497
<i>A Protest from the Bahaists.</i> EMILE TOBLER	505
<i>The Lies of the Allies</i> (With map).	508
<i>A Russian View of Germany</i>	511
<i>Some Verses of Maxwell</i>	512
<i>Crucifixion and Resurrection.</i> FORREST MORGAN	512

A Handbook of
**American Private
Schools**

The second edition revised and enlarged of the **Handbook of the Best Private Schools.**

A critical and discriminating account of the Private Schools as they are with historical chapters.

Among the new features are a Complete List of **Private Secondary Schools**; new **Educational Directories**; a list of **Secondary-School Periodicals.**

New introductory chapters: Measuring Educational Results, The Year in Education; Review of Recent Educational Literature, etc., by Professor Clayton C. Kohl of New York University, Professor Arthur O. Norton of Wellesley College and others.

640 pages, round corners, crimson silk cloth, gold stamped, \$2.50.

A Handbook of New England

Descriptive of Town and Country along the Routes of Automobile Travel, with Introductory Chapters.

768 pages, round corners, crimson silk cloth, gold stamped, \$2.50.

Porter E. Sargent

50 Congress Street

Boston, Mass.

CHURCH SEEKS MINISTER

A small, live liberal church, in city of 100,000, seeks a minister. One whose controlling purpose is to promote spiritual growth and outlook and right standards for public and private life, who has sound scholarship, liberal convictions, experience in church administration and capacity for sustained, orderly accomplishment, will receive loyal support in promising field. Popular pulpit orator or institutional minister not desired. Preliminary correspondence confidential.

ADDRESS: TRUSTEES, CARE OF OPEN COURT
122 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Handbook of New England

Descriptive of Town and Country along the
Routes of Automobile Travel, with Introductory
Chapters

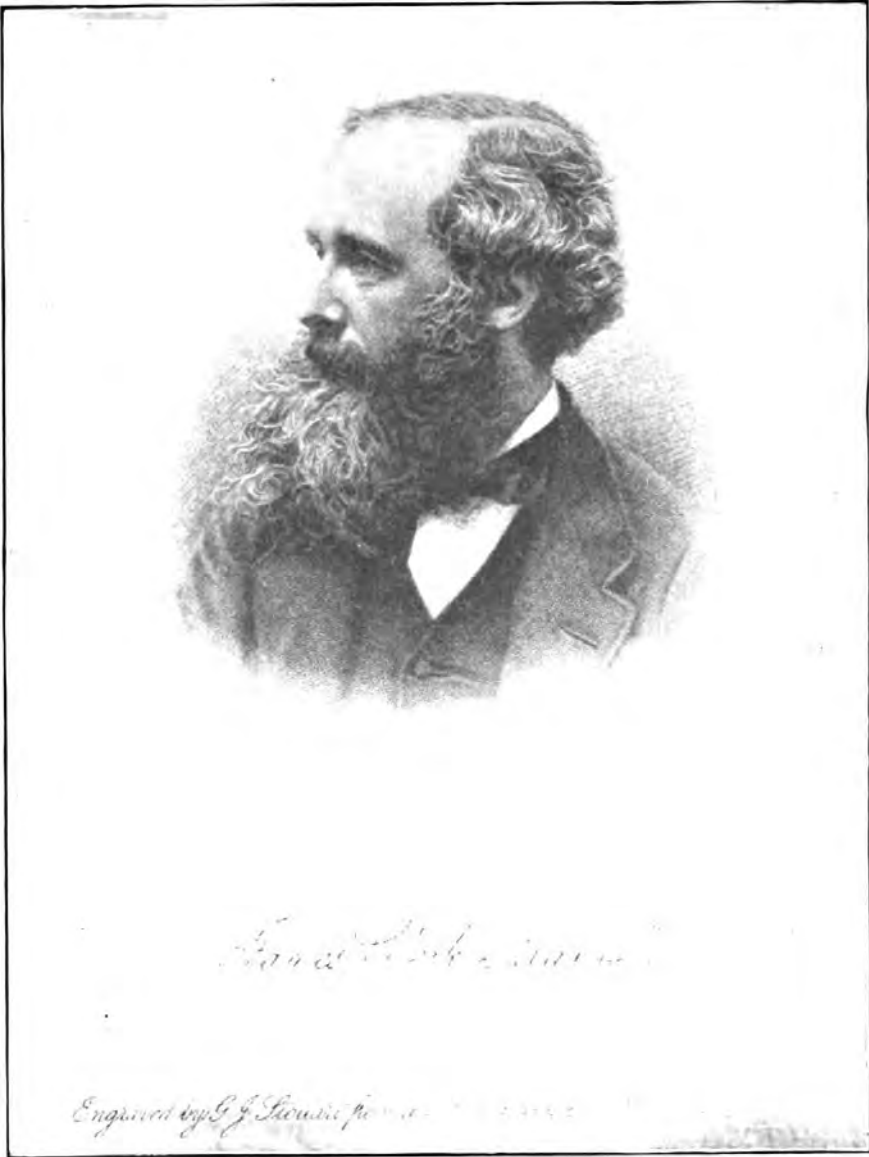
128 pages, round corners, crimson silk cloth,
gold stamped, \$2.50.

Porter E. Sargent

Congress Street Boston, Mass.

SEEKS MINISTER

General church, in city of 100,000,



Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

VOL. XXX (No. 8)

AUGUST, 1916

NO. 723

Copyright by The Open Court Publishing Company, 1916

RECENT SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CHANGES IN CHINA.¹

BY FREDERICK GOODRICH HENKE.

CHINA is a land of great latent forces, a country of tremendous natural resources, a nation of unlimited possibilities. Her four hundred million people constitute approximately one-fourth of the human race, which, together with the fact that the birth-rate there is three times as high as in America, is alone of striking significance. She has an available unorganized fighting strength of 63,430,000—four times the total available strength of Japan and Great Britain combined; and these are supermen, for unusually adverse circumstances have eliminated the weak, so that those that are left are inured to hardships which would kill most Europeans. In the United States, exclusive of Alaska and the island possessions, the average population falls a little short of thirty-four per square mile: for all China it is two hundred and eighty; for the plain of Cheng-tu seven hundred; and in some parts three or four thousand people gain their livelihood from a single square mile.

The resourcefulness of the people of China, and the natural resources of her 2,169,200 square miles of land, taken together, constitute a unique and unparalleled reservoir of latent forces and hidden possibilities. The Chinese people are to-day using four hundred and seventy-eight different plants for food. China has

¹ Frederick G. Henke was formerly professor of philosophy and psychology in the University of Nanking, Nanking, China, and now occupies the chair of philosophy and education in Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa. He is interested in China's heritage of thought from the past and has recently published a scholarly work on *The Philosophy of Wang Yang-ming*, a Chinese idealist. He is likewise intimately acquainted with the China of to-day and is well able to interpret its conditions to Western readers.—Ed.

enough coal, iron and copper to supply the world for a thousand or more years.

Developed into a military machine, China might easily become a great menace to the world; but it is to be hoped that it will not be necessary for China to take to the war-path. The people are, on the one hand, of the unafraid type, so that if they ever get fully equipped for military activity, they will represent a tremendous force; and, on the other hand, they love peace and the higher pursuits of agriculture, commerce, and literature. Their sense of values is of the more rational type. In West China during the Revolution of 1911, two armies opposed each other near the city of Chengtu. "A battle was imminent. The rice farmers sent in a petition to the generals, requesting them to postpone the fight until the people could harvest the rice, which otherwise would be destroyed. The request was granted." As culture advances, instinct and passion are brought more and more under the control of reason. Who will say that, judged from this standpoint, the Chinese are not more cultured than we often give them credit for being? What would happen if China and the United States—the two great peace-loving nations of the world—would together wage a silent war of friendly cooperation in culture and commerce, in international justice and national integrity, against those forces that tend to disintegrate the sacred institutions of humanity, and those nations that trample fraternity under foot?

However, China faces the God-of-things-as-they-are, and is trying to adjust herself to her social environment. Politically speaking, she has been awakened from her long slumber. The revolution of 1911-12 marks the overthrow of the Ts'ing dynasty and the founding of the Republic. The Manchus had been in power since 1644; they lost the throne because of lack of moral qualities. Living in luxury and dissipation at the expense of the Chinese people, they neglected to render that service which alone endears the ruler to his people and insures his place on the throne. The Ts'ing dynasty "disappeared in accordance with the natural law of service."²

The following facts had made it clear to the intelligent Chinese that a change of government was absolutely necessary if China was to maintain her national integrity and self-respect: (1) the Chino-Japanese war, in which a nation which had been held in contempt was strikingly victorious; (2) the seizure of Port Arthur by Russia, of Wei-hai-wei by Great Britain, and of Shantung by Germany; (3) the parceling of much of her territory into spheres of influence;

² E. Maxey, "Revolutionized China," in *Forum*, XLIX, p. 436.

(4) the payment of the Boxer indemnity for failure to comply with her international obligations; and (5) the Russo-Japanese war. The beheading of thirty-eight Chinese revolutionists by the order of the Imperial government, October 10, 1911, was the signal for the revolt of the troops under Li Yuan-hung at Wuchang; and at the same time rebellion was already brewing in West China.

At eight o'clock of October 10, 1911, the modern troops of the Wuchang garrison engaged in a furious attack upon the viceroy's *yamen*. Jui Cheng, the viceroy who was responsible for the beheading, fled under cover of darkness to a gunboat anchored in the Yangtze River. In a day the revolutionaries had gained control of Wuchang, Hanyang, and Hankow, occupying the great Hanyang arsenal. Almost simultaneously revolution broke out along the entire Yangtze from Shanghai to Chungking, and from Chungking far into the interior of Szechuan. On October 18, Ichang, an important treaty port on the Yangtze, went over to the revolutionaries; on the 22d, Changsha, the capital of Hunan province; on the 23d the city of Kiukiang on the Yangtze. The city of Nanking (historically the most important city on the river) had not been won over to the cause of the revolution.

The Manchus, realizing that the uprising was rapidly spreading, now turned to Yuan Shih-kai, who had been summarily dismissed in 1909 by the regent in the name of the boy-emperor, divested of all his honors, and exiled to his home in Honan. On October 14, the regent recalled him, knowing that if the Manchus were to be saved Yuan alone could do it with his modern army.

Yuan was one of the most enigmatic characters of recent Chinese history. He early aspired to an official position. Failing to pass the examination, he went to Korea as a secretary with the army. Li Hung-chang had him appointed director-general of trade and international relations in Korea in 1883. During the Chino-Japanese war he was forced to flee from Seoul, protected by British blue-jackets. Li then helped him to the position of judicial commissioner of Pe-Chi-Li. At that time he organized China's modern army, and in 1897 he was given command of an army corps. At the time of the *coup d'état* of 1898 he at first encouraged the reform movements of the young emperor, and later betrayed him to the empress dowager. The year 1899 found him governor of Shantung. When the Boxer movement first began, he appeared to favor it; later he tested the Boxers' avowed invulnerability by having them shot. In 1901 he was acting viceroy in Pe-Chi-Li; in 1903 the reorganization of the army was entrusted

to him; in 1907 he became grand councillor and president of the foreign office.

Recalled from disgrace by the regent to subdue the revolution, he took two weeks to consider the matter, and then came forth to take supreme command of the imperial forces and to act as premier of the country. Following the formation of his cabinet, he directed General Feng Kuo-chang to push the attack on the three cities (Wuchang, Hankow and Hanyang).

Hankow fell and was burned on November 11, and the city and arsenal of Hanyang fell into the hands of the Imperialists on the 27th. While this was going on, the revolution was rapidly spreading. The city of Nanking (southern capital) became the goal of the Republicans of the lower Yangtze. On the morning of December 1, Purple Mountain, the key to the city of Nanking, was stormed by the revolutionary forces, and by the following evening the city was under their control. All men were ordered to cut off their cues—the symbol of Manchu subjection—and those who were slow about doing it had it summarily severed by the soldiers. The Republicans had gained more at Nanking than they had lost at Hankow.

To Yuan Shih-kai it was obvious by this time that the Manchu dynasty was doomed; he also knew that the supply of money was nearly exhausted. For these reasons he was willing to negotiate with the Republicans. A peace conference was arranged to meet at Shanghai. Wu T'ing-fang was the principal delegate on the side of the Republicans, while Tang Shao-yi represented Yuan and the Manchus. Tang was a Republican at heart, and proved himself such in action. He agreed upon the election of a national convention—the convention to decide whether the Manchus should remain in authority—and also acquiesced that the imperial troops should evacuate Hankow and Hanyang. The Imperialist generals objected, and the conference broke up. However, the throne was weakened thereby, for the soldiers left Hankow and Hanyang.

Thereupon the revolutionary party demanded the immediate abdication of the throne. The imperial princes openly called Yuan a traitor, and the Republicans tried to assassinate him on January 16, 1912. At this time a memorial signed by forty-six of the imperial generals was sent to the Court, requesting the abdication of the emperor. Moreover, the city of Peking was full of Chinese troops. For these reasons, the empress dowager issued an edict in the name of the emperor on February 12, 1912, surrendering forever the Dragon Throne. "The emperor himself announced in this abdication

edict that the republic would be the future form of government for China, and authorized Yuan Shih-kai to organize it."³

In the meantime events were also moving rapidly in the south. The revolutionary assembly—composed of delegates elected from the provinces of the republic—met at Nanking and on December 29 unanimously elected Sun Yat-sen provisional president of the Chinese Republic. He had suffered exile and risked death for the Republic, and because of this was deemed worthy of the honor. The South rallied around him and supported him; but the North clung to Yuan, refusing to recognize Sun as president. Sun then on February 14 resigned the presidency and suggested Yuan as his successor. The Nanking assembly acted on his advice and elected Yuan provisional president. The consolidation of China and the building up of sound finances now rested in the hands of Yuan.

He appointed T'ang Shao-yi prime minister. T'ang was a member of the Tengminghui, a political party, and naturally arranged his cabinet in such a way that the members of the Tengminghui were in the majority. This was the beginning of party politics and party strife. The Tengminghui worked for a United States of China, in which each of the eighteen provinces should be self-governing; while Yuan wanted a constitution which centralized all power in the president, including the right to appoint and dismiss the provincial governors. T'ang Shao-yi resigned the premiership, and his successor, Lu Cheng-hsiang, stayed but a short time. Chao Pin-chun, a devoted follower of Yuan Shih-kai, followed Lu.

The Tengminghui and several other parties were consolidated into the Kuomintang, or National party. The election of the new Chinese parliament took place on March 13, with the result that the Kuomintang secured a large majority. They chose Sung Chiao-jen as their candidate for the premiership, and he left his residence at Shanghai for Peking, proposing to travel by way of the Shanghai-Nanking Railway to Nanking, and from there on the Pukou-Tientsin Railway to Tientsin and on to Peking. While at the Shanghai-Nanking Railway station at Shanghai, he was shot from the rear by an assassin, succumbing in a short time. The plot of assassination was traced to the door of Chao Ping-chun, the premier.

About this time President Yuan and his followers were able to secure a £25,000,000 loan from the Five Powers—usually known as the Five Power loan. Originally Great Britain, Germany, France

³ Adolf S. Waley, *The Re-Making of China* (New York), p. 54.

and the United States were interested in placing this loan. Secretary Knox, under Taft's administration, had genuinely encouraged a group of American bankers to participate in Chinese enterprises. Later, however, the United States government withdrew its support, with the result that the American bankers ceased negotiations. Russia and Japan, however, joined the group, glad for the opportunity of having something to say in affairs Chinese. The United States, on the other hand, surrendered a splendid opportunity to participate in the conference of nations in matters of vital interest to China and America. The "Open Door" policy of John Hay is still nominally operative; actually it is little more than a *flatus vocis*.

In July, 1913, the second uprising occurred in China. An excerpt from the declaration of independence proclaimed at Canton the nineteenth of July will serve to indicate the attitude of the revolting party:

"Whereas Yuan Shih-kai has violated and spoiled the universal peace and rebelled against the Republic, both God and people are angry with him, and he should not be allowed to live. I, the Tutuh, representing the opinion of the people, have published his crimes and am going to punish him.

"Yuan Shih-kai has been accustomed to the use and employment of cunning tricks and has devoted his mind to influencing ignorant people generally, in order that they should fall into his trap. Therefore those who follow him or side with him, are really unaware of the numerous crimes of Yuan Shih-kai and are consequently 'taken in' by him."⁴

Yuan was accused of murder, bribery, unconstitutionality, and maladministration; of hiring Mo Shi-ying to assassinate Sung Chiao-jen and then having him murdered; of spending \$100,000,000 in the capital and refusing to allow parliament to audit it. Yuan, on his part, stated that the revolutionists were merely agents of the opium traders, who were using this means of reestablishing the opium business.

The uprising failed because the people as a whole were apathetic; because an insufficient amount of money was contributed; because the navy remained true to Yuan; and because the Five Powers advanced Yuan \$10,000,000 to put down the rebellion. Sun Yat-sen and General Huang-hsing escaped to Japan.

Yuan virtually became dictator. At the close of the rebellion he had the following proclamation issued:

"The President of the Chinese Republic (Yuan Shih-kai) hereby

⁴ *Independent*, LXXV, 648-50.

offers the following rewards for the capture and handing over alive or dead of the following persons:⁵

“Huang Hsing—One Hundred Thousand Dollars.

“Cheng Chi-mei—Fifty Thousand Dollars.

“Huang Fu—Twenty Thousand Dollars.

“Si Shu-cheng—Twenty Thousand Dollars.

“Dated this 31st day of the Seventh Moon of the Second Year of the Republic of China.

“Signed and Sealed by the Civil Protector of Shanghai,

“Tseng Ju-cheng (Admiral).”

The matter of framing a permanent constitution to take the place of the provisional constitution now engaged the government. Parliament in session in Peking undertook the work of drafting one, but Yuan's wishes were not sought, and none of his personal agents were admitted. This was too much for Yuan. He took matters into his own hands, issuing a mandate which dissolved the Kuomintang on the ground that it was a seditious party. There were then not enough members left in Parliament to constitute a quorum, and for that reason it could not convene. Thereupon Yuan dissolved parliament, and in December, 1913, appointed a committee to revise the provisional constitution. The new constitution was the result. This gave the president practically supreme power over the executive branch of government. In him was vested the authority to appoint all civil and military officers and to dismiss all officials except judges. The power of absolute veto over action of the legislature was given to him. In case of urgent matters when the legislature could not convene, he had the power to issue ordinances to take the place of existing laws. When the legislature convened these had to be approved. Loans and increase of taxation, to be valid, were to be made by the legislature.⁶

President Yuan was gradually drawing the lines tighter and closer. Representative local assemblies were abolished and the provincial governments were consolidated in provincial headquarters in the hands of officials who were pledged to support Yuan.

Toward the end of October (1914) he issued a remarkable mandate. “The most renowned scholars of East and West,” it read, “are agreed that in framing a fundamental law it is essential to bear in mind the conditions of the people; no good can possibly come of

⁵ These men have since that time been nominally pardoned.

⁶ “The Chinese Constitution,” *Outlook*, CVII, 512.

cutting one's feet to fit a pair of shoes."7 The shoes he offered were good comfortable shoes made on the old dynastic last: The president was to be elected for ten years (with eligibility for re-election) by an election commission consisting of fifty members from each of the two houses of Parliament. The presidential election law was announced in the last days of December. "If at election the administrative council should think it advisable that the president should hold office for another term, two-thirds of their votes shall be sufficient for his reelection."

The plan gave the president the right to nominate three persons, from among whom his successor was to be elected. The names of the three he wrote on a golden tablet; he enclosed the tablet in a golden casket and locked the casket in a stone strong-room in the presidential palace. Another mandate (also of December, 1914) stated that "no member of any political party shall be eligible for membership in Parliament." Obviously Yuan was laying plans for a *coup d'état* whereby he would take his seat on the Dragon throne.

But an ominous cloud had appeared on the horizon—one that foreboded no good for China. The European war had started with tremendous violence, and Japan, as an ally of England, was beginning the siege of Tsingtau in the province of Shantung. On August 15, after a session of the elder statesmen of Japan and the chiefs of the general staff and the naval board before the imperial throne, a note was handed to Count von Rex, the German ambassador, which, after stating certain demands, ended with the following ultimatum:

"If a reply, agreeing unconditionally to these demands, is not received by noon of August 23, 1914, the Japanese Government shall take whatever steps it deems necessary."⁸

A few days later the Japanese Government forwarded the following communication to the Foreign Office at Peking:

"Owing to the aggressive action of Germany, unfortunately a war has been started between England and Germany, and the peace in the Far East is about to be disturbed. The Japanese Government, after consultation with England and considering the present circumstances and the future of the Far East, has been obliged to take this last course for the assurance of the peace of the Far East and the

The whole world, including Great Britain, knew that Japan was not fundamentally interested in "the preservation of China's territorial integrity and the maintenance of peace and order" in that country. She was simply making use of an opportunity to gain a firm foothold on Chinese soil, to acquire the dominant influence in Chinese internal affairs, and to open the country for Japanese exploitation. It was a step in the carrying out of the Japanese expansion movement. "Her population is threatened with overcrowding; work for the people is a necessity; emigration to desirable countries is practically prohibited by foreign antagonism; money must be had to carry the enormous burdens imposed by her present national politics."⁹

Baron Mackino, as minister of commerce, made the following statement about four years ago:

"It is our ambition to be to the East what Great Britain is to the West. We have left no means untried in making a thorough investigation of the present conditions in China, so as to arrive at as accurate an estimate as possible of what is to be expected in the commercial relations of that country with Japan in the near future. . . .

"It is not too much to say that a great part of our hope for future financial rehabilitation in Japan depends upon how we can further develop trade with China. In this matter we cannot afford to be beaten by our foreign competitors; for the very welfare of the nations depends upon it."

The Japanese began their attack on Tsingtau, having in view the larger objective. Troops were landed one hundred and fifty miles north of the city at Lungkow on soil that was distinctively Chinese, and from there they pushed on through Chinese territory to Tsi-nan-fu, the capital city of Shantung and the terminus of the Shantung railroad, passing *en route* through Tai-mo and Weihsien. Command was taken of the Shantung railway, and such native employes as seemingly opposed them were shot. In a few days western Shantung was in the hands of the Japanese.

Tsingtau surrendered at 7:05 A. M. on November 7. Governor-General Meyer-Waldeck and his men had fought valiantly, but the opposing force—17,000 against 3800—was too strong. By 7:30 the Rising Sun flag was floating from the peak of every fort and hill in the vicinity.

China was in distress. Her neutrality had been violated, and

⁹ James Davenport Whelpley, "East and West: A New Line of Cleavage." *Fortnightly Review*, May, 1, 1915, p. 887.

she could do little or nothing. Yuan had ordered his people to show their good will toward the troops. What more could he do?

But there was more trouble ahead for China. The Japanese premier Okuma issued a message to the American people; it was published in *The Independent* of August 24, 1914. "As premier of Japan, I have stated, and I now again state to the people of America and of the world, that Japan has no ulterior motive, no desire to secure more territory, no thought of depriving China or other peoples of anything which they possess."

Notwithstanding this message, Mr. Hioki, Japanese ambassador to Peking, called upon Yuan Shih-kai on the evening of January 18, 1915, and presented a note making the most radical demands. When these became known to the world, the Powers naturally made inquiry of the Tokyo government, and the latter despatched a seemingly innocent *communiqué* to the Powers. The original *communiqué*, of about four times the length of the one sent to the Powers, covered these among other equally vital demands: China is not to lease or cede any part of Shantung to a third power; Japan is to be allowed to build a railway from Chefoo or Lungkow to join the Tsinan-Kiaochow railway; China is to grant Japanese subjects the right to open all mines in Southern Manchuria; the consent of the Japanese government must be obtained before a third power is granted permission to build a railway in Southern Manchuria or eastern inner Mongolia; no island, port, or harbor of China shall be ceded or leased to any third power; influential Japanese advisers in political, financial and military affairs shall be employed by China; the police departments of important places in China shall be jointly administered by Japanese and Chinese; China is to purchase a fixed ratio of the quantity of munitions of war from Japan, or Japan shall establish in China a jointly worked arsenal in which Japanese experts are to be employed, and for which Japanese material is to be purchased.

The Chinese were worked up to a fever heat by this time, but they knew the futility of engaging in open war with Japan. The latter country was able to set up for China a super-Monroe doctrine. Demands, with some modifications but similar intent, were presented with the suggestion that an answer would be expected at once. China did not answer forthwith. On May 7, a reply to the Japanese note was demanded. Japan began to mobilize her army and navy in preparation for an invasion of China. There was no way out, "and at half-past one o'clock on the morning of Sunday,

May 9, China, the oldest nation in the world, passed under the virtual domination of Japan."¹⁰

The Chinese however are resourceful, and above all else they are fully awake. China's fighting blood is up and has been expressing itself in three ways: (1) A nationwide boycott against Japanese goods; (2) a nationwide "National Salvation Fund" movement for raising Mexican \$50,000,000 from the Chinese, "the money to be used to arm China against foreign aggression and to develop home industries which shall manufacture those lines of goods now supplied by Japan"; (3) A nationwide movement of solidarity, removal of corruption, and development of resources.¹¹

Mr. Willard Price, who investigated the boycott of Japanese goods, found that the Japanese have lost heavily—"more," one Chinese merchant said, "through the boycott than she can ever gain through the success of her demands." In Chungking, West China, the advertisements of Japanese patent medicines and tooth powders were painted over and burnings were held of Japanese goods outside the city. In Hangchow (of Chekiang) and in Hunan, Japanese shops were closed and deserted. Mr. Price saw a list of seventeen Japanese firms in Hunan, together with the losses they had incurred—amounts from \$900 to \$31,000. Throughout the city of Wuchang a pamphlet of double meaning was circulated. When read in the customary way from top to bottom, it read, "Countrymen! Our country is becoming a second Korea. The hearts of the people! Take what is written to heart," and so on. When read from right to left, these statements read: "Citizens—Don't—Buy—Japanese—Goods!"

The boycott is thought to be more than a passing expression of emotion. It is impossible at this time to forecast the outcome of Japan's venture. Many seem to think that the move on the part of Japan is a menace to the United States as well as to China. In the New York *Herald*, Mr. Rea, editor of the *Far Eastern Review* (Shanghai), has made the following statement: "It is on record that every move our financiers or manufacturers have made to expand their influence in China, has been met with the undisguised hostility of Japan, and our right to transact business with the Chinese government has been repeatedly challenged and denied."

In the New York *Sun*, Mr. Rea made the assertion that "Japan is prepared to go to war with America to enforce the principle of

¹⁰ Jones, p. 207.

¹¹ Willard Price, "China's Fighting Blood Up." *World's Work*, XXV, pp. 725-29.

racial equality and to contest with us the supremacy of the Pacific. She wants to get some of the costs of such an undertaking out of the control of China."¹²

Whether Mr. Rea is extreme in his standpoint or not, time will tell. Interpreted in the most favorable way, Japan's aggression must be looked upon as implying an attempt to get control of the Chinese situation. Japanese statesmen of authority have said as much, and every indication points that way.

Meanwhile, the political situation in China again attracted attention. Yuan Shih-kai held the center of the stage. During the latter part of the summer and early fall, insistent rumors were current that Yuan might try to have himself declared emperor. The President himself issued a number of statements in which he affirmed his belief that the Republic would continue. As late as November 22, the *Independent* published a statement to that effect. Yuan asserted that his enemies were saying that he desired to become emperor. The indications, however, were not lacking that he was really ambitious to secure the throne. Not the least of these was the resignation of Vice-President Li Yuan-hung. Mr. Suh Hu, writing in the *Outlook* (Sept. 1, 1915), said: "The question of titular change is of very little importance in the minds of true Republicans of China. The Chinese democracy, they realize, now exists only in name. For almost two years the country has had no parliament, no legislature, no provincial legislature, no district councils. There are no political parties, no freedom of press, no freedom of speech." Suh Hu is laboring under the impression that President Goodnow favored a constitutional monarchy for China; but in this he is probably mistaken. The report that he favored the monarchy was circulated to facilitate the overthrow of the Republic.¹³

In December, Yuan nominally referred the question to the provinces: "Do you wish to return to a monarchy?" Actually the matter was referred in a controlled way to groups who were loyal to the President. There was little, if any, popular desire to change the form of government.

On December 11, the following telegram was sent out from Peking: "Acting as Parliament, the Council of State to-day canvassed the vote on the question of a change of government of China to a monarchy, and found that the votes of 1993 representatives

¹² "Menace to the Union," *Current Opinion*, LVIII, 386-388.

in Japan's Triumph over China." *Current*

¹³ "China's Monarchy,"

Independent, LXXXIV, 169 (November

out of 2043 qualified to vote on the proposition were favorable to the change." The Council of State urged Yuan to accept the throne. At first he declined, but later accepted with the proviso that he continue as president "until a convenient time for the coronation." On New Year's Day he anticipated the honor by seating himself upon the Yellow Chair.

When Liang Chi-chao of the 1898 *coup d'état* fame was asked whether he favored reestablishing the monarchy—he originally favored a constitutional monarchy—he said, "I have always opposed a revolution, hence I am opposing you now as I opposed you before, for a revolution always retards the progress of a nation." This meant that he did not favor Yuan. He was kindly disposed toward the southern provinces, as is shown in the fact that he joined the governor of Kwangsi in issuing a manifesto impeaching Yuan and his misadministration.

Following the acceptance of the throne by Yuan, an uprising broke out in Yunnan province. Though 50,000 troops were sent to subdue the rebels, the movement spread over the provinces south of the Yangtze River, assuming such proportions that Yuan thought it best to renounce his ambition for the throne. The monarchy had endured just one hundred and one days. Yuan brought it to a close with the following edict:

"I have myself to blame for my lack of virtue. Why should I blame others? The people have been thrown into misery; the soldiers have been made to bear hardships; commerce has declined. Taking this into consideration, I feel exceedingly sorry.

"I am still of the opinion that the designation petitions submitted through the acting Li Fa Yuan (State Council) are unsuited to the circumstances of the country. The official acceptance of the throne of the eleventh of December is hereby canceled, and the petitions are hereby returned through the State Department to the Tsan Chen Yuan, to be forwarded to the petitioners for destruction. All preparations connected therewith are to close forthwith...."

In his hope that the southern provinces would forthwith rally to his support he was greatly mistaken. While some of the Peking papers thought him sincere, the Shanghai press continued to challenge his patriotism and his moral integrity. The Japanese government was out of sympathy with him and rumors were current that he would soon have to face a movement directed from Tokyo for his overthrow.

But now a surprise was awaiting the world. On the sixth of June Yuan passed away, and the news of his death was flashed around

the globe. Though poisoning was officially denied, he died "amid an atmosphere saturated with suspicion and intrigue." The next day his eldest son committed suicide, whether because of grief, the dictates of filial piety, or some other reason. Vice-President Li Yuan-hung was designated Yuan's successor.

Li is a man fifty-two years of age, with large experience as a soldier. After graduating from the Pei Yang Naval College, he joined the navy, serving in the Chino-Japanese war, during which time he jumped from a ship into the sea to save his life. This experience seems to have turned his inclination toward the army, for he entered the service of the well-known viceroy, Chang Chitung. Later he buried his pride and went to Japan to study military tactics, because he saw that his training was inadequate. In his new capacity as president he will doubtless do what he can to bring together the North and the South. Whether he will succeed in uniting China and in rehabilitating her finances remains to be seen. His is a great task.

CAN CHINA SAVE HERSELF?¹

BY GILBERT REED.

CHINA'S salvation depends more on herself and on heaven than on help from foreign powers. In fact foreign powers, taken together or taken singly, have often proved more of a menace than a blessing. The most that can be expected in the way of altruism is from foreign individuals rather than from foreign governments. If any foreign government can be induced to help China it is rather due to national self-interest than to altruistic motives, or possibly it is due to the high altruistic sentiments of some one individual who happens to be in office, and has ventured to carry his religion into politics.

It is very well, and very easy, to talk of principles. It is about as easy as for the Chinese to draw up regulations. The harder task, and the really serious problem, is to carry out some of these principles, and get to doing something. Even principles introduced into a constitution are no guarantee of a nation's salvation. The constitution is a palladium of liberty. What is still needed is that all the people and all the officials begin to do something with a practical bearing on the public weal.

Do the Chinese possess the quality of being "up and doing?" Will they undertake some one thing and see it through?

In 1895 I presented to the Military Council of the empire a Memorial on ways to develop Manchuria. This was before Russia had begun to press in, and the proposals were meant to forestall any aggression. Prince Kung, Weng Tung-ho, Jung Luh and the rest of them complimented me highly on my ideas and my "good heart," and—nothing was done.

The same year I had about a dozen conferences with Li Hung-chang about a university for Peking. This was a pet scheme of his. I helped him to draw up a plan. Shortly he said to me, "No use, nothing can be done; my colleagues don't want a university."

¹ Dr. Reid has recently published a series of papers on this subject in the (Chinese) *National Review*.

Those were the bad days of the Manchus, who are guilty of every failing that the Chinese have. Now we have a republic, such as it is. Progress is in the air. Educated men who have seen the world are to the front. We are living in better times. Something at last is going to be done.

Having eaten much bitter from the open hand of the Japanese, China has been stirred as never before. A national spirit "moves upon the waters," and yet the old question arises, "Will the Chinese carry through that which they have begun?" Various movements have been set a-going, new societies have been started; will they go on to the end?

Lest it be thought that we only talk of principles and think in a general, indefinite way, we will close these discussions of China's salvation by specifying a few practical enterprises for the government and the people to undertake. There is nothing new in what we say; we merely give an enumeration, so that any Chinese who is at leisure may feel the call to do something.

I. China needs in Peking a first-class, well-equipped, high-grade university, superior to the high school standard and better than any university started by missionaries. Then will Li Hung-chang's dream come to realization. Some university in Shanghai, in Tientsin, in Hongkong, or in Hankow should not take the place of a real university at the national capital, controlled by the faculty and the president rather than by the students.

II. China needs a national system of education, supported not from the national revenue, but from local and provincial resources. This system needs to be national, directed from the Ministry of Education, but the management and support of each school should be local. Universal education, if aimed at, should be of an elementary kind, like the "three R's" in the west. Hence stress should be laid equally on a university and on primary schools. Taxes for public schools should go to them and for no other purpose. Universal education must be simple; the special and the expert is for the few. So a national system of education is better when it is simple than when it is elaborate.

III. China needs improvement in her agriculture. This does not mean that the Chinese have not been good farmers or good gardeners in the past; it only means that they have something to learn from the west, especially from the science of farming. Thus

department in Nanking University, a union of three missions, will be gladly utilized by the provinces of Kiangsu and Anhwei.

IV. Afforestation is another practical work needing to be taken in hand. It is nearly thirty years since Dr. Joseph Edkins wrote a series of articles on this subject in the first Chinese daily of Tientsin. The reform has been urged on Chinese officials again and again, but neglect of a plain duty has been the rule rather than the exception. The Germans at Tsingtao and along the line of the Shantung Railway have set a good example, and have always been ready to encourage the planting of trees in other parts of China. Professor Bailie of Nanking University is carrying on the same needy work in connection with his agricultural department. It ought to be possible to get every governor to see that all the officials under them, in conjunction with the gentry, shall undertake in a simple way the planting and preserving of trees. An editorial in *The National Review* for July 24 gave a clear statement of what can be done in all parts of China.

V. Here comes in another important reform, that of conservancy. A National Bureau for this purpose has already been established, with Mr. Chang Ch'ien as the enthusiastic director. The American Red Cross Society dispatched engineers to study the problems in the region of the Hwai river, and it was expected that Americans were to raise the money to undertake model conservancy works. Americans are the only ones with abundance of means—all the more abundant through sales in time of war—and their good fortune should lead them to carry on this Red Cross proposal. Should American philanthropists lose their ardor, it is left to the Chinese to perform one more part of China's salvation. The task for the whole of China is gigantic, but a start should be made.

VI. Another practical reform is currency reform. We are not ourselves particular whether gold or silver or copper is made the standard, so long as some standard is agreed upon. In our opinion gold should be the standard, seeing that this is the standard throughout the world. This does not exclude the wider use and circulation of silver and copper and paper, but gold is the standard and the ratio of exchange is definite. A definite plan of currency reform was agreed upon by Dr. Ch'en Shin-t'ao and foreign experts before the Manchu dynasty came to its untimely end. Under the republic the Ministry of Finance has invited currency advisers, and for a while there was a special bureau und Liang Ch'i-chi'ao; but the reform has gone no further than the academic stage. It needs to be put into practice.

VII. Mines should be opened and railways built on the co-operative basis, with Chinese and foreign capital, but no more concessions should be given outright to foreigners, at least until the law is established that two foreign nations at war with each other cannot in consequence take possession of each other's property, rights or concessions within the domains of Chinese territory. The way should be open for foreign capital and proportionate control, but not for absolute foreign control. If foreign capitalists do not care to cooperate they had better be left out. If the Chinese, on the other hand, continue to hamper and frustrate all foreign help, they too should be left alone. Cooperation means cooperation, nothing more, nothing less.

VIII. China should go on with her salt reforms. A first-class English adviser, with experience, is at the head. His advice should be trusted and followed. A system as efficient as the Maritime Customs will soon be developed, bringing revenue to the government and forming a model for other departments.

IX. In our humble opinion likin should be abolished, whether foreign powers agree or not to increase tariff. Internal trade should be free from all impediments. Free trade, whatever we say of it in an international sense, is an absolute necessity in a national sense, within the bounds of one's own country.

X. A national banking system needs to be established so that the Chinese in one part of the country can trade with those in another through a common medium of exchange. The Bank of China or the Bank of Communications should have branches in every city of China, so that the same notes can be accepted everywhere throughout the country. If a cheque from a bank in New York City may be cashed at the Hongkong Bank in Shanghai, a cheque of the Bank of China in Chungking should pass with the same bank in Shanghai.

These are enough practical points to show that scope is given for a large variety of talent in China.

It is to be hoped that Japan and England, France and Russia, Germany and the United States, Spain and Portugal, and all the rest, will have mercy on China by giving her a chance to set her

CENTRALIA.

THE OUTCOME OF THE WAR.

BY THE EDITOR.

THREE countries have been forced into a close alliance through the outbreak of the present war. They are Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey. Later on they were joined by Bulgaria whose king Ferdinand is a German prince and whose inhabitants hate the Serbians and fear the Russians, but place great confidence in the Central Powers.

Prussia and Austria had been enemies since 1740. Austria had been the leader of Germany until Prussia grew in power and the Hohenzollern rivaled the imperial house of Hapsburg.

Since the leadership of Germany has definitely passed into the hands of Prussia, which happened in 1870, the old enmity has changed into a close alliance. Austria has troubles of her own with Russia and the pan-Slavic agitation in her own territory. She now needs Prussian help, but on the other hand Prussia needs Austria as a bulwark against the Slavs. Indeed Prussian Germany would be lost, or at least seriously endangered, if the Slavic part of Austrian lands fell into the hands of Russia. Hence the friendship between Prussia and Austria is based on mutual interest.

So long as England treated Russia as her most dangerous enemy, there was no need on either side for a close alliance between Prussian Germany and Austria-Hungary, and it is obvious that England's *entente cordiale* has knitted the friendship between the two Teutonic powers very firmly, indeed so firmly that their old enmities are entirely forgotten.

But how did the third party enter?

England was formerly the patron of Turkey, but since Edward VII founded the Triple Entente, England ceased to antagonize Russia. Russia, the old enemy of England, was needed for the

policy of encircling Germany, so Turkey was sacrificed to gain Russia.

Turkey is the center of the Islam world and there are many millions of Islamic inhabitants in India who, as is well known, form the most active and energetic part of the population. The best native soldiers are faithful believers in the Prophet, and so England deemed it wise to keep on good terms with the Sultan of Turkey, the recognized head of the Mohammedan faith. But since the Teutonophobia spread in England like an epidemic all the old traditions were set aside, and henceforth English diplomacy fraternized with England's old enemies, the French and the Muscovites, while her former protégé, the Turk, the sick man of Europe, was abandoned to his fate. England no longer had any interest in protecting Constantinople and the Dardanelles against Muscovite ambition, and so Turkey was forced to look for another protector whom she found in the Kaiser. There followed the inevitable result of a firm alliance between Turkey and Germany. It is a struggle for life in which Turkey became involved, and how bravely the Turks held out is evidenced by the many English graves around Gallipoli.

The map on page 509 shows us the situation of these three countries now united for the present war in a close confederacy; but what is most significant in this union is the fact that the new alliance bids fair to outlast the war. English diplomacy has taken care that the interests which have formed the union of Turkey with the Central Powers for mutual protection in war will continue in time of peace. A great boycott is threatened by which the enemies of the Entente Powers shall forever forego the blessings of English trade.

English diplomats cherish the hope that such a boycott will have as great an effect as the same measure had against Napoleon I which contributed not a little to his final downfall. The new boycott will again have serious effects, but possibly it will not turn out in favor of England: possibly it will work on the new alliance like a protective tariff, and it is likely to favor the development of the countries discriminated against, for on a closer examination it seems probable that England will cut off her own nose to spite Germany.

Note the central position of the black spot in the map. It fills the space where the three continents of the old world meet; and consider the favorable connections which can be established from here in all directions, with Africa, with India, and through

Persia and Tibet with China. The territory thus united has not yet a name, but its most significant feature is its central position, and so we propose to call it Centralia.

Turkey has not been conquered by either Germany or Austria-Hungary; she has been forced to seek the assistance of the Central Powers. But the result will be the same as if the country had been conquered with the omission, however, of all the unpleasant disadvantages of a conquest. Conquered people hate their conquerors, but the Turks bid the Germans Godspeed. The goodwill which the Turks now cherish for the Germans they would not possess if English diplomacy had not made this new alliance highly desirable to them and a real help in a dire emergency. The Germans are actually looked up to as leaders, and unless they foolishly lose this confidence by lack of tact they will have a great chance of developing the rich resources of Turkey.

The central position with its several connections will be valuable assets for the Central Powers. This new empire is a group of densely populated countries possessing strong military forces which can march out into all parts of the three continents of the eastern hemisphere and cannot be hindered in their movements by the English navy. It certainly forms a combination which will be a thorn in the flesh of the British empire.

At the same time the total area of Centralia has a command of all the climates that are needed for industrial, agricultural and commercial purposes, which is an advantage not to be overlooked. It stretches from the Baltic down south to the equator and can produce anything needed in civilized life.

Great Britain undertook the war to crush Germany, and the foundation of Centralia will be the unexpected, the undesired and unpleasant result,—unpleasant for English diplomats. Such is the irony of fate in human history! There is always a party or a group of parties who want to prevent a certain change that threatens to come about, and they produce or hasten its coming by the very means they use to crush the new movement. English diplomacy saw the German danger. The Germans were a people who had learned in the severe school of life to do their work better than other people. They possessed qualities in which the British were lacking. They had developed a strong sense of duty and were more efficient in every respect. Recently they had overcome the worst hindrances

with her world monopoly of trade, and here was a nation that was winning a place of its own in world commerce. In all peaceful enterprises England was being beaten, and statistics showed that German progress was rapid in every branch of manufacture. What was to be done? The only chance of overpowering and averting this German danger which was so formidable in peace was war—and war came.

We will not blame the English. England had become accustomed to the idea of owning the world. She looked upon herself as the elect whom God had favored with wealth and power and possession of the seas; yea her national hymn expresses her ambition as a divine destiny. The English glory in the thought that Britannia rules the waves! Why should they not try by all means, even by war if they must, to retain their power. The English knew what they were doing when they made a strong coalition, cleverly called an *entente*, for the purpose of isolating their dangerous rival. They forgot all former enmities, both with Russia and France, and engaged these one-time foes with a cunning smartness in the cause of crushing Germany. Such is the situation now; the plan was clever and, humanly thinking, there is no escape for Germany. But

*"Der Mensch denkt
Und Gott lenkt."*

[Man proposes,
God disposes.]

The God of history has his own plans, and the attempt to crush Germany becomes a test of Germany to prove whether she is worthy to play the higher and greater part for which destiny has fitted her. If she holds her own against her enemies she will be capable of the new and nobler tasks that await her in the future.

The present war is waged with great bitterness and probably will be prolonged to exhaustion on both sides, but what will be the result? It is impossible for the Central Powers to conquer any of the English domains or compel the Allies to make peace within reasonable time. The Allies means England, for England is the leader. England has instigated the war, and the war is conducted for her special benefit. The Allies are really not fighting for themselves but for England, for English commercial interests and for the continuance of English supremacy in the world. This is recognized by all except the French patriots who always live in illusions, and the Russian war party who still hope to get the best of England after the war. Russia expects that after the conquest of Germany the last decision will be brought about by warfare waged between

the greatest power on land and the greatest power on sea; that while England may now remain the owner of the seven seas she will be unable to protect India by her navy against a Russian invasion by land.

English diplomats are very cunning but not far-sighted. They are smart but not wise. Sir Edward Grey has twice in his official capacity declared that there was no risk for England in this war and that victory was easy and perfectly assured.

The English *Daily News* in an article published in September, 1912, speaking with a clear knowledge of English intentions in founding the Entente, not only hesitates to endorse Sir Edward's policy but raises a warning voice. We read: "The center of this coalition against Germany is England. Neither France nor Russia have thought it out nor would either have had such thoughts. It is a liberal England who will appear before the papers of England as organizers of discord, as instigators of war. His [Sir Edward Grey's] actual policy has nothing in its favor, neither right nor honor nor traditional justice."

But England having encircled Germany with a general coalition of all the powers worth speaking of feels sure of ultimate success. Winston Churchill in one of his speeches before the war was confident that Germany could not withstand the attack of the Entente. He spoke of England as "the only power which could fight Germany without tremendous risk and without doubt for the issue."

Mr. Churchill thought that the English were safe. Such was the view of an English diplomat, and the whole English government undertook the war because with very few exceptions they believed they could ruin Germany without exposing themselves to the danger of suffering in a conflict in which England's allies would bear the burden of the struggle and England reap the advantages.

Yet now it seems unlikely that England will be able to crush Germany, and so it is probable that the result will be a drawn battle. The belligerents are not inclined to make peace at all, and neither of the two parties can be blamed, because any peace made now would be a mere truce since England is serious in her intention to crush Germany; she would make an armistice only for the sake of recuperating her strength and preparing for a new attack. On the other hand Germany cannot be expected to be generous and surrender her conquests, for this is a combat from which a re-establishment of friendly relations has been excluded by the very bitterness of the attack. England has openly declared her enemy

tions will make a *rapprochement* undesirable if not positively impossible.

At the same time England has declared that the very establishment of peace shall be a continuation of the war in the line of commercial and industrial activity. Germany is to be cut off from the world market so as either to be compelled to submission or punished by a rigid isolation, and we know England too well not to doubt that she will pursue a rigorous persecution of this method of warfare.

What will be the result?

Centralia, viz., the three empires constituting the alliance of the Central Powers, will be more closely united by England's efforts to cut them off from the rest of the world. The English proposal to isolate Germany and her allies will result in a kind of prohibitive tariff enforced upon the central states, and the result will be that they shall be compelled to develop their own resources without any assistance from the rest of the world dominated by England.

The Germans need cotton; they will no longer have the benefit of the cotton market of the southern portion of the United States of America. The cotton raisers of the southern states will no longer be allowed to trade with Germany, and our American Rights League will insist on obedience to the British demand. American rights to trade with the whole world, including Germany, are to be maintained only so far as Great Britain will permit, and here Great Britain forbids. The result will be that the Germans will develop cotton plantations of their own in Turkey, and there will be a rich prospect for young men in Germany to emigrate to Turkey and join in the colonization scheme. The new colonies will probably be German speaking. Official business grants of the Ottoman empire will give the colonists special privileges to preserve their mother tongue and religion, possibly also allowing them to perform military services under German officers.

Furthermore Ceylon tea will no longer be imported into Germany; but the Germans want tea and so Germany will establish tea plantations in the Turkish empire, perhaps in the territory or

yet explored, and since the Central Powers need the territory of Serbia in order to retain actual connection with Turkey the German and Austrian mineralogists will explore the country and develop mines in places containing ore deposits which undoubtedly exist in this part of the world. Under the guidance of German science industries will develop and furnish Turkey with an opportunity of unexpected prosperity.

Thus an agricultural and commercial efflorescence is to be expected in this absolutely undeveloped country, and the entire group of countries which we call Centralia will in more than a mere geographical sense become the heart of the old world. Its prosperity will probably equal English prosperity in spite of its small size, very small as compared to the rest of the world which will be under English domination.

There is no chance now that England will be beaten or conquered by Germany. The God of history does not reject a favored nation so quickly; and it is obvious that the territory dominated by England will be enormously larger than Centralia. The English domain extends over the whole world, for there is no country washed by the ocean waves that does not pay tribute to Great Britain. However, in spite of this enormous advantage which England will keep, Centralia has also its advantages and indeed the future development of human history depends on the use made of peculiar advantages by either power, the leaders of the British world or the leaders of Centralia. Centralia has the uncommon advantage of close proximity between her parts and can establish connections all around. Within her own territory, she will be like a well-fortified redoubt.

The English world is threatened by a division, which means the establishment of two spheres with two independent centers. It seems probable that the United States will be a part of the British world, and present American public opinion favors submission to Great Britain in such a way that the United States will either actually or practically become a member of the British empire.

At present the pro-British sentiment in the United States is very strong; we seem to have forgotten our American ideal of independence. We made ourselves free in a bitter fight and through the blood of the fathers of our republic we maintained our freedom in the face of the defeated English army under General Cornwallis. But the present sentiment is so friendly to England that there are Americans now who regret that the revolution against England's dominion took place at all. The Boston Tea Party has been de-

nounced as a childish freak unworthy of our fathers. Benedict Arnold should be reestablished as a good patriot whose foresight was keener than George Washington's and who will soon become the patron saint of modern Americanism.

We are on the brink of openly avowing that we ought to have remained faithful subjects of the English crown. There is for instance the American Rights Committee who stands up boldly and unreservedly for the Britification of America and demands a most intimate reunion with England as the ideal of the present American policy.

England's method of ruling the world has assumed the guise of being thoroughly "democratic." The truth is that Germany is more democratic than England whose actual constitution is thoroughly oligarchical and whose pretense of democracy is obviously hypocritical. It is a mask put on to flatter the common man who is virtually excluded from any influence upon British politics. The idea is comforting even though there is no truth in it.

A circular bulletin of the American Rights League, No. 6, March 13, 1916, entitled *America's Foreign Policy* answers the question "What Then Shall We Do?" as follows: "Throw our sympathies on the side of England and her allies, pursue this line as the logic of events requires. After the war put ourselves into the closest and most sympathetic relations with Great Britain and France."

And why? This is also answered in the same circular: "Great Britain is the nation which can do us the most harm of any or all on earth, and with her on our side we need not fear the whole world. With her then we should most heartily cherish a more cordial friendship and nothing would tend more to knit the affections than to be fighting once more side by side in the same cause." In other words, the American Rights League proposes to be submissive to Great Britain, to fight her wars and obey her as if we were a colony of the British empire.

Now the question of the future will be, Shall Great Britain retain the rest of the world, including the United States, or shall the United States preserve its independence and remain a free country? English diplomatists will not formulate their demands so bluntly; they will first propose a harmless alliance of all English speaking races and then gradually solidify this alliance into a political union.

Germany is surely going to maintain her freedom and establish a rival dominion in Centralia which will not be subject to the Eng-

lish yoke. But what will become of the United States of America? It would be difficult to decide the question now, but it is to be expected that if the old American spirit is not yet dead we may still preserve our independence. If we do, it will be in spite of the efforts of the press subsidized or partly owned by Great Britain, and in spite of the aspirations of the blind followers of the league falsely called "the American Rights League." It will be a hard fight, the harder because our political parties use the traditional British method of hypocritical misrepresentation and falsify the issues. Submission to England is regarded as the cause of humanity and the establishment of highest civilization means obedience to British rules and British ideals.

Note the name "American Rights League." The league really means to submit to Great Britain and positively proposes to abandon American rights. Is not the name inappropriate? It is not so much inappropriate as characteristic of the Anglican method of presenting an issue.

If in the English world an association were organized for the purpose of wolfish practices, English diplomats would probably not call it a Lupine Conspiracy, but "The Lambs Club" or "The Ovine Association," and its members would glorify the ovine ideal of sheephood. They would hang up in their club rooms a copy of Van Eyck's classical picture of the adoration of the Lamb. So for instance, if the English arm their merchant ships for the purpose of attack, they claim that the guns are intended for defense only. If they make a rigorous alliance for both defensive and offensive purposes, English diplomats do not call it a confederation, nor a coalition, nor even a union, but an *entente*, a mere friendly understanding of a harmless nature. If intrigues are planned threatening the peace of Europe, the arrangements outlined for future procedure are mere academic talks and are designated as "conversations" and so all through! The British lion presents himself as an innocent lamb.

The founders of this republic were men who stood up for their rights. In those days it was more true than now that "Great Britain is the nation which can do us most harm," but that was no reason to them for submitting to Great Britain, but for fighting against her tyranny.

Then there was no need to organize an American Rights League; Americans had no rights, but they wrested their rights from Great Britain. Our present generation lacks virility. The American Rights League feels the weakness of America, so its members

advise seeking protection from the English navy. It is claimed that "with her [Great Britain] on our side we need not fear the whole world." The fathers of our republic were more manly, and it is certain that they would be ashamed of their descendants if they could read this declaration of the American Rights League. Can we not develop enough strength to be able to defend ourselves? Is there any reason for us to fear any one, if we rely on ourselves as our fathers did? Have we become such contemptible cowards



CARTOON FROM "PUNCH" IN 1861.

or weaklings that we must seek protection under the Union Jack or the apron of our national grandmother?

If the ideals of the American Rights League become the dominant thought in our modern Americanism it is certain that our American independence will soon be a thing of the past. We may retain our freedom in name by being officially declared independent, but our freedom would mean that we shall voluntarily obey the British government. The proposition is well and clearly expressed in a British cartoon which we here reproduce for the benefit of those

of our American countrymen who have a longing to join the American Rights League. The picture, reproduced from *Punch* of December, 1861, shows the substantial figure of John Bull with the Union Jack waving over the sea and the United States standing in front of him in a most ridiculous posture of incompetent bravado. The cartoon is labeled, "Look out for squalls," and John Bull is saying to Jonathan, "You do what's right my son, or I'll blow you out of the water."

Is it possible that the American spirit will be revived? Yes it is possible, but as matters stand at present it is not certain. I am sorry to say that the American spirit manifests itself in only a limited number of old Americans and shows its most intense feeling mainly in the hyphenated Americans, the German-Americans and the Irish-Americans. Its force is almost lost in the eastern states but it may still be found in its old vigor in the west. The Germans have always been good Americans and are still. They have come to this country because they believed in American ideals, but their views of American ideals were those of Washington and of Lincoln, not of Mr. Roosevelt nor of Mr. Woodrow Wilson who now denounce the hyphen as un-American.

The editor of *The Open Court* has always been a patriotic American and he knows no hyphenated American who is not a good American, but in the face of the many assaults made on the hyphen, he begins to feel that the old American spirit is dying out and that a new race is rising here which is sick of the old American ideal and creates a new pro-British patriotism, forgetting what Great Britain did to America in former days.

In the year 1863 an anonymous poem appeared in *Harper's Weekly* which expresses the spirit of the old Americanism, but at present our administration is pro-British, and while Germany is naturally our ally and should be treated with a friendly neutrality we antagonize her as if we were Britons, and the true Americans are denounced as traitors to the cause of humanity. There are however some Americans left who still cling to the old-fashioned ideals and, with reference to the poem of 1863 (quoted in full in *The Open Court* of November, 1915, p. 700) Mr. John L. Stoddard laments the present lack of manhood and true American patriotism as follows:

"We have forgotten it,—England's 'neutrality,'
We have surpassed it by one of our own,
Based on a specious but shameful legality,
Masked by a smug, hypocritical tone.

“We have forgotten how England then treated us,
Jeered at our losses, our struggles, our tears,
Shouted whenever our brothers defeated us,
Captured our vessels with swift privateers.

“We have forgotten how England then rated us;
Nothing too vile of us then could be said;
Snobs and aristocrats,—all of them hated us
Now they despise us,—our spirit is dead.

“We have forgotten how England then scornfully
Ridiculed Lincoln as ‘ape’ and as ‘clown,’
While a whole nation, in reverence, mournfully
Laid him to rest and immortal renown.

“We have forgotten her earlier ravages,—
Cities destroyed on our shelterless shore,
Use in her ranks of the scalp-hunting savages!
Read we the lives of our fathers no more?

“We have forgotten it all; and, though stronger,
Tame we yield to her shameless decrees;
Souls of our sires, respect us no longer,
While we thus cringe to the Scourge of the seas!

“*Make* us remember it, lest our servility
Finally meet with the craven’s reward;
God of our fathers, restore our virility!
Up from our knees! It is time for the sword.”

These lines are a terse hymn of lamentation written by an American Jeremiah.

Let us hope that America will recover from the pro-British infection which has come upon her. May God restore our manhood and preserve our independence; may He illuminate our souls that we may be fortified against the sinister and insidious British intrigues and ever remain faithful to the old American ideals.

THE BIBLE IN MODERN LIGHT.

BY G. H. RICHARDSON.

IT is necessary, as careful students, to take stock from time to time so that we can see clearly where we stand at the present in relation to the past, and even more in relation to the future, in order to see whether we can continue in the future with our work. Has there been gain or loss? Have we gathered new and better knowledge, or has there been bankruptcy?

For some decades now there has been great intellectual unrest. In every department of knowledge we can see the signs of this unrest. When in 1859 Darwin gave to the world his epoch-making work, *The Origin of Species*, he effected a revolution such as the world had not before experienced, not even when the Copernican theory was advanced. Even the man on the street saw that something had happened, and it was not long before both he and the man in the study began to apply the Darwinian theory to facts other than physical or physiological. Besides the evolution of man we hear of the evolution of literature, religion, politics, customs, art, etc. The past in all its parts has been examined, and the authorities of the past have been challenged. We do not ask to-day how old a thing or an institution or an authority is, but what its relation to us is to-day. We do not ask if a certain thing held a certain place a hundred or a thousand years ago, but whether it has a right to hold that position to-day, and if so, why.

To some people such unrest and questioning are sure proofs of the total depravity of the human race, and they must be suppressed as works of evil. To others—and we believe their number is growing daily—such signs are the signs of a belated spring, the life-springing of a new era which shall be more completely under the influence of the spirit of truth.

We cannot, even perhaps though we would, stop the world-

questioning. While it is destructive along some lines it is constructive along others. Perhaps many will be pained; we are certain that more will be blessed. What we need to guard against is the foolish attitude of standing on the beach with a besom trying to sweep back the incoming tide. The tide is under law and will come on without let or hindrance, and the man who would sweep it back will wet his feet, and perhaps take a cold.

Whether we believe it or not we are all "new theologians." Even the most conservative cannot look at the world and the thought of the world as did his conservative father. By this I do not mean that we have accepted any particular system of new theology, but I do mean that because a man lives in this age that he is under the influence of this age to a greater or less degree. We must be "moderns," we cannot help it. Text-books of Greek, Latin, biology, zoology, etc., used a generation ago will not suffice for the student to-day. Just because we are alive we need a change. We must progress with the times for the simple reason that every generation is bringing with it new problems, new facts, new knowledge.

Our purpose, however, at this time is with one department of modern thought. We wish to know what effect all this intellectual and spiritual unrest has had upon the Bible. How does the Bible stand to-day? Has it still its place as aforetime? Has it a right to its former place? Or has it been dethroned in these days of revolution and sent into exile? Can it stand the test of the age under the light of the age? In fact, what is the light of the age? Such are some of the questions being asked on all hands.

We are told that never in the history of the church has the Bible been so much studied as to-day. Never has there been a time when the Bible was demanding so much attention as at this very hour. Men in all walks of life are studying it, and yet at the same time we cannot overlook the fact that in the churches there is an appalling ignorance of the actual contents of the Bible. Dr. Forsyth, in his *Positive Preaching and the Modern Mind* says: "The Bible...has ceased to be the text-book of his [the preacher's] audience. The Bible is not read by the Christian, or even by the church-going public, as a means of grace greater even than church-going. Our people as a rule do not read the Bible in any sense which

my ministerial career has been to speak to congregations as if they did know and use the Bible."

There is still a superstitious regard for the Bible on the part of the majority in our churches. They are willing, like the monks of Tibet, to place it on an altar and go through a ritual before it. But it is a fetish, an idol, a thing to worship, not a message to be studied, accepted and followed. That we know more about the Bible than did our fathers we are willing to admit. At the same time we have to admit that we do not know the Bible itself as well as they did.

This has been an age of great Biblical commentaries, encyclopedias, dictionaries, helps. Clergy and laity alike have contributed to all these, and oftentimes the laity have shown a Biblical scholarship as keen and as profound as that of the recognized leaders among the clergy. Such research has meant for this age, as for no other, a wonderful increase of light, and it is our purpose to look at the Bible in this light. We can touch on only two rays at this time—archeology and comparative religion—but these, together with criticism, are the most important of all.

ARCHEOLOGY.

A wonderful field has been opened to the Biblical student during the last one hundred years by the archeologists. And yet the value of archeology is not fully realized by the majority of students. To many the very name suggests what is dry and uninteresting. It is the mere collection of curios for museum cases.

No doubt much depends upon the make-up of the individual, but we know more than one for whom archeology is among the most fascinating studies. It gives us back the life, literature, religion, manners, customs, of our forefathers. We see their hopes, we know their fears, we know what manner of men they were. It is an all-important study for the Bible-student and for the student of history in general.

The Bible is an eastern book, written by Orientals of the long ago. How shall we read it? How shall we approach it? Through western eyes, and under the dominance of western ideas and standards? To do so will be to fail to grasp its meaning. We cannot understand the literature or life of the Oriental without becoming Orientals. How shall we understand the Oriental then unless we study his monuments, etc.? Much misunderstanding of the Bible is due to this neglect. The extreme conservative on the one hand, and the extreme literary critic on the other, have both failed because

they treated the writers of the Bible too much as if they were writing in western studies in fear of western newspaper reviewers.

The East has a peculiarity all its own. We cannot take for granted that an Oriental means what we mean even though we use the same words in the same order. That eastern world has been opened to us of late and it is possible for us to enter into the life and mind of the unchanging East. From mounds, temples, graves, houses, palaces, have come the remains of vast civilizations. Egypt, the land that can rightly be called a vast cemetery, has yielded up its tens of thousands of monuments until we know the life and thought and religion of those ancient Egyptians almost as well as they knew these themselves. Babylonia and Assyria have given up the secrets of their mounds from the time when Claudius Rich gathered his few cuneiform tablets and Rawlinson climbed the Behistun rock and copied the inscriptions there, until to-day we can walk along their streets and enter their temples and feel that we know those ancient Semites to-day as well as we know the people across the ocean. Palestine is now yielding up its secrets to us, and as the result there are hundreds of scriptural problems being solved in the new light. The explorers and excavators have been busily at work in Arabia and already their researches are proving to be among the most important for the Biblical student.

It is impossible to characterize the remarkable discoveries made in Asia Minor in a few words. Even to say that they are epoch-making is not enough. Those who have studied the works of Ramsay will be the first to declare that their New Testament is a new book. And what shall we say of the wonderful discoveries made in connection with the great Hittite empire? The vast territory of the Hittite empire is being explored most thoroughly, and though we cannot as yet read their writings, we know what manner of men those Hittites were, and we see them holding their own among the nations of the world in a way we could not have imagined a few years ago. So rapid has been the change wrought by the discoveries that even the publishers are feeling the acuteness of the problem. Writing not long ago to a well-known firm of publishers in New York for a long-promised volume we received the following letter: "We have not published in the 'Library of Ancient Inscriptions' the volume on the *History of the Recovery and Decipherment of the Ancient (Egyptian) Inscriptions*. It was thought best to defer the publication of any further volumes in this set for at least a few years as there are such rapid changes taking place with reference to the ancient East, and there are frequent new discov-

eries, so that it would not be advisable to issue any further volumes just at this time as they would soon be greatly out of date."

This is a slight indication of what the study of archeology means to-day. The ancient Oriental world in which Israel lived, and which so helped to mould its life and thought, has been brought back to us from the grave at a time when it was particularly needed to correct many wild theories which have been given to the world from the schools of extremists, conservative and liberal. We have been told so often that we are the heirs of all the ages. We are, without doubt; but how many of us have claimed our heritage? Many write and speak as if the archeologists had never lived and worked. We could name a number of volumes on ancient history used in colleges and high-schools we could well afford to be without, in spite of the fact that they have been written during the past few years. Some of our modern books have been written in total disregard of the discoveries in those ancient lands.

If, as is stated by Droysen in his *First Principles of History*, history is the effort of the present to understand itself by understanding the past out of which it has come, how are we to understand the present or the past apart from the study of archeology? The new school of German historians, represented by Droysen, tells us that we can realize or understand the past in one way only; we must live it over again with those whose records we study. We appeal then to Cæsar. Archeological research is all-important in and for the study and teaching of history whether that history is the so-called secular or sacred. It is not our purpose at this time to give the history of archeological research, for that is too large a subject for such a paper as this. If one wishes to read the account from the Biblical standpoint he cannot do better than procure the *History of Babylonia and Assyria* written by Prof. W. R. Rogers of Drew Theological Seminary, where he will find a well-written account of both the discovery and decipherment of the Assyrian monuments. Another valuable work is *Excavations in Bible Lands during the Nineteenth Century* by Hilprecht.

A number of societies are at work in the field to-day and all of them publish detailed accounts of their work with which it would be well for the student to keep in touch. The Egypt Exploration Fund has given back to the world a number of Biblical sites as well as thousands of monuments. It has also collected thousands of papyri, the discovery of which, as we shall see later, has worked one of the greatest changes in the realm of Biblical study so far known. Annually it publishes volumes dealing with the general

excavations and also special volumes dealing with the papyri. The Palestine Exploration Fund is a society for the accurate and systematic investigation of the archeology, the topography, the geology and physical geography, the manner and customs of the Holy Land for Biblical illustration. Not only does it publish a quarterly statement, but also valuable books dealing more fully with work in Palestine, as well as maps, and plans, models and casts of the objects found, photographs and slides, so that the student is enabled to keep himself thoroughly up to date. Then we have a number of societies in Europe doing splendid work in Palestine, Babylonia and Egypt. Neither must we overlook the Egyptian Research Account, the Society of Biblical Archeology, and the well-equipped Pennsylvania University Babylonian Expedition. These will suffice to show that this can be truly called the century of archeological research. Even the tyro can see that these discoveries are bound to have a far-reaching effect upon the study of the past, and particularly upon the study of the Bible.

For the influence of Assyriological research upon the Old Testament allow me to quote the words of Friedrich Delitzsch: "Assyriological research which sprang from the ruins of Babylon and Nineveh has above all shown itself fruitful for the science of the Old Testament, and for its promises to bear still more fruit. For not only is the Assyrian language most akin to the Hebrew, affording new information on questions of grammar, lexicography, and phraseology, but there is scarcely a book of the Old Testament the interpretation of whose subject-matter has not been aided to some extent by the cuneiform monuments. The narratives and conceptions of the creation of the world in the Book of Genesis—the serpent as the arch-enemy of the Deity and embodiment of all sin and malice, the ten patriarchs, and the catastrophe of the deluge which destroyed primitive humanity, so well known and familiar to us from childhood—appear in a new light through the surprising parallels which the Babylonian-Assyrian clay books furnish. The Old Testament history, especially that of Israel from Chedorlaomer to Belshazzar and the Achæmenian kings, interlinked with the history of Babel and Asshur, continually receives new light from the latter. The chronology of the kings of Judah and Israel is, through the chronology of the Assyrian empire, placed on a more secure basis than was possible before; and since in the annals of the Assyrian kings mention is made of the kings Ahab and Jehu, Pekah and Hosea, Ahaz and Hezekiah, the possibility is afforded of comparing

as for instance that of Sennacherib's campaign against Jerusalem—with the records of the opposing side, Hebrew antiquity is connected by hundreds of threads with that of western Asia, particularly of Babylonia and Assyria. The deeper insight which we now have into the belief and cults of the gods, especially into the nature of the sacrifices of the Babylonians, their conception of the winged angelic beings after the manner of the cherubim and seraphim, their views of life after death, their bestowing of names, the peculiarities of the psalm poetry in form and matter, their manners and customs, their system of measures and weights, etc., directly serve the advancement of Old Testament theology and archeology."

I have quoted this from Delitzsch's lectures on *Babel and Bible*, (p. xxii), a book well worthy of attention, though it must be read carefully. A very useful book is *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*. This latter volume contains in English translation all the Babylonian, Assyrian and Persian inscriptions yet discovered which illustrate the Old Testament.

For the influence of Palestinian excavations let me quote the words of Professor Kittel of Leipsic: "The results of the Palestinian excavations confirm, enrich, and often complete the picture given to us by the Bible of Canaan in the days of Moses and Joshua. Further, they give us important knowledge concerning the later periods; but above all, they have given us a new and unexpected vision of early Canaan and have made known to us the fact that the country had already attained a high state of civilization when the Israelites invaded it under the leadership of Joshua.

The bearings of Egyptian archeology upon the Old Testament we will leave, and will treat of its bearings upon the New Testament later. The significance of the discoveries among the remains of the Hittites we cannot deal with at present. We are still waiting for the key to the hieroglyphics of the Hittites. Archeology has suffered a great loss in the death of Hugo Winckler to whom we were looking for a speedy solution of the problem. We owe a great debt to Professor Sayce for his many contributions to the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archeology* dealing with the Hittite language. Neither can we now discuss the amazing discoveries in Arabia, but must leave the student to study the works of Hommel, Glaser and others. No student can afford to neglect the two great works by George Adam Smith, *The Historical Geog-*

his *Researches*. Palestine is too large a subject for any one man or even one society. Four names we feel we ought to mention at this point in connection with Palestinian excavation: Benzinger and Schumacher, who carried on the work at the site of the ancient Megiddo, Sellin who carried on work at Taanach, and MacAlister who had done such good work at Gezer.

In connection with the archeology of the Old Testament we have to watch certain tendencies at work to-day. So enamoured have some scholars become with the wealth of Assyriological material that they seem to have the idea that the whole of the ancient world outside of Babylonia was simply a Babylonian back-wash. On all hands we have been reading the word "Pan-Babylonianism." Winckler, Jensen, Delitzsch, Zimmern, Jeremias and some others would have us believe that there is nothing original in the Old Testament. They send us back to Babylonia for practically every Hebrew belief, rite, custom and law. Winckler said that "the land of Canaan has never been anything but a domain of Babylonian civilization." So strongly have some scholars argued that one lecturer said not long ago: "These recent tendencies make it appear that the question as to the place of the Babylonian element in the form and substance of the Old Testament writings is at present the question in Old Testament studies." At the other extreme we have Prof. Albert Clay turning the whole matter completely around and arguing that "the Semitic Babylonian religion is an importation from Syria and Palestine, that the creation, deluge, antediluvian patriarchs, etc., of the Babylonian came from Amurru, instead of the Hebraic stories having come from Babylonia, as held by nearly all Semitic scholars." What we need to pray for is the spirit of discernment so that we can distinguish between the facts discovered by the scholars and the fancies they would have us accept as facts.

But we must stop at this point and turn to another field. Perhaps in the whole realm of archeology nothing has been so far-reaching in its influence as has the discovery of the papyri. Since 1897 thousands of flimsy sheets of papyri have been discovered in the sands and tombs of Egypt. The history of the recovery of these is one of the most fascinating stories ever told. Space forbids our dealing with it, and we must be content to refer the student to the volumes published by the Egypt Exploration Fund in connection with its Greco-Roman branch, edited by Drs. Grenfell and Hunt.

a flood of unexpected light upon an interesting period. It is at present impossible to measure the far-reaching influences yet to be exerted, but when one has seen the great mass of papyri in the possession of Grenfell and Hunt after a few seasons in Egypt, or the collections in the British Museum, the Bodleian at Oxford, Berlin, Heidelberg, Leipsic, Vienna, Paris, New York, Chicago, and California, we estimate that the influence will be profound.

We cannot deal with this subject as a whole, but must limit ourselves to the bearings of these documents on the New Testament, and that in the briefest possible manner. No study has so completely revolutionized our ideas of the structure and language of the New Testament, for scholars are well-nigh agreed that the starting-point for the philological investigation of the New Testament must be the language of the non-literary papyri. All Greek scholars have recognized the great difference existing between the Greek of the Classics and the Greek of the New Testament. We need not state the many theories advocated to account for this difference. Enough now to state that the Greek of the New Testament is colloquial. The discoveries of the past few years make this the key to the whole question under discussion. In a popular Greek grammar written for New Testament students we read: "Their Greek [the New Testament writers'] would amount to nothing other than a translation of their native tongue, together with the native idiom; their thinking was all in Aramaic, while their words were in Greek." Page after page is written in a similar strain, and quotations from the works of many scholars are given in support of the theory.

All this has changed during the last decade by the study of the papyri. We cannot any longer build up profound arguments on the "special renderings" of "Biblical" or "New Testament" Greek. The "Hebraisms" one after another are found to be not "Hebraisms" but ordinary every-day Greek words used by the common people on the street and in the market. Deissmann does not allow more than one percent of the vocabulary of the Greek Testament to be originally "Christian" or "Biblical" words. We must look on the Greek of the New Testament as just the Greek of the man on the street during the Roman imperial period. Time and space prohibit our illustrating this, and again we must refer the student to the literature upon this subject, particularly the work of Deissmann, Moulton, Milligan, Grenfell and Hunt, to name only a few. We are sincerely hoping that more attention will be paid in this country to this field of research. Already it has meant the discarding of

many a New Testament Greek Grammar, many a commentary, many a sermon. Even the classic dictionaries, such as Cremer's *Biblico-Theological Lexicon*, and Wilke's *Clavis Novi Testamenti* will have to be rewritten. The literature is becoming abundant, but we would particularly urge the careful study of the volumes of *Oxyrynchus Papyri* edited by Grenfell and Hunt and published by the Egypt Exploration Fund.

What has archeology done for the Bible?

It has given us back the Old Testament world and the world of the New Testament. It has enabled us to place Israel among the nations of the world. We can now see the men with whom the Israelites came in contact. We can watch the development of the life and religion of the Jewish people as never before. We can watch the people of the New Testament day and see the forces against which the new evangel had to contend. One of the most important things is that we can watch the life of the man on the street. So far we have seen only the great and mighty, kings and courtiers, generals and statesmen. Now we see the peasant and artisan, the soldier and common trader. Christianity made its appeal to the people in the language of the people.

We must carefully guard ourselves against two extreme schools when we come to the summing up of archeology and its value for the Biblical student. On the one hand we have the extremely conservative scholars, such as Professor Sayce and his followers, who argue as if archeology had proved every detail of the Old Testament to the hilt and had forever made the conclusions of higher criticism appear absurd. On the other hand we have those who believe that archeology has been one long chapter in their favor when they come to the disproving of the Biblical record. We find Sayce writing: "In dealing with the history of the past we are thus confronted with two utterly opposed methods, one objective, the other subjective, one resting on a basis of verifiable facts, the other on the unsupported and unsupportable assumptions of the modern scholar. The one is the method of archeology, the other of the so-called 'higher criticism.' Between the two the scientifically trained mind can have no hesitation in choosing." Because he appeals to the scientifically trained mind we are willing to allow this statement to go forth without comment.

Without wishing to appear hypercritical where a scholar so great as Professor Sayce is concerned, we would like to give just one specimen of his method of argument. Not long ago he made the startling statement: "The vindication of the reality of Menes means

the vindication also of the historical character of the Hebrew patriarchs." Such a style of argument is bound to bring prejudice in time, for the "scientifically trained mind" is bound to ask what connection there is between the first king of the first Egyptian dynasty and the Hebrew patriarchs. Many of the conservative Biblical scholars of to-day are very much like the conservative theologians of a few years ago, willing to build a whole system on a few gaps. Such a method is a sad mistake. We can find much to use for the illustration of the Biblical record. Many striking proofs have been given. On the other hand we have, in all fairness, to admit that archeology has also given its disproofs.

Even the disproofs are valuable, as is seen in the case of the chronology of the Old Testament. If there has been a perplexing problem the Biblical student had to face, it is this problem of chronology. Now, thanks to certain monuments which contradict the Bible story, we can rectify that chronology and arrange the events of the national life in their due order.

This is the merest summary, but we believe it is sufficient to convince the student that he lives in a day of most wonderful light, and that he can now read the Bible as it actually is. We have not dealt with individual monuments. Perhaps some will think we ought to have discussed the code of Hammurabi, or the cylinders of Sennacherib, or the Logia, or the Elephantine papyri. This was not our purpose. Enough if we have caused the student to turn his attention to a vast and fascinating field of research that offers more reward than most fields to serious students.

COMPARATIVE RELIGION.

Perhaps, strictly speaking, this should have been dealt with under the head of archeology. It is better, however, to deal with it separately since it is independent of archeology as such even while depending upon archeological research for its data. "Comparative religion assumes that religion is already in existence. It deals with actual usages, which it places side by side to see what light they can throw upon each other. It leaves the task of formulating definitions to philosophy. It is not concerned with origins, and does not project itself into the prehistoric past where conjecture takes the place of evidence."

Our method of dealing with religions has been too atomistic. It has been enough for the great majority of men to divide the religions of the world into the true and the false, placing the Jewish and Christian religions under the title true, while all other religions

have gone under the title false. Even the Archbishop of Canterbury could refuse to attend a congress of religions on the ground that as a clergyman of the English Episcopal church he could only sanction the one true religion, the Christian.

Ours is a scientific age. We seek to connect all things where possible. Monism prevails in the scientific and philosophical world. No longer do we treat the various branches of science in isolation, but rather do we seek to connect them into one whole. The same spirit is prevailing in other departments of thought, particularly in the study of the manifestations of religion in the world. We do no longer study the religion of Babylonia, or Egypt, or Persia, or Israel, or Greece, or Rome as if they were the result of spontaneous generation. In spite of their diversities the religions of the world spring from one common impulse. We must remember that "the Spirit bloweth where it listeth." While it was manifested in an especial degree in the religion of Israel, and particularly among the prophets, its activity is universal and is manifested everywhere where men sincerely seek God. If we maintain that God has an influence on men, if we believe that God reveals himself to those who seek him, then we must believe that God does not hide himself from any one who honestly seeks and desires him, but reveals himself whether it is to Hammurabi, Moses, Zoroaster, Buddha, Confucius, Isaiah, Jesus or Paul. There are differences of degree in the revelation, but the revelation is due to the same Spirit. Not one religious system of the world has developed independently of the other religions. From all the corners of the earth scholars have gathered facts bearing upon the religious life of the race, and we see that man is, indeed, incurably religious. Until within the last few years we have had a few ideas of the great religions of the world, but of the religious life of men in general we were ignorant. Now we can read the fifty volumes of the *Sacred Books of the East*, with the Gifford Lectures and the Hibbert Lectures, as well as hundreds of other works, including the great *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*. This is one of the most wonderful works issued from the modern press, its purpose being to give an account of all religious and ethical beliefs, and all religious and moral practices throughout the world.

As we have already stated, we cannot any longer divide the

“God sends His teachers unto every age,
To every clime, and every race of men,
With revelations fitted to their growth
And shape of mind, nor gives the realm of truth
Into the selfish rule of one sole race.
Therefore each form of worship that hath swayed
The life of men, and given it to grasp
The master-key of knowledge—reverence—
Infolds some germ of goodness and of right.”

It is impossible to deal with this science at all adequately in a paper like this, even when we intend to deal with only one branch of it, that bearing on the Bible. That even the religions of the Bible cannot be exempted from the study of comparative religion should now be evident to all serious students. Just because they are historical religions, the products of certain historical periods and conditions, they must submit to the historical test.

The ancient Hebrews belong to a definite race, the Semitic. They belong on the one side to the life of the desert, and are akin with the nomad Arabs, on the other they are related to the authors of the Babylonian culture. It is therefore necessary, if we would understand them, to study the religion and life of Arabians and Babylonians, and also the religious and social life of the people of Palestine during the period they lived in the land as a nation from the conquest to the fall of Jerusalem.

Here again we can only direct the student instead of going into details. W. Robertson Smith, in his lectures on *The Religion of the Semites*, has placed all students under obligation, even while we cannot to-day accept all the conclusions worked out in that book and in the volume on *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*. Granting that scholars have proved certain conclusions wrong these works are well worthy of the closest study in that they furnish a background for the religious life of Israel. *The Religion of Israel* by Kuenen, in spite of its naturalistic tone, is still a standard work the student must study. One of the latest additions to the study of the subject is *The Religion of Israel* by Prof. H. P. Smith whose *Old Testament History* is indispensable when one seeks the background for the religious life. For the study of the religious life of Babylonia we have Sayce, Rogers and Jastrow, this latter scholar having recently given to the world a valuable work on *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions*. It is perhaps needless to urge the student to study the many articles in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*.

These will suffice to show us the rise and progress of the religion of the Old Testament. We shall be enabled to trace that religion from its prehistoric beginnings on through the period of the conquest and its contact with the religions of Canaan, on through prophetism, until we come to the canonization of the literature of the Old Testament, and as we do we shall see, as Professor Kent has said, that "in the Israelites the diverse streams of divine revelation converged. The result is that, instead of many little rivulets, befouled by errors and superstitions, through their history there flowed a mighty stream, ever becoming broader and deeper and clearer as it received fresh contributions from the new fountains of purest revelation that opened in Hebrew soil."

While we shall find many things we did not expect to find, and while Israel borrowed more than we aforesaid thought, and while we shall be compelled to change many of the ideas in which we were reared regarding the course of Hebrew religion, yet at the same time, and as the result of this study, we shall see, as we could not see from the old way of looking at it, its divine element, and wherein it really differed from the surrounding religions. We shall see that the theories of the Pan-Babylonians are inadequate to account for the differences. No amount of study of comparative religion can account for the idea of Yahveh as held by the greatest of the prophets of Israel. It is in this conception of Yahveh that we must look for the difference between the religion of Israel and the religions of Babylonia, Assyria, Canaan, and in fact all the surrounding peoples. "Even though they are not the discoverers of the unity and the moral character of God, still it was they who brought them out from their obscurity and gave them a content which previous to this had only been dim and uncertainly felt, more surmised than clearly conceived. They established clearly and completely the moral side of God's nature, and, taking this as a standpoint, they explained everything which happened in the world in accordance with this conception, and thereby exalted the uncertain imperfect idea of God current in their days to the idea of a universal moral monotheism which governs the whole world."

We do not ask after the origin of the name or the idea of Yahveh. That it is older than Israel is evident. Not the origin, but the final conception is the main concern with us at this time. As Prof. W. R. Rogers says: "At first sight this may seem like a startling robbery of Israel, this taking away from her the divine name 'Yahveh' as an exclusive possession, but it is not so. Yahveh himself is not taken away: he remains the priceless possession, the

chief glory of Israel. It is only the name that is shown to be widespread. And the name matters little. The great question is, What does this name convey? What is the theological content? The name came to Israel from the outside; but into that vessel a long line of prophets from Moses onward poured such a flood of attributes as never a priest in all western Asia from Babylonia to the sea ever dreamed of in his highest moments of spiritual insight. In this name and through Israel's history God chose to reveal himself to Israel, and by Israel to the world. Therein lies the supreme and lonesome superiority of Israel over Babylonia."

We do not seek to belittle the other religions of the world, neither do we seek to put the religion of Israel in a place apart because of prejudice. But a strict investigation will compel the student to hold apart what, by their very nature, are naturally apart. Lack of time and space forbids any detailed discussion.

Passing to the New Testament we reach a place where many would forbid us to compare. Is not the religion of the New Testament entirely distinct from every other form of religion the world has ever seen? Is it not a sign of irreverence to take it up in a scientific spirit and examine it? Is not the fact that the religion of the New Testament is the outcome of the teaching of Jesus fact enough to place it where men have no right to bring it down to the laboratory?

Such has been the attitude of the church, but it must go. Christianity is a historical religion which came into the world at a certain time and under certain conditions, and we have a right to examine it in the light of those conditions. When we so examine it there is nothing to fear. Christianity will bear the fullest investigation. We know more of the conditions under which it arose than at any other time in the history of the church. The researches of Mommsen, Harnack, Wernle, Ramsay and Deissmann, not to mention other great scholars, have given us back the world of the New Testament. We know now what influences were brought to bear on that new faith. We know the conditions out of which it came and into which it went.

Particularly must the student of the epistles of Paul get thoroughly acquainted with the mystery religions of that day if he would understand Paul. Only as we understand the meaning of Osiris, Attis, Adonis, Mithra and the other saviour-gods shall we be able to get at the heart of the teaching of Paul and his school. While he was a Jew, a Hebrew son of Hebrew parents, yet he was reared in an atmosphere purely Hellenistic where his "whole idea of re-

demption has been unconsciously universalized, individualized, and spiritualized, by contact with Greek and Hellenistic thought."

We recognize that there is a danger here, as in other new studies, of being carried away because of the novelty of the subject, but at the same time we have to widen our outlook if we would become master-teachers to our intellectually restless age. In the words of one of the keenest of New Testament students: "Whether Paul himself so conceived it or not, the Gentile world had no other moulds of thought wherein to formulate such a Christology than the current myths of redeemer-gods. The value of the individual soul had at last been discovered, and men resorted to the ancient personifications of the forces of nature as deliverers of this new-found soul from its weakness and mortality. The influential religions of the time were those of personal redemption by mystic union with a dying and resurrected saviour-god, an Osiris, an Adonis, an Attis, a Mithra. Religions of this type were everywhere displacing the old national faiths."

We can only call the attention of the student to this field which is so rich in promise, and ask him to take up the study of it as it is to-day. This he can do with Deissmann, Gardner, Farnell, Kennedy, Fowler and others as his teachers.

Neither can the student neglect the study of the apocalyptic literature. Many of the dark places of the New Testament are made bright in the light of these strange works. The eschatological question is at present the burning question in New Testament study. Here again great care is necessary, for theories are given out, only too often, as assured facts. What did Jesus mean when he used the title "Son of Man"? What did he mean by the "kingdom of God"? Was his gospel preached under the influence of the apocalyptic ideas of his day, or did he wholly escape their influence? If he did, what must we think of the eschatological material to be found in the gospel story? These are some of the questions we have to answer to-day. A good book is *The Eschatology of the Gospels* by Dobschutz. Schweitzer's volume on *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* demands serious attention at this point. It is almost needless to add that Dr. Charles is the great authority when we come to the study of the apocalypses.

We have had many wild theories retailed as sober, scientific fact here as in other fields of research. We cannot accept the conclusions of a work so great as Frazer's *Golden Bough* without exercising the greatest care. Whatever we may think of the main contentions of the parts already published of this work we cannot

but state that the author's evidence is, in many places, so forced as to lose its usefulness for science. He often writes as if the mere accumulation of details from all the corners of the earth and from all ages were evidence.

How to characterize such a work as Robertson's *Pagan Christs* we scarcely know. We would like to believe the writer was serious in his work, but the evidences are too many that almost anything will do if only it has the slightest resemblance to some gospel story. On both the above mentioned works it is well to remember what a recent scholar has said regarding comparative religion: "Comparison that confines itself to counting up resemblances here and there will be of small value. We cannot comprehend the real meaning of a single religious rite, a single sentence of any scripture, apart from the context to which it belongs. Acts and words alike issue out of experiences that may be hundreds of years old, and sum up generations, it may be whole ages, of continuous progress."

Remember that we cannot afford to turn from any branch of study just because some enthusiasts carry it to extremes. All abuses must give way before the greater enlightenment. Comparative religion is a fruitful field for study, and we are pleased to know that more than one educational institution is taking it up thoroughly among their courses.

As we read the legends of the creation, deluge, etc., on the cuneiform tablets of Babylonia, or read the code of Hammurabi, or read the psalms and prayers of the ancient Babylonians, and the ideas of the Egyptians regarding Osiris and the other life, we at once see that we have a ground for comparing these with the Old and New Testament stories. As we watch the spread of the religions of the Orient through the Roman empire prior to and at the time of the rise of Christianity, and as we note the main conceptions in these religions, we again see what ground the student has for comparison. Here the works of Franz Cumont will be found helpful.

This is but a very brief outline of this vast subject. Our Bible is a new book for this generation as for no other. If some theories have been exploded as the result of the new light, the Bible itself has gained in value for the race. Many a part considered unprofitable has been seen to hold a living message. We can more than ever see that "Every scripture inspired of God is profitable for teachings, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness: that the man of God may be complete, furnished completely unto every good work." We must not blame the men

of a former age for the theories they held. "We live in a light that they did not possess, but which it has pleased the providence of God to shed around us; and if the Bible is to retain its authority and influence amongst us, it must be read in this light, and our beliefs about it must be readjusted and accomodated accordingly. To utilize, so far as we can, the light in which we live is, it must be remembered, not a privilege only, but a duty."

Poor indeed is he who has not come into the light of this great age. As we said before, there never has been so much light for the Bible-student as in this particular age. We have a glorious opportunity of making the Bible live again to the men and women of this age if we will exert ourselves. It is not necessary to furnish a bibliography since we have named so many works in the text. If the student will but procure these, or study them, and will work at them consistently, we know that he will be, in very deed, "a workman, not needing to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth." If we can lead but one soul out of the comfortable but suffocating prison-house of the received dogma into the open air of the true revelation, we shall not have studied in vain. The world is ready for the light to break. To withhold that light is criminal, even sinful. To us has been committed a great trust, and it is for us to be wise money-changers.

Ours is the greatest of the scriptures of the world. In it we have a treasure beyond price. At the same time, however, we must be willing to take the light we can gather from others. We must ever remember

"God is not dumb that He should speak no more.
If thou hast wanderings in the wilderness,
And find'st not Sinai, 'tis thy soul is poor:
There stands the mountain of the Voice no less.

"Slowly the Bible of the race is writ,
And not on paper leaves nor leaves of stone;
Each age, each kindred, adds a verse to it,
Texts of despair or hope, or joy or moan.
While swings the sea, while mists the mountain shroud,
While thunder's surges burst on cliffs of cloud,
Still at the prophet's feet the nations sit."

Let us be bold enough to claim what we can and, taking the treasure given to us by the past and the present, teach the world whenever we can the truths that will lift it to the heights it is meant to attain.

PICTURES FROM THE THEATER OF WAR.

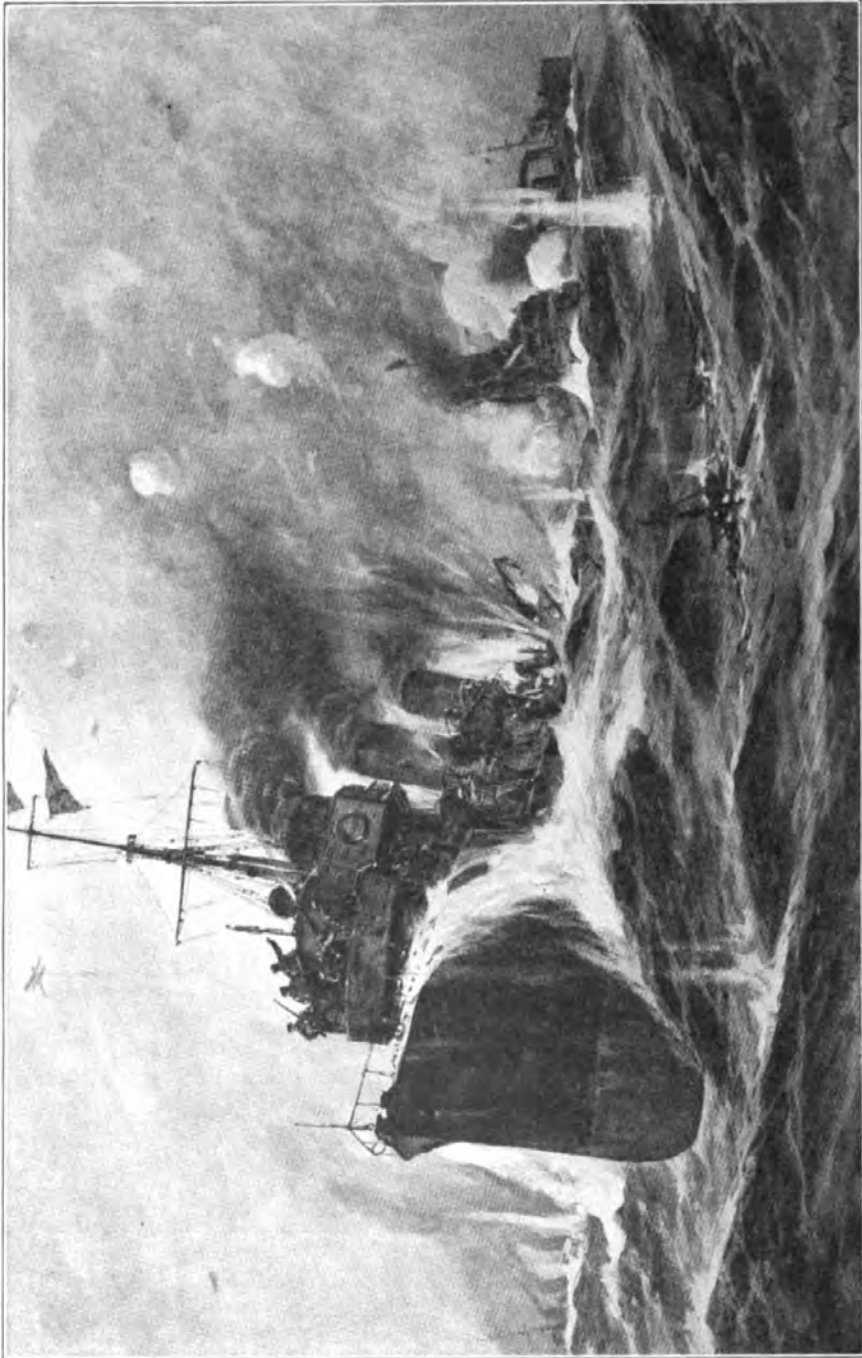
BY THE EDITOR.

THE present war has been more horrible than former wars because of the many new inventions and the advance in scientific instruments of destruction. The aeroplane and the submarine add new poetry to modern heroism, and we present here a few snapshots illustrating some phases of the war.



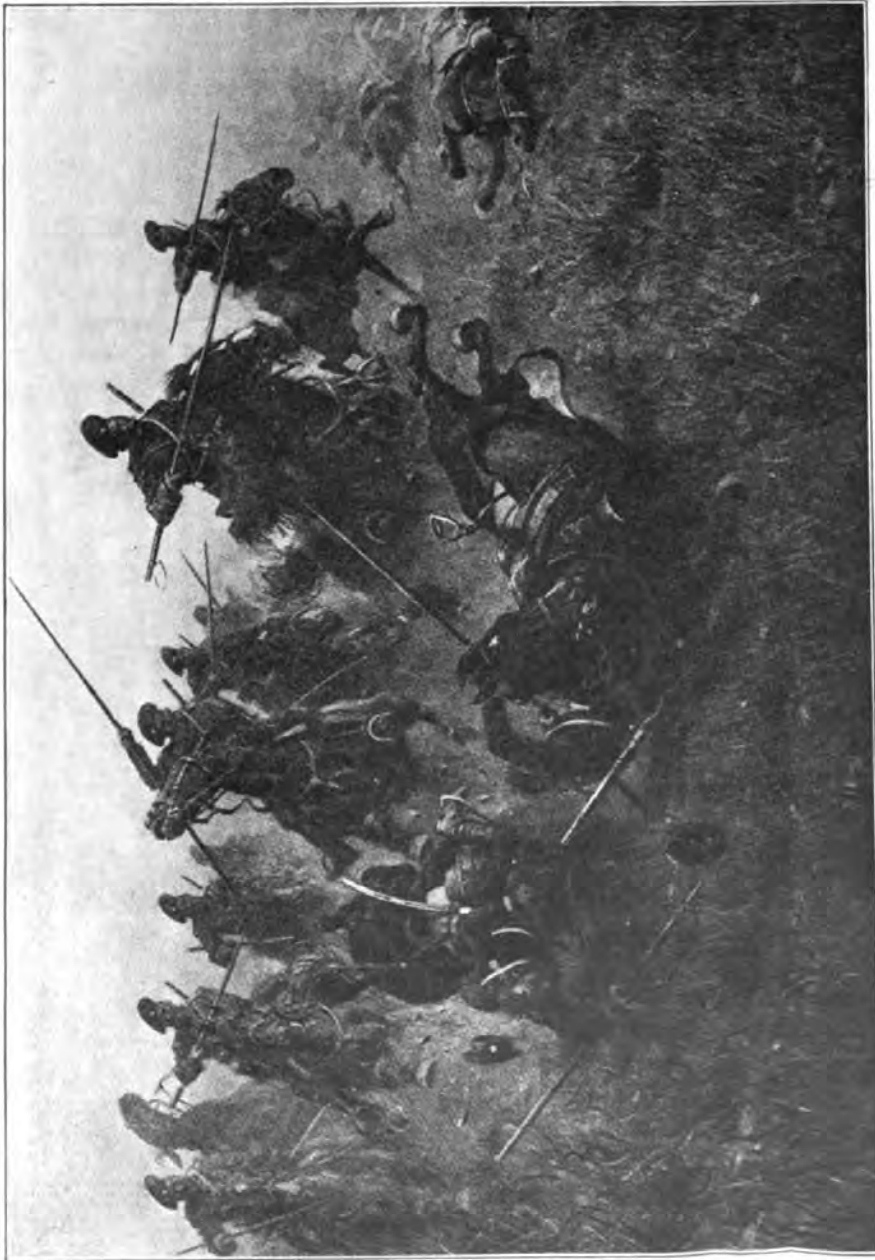
PONTOON BRIDGE OVER THE NIEMEN.

One illustration shows a British flotilla beset by German aeroplanes. On page 502 we have a view of Bari, an Italian harbor



BRITISH FLOTILLA ATTACKED BY GERMAN AEROPLANES.

On the eastern front battles are waged between the Russians on the one side and German and Austrian troops on the other. In our illustration we have a scene that has often been repeated,



ATTACKED BY COSSACKS.
Photograph by Hugo Ungewitter.

an impetuous attack of the Cossacks, riding with undaunted courage to almost certain death in the face of their enemies' fire. Whatever we may say of the Asiatic state of civilization of the Russian

people even to-day, one merit cannot be denied them, and that is the bravery with which they have made their assaults. A war critic overheard the comment of a German officer in command of machine guns on the eastern line of defense, in which he gave unstinted praise to the bravery of the Russian soldiers while deploring the criminal ignorance of their leaders who actually ordered the men to advance to certain destruction where there was not the slightest chance of success.

When the Russians were retreating before the advance of the Germans in Poland they laid waste the country with ruthless bar-



GERMAN PIONEERS RECONSTRUCTING A BRIDGE IN GALICIA.

barism, and this was not the enemy's territory but the home of their own people, at least of their own subjects, and it almost seemed as if they burned the fields and killed the cattle because they had no hope of ever recovering the abandoned provinces. The pictures here show the destruction of bridges which must be restored by the pursuing Germans in order to establish connections with the rear

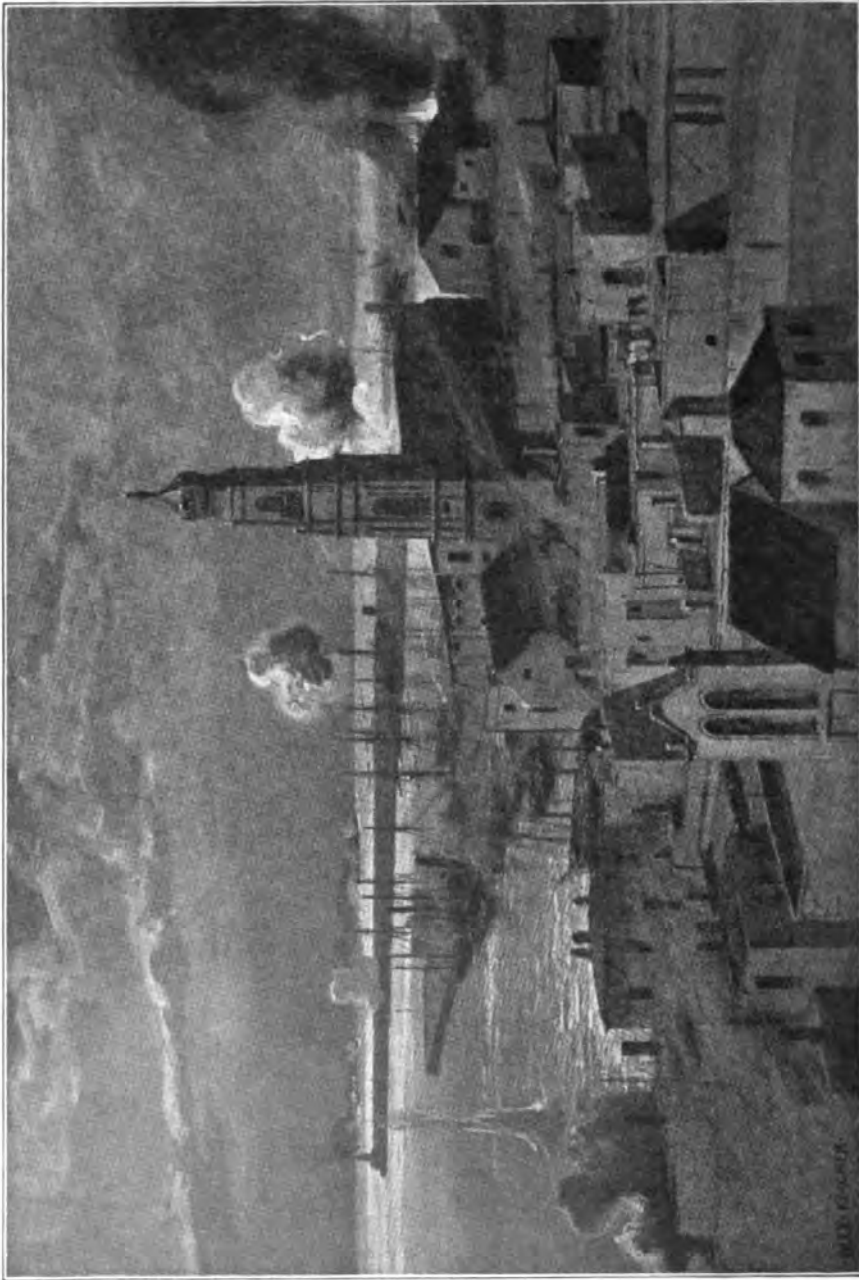
in their religious beliefs are now more brotherly than ever before. They use the same altars and pulpits interchangeably for divine



DIVINE SERVICE ON THE WESTERN FRONT.
 Drawn by A. Liebling after a photograph.

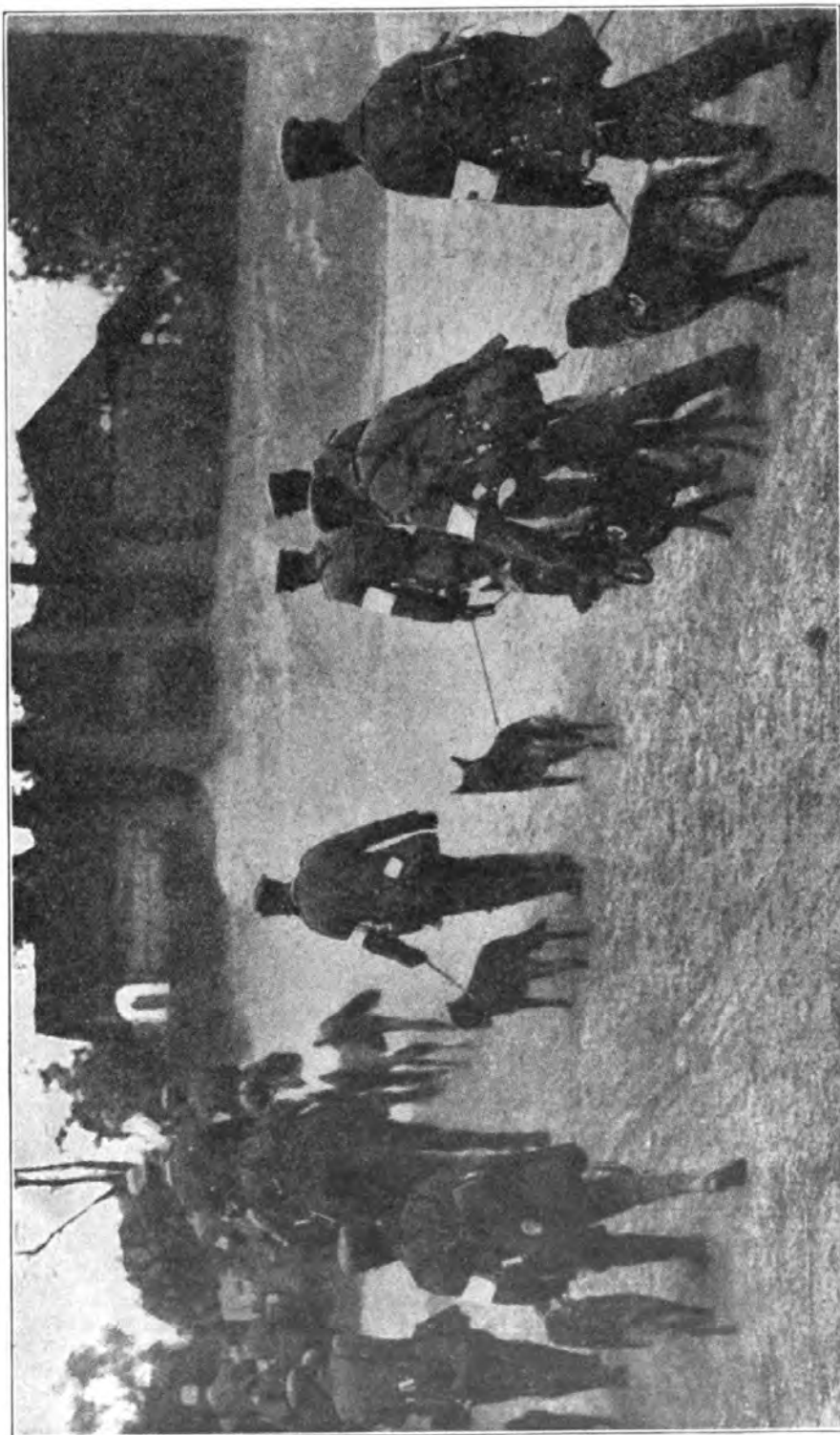
service, and even the Jews are included in the feeling of brotherliness. Clergymen of all confessions approach the wounded on the

battlefield and are not restrained from speaking words of comfort in the face of death.



ATTACK IN THE HARBOR OF BARI.
Photograph by Alexander Kircher.

Medical corps and hospital units form a much larger and more important part of the equipment of armies than ever before,



MEDICAL CORPS WITH DOGS.

and the picture of the dogs in the Red Cross service shows an interesting phase of relief work.

Last but not least we introduce our readers to a young war bride and her husband who were married just as the young Ger-



A WAR BRIDE AND HER HUSBAND.

man officer was leaving for the front. It will not be a violation of our neutrality if we close by wishing them a happy reunion after the rigors and sacrifices of war are things of the past.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A PROTEST FROM THE BAHAISTS.¹

To the Editor of The Open Court:

Permit me to congratulate you upon the professed aims of your learned periodical, and especially upon the excellent articles—with one exception—contained in the issue of August of last year.

The one article which among well-informed persons is liable to generate agitation, indignation and indeed deep sorrow and bitter mourning, is an article relative to the Bahai movement, written by a certain Mr. Richardson, because it is a monument of the blindest prejudice, and is so full of mutilations and perversions of facts that in itself it is not worth serious consideration and is unworthy of criticism.

It is most regrettable, but it was foreseen, that such and similar defamatory and calumnious articles should appear; but who would have anticipated that you, Doctor, a learned man and a professed advocate of liberal ideas, would desecrate the pages of your journal by permitting the blindest and most rabid fanaticism to hurl its poisoned shafts by means of it!

For the turbid sources from which the above-mentioned writer derived his "information" are easily discernible, and the expressed bias and manifest animosity of this Mr. Richardson can be easily seen.

If it were otherwise he would no doubt have consulted competent authorities and quoted their conclusions concerning the matter under consideration,—authorities such as the famous and celebrated savant, the brilliant investigator and most notable author, His Honor Mirza Fazl; the scholarly *Harvard Theological Review*; His Excellency Count Gobineau, late French ambassador at the Persian court; the well-known M. le Docteur Hippolyte Dreifuss of Paris; the distinguished traveler in the Orient, His Honor Charles Mason Remey of Washington, D. C.; the great Professor Vambéry of Budapest,—not to speak of the learned Dr. Meyer, Rabbi of Temple Emmanuel, San Francisco, California; that revered man and renowned Christian scholar, Archdeacon Wilberforce of Westminster Abbey, London, England; the great

¹ We had been hoping that we might receive comments on Mr. R. P. Richardson's attack on Bahaism, published in August, 1915, from His Excellency, Dr. Zia M. Bagdadi, the leader of the Bahaist movement in America. But as no reply has been forthcoming from Dr. Bagdadi, we publish herewith a communication from his secretary, Mr. Emile Tobler, who is very close to His Excellency, in which is voiced the Bahaist resentment at Mr. Richardson's criticism. We still hope, however, that His Excellency will see fit to give expression to his views before interest in the subject has waned.—Ed.

French encyclopaedia, the *Nouveau Larousse*; or the director of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition—an epochal affair of colossal dimensions and tremendous significance—who in April, 1915, awarded, in the name of the Exposition Committee, a medal of honor to the First International Bahai Congress, which held its sessions under the aegis of the government of the United States, as an integral part of the exposition at San Francisco, California, with words of highest eulogy and unstinted praise for the high humanitarianism and the idealism and practical benevolence of the Bahai cause.

Would it not have been more worthy of a man who makes pretensions to learning and philosophical qualities, and who above all others ought to be impartial, to have investigated sympathetically and to have judged justly instead of vilifying in the basest manner, and calumniating in the most shameful fashion a cause, namely, the purifying and ennobling teachings of The Glorious Lord, The Supreme Lawgiver, the Blessed Perfection, The Radiant Glory of God, The Most High, His Eternal Majesty, BAHĀ'O'LLĀH; and His Unique Expositor, The Glorious Greatest Branch, The Center of The Covenant, His Holiness, ABDUL BAHĀ, The Servant of GOD and of all humanity,—about which that learned and liberal man, that profound thinker and logical writer, His Honor Herr Doctor Singer, Editor-in-Chief of the great daily newspaper, the *Illinois Staats-Zeitung*, and a well-known militant advocatę of that which is ideal in tendency, and practicable as to application, expressed himself as follows: "These teachings are the pure, uncolored truth; it is to be hoped that humanity will accept them, since they are conducive to the advancement and felicity of mankind."

And especially since Mr. Richardson intended to use as his vehicle and instrument a periodical entitled *The Open Court*, a journal edited by a literary gentleman, who nowadays, in a very special manner, asserts that he is a combatant against the domination of ignorance, of mendacity, of malicious calumny, of blind fanaticism.

No open court where justice truly reigns should permit itself to drag a person or a cause, solely upon the unsubstantiated assertions of unreliable witnesses, to the bench of accusation, and without even offering to the accused the slightest opportunity for defense make short process by entering sentence of condemnation.

It is astonishing! It is inexplicable how your Honor could be duped in such a shameful manner, and that your learned publication was misused in such a flagrant way, by spreading through its instrumentality such unheard-of and absolutely infamous insults to the "Pure, uncolored Truth"—the Bahai Cause!

The disseminations of such bold falsehoods, such absurd allegations, such disgusting insinuations and obscene allusions, such shameless perversions of firmly established and well-known facts, as are contained in the slanderous

August, 1915, issue

the highest intelligence, virtue and piety, and even little children, exhaled their dying breath under incredible tortures and fiendish cruelties, innocent victims of the most unjustified and brutal hatred! ALLAH AKBAR! ALLAHO ABHA! Thy Will be done!

The Bahais of this country (America) are also joyfully willing and ready to receive the crown of martyrdom in the Path of God, the Supremely Beloved, even as were and are their noble brothers and sisters in the Orient.

But must it just be that a learned man of the state which nurtured the illustrious Abraham Lincoln, the liberator of the black slaves, kindles the conflagration in the attempt to exterminate by the *ultima ratio* of the blind and ignorant, by verbal and written assaults, ultimately terminating in brute force, the adherents of the noblest liberalism, the highest idealism, the purest monotheism, the broadest humanitarianism, the most practical philanthropy?

The axiom says, "History repeats itself." And unquestionably your Honor knows that it was the philosophers of Rome who fought the pure teachings of Christianity with the most intense bitterness and rancorous animosity. But Christianity lived and they perished. Their work vanished with them and history has passed sentence upon them. *Die Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht!*

The cited axiom is applicable to-day; as it was valid yesterday, so it will be correct to-morrow. It links the events of two thousand years ago to modern events. It bids men pause and reflect. Be warned, O ye possessors of intelligence!

There is but one great difference. The drama of to-day moves with greater rapidity. The tragedy will soon be consummated, and then the all-surpassing Glory succeeds; and the generations of coming ages, standing on the ultimate summit of humanity's age-long goal, filled with knowledge, ornamented by wisdom, clothed with the garments of divine qualities and God-like attributes, shall remember, but with regret, those who were so unfortunate as to set themselves in opposition to the sacred cause of human progress, the Blessed Religion of BAHA'O'LLAH. "For," it will be said, "such men were inhuman, they were ignorant."

It is to be hoped that you, Honored Doctor, shall not continue to walk in the footsteps of the ignorant "philosophers" of pagan Rome, and their unhappy modern imitators.

His Honor, Mirza Abul Fazl, the great scholar and devoted servant of God, has written a treatise entitled *The Brilliant Proof*, in refutation of a number of false statements and unjust accusations written by a confrère and colleague of this astonishing Mr. Richardson. The same is obtainable right here in Chicago, as well as elsewhere.

His Excellency, Dr. Zia M. Bagdadi, the one who was with BAHA'O'LLAH and now lives in Chicago, can no doubt be induced to write for publication in your journal, an article which may set into the right light the truth about the Bahai cause from the biographical, historical and doctrinal viewpoint.

Now it remains to be seen whether, after opening your pages to a scurrilous attack upon the Bahai cause, you will make as much reparation as is possible under the circumstances, by permitting the Bahais to use the same medium for the purpose of giving a temperate, courteous reply to the wanton

insults and the underhanded attack of Mr. Richardson, and a conclusive explanation of the matter in dispute. This would be the *amende honorable*.

EMILE TOBLER.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.

“THE LIES OF THE ALLIES.”

Frank Koester is editing a new publication in periodical form (published by the Issues and Events Company, 21 Park Row, New York, price of single copies, 25 cents) under the title *Lies of the Allies*, the first installment of which (1914-1915) lies before us. It contains a number of articles and reproductions of head lines from prominent American dailies, such as the *Evening Sun*, *Evening Telegram*, *New York Journal*, *Evening Mail*, *Globe*, etc. The tendency of this publication is to expose the unfairness of our Anglo-American press toward Germany, and its subserviency to British interests. The news of the victories of the Allies appear almost comical at the present time, when we now know that they were positively untrue, for instance the Russian report in big capitals:

ON TO BERLIN, CRY OF ARMY OF THE CZAR.

After Crossing the Vistula Victorious Russians will go Straight to German Capital, Says Col. Osnobichin, Russian Military Attache, at Paris.—Story of German Retreat.

The *Evening Telegram* reads in big head lines:

PANIC IN GERMANY AS ALLIES ADVANCE.

and in another place we read that

VON KLUCK'S ARMY IS TAKEN.

A bit of Irish history is inserted, the story of Archbishop Plunket's martyr death. He died for the cause of his religion and country, according to a sentence pronounced under a law that is still upon the statute books, though now a dead letter.

In sentencing him the Lord Chief Justice of England said:

“The judgment which we give you is that which the law says and speaks. And therefore you must go from hence to the place from whence you came—that is, to Newgate, and from thence you shall be drawn through the city of London to Tyburn; there you shall be hanged by the neck, but cut down before you are dead, your bowels shall be taken out and burnt before your face, your head shall be cut off, and your body be divided into four quarters, to be disposed of as His Majesty pleases. And I pray God to have mercy on your soul.”

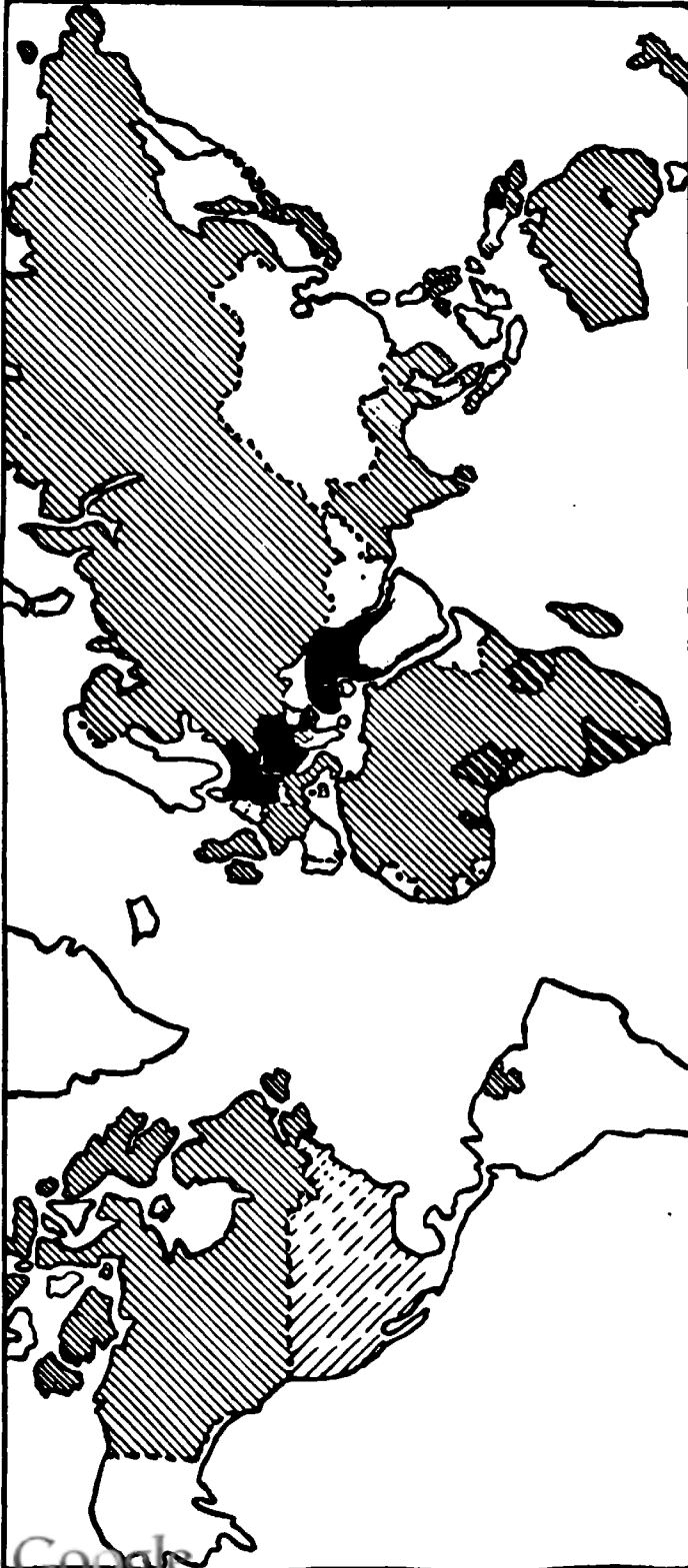
The author of the article comments upon the sentence as follows:

“That execution occurred some two hundred years ago, but within a century Robert Emmet was hanged and his head cut off and held up before the multitude.

“Edmund Burke, speaking of the penal laws intended for the extirpation of the Catholic faith, said:

“The most refined ingenuity of man could not contrive any plan or machinery better calculated to degrade humanity (not the Irish people merely, but

humanity itself) than this terrible code.' And Montesquieu, the French law-giver, on reading it over, could not refrain from exclaiming: 'This horrid



MAP SHOWING OPPOSING FORCES IN THE WORLD WAR.

which the expression of English gratitude to the American press is quoted from the *London Chronicle* of October 21, 1914:

"The debt that England owes the newspaper world of America cannot be estimated. The editors of the best journals have been fearless and very shrewd champions of the Allies' cause. It is these editors who have made the German monster a reality to the American people, and this quietly and with most deadly logic. We have no better Allies in America than the editors of the great papers."

A chapter on editorial stupidity exposes the ignorance that prevails among the staff of our great dailies in taking in earnest notes that appeared as jokes in the German press. For instance the picture of a new German cannon weighing 159 tons to shoot across the English channel from Calais is taken seriously, although it is quoted from "a German illustrated paper *Dummer Esel*," the very name of which indicates the paper's non-existence and betrays the item to be a joke. In a similar way we read in one of the reports the story of a French woman who visited the front and finally took 20 Germans prisoner. The name of the woman was Juliette Mentouse, and the editor who reproduced this interesting story did not notice that the name of the heroine gives the story away as an invention to ridicule the French habit of boasting. Who would believe in the extraordinary adventures of a woman called "Lady Liar"?

Perhaps it is worth while reproducing an outline map of the forces pitted against each other. Here we see Germany, Austria and Turkey marked in black, opposing the Entente marked in slanting lines, the latter being furnished with ammunition by the United States, similarly marked by lines but of an opposite slant. Such is the unequal proportion of the contending forces. And now consider the facts as stated underneath:

"Before the war the Allies had a European population of 230,000,000 and the Central Powers 116,000,000. To-day (January, 1916), the Allies have a population of 196,000,000 and the Central Powers 150,000,000. The Allies have at present but 46,000,000 instead of 114,000,000 more than the Central Powers. The Central Powers occupy at present 500,000 square kilometers of enemy territory, or about the size of Germany. For each day of war they have conquered 1,000 square kilometers. The Central Powers captured 2,400,000 soldiers, who are busily engaged in industry and agriculture. The war has cost the Allies \$25,000,000,000, while the Central Powers have spent but \$14,000,000,000, or about one-half.

"The losses of the merchant marine of the Allies are 1,519,068 tons; of the Central Powers, 291,711 tons. In warships the Allies lost 477,308 tons against 119,707 tons of the Central Powers.

"The tremendous fleets of Great Britain, France, Russia and Italy, and their armies, with the colonial troops of the 'great' British Empire have not even been able to conquer 'The Sick Man of Europe.' How much less chance have they against the Teutonic forces?"

Other comparative figures are: Combined wealth of the Allies \$204,000,000,000, of the Central Powers \$105,000,000,000; gold of the Allies \$3,659,600,000, of the Central Powers (including Turkey) \$704,400,000; armed strength of the Allies 15,023,128, of all Central Powers 10,982,715; warships of the Allies 1377; of the Central Powers, 472.

A RUSSIAN VIEW OF GERMANY.

Among the letters which we have recently received from readers of *The Open Court*, there is one from Mrs. Lydia L. Pimenoff-Noble, a Russian lady who, with her English husband, is at present residing in the United States. In commenting on the war situation Mrs. Noble says:

"It is with the keenest sorrow that we witness the fratricidal war now going on between Germany and Russia. I am a Russian myself, and I love and am loyal to my country. At the same time I and my family have only the kindest feelings and the sincerest sympathy for the German people, to whom we are bound by ties of personal friendship and intellectual affiliations. My friendship for the Germans is of long standing, since my dearest school friend was a German girl at the Astrachan Gymnasia. Some years ago when I with my two young daughters went for a year's visit to my native city, the old friendships were renewed and new ones formed. My little girls were received into German homes with open true-hearted hospitality. They attended the German Lutheran church and were instructed by a German lady of exceptional character and talents. Aside from our personal experience I may mention the fact that the German colonists have been a blessing to Russia wherever they have settled, for with their patient industry and efficient agricultural methods they have turned the most unpromising land into blossoming gardens. In this present struggle, I must say however, that Russia and Germany fight each other fairly and squarely and with full acknowledgment of the valor of the opponent. Recently I read the following war episode. Russian guns brought down a German aeroplane; the aviators were killed. The Russians buried them, and wrote on the cross they erected over their grave: 'All honor to the brave, even though they were foes.'

"Some time ago I also read of a resolution passed in official circles in Moscow, to allow payments to dependents of German war prisoners in Russia. That much cannot be said of Germany's other adversaries, for it was not fair and square to cut off the supply of food from Germany's civilian population, nor was it fair and square to shut off the supply of medical appliances from the German war hospitals. Neither is it fair and square to protest, as is being done here now, against sending milk to German babies. When this war comes to an end—as come it must—I am certain that Germany and Russia will be as great, if not better, friends than ever. Their geographical proximity, their contiguous industrial and commercial interests, above all, their spiritual kinship, assure it. For generations of Russians yet unborn, like those now and in the past, will come to slake their souls' thirst at the eternal springs of Schiller and Goethe and Lessing; of Kant, Hegel, Schopenhauer; of Beethoven, of Schumann, of Wagner. Humanity's debt to Germany's genius will never be canceled, but will grow with compound interest as the years roll by. In this dark hour of human history it is the duty of us who have the heart to feel and the mind to think, to strive for peace, to try our best to help dissipate the bitterness, the injustice, the inhumanity of man to man engendered by war passions."

Mr. Noble, though of English parentage and with a typical English education, expresses sentiments of the same kind. It is to be hoped that similar

international sympathy, which is at its lowest ebb, will become more and more general and will help to overcome the hatred which now prevails among the nations of the world.

SOME VERSES OF MAXWELL.

The celebrated Scotch physicist James Clerk-Maxwell was inclined from his early college days to indulge in bits of light verse which, if not exactly scientific in character, at least often dealt with scientific themes. Perhaps the best known of Maxwell's verses of this kind is the famous song of the rigid body, "Gin a body meet a body Flying through the air." It was referred to by Mr. Lawson of the Equity Bar who was in Maxwell's year at Trinity, in these words: "I remember Maxwell coming to me one morning with a copy of verses beginning 'Gin a body etc.,' in which he had twisted the well-known song into a description of the laws of impact of solid bodies." Here are the verses:

<p>"Gin a body meet a body Flying through the air, Gin a body hit a body, Will it fly? and where? Ilka impact has its measure, Ne'er a ane hae I, Yet a' the lads they measure me, Or at least, they try.</p>	<p>"Gin a body meet a body Altogether free, How they travel afterwards We do not always see. Ilka problem has its method By analytics high; For me, I ken na ane o' them, But what the waur am I?"</p>
--	---

CRUCIFIXION AND RESURRECTION.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

Referring to Mr. Whitzel's article in the May *Open Court*, and your comment on it, may I call attention to the fact that Professor Huxley held the same view of Joseph of Arimathaea's relation to the Crucifixion and Resurrection mystery, but that Jesus did not *die* on the cross? He suggests (with significant facts) that Joseph bribed the Roman officials to let Jesus be taken down before he was dead or near it, and that the apparition was a real apparition of the living Jesus, who then escaped to Galilee (*Coll. Works*, 1891, Vol. V: "Agnosticism: a Rejoinder," pp. 279f.)

FORREST MORGAN.

HARTFORD, CONN.

NEUTRALITY

By

S. IVOR STEPHEN

(Cloth, \$1.00; paper, 50c.)

PRESS NOTES.

"This book is an impressive mass of facts which cannot fail to startle even the most indifferent American newspapers which, under the protection of so-called 'freedom of the press,' dare to exploit private interests in time of excitement, although they well know public opinion is practically a powder magazine which a false alarm may explode."—*Chicago Examiner.*

"A stab at the press who ruthlessly ride over public opinion and do not preserve the neutrality which our nation has expressed."—*Fort Smith Times Record.*

"This book is a humdinger."—*Trenton Times.*

NEUTRALITY PRESS, Chicago

Rent an



Underwood Typewriter

Simplicity is its
fundamental
principle

Used by

Largest corporations
All Champion typists
and
Most Expert operators

"The Machine You Will Eventually Buy"

New Volumes
of the
**Open Court Classics
of Science and Philosophy**

The Geometrical Lectures of Isaac Barrow. Translated from a first edition copy and provided with an Introduction and Notes by *J. M. Child*, B.A. (Cantab.) B.Sc. (London). With a portrait of Barrow. Cloth, \$1.00.

The translator claims to have discovered in these lectures, concealed under the geometrical form of theorems and constructions for drawing tangents and finding areas, an absolutely complete elementary treatise on the infinitesimal calculus; i. e., a complete set of standard forms for the differentials and integration of algebraic and trigonometric functions together with a logarithm and an exponential, and the rules for their combination as a sum, a difference, a product, a quotient or a power of a function; for the rest it is noticeable that all Barrow's results are given in the form that would be obtained algebraically by logarithmic differentiation.

Diderot's Early Philosophical Works. Translated and edited by *Margaret Jourdain*. With portraits of Diderot and Saunderson. Cloth, \$1.00.

This translation includes the *Philosophic Thoughts* (1746), a development of Shaftesbury's scepticism in which Diderot is still theistic, yet he shows how the arguments against design have impressed him; the *Letter on the Blind* (1749) in which the transition to rationalistic negation is complete, and Diderot criticises the argument from design through the mouthpiece of Nicholas Saunderson, a blind English mathematician of the early years of the eighteenth century; and the *Letter on the Deaf and Dumb* (1751), an interesting but composite fragment dealing with esthetics, which was an inspiration to Lessing.

The Open Court Publishing Company

122 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE

CHICAGO

The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

SEP 14 1916

HARVARD

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

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER.

VOL. XXX (No. 9)

SEPTEMBER, 1916

NO. 724

CONTENTS:

	PAGE
<i>Frontispiece.</i> The Venetian Attack at the Dardanelles in 1646.	
<i>Natural Morality.</i> BENJAMIN SMITH LYMAN	513
<i>Moral Law and the Bible.</i> ARTHUR J. WESTERMAYR	531
<i>The Ethics of Nature.</i> PAUL CARUS	547
<i>Art and Domestic Life in Japan</i> (Illustrated). M. ANESAKI	549
<i>A Rejoinder to Mr. Mattern.</i> CHARLES T. GORHAM	561
<i>Goethe Rather than Nietzsche.</i> PAUL CARUS	564
<i>Karma</i> (Poem). THOMAS HORACE EVANS	566
" <i>La guerre qui vient.</i> " A. KAMPMEIER	569
<i>Venice and the Dardanelles</i>	572
<i>Book Reviews and Notes</i>	572

The Open Court Publishing Company

CHICAGO

Per copy, 10 cents (sixpence). Yearly, \$1.00 (in the U.P.U., 5s. 6d.).

Entered as Second-Class Matter March 26, 1897, at the Post Office at Chicago, Ill., under Act of March 3, 1879
Copyright by The Open Court Publishing Company, 1916

There Would Have Been No War

IF the French government had said to the English
You shall not have our army
the French government had said to the Germans
You shall not have our money



Read these definitions taken at random from

THE INEVITABLE WAR

(La Guerre qui Vient)

By FRANCIS DELAISI

AMBASSADORS: "Ambassadors in gold braid are today no more and no less than the agents of the banks and the great corporations."

DEMOCRACY: "A blind used to cover up the intrigues of the financial oligarchy which is in reality in control of the government and the people."

DIPLOMATS: "The tools of the financial and industrial oligarchy who work to obtain for them foreign loans or foreign purchases for their goods."

FINANCE'S STRONGEST ALLY: "Popular ignorance."

FOREIGN POLICY: "(Something) beyond the control of both public opinion and parliament; it is even beyond the control of government. In our mistrustful democracy it rests with a single man and a small coterie of financiers and men of affairs at will to unchain a war and embark this country upon a series of the most perilous adventures."

MOVING FORCES OF WARS: "Orders, concessions, loans."

Milwaukee Free Press

"Delaisi developed a positive clairvoyance in foreseeing certain phases of the struggle which he predicted and which are now being realized. . . . The chief interest of his work . . . lies in his clear discernment of the European conditions that brought about the war and in his forceful description of them. . . ."

"As a voice speaking out of the past—half a decade ago—it will have more convincing power as to the causes of the terrible European struggle than the utterance of the present-day observer, always open to the accusation of bias."

Price, 12mo, Cloth, \$1.00 Net

The Open Court Publishing Company
CHICAGO

INEVITABLE WAR

(La Guerre qui Vient)

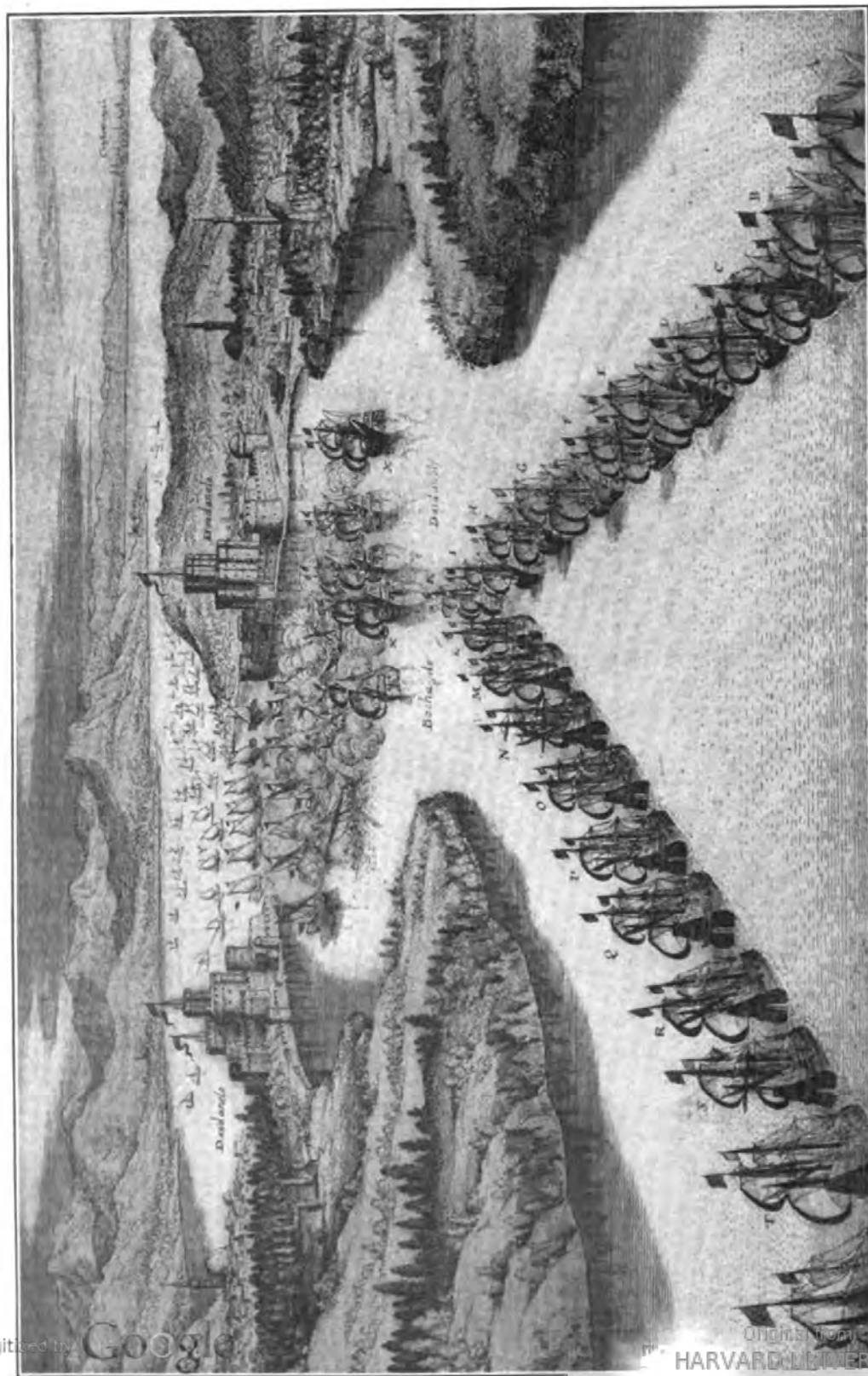
FRANCIS DELAISI

leaders in gold braid are today no more and no less
and the great corporations."

to cover up the intrigues of the financial oligarchy
the government and the people.

the financial and industrial oligarchy who work to
foreign purchases

Milwaukee Free Press
developed a positive



THE VENETIAN ATTACK AT THE DARDANELLES IN 1646.

From an old Italian engraving reproduced in the *Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung* of September 5, 1915.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

VOL. XXX (No. 9)

SEPTEMBER, 1916

NO. 724

Copyright by The Open Court Publishing Company, 1916

NATURAL MORALITY.

BY BENJAMIN SMITH LYMAN.

NOWADAYS it will be universally admitted that the human race has gradually advanced to its present condition of comparative enlightenment from an original state of the utmost ignorance and lowest savagery. The old dream of an original golden age of complete enlightenment from which we have fallen is now wholly abandoned. The Chinese idea of an ancient innocence when man was as pure as the eye of cattle can only be admitted as the primeval age when by severe natural selection with the merciless extermination of delinquents beneficial instincts were kept pure and perfect; as we know them in wild animals.

When we consider how mysterious and still inexplicable are even now many natural facts, it is not surprising that in the early yet far denser ignorance of our race resort should have been precipitately had to easily invented supernatural explanations of them. For example, the loving veneration of parents and of the originators of one's family and race, together with occasional vivid observation of some of them in dreams, would very naturally lead to a belief in their disembodied existence in another world. There would be strong corroboration in the hallucinations (the effect of especially vivid imagination), to which the staidest of us is occasionally subject. Moreover the very existence of the whole natural world was more easily imagined to be the result of some supernatural creation than (as at the present day apparent) merely the effect of a personal existence from an infinite antiquity notwithstanding the apparent springing into existence or disappearing from it that, as far as eyesight is concerned, occasionally occur.

Accordingly the problem of the existence of natural objects

was further complicated by the supposition of a creator of them, in addition. Nothing less than almighty power could be attributed to such a being; and it was quite natural, or at least oriental, to ascribe to him complete wisdom and knowledge, even foreknowledge, though at the risk to morality of the fatalism inseparable from foreordination. We here find already some of the mischief wrought by really baseless speculations that at first sight seem to be at least harmless, if not, as often imagined, positively beneficial.

Indeed, they may be in some degree beneficial; but on the whole are far less so than the mere cold-seeming truth. Furthermore, the bodily and mental actions of man have been imagined to require explanation in the existence of a separate being within the body, a soul, or spirit; and even, among the Hindus, there have been supposed to be six or seven souls for each body. Among some Europeans there have been supposed three or four souls for each body. A more common supposition is a single soul for each body. It is often called immaterial; but invariably has the properties of matter, though somewhat ethereal.

This entirely imaginary and unnecessary superfluous spiritual being is turned to moral account by some in declaring it to be immortal, and the means of benefitting in a future life by the reward of behavior in this life, or by receiving compensation in a future life for misery suffered here. It is true that some beautiful moral effects may be deduced from such a scheme (in addition to cockering us up with the idea of a consciously persistent life), but they are far inferior to the real incentives and guidance yielded by the real natural circumstances.

The belief in these imaginary spiritual beings has given rise to various religions, devised for propitiating, or comforting, deceased progenitors in their other world, or pleasing the creator of the universe. Formerly it was thought that propitiation might be effected by the sacrifice of animals or fruits of which the corresponding spiritual beings would be the means of comfort in the spirit world, corresponding to the pleasure the real objects would give to denizens of this world. By an advance in refinement and enlightenment, it came to be believed that a yet more effective way of pleasing at least the Supreme Being would be moral behavior, that is, satisfactory conduct in the intercourse between fellow men. At the present day, therefore, religions have become reduced almost entirely to mere morality; though there is still some insistence upon love of the creator, at least in outward expression, and upon the observance of certain forms.

There are now four principal religions in the world, all Asiatic, each with its own system of morality. The oldest, the Confucian, acknowledges with high respect the existence of spiritual beings, especially ancestors and others also, but does not profess to know much about the spiritual world, and holds it wise while respecting them to keep aloof from them as too little known to us and too little concerning us so far as we can understand. Nevertheless morality is considered to be enjoined by the spirit-world. The next oldest of the four religions, and nearly contemporary, is the Buddhist. It professes to have a much fuller knowledge of the spirit world and has elaborated a very complete, but of course thoroughly imaginary, scheme. Morality is enforced by promotion or retardation in the progress of the soul after death toward the final attainment of perfect bliss. No other propitiation of the divine beings is required. The next religion in age, some five hundred years later, is the Christian, in which, beyond a declaration of love for the Creator and Father of all, the main feature is morality, to be rewarded by a happy life in the spirit-world after death, with (as many believe) a revival of the body. The fourth, and latest by some 600 years, of the now extant great religions is the Moham-medan; in which morality again is encouraged by the promise of a happy future life, not merely an ethereal spirit life but an actual bodily life, yet without any real freedom of the will, because everything is believed to be foreordained. The systems of morality with their practical details are set forth in the books of those religions, and those books and rules are highly revered, and even, in the case of the Christians, are regarded as the word of God himself.

Those religious books were, of course, composed by men, notwithstanding the extremely high reverence now accorded to them; and they express the opinion of sages (but men) in regard to the proper conduct of men in their intercourse with fellow men, and so cannot be regarded as literally God-given commands, or rules.

The morality of all these ancient books is not set forth in any connected systematized form, but is mainly to be gathered from highly discursive, chiefly narrative, accounts of events or discourses. An attempt has been made herewith to give something approaching a systematic statement of the morality of Confucius and of Jesus, without changing the words in which they have been recorded but merely arranging the subjects in a somewhat clear logical order.

Although those ancient books set forth the principles of moral-

ity as the sayings and under the authority of certain sages, or almost (or wholly) deified men! yet the more fundamental principles are doubtless much more ancient and were floating through the old world long before they were put into any book; and they were evidently by no means confined to any one country. It has for thousands of years been customary, as it still is, for merchants, peddlers, and the like, to travel all through Central Asia. They are intelligent keen-witted men, and are not averse (as I myself have seen) to discussing theological and moral questions; and it must for many hundreds of years have been so. Consequently, ideas of radical importance have been talked about all through Asia, and doubtless were canvassed thoroughly by the people long before they were put into any book. The Christian Golden Rule, for example, is set forth in the poetical form, in a Chinese classical poem of about 3000 years ago. Confucius 500 years later, emphatically pointed out its meaning; and Jesus 500 years still later reiterated the same idea. Doubtless the principle had been propounded in private talk hundreds of times by the contemporaries of Confucius and Jesus; and probably long before the classical poem was composed. A more extreme, perhaps mystical, idea was given out as approved by Lao Tze, a sage fifty years older than Confucius; namely, that injury should be recompensed with kindness. But when Confucius, the thoroughly practical, unmystical philosopher, was asked about it, he said, "Recompense kindness with kindness, and injury with justice." The subject was evidently a matter of discussion throughout the whole community.

There is therefore no occasion for surprise that the injunctions of the different systems are in the main very similar; they are the results of the observations and reflections of thoughtful, well-meaning men in general. Confucius and Jesus both insist as the fundamental primary guide to human conduct upon consideration, upon considering the wishes of others, doing to others what you would wish them to do to you, and avoiding to do to them what you do not wish them to do to you. Both agree fully too on the importance of humility and on the need of abstaining from judging others. As to meekness, submission to the will of others, Jesus goes to the extreme, completely to a mush of concession; and if he did not intentionally exaggerate, his injunctions would hardly be accepted by men, or their results approved of in other men, however agreeable might be such yielding in women. In the practical details of human behavior, Jesus strictly forbids divorce but Confucius is even said to have divorced his own wife; Jesus stren-

uously forbids the swearing of oaths, a subject not noticed by Confucius; both Jesus and Confucius indulged to some degree in alcohol. Jesus advocated self-mutilation under certain circumstances; but Confucianism requires the careful conservation of the body, for the perpetuation of the honor of the family. Confucius gives much attention to politics and governmental rule, a subject carefully avoided by Jesus. Confucius lived to the maturity of seventy years while Jesus lived to be only thirty-three, and was still doubtless much influenced by the enthusiasm of youth.

It is positively laughable to see the learned and worthy, but somewhat narrowly prejudiced, Dr. Legge patronizingly declare Confucius not to be a great man. His greatness did not consist in the novelty of his views. He himself disclaimed anything of that kind. But he was great in his intelligent and critically just appreciation of the high need of certain already existing moral views, in setting them clearly before his disciples, and in humbly exemplifying them in his life. His 3000 disciples were extremely critical and emulous, and in the main very intelligent, and he was found by them to stand head and shoulders above them in the largeness of his powers and the strictness of his life. It is absurd to declare him not to be a great man who has for two milleniums and a half been the undisputed master of hundreds of millions of intelligent men eager for rivalry.

A striking difference in the teachings of Jesus and Confucius is, that Jesus lays great stress upon the importance of penitence, and consequent forgiveness; an idea entirely foreign to Confucius though he insists upon the importance of reform, the result of real penitence, and the only result of it that is of any value.

Let us now look for a moment at the incentives to virtue that are offered by the two philosophers. Under Confucius, the encouragement or incentive to virtue is merely the satisfaction felt at having done one's duty and the belief that such behavior is what the spirits and Heaven require, who might effect mischief or discomfort in case of obedience. The belief, too, is firmly fixed that one's comfort in the future world is much affected by the care accorded by one's surviving children and other descendants and that this comfort is also required by his predecessors. The highest object of a Confucian is the suitable worship of his parents and ancestors; and the reward most desired is the faithful worship by children and later descendants. Even a superior man dislikes to think it possible that his name may not be mentioned after his

death. An easy comfortable conscience, however, seems to be the main reward.

Under Jesus, the reward of virtue is a future age-long life (translated, by occidental, not oriental, exaggeration as "everlasting" life), with, for special merit, a seat there upon a splendid throne. Compensation even for mere misery and wretchedness in this life may be found in a place in Abraham's bosom in the other world. Neither marriage nor giving in marriage exist there; it is a place of many mansions. Clearly, however, the reward of virtue and incentive to it are supposed to be purely personal, belonging solely to the individual, and so in some sort, a fostering of his selfishness; he is working for himself alone, even when he is apparently benefitting others.

Theoretically, in the other world one is forever occupied with regretful reflection on the misdeeds of his, in comparison, infinitesimally short life, or with joyful recollection of his good deeds if he was a rarely exceptional character; that is, he is eternally in hell or in heaven. In modern practice, however, nearly everybody expects to look back upon his own past life with leniency, or downright approval; and it is only others, especially those who disagree with him as to belief in certain theological dogmas, who are doomed to everlasting torment. If there be not at death a radical change in human nature, it is hard to conceive how a very few hundred years of such a second life, even of a favorable kind, could fail to become intolerably dull and irksome. As there would be no question of life and death, no occasion for struggling to keep alive by earning a living, or by any gainful pursuit, or by a prudent husbanding of resources, or by skilful intercourse with others, life would no longer have any zest at all and would become in the highest degree "weary, stale, flat and unprofitable."

Let us now consider the requirements, purpose and incentives of natural morality. We must also bear in mind that the appropriate natural instinct has invincibly tended in some respects to lead away from the requirements of religious injunctions.

The most radical and important difference of natural morality from the morality of those ancient great sages is the very fundamental aim and purpose of morality, about which we have begun to learn so much in the last sixty years. It has now become clear that the main object of morality, and the chief end of man, is not,

welfare and substantial progress of the race, and only incidentally its thereby insured happiness.

The individual, however, is identified with the race through the fact that every child is but the forward growth of his parents, their physical, literal perpetuation; just as the seedling oak is in reality the outgrowth of its parent tree through the acorn, a part of that tree which had its whole character concentrated within its small space. Every individual, therefore, is fully identified with his parents and all his ancestors and is merely an outgrowth from them; he has equal identity with his brethren and with all his contemporaries, all but parts of one stock. Plainly it is the benefit of the race, not of any individual that is the object aimed at by morality originally inspired by the parental and filial affections occasioned by the otherwise helpless condition of the human young, affections so essential to the protection and perpetuation of the race that without such instincts it would quickly become extinct. Quite apart from the fact of the identity pervading the whole race, and occasioning its united efforts toward advancement, it is obvious that the parental and filial instincts so completely essential to the perpetuation of the race are ample foundation for the fullest system of morality, a natural morality superior to any sage-devised morality.

It seems quite obvious that the morality most favorable to the progress of the race would be the strictest, most even-handed justice, giving equal opportunity to every individual to advance according to his ability. The obstacles raised against such advance by the selfishness evinced in the intercourse between men is to be restrained from exaggeration by the friendly affection that is inspired by the kindly instincts that are essential to human nature.

Selfishness, the strongest instinct and the one essential to the preservation, protection and continuation of the individual and thereby of the race, is nevertheless tempered by the affection equally essential among the instincts of human nature. Through this kindly instinct the individual is led to consider what he would desire if he were in the place of his adversary and what he should accordingly do. It is not incumbent on him to yield everything, to descend to a mush of concession; yet it is wise to be careful to avoid the exaggeration of one's claims, but rather to yield some portion of them. In fact it might be called enlightened selfishness, not total unselfishness, but consideration for others.

The strongest human instinct after selfishness is the sexual passion; so important is it, indeed, that its regulation has absorbed

to itself the whole meaning of the word morals. It is, of course, altogether essential to the perpetuation of the race, and it is by no means to be eradicated, though it is to be regulated and kept in proper restraint.

Marriage and divorce are subjects intimately connected with morality; though scarcely touched upon in the Confucian teachings. Natural laws clearly indicate the importance to children of permanence in parental care and consequently strongly favor the indissolubility of the marriage tie. Of course, as propagation is the main purpose its impossibility may be a sufficient cause for dissolving the tie.

It is evident that under natural laws man is monogamous, as the nearest allied lower animals are, and as the welfare of the children plainly requires. The permanence of the marriage tie is of such importance that it is not surprising that instinctively men have everywhere adopted methods to ensure the lasting inviolability of the marriage undertaking, using every means of adding solemnity to the engagement, and even strengthening it by whatever religious or superstitious influence may have power over the wedding couple, making it a sacrament. When such influences are less effective, the state takes measures to insure the permanence of the marriage tie, carrying out the plainly indicated natural principles of morality. Practical indissolubility of the tie, as among certain religious sects, tends to make married couples accommodate themselves to each other, and by long living together become fond of each other, even if there should be some temperamental reasons for dislike; just as brothers and sisters merely by the fact of early and long association, though with temperaments not especially congenial, invariably become strongly attached to each other. Under more lax civil laws, where divorce is permitted for comparatively trivial reasons, the tendency to separate is much increased by the inclination to make the most of differences in view of the possibility of a separation. But the best safeguard against a desire to separate is thoroughly warm affection with really intimate acquaintance at the outset. Such intimacy is, of course, impossible for lovers at first sight, or indeed for most lovers who first meet after growing up. It is customary to laugh at early love, calf love, or puppy love, it is sometimes called; but it is seldom that intimate

great advantage and charm that the married couple become as fond of each other as brothers and sisters. A wise instinct sometimes leads to a similar marriage in our wayward country. My eldest aunt was of such surprising beauty, and at the same time of such wonderfully amiable character, that when she entered a roomful of gay young company there was a momentary hush throughout the assemblage. She was the cynosure sought by promising suitors. But when she was seventy years old, about sixty years ago, she said (in my presence) to her husband, "I remember the first pair of trousers you ever wore." "What was their color?" said he. "Pepper and salt." "You are right!" In such a case of early intimacy, there can never occur the faintest shadow of the dream of divorce. The intimacy is the result of the thousand and one small interchanges of social intercourse. Tennyson may have builded better than even he knew, when, in his exquisite bugle song, he said,

"Our echoes roll from soul to soul,
And grow forever and forever."

Children should be encouraged to make permanent the ties of early intimate friendship, rather than to take it for granted that ties of that kind are sure to be outgrown. At the same time parents, who of course have a lively interest in the propagation of their family, should be judicious in the encouragement and selection of the intimacies of their children, with whom naturally they have especial influence in their children's early years. The two sets of parents should, if it appear advisable, agree upon the match and encourage its permanence. It may be objected that at so early an age the later mature character and position of the young couple cannot be foreseen. But for that reason greater preponderance must be given to their family extraction, a feature of the utmost importance and of itself generally an ample guide. The high character and honorable traditions of the family are of great importance. The family wealth is of less importance in this country, where a vigorous young man can be expected to earn his own wealth. Yet family condition may advisedly be taken into consideration, without being sordid. The education of the young people is a matter of great importance.

But, it may be asked, what becomes, in such a quiet humdrum system, of the often admired romantic love, the single glance that enslaves the bold warrior for life, the dazzling radiance of a beauty that brought to life a soul that otherwise would have been dull and barren, the sweet voice and sparkling wit that would have brought

the dead to life again? These charms must be sought and appreciatively found in one's legitimate spouse, and must go blindly unobserved in all other quarters as mere temptations to illicit love. Indeed, there is much reason to believe that the idea of romantic love was first brought to Europe from the East along with chivalry at the time of the crusades; and that it was but the lawless breaking loose from the quiet decorum of the oriental harem. The charms of such irregular violations of propriety are no more to be admired than the fine features of courageous highway robbery, or other crimes. The oriental high appreciation of the real merit of their peaceful domestic life may be inferred from the thousands, even hundreds of thousands, of dollars they sometimes expend upon marriages.

Riches are condemned by Jesus in wholesale fashion; though he esteemed several rich friends, and he admits that a rich man may enter the kingdom of heaven by practically a miracle. Our veriest beggars, however, would have been considered rich men in his country; for "our poorest beggars are in the meanest things superfluous." Confucius on the other hand says that riches and honors are what men desire, though not to be held except in the proper way; poverty and meanness are what men dislike, but are not to be avoided except in the proper way. Yet he distinctly points out that riches are of far less importance than righteousness and good government; and he declares that a scholar who cherishes a love of comfort is not worthy to be called a scholar. It has long been insisted that the love of money is the root of all evil; but it might be just as true that the readiness to earn or honorably acquire money was the root of all industry and good. Money is merely the concrete measure of a man's ability to maintain the struggle for existence, which is the problem for all human beings in their intercourse with one another. Confucius, reckoning pride as the besetting failing of wealth, points out that it is easier to be rich without pride than to be poor without murmuring.

Real and personal property are but certain forms of acquisition gained by intercourse with men; but even if they be wholly eschewed, the struggle of competition or of selfishness with other men is not avoided. For even any accumulation of reputation or of the honors Confucius speaks of (sometimes steps toward

Riches cannot but be regarded with respect and even be thought desirable when we consider what they may accomplish. They not only make possible the maintenance of life with necessary food and clothing and shelter, but also educational improvement, intellectual and esthetic cultivation and improvement of enlightenment through intercourse by travel and correspondence, and above all do they make possible the increase of the population and the enlarged participation in the benefits of existence, the very object and aim of all enlightenment. It seems desirable, then, that wealth should be accumulated to an indefinitely great amount, but of course in an honorable way, by industry and prudent methods. Some men by temperament and training are especially capable of so dealing with other men with energy, intelligence, correct appreciation of others' capacity and fidelity to agreements, as to be peculiarly successful in amassing wealth. Other men no less energetic and industrious are so absorbed in the interest of their studies as in some sort to despise wealth, and are happy if merely able to live and continue their work, directly promoting enlightenment—like Confucius who said, "As the search for wealth may not be successful, I will follow after that which I love."

The accumulators of wealth subject themselves thereby to great dangers. The temptation is to lessen one's bodily exercise and to indulge the appetite to a very harmful extent, injuring the health and shortening life. Spacious dwellings and costly apparel, though not deleterious to health but even beneficial, yet make living more costly and directly or indirectly discourage the increase of population.

Since the ultimate object is the diffusion of life, existence, through a larger number, thereby increasing the chances of the occurrence of great benefactors of the race, and an equal object is the highest cultivation of the race, making possible its utilizing natural resources for the benefit of man, it is desirable that as little as may be shall be wasted in mere luxuries and that life should be kept frugal. It is especially fortunate for children to be brought up in frugality, as happens when the parents are poor. A child so brought up is better fitted to contend with the difficulties he meets in the world, and is spurred on to greater efforts than if he should be amply or lavishly supplied from his parents.

A rich man, then, is in bodily danger from inactivity and from over-indulgence of the appetite; but he is benefited by cleaner and ampler clothing and by more spacious and better drained dwelling quarters. Pride seems to Confucius to be the rich man's principal

failing; yet not by any means unavoidable. Though the tendency may easily be in that direction it seems quite possible to guard against such a result, and indeed we often see it avoided. Although we cannot insist that every rich man shall sell all his property and give it to the poor, we incline to require him to conform to the universal rule of yielding something handsome to the needs of others, especially if he be very indulgent toward himself. If he be frugal toward himself and liberal toward others we are satisfied; but frugality toward oneself and niggardliness toward others is despised as miserliness. Yet even a miser may have fondly been with commendable self-denial saving up wealth for some worthy charitable or educational project that he has hoped to found at his death.

One valuable advantage possessed by the rich man is freedom from anxiety as to the maintenance of life, whence results great benefit to his bodily health. Men who enjoy a secure and sufficient annuity are found to have a longer average life than others, owing to this freedom from anxiety. The same result may tend to make one somewhat less inclined to sympathize with others who are subject to such anxiety, that is, in some sort to seem proud.

Poverty, like wealth has its besetting sins. Perhaps the most striking of its failings is an ungenerous envy or jealousy of the prosperity of the rich, leading to indiscriminate fault-finding and accusations based in fact merely upon the possession of wealth. With unreasoning selfishness the rich man is required to forego all the economic advantages of his wealth and to sell his whole property and freely give away the proceeds to the poor in a mad endeavor to do his utmost toward reducing, at least momentarily, all men to the same level (and obviously, of necessity, a very low level) of struggling poverty. The poor man is, furthermore, very liable in other respects to what Confucius calls murmuring; often not considering circumstances really due to his own character, or habits, or tastes, that occasion the poverty he so bitterly complains of. Not realizing his own deficiency or idiosyncrasies, he strenuously, though vainly, opposes the great and inexorable law of nature, which maintains the high character of the universe by encouraging the capable and strong and judicious and discouraging or annihilating the inefficient and foolish and weakling. "To him that hath shall be given, and from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath;" a law in reality not cynical but just, that in the long run is clearly beneficial, however painful its workings may sometimes seem to those immediately concerned. Of course a

poor man, free from envy and murmuring, may be an extremely worthy member of the community, and though lacking in money may be admirably rich in good qualities, in social virtues, pecuniary liberality, or universal generosity, or in learning, or wisdom (like Confucius for example). Poverty by no means surely indicates lack of ability, but may result rather from disinclination to follow money-making pursuits instead of, perhaps, interesting studies or other attractive occupations; and this consideration may often prevent a poor man from becoming dispirited and inclined to complain.

Gambling is a practice that seems not to have existed in the times of Confucius and Jesus and was therefore not considered by them from a moral point of view. In modern times it has become a crying failing, and cannot be too strongly reprehended. It is the venturing of one's means for the mere chance of a profitable return without any substantial reason for expecting it. It is highly blameworthy waste. Some insufficient pretext is found for it in the more or less pleasurable excitement occasioned by the hopes momentarily entertained during the venture—to be fully balanced, of course, by the disappointment of those hopes in the majority of cases.

The use of alcoholic beverages was not avoided by Confucius, and he set himself no limit in regard to them though he was careful not to let himself become confused. The indulgence in alcohol had in Jesus's time already been a burning question, and there were religious sects that made a point of totally abstaining from alcohol. John the Baptist was from birth an abstainer, and Samson was of a total-abstinence sect. But Jesus is represented even as considered to be a winebibber, and is said to have made particularly excellent wine at a wedding feast. Though total abstinence does not seem to be required by morality it is a safe course, and at most only a very moderate and infrequent indulgence in such beverages is to be considered advisable and harmless. One of the benefits of a vegetarian diet is the fact now well established that it entirely does away with all craving for alcohol.

Jesus strongly discouraged the use of oaths and is even reported to have said, "Swear not at all," but the injunction has not generally been regarded as to be literally followed. It may have been intended to apply to the exaggerated strengthening of ordinary discourse. At any rate, it seems reasonable that formal testimony in a law court shall be made as certain to be true as it possibly can be made by means, if need be, of any religious or superstitious belief. The appeal for such a purpose cannot justly be considered

disrespectful or degrading to a Supreme Being. As some proof that the sweeping prohibition of oaths by Jesus was not taken in his lifetime as intended to be literal, it may be considered that it is said that even one of his most esteemed apostles did not scruple to corroborate with oaths his denial of acquaintance with his Master before the cock crew.

As regards truthfulness, Jesus nowhere explicitly requires it, though Confucius distinctly enjoins it and lays the utmost stress upon the importance of sincerity. Of course the harm of lying consists in the deceit for a selfish purpose, and a lie without that culpable character is often altogether harmless and is so reckoned in law. It happens, for example, every day that papers of serious importance are really signed on a different day from the one distinctly specified as the day of signing; but that departure from the exact truth is wholly harmless, and the document is not thereby in the least invalidated. It may in some cases be well to use kindly deception toward individuals suffering from bodily or mental ill health. In jocular language, obviously not to be taken as solemn unexaggerated truth, expressions are harmlessly used that are not strictly truthful. For example, Jesus himself with witty brevity intimated truthfully a keenly observed fact when he said, "A prophet is not without honor, save in his own country," though strictly it might be said not to be the exact literal truth. Confucius praises the modesty of the brave warrior who declared it was only the slowness of his horse that occasioned his bringing up the rear in a difficult retreat. Dr. Legge repeatedly finds great fault with Confucius for saying nothing against the warrior's untruthfulness, harmless and free from selfish deception as it was.

The observance of a weekly day of rest, or Sabbath, is a Jewish custom maintained as a means of propitiating the deity; but it was repeatedly and boldly violated by Jesus, who declared that the Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath. The early Christians broke away entirely from the Jewish observance of the Sabbath, but adopted the first day of the week as a holiday. It is only in recent times and in British and American countries that there has been a recurrence to the old Jewish method of observance with strict abstinence of bodily labor, enforced by religious injunctions, though with the substitution of the first for the seventh day of the week. A weekly day of rest can hardly be considered to have any natural moral obligation. It may have some physiological advantage; but it would perhaps be still better for

the health to avoid overwork throughout the week, so as to have no need of the recuperative holiday.

When it was remarked that Jesus's disciples violated the customary requirement of washing the hands before eating, he is almost incredibly reported to have made the wholly irrelevant repartee that only the character of what is uttered by the mouth is important, no matter what physically may enter it. Of course it is obvious that the merit of the utterance has no bearing whatever upon the healthfulness or decency of washing the hands before eating, a practice which natural morality cannot but commend. At the same time, what kind of food is taken into the mouth cannot be considered to be unimportant.

Those who have for years accustomed themselves to the idea that some Supreme Being outside of the external world has been its Creator and constant maintainer may for the moment feel that they would be quite lost and lonesome if deprived of such a belief. But while the humble dependence upon a great being is undiminished, there is, if rightly considered, reason for pleasurable satisfaction in the consciousness of being oneself a part of the great Supreme Being, as the natural world, the universe, may with its unity fairly be considered. As we have seen, a man is but the outgrowth, the growing forward of his parents and ancestors, and all men therefore are but the outgrowth of the first pair. The same is true, indeed, of the antecedent lower races from which we have descended (without, so far as we know or have reason to believe, any beginning). All present life then is the outgrowth of the original (so to speak) living creatures, and may claim identity with them, and must admit equal identity with them for all other living things. There is, then, complete unity for the whole world of life, and the inorganic world may likewise be considered the progenitor of the organic, and with it part of one whole.

This universe, so completely a unit, with its organic part so distinctly a unit, may surely be with justice considered a Supreme Being, and is one, the only one that we can see and feel. Though it is in many parts still mysterious and little understood, it has far more than some thousands of years ago become clear that there is no need whatever of any external ethereal being to guide and actuate its every part. When I crumble my breadcrust into my plate of soup, immediately the moisture enters the pores of the bread, and it is as easy for me to consider that the action is the result of the nature of the liquid and the solid and must immediately follow upon their juxtaposition, as it is to imagine that

some inconceivably watchful omnipresent external being should be there to cause by express volition every movement of the particles of liquid and solid which are themselves but a part of God. Nothing whatever seems to be gained by such a supernumerary being, an ethereal God, in addition to the substantial visible one. When we regard the operations of the natural world, even on a small scale, we cannot but feel ourselves to be, in the words of Emerson, "a jubilant soul in the presence of God his creator;" that is, of the universe, his creator and at the same time his own self.

An additional being for the mere purpose of a conscious volition for every smallest movement of the physical world seems to be altogether superfluous and of no use whatever, except principally to bear out consistently in keeping the whole imaginary scheme of ethereal (yet grossly material) beings. It may be claimed that there is immense benefit from the very idea of a fatherly ruler of the universe, to whose leniency confident and confidential application may be made for aid in direct contravention of our natural laws. But such confidence is but part of a fool's paradise, and we may be sure that no natural laws are in the slightest degree really contravened. To do it would even be a violation of the theory of an all-wise Father, upon whom petitions and advice would be worse than thrown away. A little reflection will convince any one that beautiful as may seem the idea of a loving, kindly, lenient, forgiving Father, such a Father, if at the same time he were all-wise and all-powerful, would be as inexorable and unyielding, as fixed in his wise ways, as we see the laws of nature to be; as unforgiving, except in the case of genuine, thorough reform. Indeed the greatest severity and strictness in adherence to his wise methods would be the greatest kindness. The resulting impression of kindness too has not been lacking, in happy cases of success; as well as unfeeling severity in cases of harmful loss. Nature steadfastly moves on, unmoved, unswerving from its well-determined course.

There is a mischievous confusion of ideas in regard to certain words. It is imagined that a materialist must necessarily know nothing of spiritual things; and that spiritualists are particularly spiritual. On the contrary spiritualists have grossly material ideas of the spirits that they falsely call immaterial. Materialists may have the highest appreciation of spiritual things; which are indeed things of the mind and not of material character, and would not for a moment be confounded with matter by any materialist. Nevertheless, there is no reason to doubt that the workings of the brain, mental operations, are purely physical and material.

It is clearly to be seen, then, that mere nature and pure logic establish a moral system as elevated as any set forth by the ancient sages, with incentives even stronger than theirs, and a yet more distinct guidance. Those who still fondly cling to the old systems must also admit that the natural method is a strong corroboration, while not in the least whit lessening the force of the old injunctions.

Questions of morality either more or less general, like those we have instanced, or pertaining to particular cases are, under natural laws, subjects to be investigated and passed upon by legislators or courts of law where "the perfection of human reason" operates, aided by the discussion of the public and particularly of societies organized for the study of such subjects. Such work has for hundreds of years been going on, alongside of the ecclesiastical opinions and, to some extent, sway; sometimes in agreement therewith, sometimes overriding them.

"Faith is believing what you know is not true," said the schoolgirl; and that indeed seems to be a very common impression in respect to the meaning of the word faith. That kind of faith, unreasoning and regardless of the proper grounds for belief, is of the most pernicious character and pervasive of the sincerity so highly and so justly extolled by Confucius. The first approach of that false kind of faith, that declaration of a fixed belief in what is known not to be true or is even thought to be in reality doubtful, should be guarded against as a deadly ensnarement and as threatening an irretrievable loss of sincerity and truthfulness. Such an attack once successfully begun upon one's honesty leads to the result that

....."having, unto truth, by telling of it,
Made such a sinner of his memory,
To credit his own lie,"

he comes, indeed, by the repetition, eventually to believe what is false, or at least to believe that he sincerely believes it; so that he persists in the repetition, and even in trying to persuade others to assent. Such false belief, or belief in falsehood, may thereby be spread abroad as much as true belief (and even more because influenced by improper motives), just as "a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump" by continuous growth.

A firmly fixed faith, whether in origin a reasoning or unreasoning one, is a source of psychological power, impelling one with all his mental strength along some certain line. This power Jesus (according to report) with picturesque oriental exaggeration

(and, you may say, wit), evidently with no intention of literal truth, says is enough by mere command to remove a mountain from its place. A mountain of doubt may really be so removed from an interlocutor. The stolid and solid physical mountain would, of course, quietly remain unmoved by any such display of self-confidence, however sincere.

Confucius has little to say bearing upon faith; but he does say that knowledge is, "when you know a thing to hold that you know it, and when you do not know a thing to allow that you do not know it;—this is knowledge." Such a prudent course conscientiously pursued would help to restrain one from falling into faith in harmful errors. Faith of that erroneous kind is just as powerful as any other; as witness the Mohammedans' implicit faith in fatalism, which inspires them with the utmost valor in battle, in the belief that their life or death is anyhow foreordained and that it is useless to make any opposition.

MORAL LAW AND THE BIBLE.

BY ARTHUR J. WESTERMAYR.

WHAT is moral law? If we return to the ancients, the Greeks and the Romans, we find almost as much difference of opinion as among modern philosophers. Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle and many others of the old school, and Bentham, Mill, Smith, Helvetius, Huxley, Spencer and others among modern writers have wrestled with the problem only to array themselves in opposing factions, and a universally satisfactory answer, like the philosophers stone, has not yet been found.

In all times and civilizations we find difference in moral perception, and however much philosophers disagree as to the origin of moral law, they find common ground in the proposition that moral law is not ultimate, static and immutable. Revelationists are not included in this category of philosophers, for these constitute a class by themselves for whom philosophy can have no more than an academic interest, since all view-points differing from their own are denominated heretical and that always concludes the argument. Those of this class who base their positions on the Bible may easily be confounded by the evidence it gives against their most fundamental convictions.

In the scriptures (of the Jew and Gentile) we find between Genesis and the Gospels at least three clearly defined concepts of moral law, and if these scriptures are what is claimed for them, the Word of God, divinely inspired and therefore infallible, then we are forced to the conclusion that Jehovah approved of three standards of moral conduct.

The epochal divisions in which these three standards appear are the ante-Mosaic, Mosaic, and Christian.

We will first address ourselves to the ante-Mosaic times. Here we find the following moral aberrations practiced by all the important personages of the times, and always with the approval of

God who as a token of favor showered on them the most highly prized blessings, large families, social power and wealth as then understood and appreciated. And it must be remembered none of the acts hereafter set forth were followed by consciousness of sin and consequent forgiveness by atonement. So the record stands that God approved for He found it nowhere necessary to reprehend and forgive.

1. Lying—Abraham and the Egyptians, Gen. xii. 12 to 13; Abraham, Sarah and Abimelech, Gen. xx. 2 to 5.
2. Incest—Lot and his unnamed daughters, Gen. xix. 19 to 36 incl.
3. Adultery—Abraham and Hagar, Gen. xvi. 2, 4; Jacob and Bilhah, Gen. xxix. 29; Jacob and Zilpah, Gen. xxx. 19.
4. Theft—Jacob and Esau, Gen. xxv. 30 to 34 incl.; Rachel, Gen. xxxi. 19.
5. Deceit—Rebekah and Jacob, Gen. xxvii. 6, 9, 10; Jacob and Laban with the flocks, Gen. xxx. 37 to 40 incl.
6. Conspiracy—Rebekah and Jacob, Gen. xxvii. 15 to 17 incl.
7. Fraud and lying—Jacob and Isaac, Gen. xxvii. 28 to 30 incl.
8. Concubinage—Abraham, Gen. xxv. 6.
9. Trickery—Laban and Jacob, Gen. xxix. 25.
10. Polygamy—Jacob, Rachel and Leah, Gen. xxix. 29 and 30; Esau, Adah, Aholibamah and Bashemath, Gen. xxxvi. 1 to 3 incl.
11. Cowardice—Jacob and Laban, Gen. xxxi. 31; Jacob and Esau, Gen. xxxii. 11.
12. Rape and a dirty bargain—Shechem, Jacob and his sons, Gen. xxxi. 2, 14 to 24 incl.
13. Wholesale murder—Simeon and Levi kill all the males, Gen. xxxix. 25.
14. Lechery—Onan and his brother's wife, Gen. xxxviii. 9.
15. Homicide—Moses and the Egyptian, Exod. ii. 11 and 12.
16. Swindling—Jews borrow jewels from Egyptians, Exod. ii. 2, 35 and 36.

It is not claimed that the list is complete but it is thought to be sufficiently extensive and variegated to establish the claim that the standard of morality (if there can be said to have been any morality at all) was exceedingly low.

It is probable that in the face of the above catalogue of offences the revelationist will want to abandon his claim that the acts described represent God's ultimate, static and immutable moral law, else he will find himself in no end of trouble. Will he answer that

the times were different from ours, the people semi-barbaric, their conduct necessary to show, by contrast, the need of a higher standard, which came later? Can God have one code for one civilization, another for a later and higher one? Will the semi-barbarism explain God's approval of the offenses? Was it necessary to approve these crimes in one period merely to show why in a later one they should be condemned and visited with severe punishment? In fact can the most enthusiastic revelationist offer any rational explanation? We have not yet heard or seen one.

How does the utilitarian explain the phenomenon? Thus:

The Jews were to become a great people and numerical strength was the first desideratum. The manner of the increase of the population was then of no importance. Go forth and multiply has no restrictions; how the multiplication was to be accomplished, whether according to the regulated order of family life, or by means of concubines and handmaidens, mattered not in the least. The greatest good to the people could only come, as they then thought, by rapid increase in numbers. No restrictive moral code existed because not yet needed.

In all the blessings of the Lord the bestowal of numerous progeny was always among the first, because most appreciated, items. Childlessness was an affliction, a mark of divine disfavor, and God repeatedly opened a barren womb either in answer to prayer or as a token of special favor. Thus Abraham at the age of ninety by miraculous intervention of God begot Isaac. This was sufficiently out of the run of common experiences to occasion comment, and to mark Abraham for a favorite of God.

That no moral restrictions existed is shown by the incident of Lot and his daughters already referred to, and that this was not regarded as an offense against either divine or human law is shown by the total absence of punishment and the honors that came to the offspring. The child of the one daughter founded the tribe of the Ammonites, the other the tribe of the Moabites.

Marriage must have been a mere form for it carried with it none of the inhibitions against sexual aberrations later imposed by the Mosaic law. It was needful to the racial ambition of attaining power in the land that the population of Israel should become as numerous as the stars in heaven and the sands of the sea. The advantages of a restrictive moral law were not known, and no public opinion against the scarlet sins had as yet been formed. The utility of safeguarding the purity of family life was not then appreciated. So the morality (or lack of it) was such as best

served to make the Israelites a numerous, and therefore powerful, people.

Following the accession of Moses, who had been reared and educated in the higher civilization of Egypt, to temporal and spiritual supremacy a new era of moral law set in. Immediately a higher (because more useful to the general good) standard was raised by the newly created public opinion (and the task of its creation was by no means an easy one), to which all the Jewish people must be made to yield obedience whether they would or no, for Moses, well knowing that his laws, however beneficent, if promulgated as coming from a mere individual would receive but scant, if any, courtesy; but as divine commands in the ever-recurring formula "the Lord spake unto Moses, say unto the children of Israel," the laws possessed the sanction of Israel's God, and stood some chance of being obeyed by the stiffnecked and rebellious people.

The Decalogue established a new standard of morality. By it Moses defined an epoch in utilitarianism. According to the Mosaic sociology it was deemed best for the greatest number and hence so for the Chosen People, that their social life should be regulated, so that the family might be maintained in purity, and the social intercourse of the people could go forward along lines of greatest convenience and security.

Moses, it seems to us, was the first among the Hebrew statesmen to appreciate the importance of that which in our time, and for hundreds of years ago, has been axiomatic, namely, that the family is the basis of the national structure. And so for the first time in the evolution of biblical moral law we read the definite injunction against sexual promiscuity in family life: "Thou shalt not commit adultery." Much of the book of Leviticus is devoted to the interpretation and application of this law governing sexual morality.

Reference to the citations given above will show, we think conclusively, that in pre-Mosaic times the sex life of the people was allowed to run its course along natural lines, and conventional restrictions were either not known at all or were so generally ignored as to warrant the writer of the Pentateuch entirely to disregard them; for they do not appear until in the laws of Moses they take definite form.

In this same period preceding the Decalogue human life was of small importance, and the chronicler of Genesis and Exodus

tion of a world by a deluge, and the holocaust of cities for no better reason than that some had sinned against God. And that the innocent were made to share the punishment of the guilty seemed perfectly consistent with the Pentateuchal conception of a divine father.

But Moses had learned, during his involuntary expatriation in Egypt, the importance if not the sacredness of human life, and the need for its protection by sacro-legal enactment; and severe as were his penalties for infractions of the priestly code, the wanton taking of human life was prohibited by the commandment "thou shalt not kill." Moses knew that in the enforcement of this law was to be attained not only the growth and perpetuity of the Jewish race, but the greatest good to the largest number. While the taking of human life was forbidden to man, it did not restrain slaughter when commanded by the Lord to kill by massacre. In point is the following: "Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, Put every man his sword by his side, and go in and out from gate to gate throughout the camp, and slay every man his brother, and every man his companion, and every man his neighbor. . . . Even every man his son."¹ The purpose of this saturnalia of bloodshed was: "that He (Jehovah) may bestow upon you a blessing this day."²

While it is difficult to reconcile this sanguinary performance by which three thousand men perished, with the humane law "thou shalt not kill," it is even more so to harmonize this with a parental God-conception. For after all the sin for which this stupendous tragedy was enacted was the making and worshipping of the famous golden calf, the casting of which is naively told by Aaron under whose supervision, if not direction, it was done. Moses reprimanded him for bringing the shame of idolatry upon the people, whereupon Aaron made this defense: "For they said unto me, Make us gods, which shall go before us; for as for Moses, the man that brought us up out of the land of Egypt, we wot not what is become of him. And I said unto them, Whosoever hath any gold, let them break it off. So they gave it me; then I cast it into the fire, and there came out this calf."³

It is perhaps safe to say that never before or since was metal casting done by such a simple and satisfactory method. And the wonder is that Moses was satisfied with the explanation, but he was, for he immediately ordered the massacre and his brother Aaron does not come in for any serious condemnation for his part

¹ Exod. xxxii. 27 and 29.

² *Ibid.*, xxxii. 29

³ Exod. xxxii. 23 and 24.

in the idol-making. There is also in the above incident a suggestion of the waning of Moses's influence, since even Aaron could not stop the people's mischief in his absence. In such case drastic measures were deemed necessary.

Ethnology teaches us that in all primitive states of man, life counted for little as against the demands of religion and self-interest. Human life was of small importance when power of priesthoods was concerned; and in the pursuit of selfish ambition monarchs did not hesitate to sacrifice countless lives.

The feeding of infants to the Carthaginian god Moloch involved no infraction of moral law against infanticide, and in the performance of this act of devotion both the priests and people believed their highest religious aspirations were fulfilled. Self-slaughter, so strongly reprehended by Christianized morality, was deemed a matter of right among the ancient Greeks, while the Juggernaut in India was a means to a holy end, and until Christian England put it under the ban of prohibition its ponderous wheels periodically ground to death thousands of religious devotees. The Aztecs looked upon the murder of human sacrifices to the Sun-god as the expression of the loftiest of morality and regarded the red-handed priest with awe if not veneration. The right to kill a Sudra by the Brahmin priest was sanctioned by Manu,⁴ India's oldest law-giver, and consequently was looked upon and accepted as a perfectly reasonable caste prerogative against which nothing but the strong arm of England's might could successfully cope. So with English dominance in India came a new era of moral law which made human life, no matter what its station, a sacred possession. Sutti was another Hindu abomination whose abrogation is to England's eternal credit, and its one time prevalence in India is another proof of man's indifference to human life when either religious or personal motives came in conflict with it.

In this connection, and to show how slow and gradual was the evolution of the moral law against the taking of human life, we beg to refer to those later moral departures practiced in the name of the God of Christianity, and speciously for the salvation of the souls of heretics. The Inquisition in disregarding the Mosaic law against murder set up a moral code of its own, which in its time was made supreme and therefore above the injunction of the Decalogue. Murder in the name of God was a holy deed, divinely approved as were the monster crimes of the Old Testament, because needful to the better establishing of sacerdotal power. The

⁴ Still used in native provinces as the law of the land.

moral law that was designed to protect human life was subordinated to the later utilitarian concept which made the church of first, the life of man of only secondary importance. Nor need we quarrel with this phenomenon any more than with the holy murders scattered throughout the Old and New Testaments.

The burning of witches, a perversion of moral law through religious fanaticism, manifested itself as late as the eighteenth century in New England, and was based on no less an authority than the Bible which commands that no witch shall be suffered to live.⁵ In the light of this divinely inspired corrective John Wesley may be pardoned (by those who can) when he proclaimed his willingness to give up his faith in the Bible as readily as his belief in witchcraft.

Humanitarians who predicate their opposition to capital punishment on the revealed moral law of the Mosaic prohibition would be able to make out a presentable, if not conclusive, case against "judicial murder" were it not for the fact that they are damned by the evidence they offer.

The pulpits of the south in ante-bellum days could invoke Moses in justification of the claim that slavery was a God-appointed institution,⁶ and needless to say, the preachers of those troublous times lost no opportunity to avail themselves of the support "God's Word" afforded them. It took a mighty conflict to prove the immorality of an institution that in Mosaic times was not only permitted, but was safeguarded by carefully framed laws. By blood and iron was the moral standard lifted, and this festering sore of the body politic excised never to return. The question comes up in this connection, was it divine or revealed moral law, or the morality of utilitarianism that saw what was best for the largest numbers—best for a great nation—that crystallized the public opinion in a constitutional amendment? Let revelationists theorize and protest as they will, the hard facts of history will not yield to specious argument or to the authority of some alleged divine book of moral law.

Examination of the scriptures of the important world religions (for every one of which divine origin is asserted) shows that moral standards varied and changed from time to time, proving that no moral law is static, but instead all moral law is mutative because the intelligent understanding of human needs, upon which all moral law rests, cannot in the very nature of things remain fixed and final.

⁵ Ex. xxii. 18.

⁶ Lev. xxv. 44 to 46.

An exception which shall serve the proverbial purpose of proving the rule we have asserted, is the Pitakas or Buddhist scriptures. Here we find the taking of life in any form reprehended and punished by increase in the number of reincarnations, by the lowering of the Karma of a previous incarnation; and the indulgence in a meat diet and alcoholic beverages is strictly prohibited and violation of this monastic regulation might result in expulsion from the Sangha.⁷

Lying and drinking were not constrained in ante-Mosaic times either by law or custom, and so we find all the principal characters of whom the Pentateuch makes mention, practicing both without fear of public condemnation. The drunkenness of Noah is made the subject of an interesting narrative of a most intimate character; and Lot had an unusual experience as a result of looking upon the wine while it was red. To become drunken was no uncommon experience among the patriarchs who walked with God, and finds no serious denunciation, certainly no grave punishment, anywhere in the so-called books of Moses. Lying is not reprehended in the Decalogue and was uniformly practiced with divine approval (if we accept the Old Testament of divine inspiration), and nowhere is the slightest mention made in any of the narratives of the Pentateuch that the person indulging in this social vice felt the slightest moral compunctions. In fact it was by divine command the Israelites were told to get the jewels of the Egyptians by a flagrant falsehood, and although the jewels were only borrowed, there was no intention they should ever be returned. The purpose frankly was to "spoil the Egyptians."⁸

Moses was to deliver the Israelites out of Egyptian bondage. It was not thought immoral to lie to the Pharaoh in order to get away and put a three days' journey between the Israelites and the Egyptian host. This is how it was to be managed. Moses told the Pharaoh: "The God of the Hebrews hath met us; let us go, we pray thee, three days' journey into the desert, and sacrifice unto the Lord our God; lest He fall upon us with pestilence or with the sword."⁹

The revelationist will say that Moses did intend to go into the desert and sacrifice unto the Lord, for that is exactly what was

only an opinion expressed to terrify the Pharaoh. All this is true enough, but the lie lay in the subterfuge which if successful would mean the escape and non-return of the Jews. It was an attempted trick with a lie at bottom.

That the God of Israel did not scorn to prevaricate is shown by the following: "And the Lord said unto Samuel, I will send thee to Jesse the Bethlehemite for I have provided me a king among his sons. And Samuel said, How can I go? If Saul hear it, he will kill me. And the Lord said, Take a heifer with thee, and say, I come to sacrifice to the Lord."¹⁰ In other words the Lord would not have Saul for king but instead would anoint one of Jesse's sons. Should Saul hear of it and threaten Samuel, he should lie about his mission, and by taking with him the sacrificial heifer he was to give color to the falsehood and so deceive the king.

The following is interesting on this subject:

"Ah Lord God! Surely thou hast greatly deceived this people."¹¹

And again:

"Shall there be evil in a city and the Lord hath not done it?"¹²

"I make peace and create evil I, the Lord do all these things."¹³

"The Lord hath put a lying spirit in the mouth of all thy prophets."¹⁴

'And if the prophet be deceived when he hath spoken a thing, I the Lord have deceived the prophet."¹⁵

"Thus saith the Lord, Behold, I frame evil against you, and devise a device against you."¹⁶

"And for this cause God shall send them a strong delusion, that they shall believe a lie; that they all might be damned."¹⁷

It will be unpleasant for a revelationist to recall that the most heinous offenses, as we view such matters to-day, were commanded by the Lord, viz., rape and prostitution.¹⁸ In our day this would come under the penal statute of rape and abduction. In those days it was God's command against which there could be no higher law.¹⁹

There was abundant class legislation in Mosaic times. For the Chosen People there was one law, for the stranger within the gates another. Witness the following:

¹⁰ 1 Sam. xvi. 1, 2.

¹¹ Jer. xv. 18, and iv. 10.

¹² Amos iii. 6.

¹³ Is. lxxv. 7.

¹⁸ See for instance Deut. xxi. 10, 14.

¹⁹ To the same effect see also Num. xxxi. 18 and Hosea i. 2.

¹⁴ 1 Kings xxii. 23.

¹⁵ Ezek. xiv. 9.

¹⁶ Jer. xviii. 11,

¹⁷ 2 Thess. ii. 11 and 12.

“Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother...unto a stranger thou mayest lend upon usury.”²⁰

It is quite shocking to our present-day conception of fair play to contemplate a God of justice conferring sainthood on a cold-blooded murderess, and so the revelationist who points to the Bible for the origin of all moral law, will find the story of Jael and Sisera rather an embarrassing problem.²¹

The organized church that resulted from Paul's proselyting having sprung into being when people began to realize that these grave offenses were inimical to the best interests of the largest number, incorporated into its tenets inhibitions against them, and so a moral law is specially created to meet the demands of a progressing civilization.

Those who claim for the present agitation against drink and their labors for nation-wide prohibition the divine will, make a serious error. Here again the pseudo-moralist is condemned from the mouth of the witness he invokes. The patriarchs, prophets and reformers referred to in the Bible were all drinkers of wine and strong drink, and Jesus himself approved it by giving *yahyin* (fermented wine) to his disciples at the Last Supper; and by turning water into wine at the feast of Cana, and generally recognizing moderate drinking as among the proprieties of social life. The use of the Hebrew words *yahyin*, meaning fermented wine, and *torash*, referring to unfermented grape juice, is important in this connection to meet the puerile argument of some prohibitionists, who, to serve their purposes, try to torture into the Bible texts what is not there. In the instances referred to the word *yahyin* and not *torash* is used by the writers of the Synoptics and the books of the Old Testament.

If these propagandists wish to be logical and consistent they will place their claims on the purely utilitarian basis, that it is for the good of the greatest number that prohibition should be a national institution. When they succeed in making their claim felt and accepted by so great a number that these will form a consensus of public opinion, prohibitory laws will be enforceable; but until then they are a source of oppression and blackmail, police corruption and graft. When the people are ready to place drinking in the same

stinence shall be accepted as for the good of the greatest number, and it becomes a moral law approved by a sane public opinion, it will remain in the status of disputed questions, observed and favored by some, and disregarded and condemned by the many.

"Honor thy father and thy mother," was an appeal to the racial character of the Jew. To this day his filial love as it appears in its innumerable manifestations, is among the noblest virtues of this wonderful people. In the early days this moral excellence was not generally appreciated, as witness the conduct of Lot's daughters, Jacob's deception of Isaac, and the shame Jacob's sons brought upon their father by the murders they perpetrated to avenge the rape of their sister Dinah. Other equally cogent instances abound that before Moses's time this filial love was not a moral law. But Moses understood both its moral excellence and utilitarian value, and so, by promising "thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee," as a reward for obedience, he established a moral code whose utilitarian advantages are manifested in the racial cohesiveness that has done so much to sustain the Jews in their appalling vicissitudes.

God-fearing was essential to priestly control over the erring people. "And the Lord spake unto Moses, Say unto the children of Israel" was a formula of very great importance to Moses and his brother Aaron and the priesthood they founded. In the anathema against idolatry and the severity of its punishment lay the beginnings of priestly authority. Whoring after false gods meant recognition of other divinities, and this lessened the priestly grip on the people's minds by fear. Hence practically one whole book of the Pentateuch and parts of others are devoted to the penalties for idolatry, indifference to or rebellion against priestly authority; and by placing into the mouth of Yahveh the things Moses wished to communicate to Israel he established the priest caste of Israel with Aaron and his sons as first incumbents of the offices.

Making God by the Abrahamic covenant the God of Israel, and at the same time proclaiming him a jealous God who visits the iniquities of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate him, Moses may have had in mind the sins of the Sodomites against whom he inveighs with such vehemence in Leviticus xviii. Some have tried to see in the statement that God visits the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation, Moses's insight into nature's mysterious law of heredity, especially in so far as this governs venereal diseases. While many of his sanitary regulations would

indicate no small knowledge of science, it is by no means certain that heredity, as now understood, was any part of his knowledge. If he knew the laws governing the transmission of disease then we must infer he placed that warning there as a powerful deterrent against sexual perversion since it made its most effective appeal to the strongest racial trait of the Jew, the love of progeny.

It was a new doctrine to the Israelites when Moses commanded "thou shalt not steal." Theft was one of the commonest of unpunished, if not divinely approved, offenses mentioned in the books of Genesis and Exodus. Certainly honesty was not then the virtue it is now regarded to be. When we find the founder of Israel, Jacob, guilty of three distinct thefts, each one more reprehensible than the other, and learn how he enjoyed divine favor and received all manner of blessings, including a new name and patent of nobility (the first ever recorded) without ever acknowledging or repenting of his sins, we need not wonder if Moses found larceny so common that he needed a divine commandment to put a stop to it.

The concepts of morality had surely made some progress when they condemned slander²² and disapproved perjury,²³ and when we think of earlier generations of Jews this is refreshing:

"Keep thee far from a false matter; and the innocent and righteous slay not; for I will not justify the wicked."²⁴

As we reflect on the morality of the above citation we call to mind how Moses escaping from Egypt took refuge with the Midianites who gave him asylum.²⁵ The king bestowed on him his daughter. Later Moses warred against these benefactors, and caused not only the slaughter of the kings, the men, women and children, but commanded the virgins to be saved to gratify the bestial lust of the Israelites. And this carnival of slaughter was by divine command.²⁶ Had the Assyrians, Egyptians, Babylonians and Persians acted toward the Jews with such ruthlessness, it is safe to say there would not now be a Jew living.

Taking then the biography of Jacob for an appraisal of the moral law (or lack of it) in his time, and back to the beginning, we find this prince of Israel committing nearly every act later forbidden by Moses, and a few offenses for which he made no inhibitory provision at all.

Although the Ten Commandments may be taken as the beginning of a higher morality among the Children of Israel, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

cessors was any more moral. The laws seem to have been made for the governance of the people, but neither God nor the priesthood was bound by them. For we find again and again the Lord commanding through a priest-mouthpiece the most appalling atrocities that make the blood run cold and the pulse leap with horror.²⁷

It is difficult to discover any moral progress in this. Certainly justice is not easily discoverable. Why should these older resident people, who we may suppose were also God's creatures since all are said to have descended from Adam, be deprived of their homes for which they toiled, in order that the Israelites, who had not earned by any special merit such remarkable consideration, might go in and take possession. It is not easy to reconcile this performance with the conduct of a brutal human king; with Jehovah and what He is supposed to stand for it is a sheer impossibility.

We now enter the third stage of development of the moral law as we find it in the revelationist's ultimate source of all morality, viz., the teachings of Christ, or the age of the Gospels.

In this day of war excitement much is said and written about the immorality of war, and the higher ethics of peace. But peace was not always, even in the Christ period, deemed a part of the moral law. For the Prince of Peace makes this pronouncement early in his career:

"Think not that I come to send peace on earth. I come not to send peace but a sword. For I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law. And a man's foes shall be they of his own household."²⁸

The bitter wars that have been waged in the name and for the cause of Christianity are to this day extolled for their preeminent worthiness, nor are they regarded as indicating a lowered moral standard. There was, if we may believe pious historians, the highest moral exaltation in the hearts of the valorous crusaders when at the behest of religion and her holy rights the blood of innocent men, women and children was wantonly shed. Then shall we say the moral standard of religion is lowered by what is going forward among the Christian nations of Europe?

Let us compare the retributive laws of Moses, "eye for eye, tooth for tooth,"

mission and non-resistance, "but I say unto you, That ye resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloke also. And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain. Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away."³⁰

In the Mosaic code we have a brutal law of compensation which takes no account whether the culprit has only one member or not, in which former instance the punishment would be double the offense; while in the Christ law of submission we lack the moral law of justice which punishes the offenses as a restraint upon evil doers, and as a deterrent against repetition, or like wrongs by others.

Neither is moral. The former because of its unjust cruelty, the latter for the encouragement it gives to the evil doer to persist in evil doing, and the temptation it puts before others to do the evil because devoid of all personal risk. Both rules of conduct are destructive, and their literal enforcement would cause more injury than good. Furthermore the Christian doctrine has never gained any ground in civilized communities where justice is administered according to law. And were this otherwise the world would be for the wicked, and injustice would triumph because encouraged by non-resistance. Such teaching is neither utilitarian nor intuitive. It violates the fundamentals of the former which has the greatest good for the largest number for its basis; and contravenes the latter, for no man was ever born with a conscience so abnormal as to feel he is doing right by submitting to injury, or encouraging it by inducing either its repetition or aggravation.

The Christ idea of moral law is hardly the sanest and most practicable way of living in this world, whatever may be the effect on our chances of attaining the next. Between these two standards there is a wide difference, and whether the one is better than the other is not within the purview of our discussion. If such difference exists (and that it does is so obvious nothing further need be said to prove it) then there must be two standards of justice on this subject:

ultimate, static and immutable? Dare he admit that the inspired word of God represents at least three distinct standards of moral law?

In both the Old and New Testament stress is laid upon the duty to love one's neighbor as one's self.³¹ That this is utilitarian and based on selfishness is at once apparent. Here the standard of one's relation to his neighbor is self-love. Those who strain for morality—for conscience as an immanent monitor—will find this admonition strangely inconsistent with their ideals of a higher law. For if we shall measure our love for our neighbor by our self-love with a view of doing well by him, we are assuming a very tender regard for ourselves else our neighbor would come in for much less than what this eminently utilitarian rule of conduct is expected to bestow. Surely no one will claim for this standard the ideal, the perfect. Its sole merit, if it has any, is in its practicability as a convenient guide to a limited kind of deportment, because it assumes our self-love to be so great that in bestowing our love accordingly we are going to the limit of human ability.

We see from this that both the ancient writer of the Pentateuch and the later reporters of Christ were utilitarians, and with Socrates preached a refined hedonism.

Now a word for the world-accepted Golden Rule. This same rule, because of its utilitarian value as a measure or standard of deportment, has been incorporated with slight variations in phrasing, into the seven great world religions. We do not for this reason praise it beyond its just deserts. Like the former expression it has self—the ego—as its basis, and is totally devoid of any lofty ideal. Like the other its world merit is its practicability. It recognizes all virtue to be at bottom mere selfishness, and so fixes the desire of the individual as the measure of conduct toward others. It is utilitarian and although its origin is regarded by revelationists as the highest moral law ever revealed to man, it does not, even assuming its source, change thereby its inherent character.

To take the Golden Rule out of the utilitarian and place it into the intuitive philosophy we must change the phrasing to something like this: Do unto others as you would have others do unto you if you were the other person. This would recognize the other's viewpoint, which after all should be, ethically at least, the measure of comparison. For what we might want the other person to do to us might not be what the other would want done to him. Therefore, in using the selfish standard, the other person might fall

³¹ Matt. v. 43-44.

far short of his idea of justice in the premises. Thus a low-minded person might be satisfied with a sort of treatment which would be atrocious to another of higher refinement. To illustrate by an exaggerated example:

A man is life-weary and ready to kiss the hand that ends his misery. Such cases are not uncommon in hospital annals. Seeing another in like case, the literal application would give warrant to the killing of the other person for in doing that to the other he would be doing as he would be done by. Now then if we applied the amended rule he would first find out whether the other person was as eager to die, and then act accordingly, assuming the law would permit.

Then again what might be moral action for one person in a given condition might be quite the reverse for another in the same condition. And when the proposition involves three, instead of two persons, and their interests conflict, the Golden Rule will not apply at all.

As we remember the total absence of moral law governing the sexes in the pre-Mosaic times, the strict enactments of Moses on this subject, we must consider the following from Christ's preaching, viz., "That whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery already with her in his heart."³² We are forced to the conclusion for which we have contended all along, that there were at least three standards of morality in the three epochs of the Bible, and this will not be a welcome thought for those who claim a God-given conscience and an ultimate, revealed moral law.

From the easy-going patriarchs to the severe repressive teaching of Christ is surely a far cry. By the comparative method here adopted it is possible to take every moral law that is to-day recognized as fundamental because calculated to produce the greatest good to the largest number, and beginning with the ante-Mosaic, passing to the Mosaic and ending with the Christ epoch, without any difficulty to establish at least three clearly defined aspects of so-called moral law. And this forces upon us the alternative: either God's law is not moral law, or the Bible is not in a literal sense the Word of God.

We leave it to the reader whether moral law is revealed, ingrained in conscience, or utilitarian, because it is the conforming of conduct to the standard of behavior observed by the best people of a certain time since from such conduct

THE ETHICS OF NATURE,

BY THE EDITOR.

SINCE the evolution theory has been accepted we look upon the world as one systematic whole and the laws of human development as but applications of the general laws of nature. Thus it has become recognized more and more that all life on earth is one consistent system, and human life is but a higher and nobler development of all animal life. Nevertheless we cannot yet forget that "nature" is a term which has been used exclusively for the lower manifestations of existence, and we reserve for the higher, properly human, humane, moral development, special terms such as "spiritual," "intellectual" or "divine." We look upon the two as contrasts, and certainly contrasts they are, although we have learned to understand that they are not contradictions. We still feel a kind of objection to the very term "nature" when speaking of the higher domain of human morality.

It is not strange, however, that in these days when the monistic conception is being recognized more and more, the naturalness of all life including its highest phases should be insisted on, and so we notice that in many different quarters this same theory is being developed in complete independence. We wish especially to mention a movement which has been founded in Paris and London among certain international circles under the title "Comité international de propagande pour la pratique de la morale fondée sur les lois de la nature." We have referred to the publication of this society repeatedly in our columns, and will only add that the movement has spread over a large part of the civilized world,—the British Empire, Continental Europe, the United States, South America, and even the Far East. Their representative work, *La morale fondée sur les lois de la nature*, will shortly appear in an English translation. The Secretary is Mr. M. Deshumbert whose address is Dewhurst, Dunheved Road West, Thornton Heath, England.

There have been other similar movements which have to some extent gone too far and have shown a hostility toward the recognition of the higher life and to religious traditions, indulging in misrepresentations of Christian dogmatism. But we must recognize that the Ethics of Nature movement has not been guilty of such crudities and excesses. It is based on the monistic idea that the higher develops from the lower and that the higher will always remain the higher and its distinguishing features will continue to remain just as important even though it does not stand in contradiction to the basis from which it has developed.

Goethe and Schiller say on this subject in their Xenions that the realm of reason builds above nature, nevertheless what reason constructs is but a higher period of nature. Their distich runs:

"Reason may build above nature,
but findeth there emptiness only.
Genius will nature increase;
Nature, however, it adds."

It seems natural that while we recognize the monistic world-conception as firmly established the higher nature will retain its distinct character, just as a flower is different from the leaf, as the intellectual ranges above the animal and the human ideal above the appetite of the brute. It almost seems as if there is a tendency to emphasize the oneness of all life, of all nature, and the universal law that dominates the whole cosmos.

There is one point we have to learn. The highest in nature is not lowered to the level of its beginnings, but the entire character of the whole becomes distinguished by the heights which nature can attain.

Mr. Arthur J. Westermayr presents a conception of moral law in which he points out that the Bible contains three different moral standards representing three different stages of civilization. This is a truth fully recognized in modern theology by the critical school, and I would say it does not lessen the great significance of the Bible to have several successive phases represented, and it is quite natural that God should be made responsible in every phase for the ethical principles of the times.

The old conception of the literal theory of inspiration which represents God as the direct author of the whole book has been surrendered for the last half century, perhaps not in very narrow orthodox circles but at least among those trained in the modern conception of theology as a science.

ART AND DOMESTIC LIFE IN JAPAN.

BY M. ANESAKI.

THERE is no country where the life of the people is not conditioned by nature and their art to some extent connected with it; but in Japan perhaps more than anywhere else daily life has been in especially close touch with nature and moulded according to the artistic sense. The life of the Japanese may be said to be more primitive than that of many other civilized peoples, because it is more exposed to nature, or rather more intimate with nature; yet this primitiveness is refined and elaborated by the keen sense for the pure and simple beauty of nature. Leaving out of consideration the gorgeous palaces and ornate religious decorations, Japanese art is manifested in the life of the people at large in a direct adoption from nature and a modification of life according to its inspiration.

In the islands of Japan nature is an intimate friend of the people, in spite of hurricanes, earthquakes and volcanic eruptions which are frequent visitors. The land and atmosphere are smiling and benignant accompaniments of life to the optimistic people. The blue sea in the bright sunshine is indented by picturesque promontories studded with fanciful pine-trees. There are high mountains, but most of them are gentle in slope. Even Mount Fuji, the highest peak and an ancient volcano, usually has a mild rather than a rugged aspect, and in the spring looks "like a white fan hanging down from the sky," as a poet expressed it. The climate is mild, and the fishermen along the southern coasts wear but simple thin clothing in the winter, while the northern coasts are covered with snow.

Flowers, both grasses and trees, are abundant everywhere,

as any American maples, but the leaves are extremely delicate and fine. There is no association of wildness about maples, but the spirit of autumn is personified as the Brocade-Weaving-Lady, who can be worshiped among the hills as well as invited into the miniature gardens. Moreover the fauna of Japan is peculiarly destitute of beasts of prey, the sole exception perhaps being the wolf. Thus



ARASHI-YAMA, WITH THE WATERS OF THE RIVER KATSURA.

This is a place famous for its cherry-blossoms in the spring and for maple leaves in the autumn, which cover all the hillsides. The place has ever since the ninth century been one of the beloved spots near Kyoto, where the court nobles organized their feasts and the people their picnic parties. A picnic boat is seen. Photograph by Dr. W. S. Bigelow of Boston.

flowers and animals are always associated both in life and in art. The nightingales flying among the plum-flowers, the peony-flowers and butterflies in the warm sunlight of spring, the deer loitering under the crimson maples, the fox and the reeds in the pale autumn moonlight—these are painted and celebrated in song over and over again, and man shares the company of these lovely creatures, either

in his garden or in the forests. Man and nature standing opposed and God ruling both from above—this was the teaching of the church in Europe during the Middle Ages. All Japanese religions taught a very different message, namely that divinity, either as deities or spirits, is to be found in man and nature, and that these two are the best of friends, both being children of the cosmic life. The gentle friendliness of nature in Japan, together with the religious ideas inculcated in the people, have helped them to live in



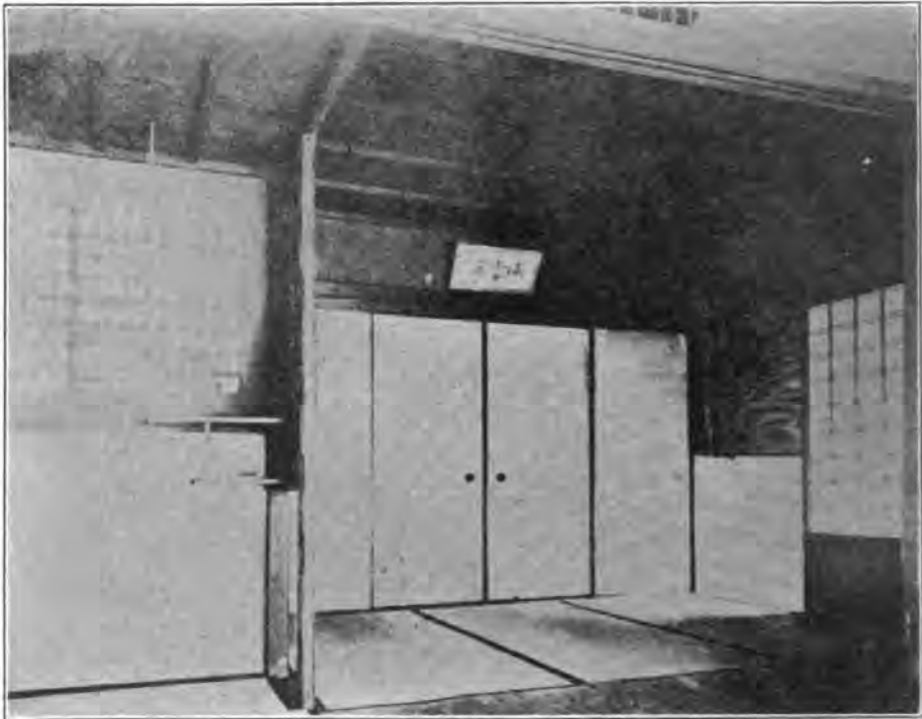
A TEA-ROOM DATING FROM THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

Note that the building is so situated among trees that it looks like a simple cottage; yet each of the stones and lanterns is arranged according to certain rules of the tea ceremony.

intimate relationship with nature. Japanese painting and poetry do not often reach sublimity, but a soothing mildness is to be found everywhere in art, as in life.

Intimacy with nature is most conspicuously manifest in the simplicity of Japanese homes. This simplicity is the result of two factors, the preservation of the archaic style in architecture and the openness of the house. The primitive house of Japan, before the introduction of Buddhism, consisted in the simplest arrangement of straight pillars driven into the earth and covered by a thatched

roof. It can hardly be called artistic, yet the white pillars exhibit a singularly pure simplicity and the whole structure an archaic sobriety. What added refinement to this was the introduction of the tea-room. Here I cannot enter into details about the tea-room and explain the source from which the cult of tea, Tea-ism, has derived its inspiration, but must content myself with saying that the tea-room was a manifestation of the soul purified, poised, pacified and illumined in the contemplation of the Zen method, which



THE INTERIOR OF A TEA-ROOM DATING FROM THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

Note the bare simplicity of the room. Some of the woods used retain barks, and the floor is matted with pure yellowish mattings.

influenced deeply and widely the life and thought of the Japanese since the thirteenth century. The combined effect of primitive simplicity and of Zen purity permeated into every corner of the Japanese home, and the people, eager to keep the old style, added the sober refinement of meditative training to the original simplicity.

Now the union of the primitive style and the meditative mood is manifested in an austere simplicity, to describe which I cannot do better than quote a well-known poem which runs as follows:

“A cottage stood there, a human abode,
Of woods tied together and covered with straw;
Another morrow, ties gone and thatch scattered,
See it reduced to wilderness, as it had used to be!”

The refinement added to this simplicity consists in so selecting the building material and the constructive configuration that the human abodes might retain as much as possible the flavor and tone of wild nature. For this purpose costly timbers are brought together from great distances, in order to harmonize the surface grain of the pillars and ceiling or to finish the allusions to the things of nature suggested by the timbers. A workman would spend days in selecting a suitable piece of wood for a certain place, or in meditating how a piece of wood should be cut or planed to harmonize with other pieces. This comes from the fact that the Japanese house is usually not painted, and the pride of a rich house often consists in how much pains and money were bestowed on an apparently simple structure of natural wood. In this connection I can do nothing better than quote Dr. Morse, who says:

“Oftentimes in some of the parts the original surface of wood is left, sometimes the bark retained. Whenever the Japanese workman can leave a bit of nature in this way he is delighted to do so. He is sure to avail himself of all curious features in wood: it may be the effect of some fungoid growth which marks a bamboo curiously; or the sinuous tracks produced by the larvae of some beetle that oftentimes traces the surface of wood just below the bark, with a curious design; or a knot or burl. His eyes never miss these features in finishing a room.” (*Japanese Homes*, p. 111.)

A house built in a style like this, aiming at an imitation of nature, cannot but be pure and simple, though the selection of the wood may sometimes tend to extravagance and the combination may be degenerated to mannerism.

Another consequence of this intimacy with nature is the openness of the abode. As a rule the Japanese house is open on almost all sides, the sides having little walls and consisting of large windows, as it were, extending from corner to corner and from ceiling to floor. The partition between the inside and outside is kept simply by paper slidings which allow light and even wind. By opening the paper slides and taking one step across the *verandah* one can enter the house, or can pass from any room to the outside and into the garden. Through the open space snowflakes or flower-petals,—even butterflies or birds—may come, driven by the wind.

"Even moonshine," wrote a writer of the fourteenth century, "seems to gain in friendly brilliancy, striking into the house where a good man lives in peaceful ease." In the night the wooden slides are closed around the veranda. The rustle of these wooden slides by blowing wind, or the soft sound of the accumulated snow falling down from bamboo leaves in a serene night, is regarded as highly poetic and inspiring and is sung in many lyrics. In this way the Japanese house is a shelter, but in an extremely meagre sense of the word. The people live, even in the house, in close communication with the outside, i. e., more exposed to nature than western people; and there is almost no necessity of special ventilation. This fact has a great bearing not only upon the art of embellishing the house itself but upon the artistic sense of the people in general.

Naturally the rooms are simple and severe, in accordance with the general tone of the abode. A room with little furniture, surrounded by paper screens and with the floor invariably matted with pale yellowish mattings, cannot but be simple. In this simplicity there is something suggesting primitiveness, which however is attained by careful avoidance of pretentiousness and by tasteful selection of ornament which looks very sparse and severe.

Avoiding minute descriptions I wish to point out one significant feature in the room decoration, namely, the fact that regular symmetry is carefully avoided and the free air of nature is imitated. The paper screens, which correspond to the wall-paper of the western home, are designed with free-hand painting in order to avoid symmetrical effects; and even in the case of printed patterns they are designed with scattered maple leaves or studded with young pines of irregular growth. The simple paper screen facing the outside, which corresponds to window-glass and curtains, is covered with thin semi-transparent paper onto which dried leaves or flowers are pasted. In a recess reserved on one side of a room there are often shelves for the reception of miniature carvings or books and rolls. These shelves, usually two in number, are never symmetrical, but arranged to be alternate, i. e., the one wing terminating in the middle, and the one below it projected from the other side and terminating in the middle. The two are connected by a short pillar which may be of various designs, in accordance with which the shelves are called the "thin mist" or "one leaf" or "plum branch." In all these and other decorations symmetrical regularity is avoided, almost instinctively, in order to retain the flavor of nature in the rooms.

toko-no-ma, an alcove or recess on one side of the room raised a little above the floor. I might call it the little shrine dedicated to the genius of simple beauty, because there hangs a picture or a calligraphic writing, and it is the chief seat of artistic display in the room. A flower-vase stands in front of the picture or hangs on a pillar at the one end of the recess, and from the incense-pot, which is placed near the flower-vase, there arises the smoke of incense, the incense which never irritates the sense but enables one to inhale the essence of delicacy and composure. There is usually but one picture, at most three as a kind of triptich, and the pictures are changed according to the seasons, together with the flowers,—in the early spring a picture of plum-blossoms under snow, in the summer wistaria and carp in the water below, etc. It is in this alcove that the cult, of course in a vague sense of the word, of beauty is held and the fragrant or brilliant gifts of nature are invoked. I call this a cult because the practice of keeping this recess for art apart from the rest of the room has been derived from the inspiration of Zen Buddhism, a religion of the serene and meditative enjoyment of nature's beauty.

As a matter of course the garden, the trees and stone in it, the hedges erected in various parts of the garden, the stone lantern and the stone stand for the water-pot,—all that surrounds the house—should participate in the spirit of adoration of nature's beauty. The garden is indeed in Japan a continuation of the house structure. One can imagine this close connection between the garden and the house by thinking of the Japanese house as a whole to be a kind of arbor or veranda. The people live in the house, but they do not only have free access to the garden on all sides of the house but enjoy the sight, fragrance and air of the garden freely from inside, because the demarcation between the two is neither clear nor solid. In short the Japanese abode is more a camp life than a dwelling in the western sense. Let me again quote Dr. Morse, who says:

“Severe and simple as a Japanese room appears to be, it may be seen by this figure (an illustration in his book) how many features for decorative display come in. The ornamental openings or windows with their varied lattices, the sliding screens and the cupboards with their rich sketches of landscapes and trees, the natural woods, indeed many of these features might plainly be adopted without modification for our rooms.” (*Japanese Homes*, p. 141.)

Now I have dwelt comparatively at length on the house because it is the fundamental condition of domestic life and the place where the people's esthetic sentiment is expressed conspicuously and constantly. Thus life and art are closely allied in the Japanese home, art being an introduction of the spirit and vitality of nature into the human abode,—an art which is preeminently an imitation of nature. Art should not be limited in our conception and practice to palaces and museums but permeate every one's daily life without regard to the distinction of wealth or class. There was and is in Japan an art for the rich, but the people at large share the gift of nature's beauty, each according to his taste and means. Thus even a poor man's house has a certain space of garden, and even in the house of meagerest appearance there is always the *toko-no-ma*, the chapel of simple beauty.

There is little gorgeous or pretentious in the life of a people like this, who try always to mould the surroundings according to the suggestions and inspiration given by nature. The art in their daily life consists just in applying the curves and colors found in nature to everything, however small and petty it may be. The Japanese are known in the west as the people of pretty things, the people of miniatures. This is not wholly true, for the religious art of Japan has produced a gigantic bronze statue, over sixty feet in height, and there were and are palaces and temples of grand dimensions and of gorgeous decorations. But the saying is true as regards the life of the people at large—this cannot be otherwise, for their art consists essentially in an invocation of nature into their home. "The most trivial aim," as Captain Brinkeley said, "derives dignity from the earnestness with which it is pursued, and the Japanese can be just as much in earnest about the lightest fancy as about the weightiest fact. They know how to be picturesquely great in small things." (*Japan*, VI, p. 48.)

The earnest desire to imitate nature manifests itself in every phase of Japanese life and I wish to elucidate this a little more.

The utensils and tools in domestic life form one illustration of this fact. The dipper for ladling water is often made of a simple bamboo stem; the stand for holding brushes and pencils is always of bamboo; the soup-spoon of pottery is shaped like a petal and is called the "flying lotus-petal"; the chop-sticks are made of pieces of wood

painted in blue, or a poet with his pet crane, sitting under a pine-tree. In all these designs there is never a perfect symmetry but always a piece of nature in a natural aspect.

The dishes are served in a similar way. On the dining-table are arranged usually five dishes simultaneously, a soup-bowl in lacquer, a rice-bowl of pottery, three other plates of different sizes and shapes, for fish and vegetables. Moreover the dishes, whether for fish or vegetables, are decorated with grass-leaves, flowers, sea-weeds, all of different colors and cuts. Here let me quote an English lady who says: "I lunched once with a professor in Tokyo; it was a modest meal in the house of a man poorly off, according to our ideas, but when the red-lacquered trays came in, each lunch on its own tray, and all the courses served together, I could not restrain a cry of delight. The whole set out in its red-lacquered tray was a picture, each dish in itself was another. The golden bream lay on a pale blue dish; an oval slab of pounded fish, pure white in colour, rested against a mound of lime-green chestnuts; in front and lying in a crescent curve were purple roots, brown ginger and tiny slices of red radish. It was simply a triumph. I have eaten pinkish brown soup in which the curved peel of orange floated like a golden dolphin; pale yellow custards served in delicate blue bowls whose surfaces were ruffled with silver-fishes; white rice-moulds wrapped in the delicate tendrills of a vine-green sea-weed; thin slices of pink roe-fish, the color of an uncooked salmon, laid out on green dishes and garnished with little heaps of olive sea-weed shaven fine and eaten with a burnt-sienna sauce. . . . You can eat almost every variety of chrysanthemum, as well as see it, and the colouring, all vegetable, is almost as beautiful." (A. H. Edwards, *Kakemono*, p. 128-9.)

Clothing naturally is changed according to the season, not only in material, color and style but also in patterns, which are chiefly taken from the flowers. Especially the clothing of young girls has always certain patterns, whether in the whole robes or in the neck-bands or in the skirts. These designs of flowers are patterns, never completely conventionalized but more or less akin to nature, i. e., in painting style. Adonis flowers in snow, irises and a wooden bridge, wild pinks with dew-drops, maple leaves floating on streams, chrysanthemums and a straw fence,—these are adapted to decorative design and dyed or embroidered. The change of season is manifested in the designs of robes among the girls of the poorer classes, to their parents' pride and to their own delight. Besides the change of pattern and material the seasons are indi-

cated in the juxtaposition of colors, such as we see in Beatrice when her sight is caught by Dante among the heavenly hosts and she is robed in hue of living flame, with a green mantle and white veil over it. These juxtapositions are named after the flowers of the season, and it is meant by wearing the robes of the seasons to emulate or to imitate nature and to live in harmony with the changes of nature's face. To take a few examples: white and violet, called plum; pink and green, peach-flower; white and pale pink,



A LADY PAINTER WORKING ON HER SILK.

The Japanese painter usually works on his or her silk or paper (corresponding to canvass) laid horizontally on the floor. The enclosure where a scroll hangs is the *toko-no-ma* alcove where palm-trees stand and flowers are arranged in a vase. Photograph by Dr. W. S. Bigelow of Boston.

peony; cyanic blue and green, Japanese bell-flower; dark violet and brown, the fallen chestnut; violet blue and green, the mountain blue-bell, etc. Besides the clothing the lantern hanging on the veranda, the bamboo blinds around the room, the cushions for sitting, the pictures hanging in the *toko-no-ma* alcove,— these too are changed in color and style according to the season. This is quite natural to the people who live in closest touch with nature, and in ancient times the terms for the changes were prescribed

and those who would fail to observe the rules were regarded as men of no culture and refinement.

This point brings me to the consideration of the festivals of the seasons and the floral calendar. I shall here simply enumerate the chief festivals. Including the New Year's festival, which is a great thing in Japan, the festivals are always associated with the flowers of the seasons, the New Year's decorations being the plum-flower, pine and bamboo. The 3d of the third lunar month is the day for girls, a merry doll day in which peach-flowers play the central part. The 8th of the fourth month is the birthday of Buddha, the day being observed more out of doors than indoors and the azalea being the chief flower. The 5th of the fifth month is the day for boys, another doll day, in which iris flowers together with mugwort leaves are offered to the dolls of warriors. The 7th evening of the seventh month is the night observed in honor of the two stellar constellations, the Herdboy Prince and the Weaver Princess who are said to wed on that evening. No flowers are used in this festival, but the leaves of a tree called *kaji* are offered to the stars, being floated on water which reflects their twinkling light. On the three days in the middle of the seventh month the Japanese All Souls' Day is observed, and on the 15th of the eighth month the festival of the moon, on both of which a kind of reed with its flowerlike ears is offered to the respective objects of adoration. The 9th of the ninth month is the day of chrysanthemums, which is now observed on the late emperor's birthday, the 3d of November.

Beside these chief festivals, which are social and domestic at the same time, the flowers of every season receive their respective attention and respect. The floral calendar gives the times of their blooming and directions as to the places where the best of those are to be seen and enjoyed, according to which the family or a group of friends or schoolboys would go picnicking. They are floral shows, not in the horticultural halls but in the open air and in the heart of nature. I shall not enumerate the seasonal succession of these flowers but point out just one thing in connection with the floral calendar; that is, the custom of "hearing insects," which is mentioned in the calendar, together with the hearing of nightingales, of cuckoos, of water-rails, of plovers. You can see, toward an autumnal evening, in the suburbs of any town, groups composed chiefly of men, going to the fields with gourds in their hands. It is the party who go to hear the mournful and quieting songs of the insects, such as grasshoppers, crickets, the "weaving insects,"

the "bell-insects," the "pine-insects," etc. The party stretches out mattings on the ground at a suitable place on a hillside or in a field and remains till late in the evening enjoying the natural orchestra played by the six-legged musicians and also enjoying the *saké* drink which they have brought in the hollowed gourds. The insect-hearing takes place in autumn and similarly in the summer evenings people go out to the fields where there are waters, in order to see the flying glow-flies. The Japanese have been richly provided with the symphony orchestra and moving pictures by benignant mother Nature, and her children faithfully and piously record these performances in their floral calendar. Of course these insects are also brought into the homes for the sake of old men and children who are not able to risk the cool air of the autumn evenings.

Thus far I have tried to state a few points concerning Japanese life in its relation to the esthetic sense of the people, which is intimately allied with their love for nature. The love of nature and its manifestations is almost inevitable in the life of any primitive people because of its archaic simplicity. But I wonder whether there is any uncivilized people who care to listen to the music of insects or take pains to change their clothing according to the flowers of the season. The simplicity of Japanese life and art is not a primitive and undeveloped rusticity but the result of a trained and very thoughtful refinement which manifests itself in subdued sobriety and severe purity in every aspect of life. The arches and honeysuckles of the Renaissance are surely a product of art, but I believe that the art in the life of the Japanese is to be reckoned with side by side with other sorts of art. In conclusion I wish to call attention to the fact that the artistic sense manifested in this sober and simple purity is a product of the religious inspiration given by Shinto, the native religion of Japan, and by Zen, the Buddhist naturalism and intuitionism. I must await another occasion to elucidate these religions and how they have worked to mould the artistic sense of the Japanese.

A REJOINDER TO MR. J. MATTERN.¹

BY CHARLES T. GORHAM.

MR. MATTERN does not seem to have fully appreciated my point as to atrocities. It is that, even assuming the Belgian outrages to have been unprovoked and unauthorized, they were not illegal *according to German military law*, and therefore the excuse of "relentless" retribution does not hold good. Certainly I do not admit that they ever took place "wholesale," as Mr. Mattern asserts; if any whatever occurred (the evidence is extremely meagre) they must in the nature of things have been far less culpable in persons defending their country against aggression than on the part of invaders. They were infinitely less shameful than the shocking and barbarous retaliation, especially as the Germans were ravaging a weak country which Germany had pledged herself to protect. With the point in question (the justification by German military law of such attacks) the Hague Conventions have nothing to do, but I am not in the least surprised to find that a German advocate is not ashamed to appeal to conventions which Germany is daily defying.

Mr. Mattern wonders that I prefer to accept the statements in the Bryce Report rather than the sworn evidence of Germans. I do so because so many Germans have been proved to be liars. The conviction for perjury of the German who swore the *Lusitania* was armed is only one instance. The German reports of the naval "victory" furnish another. And there are plenty more. Is Mr. Mattern aware that the Bryce Report is fully confirmed by the first-hand evidence of M. Massart? Does he know that the German adjutant of the governor-general of Belgium has admitted the German excesses, and stated that they were deliberately inflicted as a "warning"?

¹ See *The Open Court* of July, 1916, "In Reply to Mr. Charles T. Gorham," with reference to still earlier articles.

The labored argumentation about the *New Statesman* article is wasted. It is a little annoying to bring forward an authority and then find that he has turned against you. If Mr. Mattern is unable to see that the *New Statesman's* recommendation to suspend judgment and a disbelief in mere rumors cannot possibly "dispose of" specific charges detailed subsequently and endorsed by the same paper, I can only hope that time will clear his vision. That there were "myths" about maimed children I admitted in April. Does that show that all accounts of German barbarities are "myths"?

The quotations from British writers as to relentless warfare seem to be misapprehended. Any one who understands the English character would naturally assume that they refer to warfare against combatants (that is a presupposition underlying the British idea of warfare); they do not refer to the slaughter of women and children.

I did not contend that the treaty of 1839 "imposed a binding obligation" on Britain to make war in defense of Belgium. But it gave Britain and the other signatories, including Germany, the right to do so if hostile aggression rendered it necessary; it certainly did not authorize attack on Belgium. The necessity did not arise in 1870 because, as Mr. Mattern says, "there was absolutely no danger of either France or Prussia crossing into or marching through Belgium." In August 1914 Germany threw over the "scrap of paper" which she had confirmed in 1870. France and Britain adhered to it, as they were perfectly justified in doing. The fact that Mr. Mattern, while blaming Belgian outrages discredited the far better authenticated charges against the Germans, warranted me in stating that he looked with equanimity on their invasion of Belgium, and his reply fully confirms the inference. I beg to inform him that the *Standard* was *not* the "organ" of the "British Government."

In his account of the incident mentioned by Bédier (whose book I have not read) Mr. Mattern does not deny that the occurrence actually happened, but shows (or rather implies) that the offender was punished. Crime cannot properly be punished unless it has been committed, but I entirely agree that the passage as to punishment should not have been suppressed. For the credit of the "humane" German army I hope that many other offenders were punished, but I "hae my doots," in view of the German evidence. It is a favorite but stale device of German partisans to

imitation of German methods previously used against us. It is natural to retaliate, I admit, but, "*Que messieurs les assassins commencent.*"

Permit me to add that the personal tone adopted by Mr. Mattern does not impress me as being precisely that of a gentleman.

MR. MATTERN'S REPLY.

Mr. Gorham's "Rejoinder" as printed above hardly calls for a response except perhaps with reference to his statement that in 1887 the *Standard* was *not* the organ of the British government. Mr. Gorham and I apparently fail to agree as to the exact meaning of the term "organ," and to show my willingness to meet my antagonist half way I herewith declare myself ready to substitute for the phrase "organ of the British government" the wording of Sanger and Norton (*England's Guarantee to Belgium and Luxemburg*, London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd. [1915], p. 99), who state that "at that time the Conservative Party was in power and the *Standard* was its principal organ."

In answer to the rest of Mr. Gorham's "Rejoinder," including his closing remark, I refer those interested to the former stages of our controversy and especially to Mr. Gorham's "few lines in reply to Mr. Johannes Mattern's article in *The Open Court* for December" of April last and to my article "In Reply to Mr. Charles T. Gorham," *The Open Court*, July, 1916. Only after a careful re-reading of at least these two will Mr. Gorham's present "Rejoinder" be fully appreciated.

Diri!

GOETHE RATHER THAN NIETZSCHE.

BY THE EDITOR.

HOW much has Nietzsche to do with the present war? This is a question which has been asked of me repeatedly, and the supposition that lurks in the questioners' minds seems to be that Nietzsche has exercised a great influence upon the German nation in stimulating in them a warlike spirit. I can only repeat what I have said before, that Nietzsche's influence is limited to those circles who had nothing whatever to do with the government or with authoritative leaders in national life, and still less in politics. Nietzsche belongs to the revolutionary spirits and is read mostly by people who antagonize all authority in church and state. His most appreciative readers are socialists, social democrats and anarchists. Besides he has given expression mainly to the conviction of those people who would recognize no moral standards but advocate absolute freedom, not only freedom from the administration, from any kind of government, but also from tradition and even from science. Nietzsche objects even to truth, not to errors that claim to be truth, but to truth itself. He is not the man who is cherished in university circles. I do not think that there is any professor of philosophy duly appointed at any of the German universities who may be regarded as a disciple of Nietzsche.

In German university circles Nietzsche is treated with a certain grim humor, or, to use an American expression, is disposed of as a blustering crank, attractive to the immature, but ridiculous to the thoughtful; and this view is common also in military circles.

How could it be otherwise? The government is naturally and necessarily conservative, and Nietzsche's philosophy, if it means anything, means oppositoin to conservatism. So conservatives would unhesitatingly reject Nietzsche, and military men would soon discover that his disciples will not be likely to make good soldiers.

The spirit of Germany is more determined by the inherited

character of the people, and this has found expression in many other literary productions of German literature. We might mention as one of the best modern representatives Detlef von Liliencron, a poet of the war of '70-71, but the philosopher of German patriotism is decidedly Johann Gottlieb Fichte who delivered his *Reden an die deutsche Nation* in the time of the French occupation.

So far as the spirit of the German people is concerned, I will quote as a poem descriptive of Germany's national character, one of Goethe's little gems, as follows:

<p>"Cowardly thinking, Timorous shrinking, Weak lamentations, Faint hesitations Mend not our misery, Set us not free.</p>	<p>[Feiger Gedanken Bängliches Schwanken, Weibisches Zagen, Aengstliches Klagen Wendet kein Elend, Macht dich nicht frei.</p>
<p>"Face all hostility, Preserve your virility Nor ever yield. Vigorous resistance Brings the assistance Of gods to the field."</p>	<p>Allen Gewalten Zum Trutz sich erhalten Nimmer sich beugen, Kräftig sich zeigen Rufet die Arme Der Götter herbei.]</p>

The Germans are not bellicose but they make good warriors. They are unwilling to fight, but ready if war becomes unavoidable. They face their enemies boldly and without flinching, and this in combination with the ability of their leaders—men like Hindenburg who have inherited the efficiency of military science from Moltke, Gneisenau and Frederick the Great—will assure them the final victory in spite of the superior numbers of their enemies.

Nietzsche was an ingenious and an original thinker. He was a German by education, but yet he was not even typically German. He felt his Slavic descent to such a degree that during the Crimean war he took sides with the Russians against the English and shed tears when he read the news of the capture of Malakoff. His writings are much read, but they have done nothing to mold the national character. You may meet admirers of Nietzsche in Germany, but only among the half educated who like to pose as ultra-radicals, and most assuredly not in circles influential with the government.

KARMA.

BY THOMAS HORACE EVANS.

Oh! sing me of this law, who learnest, Chaya,
That sittest 'neath the snow-topped Himalaya,
The law which places every thought of malice
Within the soul's inseparable chalice,
There to invest its secret and engender
Through eons, what its potency may render!

So it was Karma, if my heart believeth,
Which lost the path, and that again retrieveth;
And it was Karma, drawn of sinful ardor,
With swastika, inlaid of fiery color,
And saturated in the threefold yearning
Which wrought its desolate, ruinous returning!

"Lord Buddha," (it was asked of his disciples)
"What is the sin which this man's spirit stifles?"
For, in the gutter, as they passed, was lying
A drunken wretch, whose soul with beasts was vying.
And Buddha's answer came, "All else his spirit
Hath conquered, save this sin, ere he inherit

The eternal bliss. Superior to each other,
At heaven's door, this last his soul would smother;
But, overcome, within Nirvana's glory,
Sooner than ye, beyond the transitory
Round of earth's conflict, into Brahma's vaster
And freer realm he passes, as our Master!"

If his disciples marveled, yet to-morrow
Shall count its myriads chained of equal sorrow,

Each sin and wrong must find its full outworking,
 Nor least nor greatest aught of Karma shirking:
 Ah, Chaya, tell me of this law mysterious
 Which binds all humans in its will imperious!

The spirit fails not, though the sevenfold body
 Traces its devious-channeled palinody
 Within the sevenfold heart; to each form newer
 Is brought the accent in its concord truer;
 Each rift, each dissonance, the fire refining,
 Until the soul its purest be divining.

Dread Power! from whose line is no escaping,
 This clay which potter's hand and wheel are shaping.
 Out of what dim abyss the round diurnal
 Has raised the flower to its beauty vernal!
 The immortal eye of Buddha saw the portal
 Which likewise other souls shall make immortal.

And lo! the Chaya at his cavern seated,
 Where arch to arch of stone his task has meted,
 With steadfast, serious vision ever gazes
 Upon the inward spectacle that raises,
 Entranced, before his soul, the elevation
 Of future path's perpetual translation!

From life to life, from strife to strife, unfolding,
 As a rose, its petals murmurously holding—
 As a star, its orbit spirally unwinding,
 Borne of the central sun its radius finding—
 As a flame, blown out, relights—the spirit breathing
 And on a swifter vehicle's essence wreathing!

As a kiss, its lover's might transferred, aerial,
 O'er bonds so frail they solve their ways ethereal—
 As a sigh, which stirs a world to heed its anguish—
 As a wish unspoken gives a soul to languish—
 As a ray of astral light this worm may capture,
 So Karma wields the gift of woe or rapture!

But how is graven its fine, immutable pattern?
 Of rose, ray, crystaled rhomb, or ringèd Saturn!

The invisible thread is woven thin and thinner
Than the charm of evil fastening the sinner—
Than the bane of destiny—than the long relation
Of universal spheres in gravitation—

Chaya! before the majesty of this presage,
As when Lord Buddha will reveal his message,
And, world to world, thy spirit's way endoweth
Of Him before whose will each world-force boweth—
Before whose love e'en Karma moulds its stamp,
Bend near my face that I may see thy lamp!

MISCELLANEOUS.

"LA GUERRE QUI VIENT."

BY A. KAMPMEIER.

In 1911 a pamphlet was given out by the publishers of the *Guerre Sociale* in Paris under the title *La guerre qui vient*, by Francis Delaisie. It is interesting to see how some things of which the author wrote five years ago happened literally when the war broke out. An English translation has been published side by side with the French by Small, Maynard and Co., and the essentials of the document are summed up as follows in the *Kölnische Volkszeitung*:

When Delaisie wrote in the midst of peace in May, 1911, to speak of a possible or probable war seemed folly at first sight. The world has long been lulled into pacific dreams! And yet he said that even then a terrible war between England and Germany was being prepared.

England had a double plan. (1.) To encircle Germany by a system of alliances which will leave her isolated in Europe without military and financial aid in her hour of danger. Thus we saw Edward VII making advances to France in 1903 and negotiating with her men of finance upon whom he bestowed Morocco (which, by the way, did not belong to him). Soon afterwards he became reconciled to the Czar by making some concessions in Persia and the Balkans. He attempted to get Italy out of the Triple Alliance by offering her Albania. He stirred up anew the old dislike of the Hungarians for the Germans. With money and advice he helped the Young Turks to overthrow Abdul Hamid who had become too closely allied with William II. Soon Germany was entirely surrounded by hostile powers and obliged to face her enemies alone. (2) At the same time England began great preparations for war. English engineers built the first dreadnoughts. Then all the larger armored cruisers, till then stationed in all the seas to protect the empire in which "the sun does not set," were called back and concentrated in the ports of the mother country.

The war will be a commercial war. For this reason there will be a return to the old procedure of privateering and continental blockade. It would be to England's advantage to stop the German imports and exports and thus to cripple German industries. For this reason Hamburg and Bremen must be blockaded. The London government further will make use of its prestige by concluding customs treaties with different countries; it will take for itself all orders for rails for railroad construction, and everywhere possible create preserves for itself as in the case of Morocco and Egypt.

Even according to the view of the English admiralty the purpose of the future war is to shut up the German ports, to capture the German merchant navy, to cut off the supply of the German factories and prevent the export

of German wares. It is a kind of continental blockade which will be a repetition of that in the time of Napoleon I.

So far we have spoken as if the workshops on the Rhine, in Saxony and Silesia could only be supplied by way of Bremen and Hamburg. This is not exact. There are two ports which play an almost equally important role in German industrial life. These are Rotterdam and, more important, Antwerp.

Rotterdam, not far from the mouth of the Rhine, is sought by thousands of ships which run up the river and bring to the iron works and spinning-mills of Westphalia their necessary raw material, iron ores, cotton and wool. Likewise Antwerp on the broad Schelde is much nearer than Bremen to Essen. Rhenish industries get very much of their raw material via Antwerp and the Belgian railways, and they export the largest part of their products by the same route. Antwerp and Rotterdam have become two great intermediate storing places for German industries. Speaking economically they are two German cities though politically they are foreign to Germany, Rotterdam being in Holland and Antwerp in Belgium. This is a fact of greatest importance. Therefore the government of George V must try with all its might to close both ports.

Belgium is, as we know, a neutral country. The neighboring states have bound themselves by treaty to respect its territory in case of war. This is a great difficulty for England, for it is indispensable to England to close the harbor of Antwerp, and she cannot enter Antwerp without violating the treaty. For England to triumph over Germany Antwerp must be closed; for Germany to withstand England Antwerp must remain open. For both nations it is a vital question.

Therefore the fate of both empires will be decided in the neighborhood of Antwerp. In the Belgian plains will be fought the battle between the two great industrial nations for the economic dominion over the Old World. As has been said, England, in order to starve out German industries, must unconditionally blockade Antwerp. If Germany gets ahead Antwerp must be taken by land. But in this case the *modus operandi* changes; war on land takes the place of a blockade by sea.

England must land troops in Belgium to bar the way of the Prussian army and throw it back on the Rhine and the Meuse. That is why Lord Kitchener, the great English general, spoke the famous words: "The borders of the British Empire in Europe are not the Straits of Dover, but the line of the Meuse,"—a peculiar statement showing how Belgian neutrality is regarded.

But with what troops will England occupy these borders? About this the London cabinet is perplexed. It is well known that England has no compulsory military service. England alone in Europe has avoided laying upon its subjects the heavy burden of a "national army." But in spite of this the English must have troops to occupy Belgium and to throw back the Prussians upon the line of the Meuse. Since they had no troops in their country they

ment. In fact that nation is governed by only a small number of men of finance and large industries, who control both press and politicians. Let us bargain with these men. Let us promise them some important war loans by which their banks will receive good commissions; let us bind ourselves that they shall receive concessions for railways in Turkey and some important enterprises in Syria, Ethiopia and Morocco. And for a few millions they will sell us the French army."

England is not given to illusions regarding French military ability; very probably she suspects that we shall be beaten in the Belgian plains and perhaps find a second Waterloo. But (argues the French author) we shall have forced Germany to bear the expense of a double war upon sea and land and at the same time to pay out many millions for her land army, instead of using those millions to repair or replace her battleships. We thus will have contributed to empty her treasury and the Emperor with his funds exhausted will be forced to capitulate. That will be a triumph for George V. Very probably France will be partly occupied, robbed, and be burdened for a whole generation with an enormous war indemnity, but England will have overcome her rival. After Germany is beaten and France weakened she will once more have regained and fortified her unconditional superiority over the world.

At the present time there are negotiations going on with England regarding a military convention. In case of a conflict with Germany the British fleet would protect our channel coast and our troops would march upon Antwerp. *But if it pleases the Foreign Office in London to begin the fight their diplomats will know how to arrange matters in such a way that they will put the responsibility upon the opponent;*¹ and we shall be obliged to go to war to help King George V in compliance with a "defensive" agreement.

If only the thought of a "German danger" has first found sufficient root in France, then some fine night the English battleships will sail under full steam to Flushing. At the same hour, or almost at the same time, the Prussian regiments will start on fast trains from Aix-la-Chapelle to Antwerp. Immediately the French government will stop, as usual, all dispatches, all letters, that might give notice of the movements of the troops. Then an official notice will be given to the press. The next day in all papers the words will appear in type as high as one's hand: "The neutrality of Belgium is violated! The Prussian army is marching upon Lille!"

At this terrible news, repeated through the million voices of the press, the peasant, the small patriotic citizen, the poorly informed laborer, will place himself at the disposal of the army. Without time for reflection they will be carried in stock cars to the Belgian plains. The German army, thus hindered in its march toward Antwerp, will fall upon them.

And thus, through the cunning of a small group of financiers and diplomats, a great people will be involved in a war it did not want.

* * *

The book is remarkable for the deep insight which the author displays in the character of English diplomacy. He knew in 1911 that the war would come and he stated the reason, pointing out that England would not tolerate Germany's industrial and commercial rivalry. And the purpose of the book was to prevent his country from becoming ensnared in the meshes of English

¹ Italics are the translator's.

intrigues. He advised France to remain neutral. He said if England and Germany have to enter into a fratricidal war let them fight it out alone. Both want an alliance with France; England wants the assistance of her army, Germany needs her gold. Germany has not capital enough to wage a protracted war against wealthy Albion. Let France refuse her army to England and her money to Germany; the wisest policy will be for her to remain neutral. Delaisie's advice was not followed by the French government and France accepted the tempting inducements of England's proposals. The time may come when the French people will regret that France did not listen to the warning voice of the prophet who understood the signs of the times better than her politicians and other influential men who led the country on the wrong path to a terrible national disaster implied in this dreadful war waged only in the interest of Great Britain.

VENICE AND THE DARDANELLES.

In the seventeenth century Venice represented the maritime power of the Mediterranean. She was the England of that age and commanded a navy which in size was out of all proportion to the city on the lagoons of the Northern Adriatic. Venice possessed many islands so fortunately situated that her rich patricians were in virtual command of the sea. But by the time the Turks invaded Europe Venice had lost her traditional vigor; the leaders had grown too rich to still be animated by the spirit of conquest, and Venice lost one possession after another. The battle at Lepanto gave the island of Cyprus to the Turks. Then Venice ventured once more to try to overcome the new power which began to be a serious menace to Europe, and she sent a powerful fleet to the Dardanelles in order to break through the straits and attack the new Turkish capital at Constantinople. But it was the last great effort of the famous old city. All her attacks were repelled with heavy loss, and here her power was fatally broken so that she never recovered her former glory. Soon afterward Jussef Pasha landed on the island of Crete and took one city after another without meeting serious resistance on the part of the Venetians, and after him the grand vizier Mohammed Koprili, an Albanian by descent, completed the subjugation of this important island. In 1657, when the Venetians once more renewed the attack on the Dardanelles this latter chief succeeded in annihilating their fleet, and the disaster put an end to Venetian maritime power in the eastern Mediterranean. Our frontispiece represents the Venetian attack in 1646.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

THE MODERN DRAMA: An Essay in Interpretation. By *Ludwig Lewisohn*. New York: B. W. Huebsch. Pp. 349, price \$1.50 net.

This latest addition to the list of books dealing with the modern drama in its international aspect has great merits. It is an essay in interpretation of the modern drama, or rather of the naturalistic drama, which in the opinion of the author (and the writer of this review) is the only broad and vital drama. In his short preface the author states that his aim is to give an account of the modern drama with historical orderliness and intellectual

coherence, and that his study is of the entire subject interpreted as a whole. He thus supplies a real need, for up till now no attempt has been made in the English language to present the subject as a whole or to give any reasoned account of it according to national grouping or the background of contemporary thought as Lewisohn attempts in this book.

In his first chapter, "The Foundations of the Modern Drama," the author shows how the drama, through its portrayal of the acting and suffering human spirit, has been more closely allied than any other form of art to man's deeper thoughts concerning his nature and destiny. During the third quarter of the nineteenth century, these thoughts underwent a most profound and radical change, and the drama was compelled to reshape its content, its technique and its aim. The modern drama thus owes its origin to the scientific and philosophical inquiry that in the view of Dr. Lewisohn has shattered belief on the one hand in an immutable moral law and on the other in the self-originating element in human action, and by invalidating the old notion of guilt and expiation shifted the emphasis of the drama from what men do to what they suffer. Hence the heroes and heroines in the modern, naturalistic drama are suffering characters in contradistinction to the older, idealistic drama where they are acting characters. In the older drama tragedy was seen to arise from the frailty or rebellion of a corrupted will defying a changeless moral order; in the modern drama tragedy lies in the pressure upon the fluttering and striving will of outward custom, of unjust law, of inherited instinct, and of malevolent circumstance. The drama of the past, which ended with the protagonist's expiation of his transgression and the consequent reestablishment of the moral harmony of the world, corresponded to a state of religious or moral certitude in the playwright and the audience. The endings of the drama of to-day, which are felt by the uninstructed reader or hearer to be so inconclusive and disconcerting, interpret, says the author, our own incertitude, our aspiration and search for ultimate values.

The development in literature corresponds to the parallel development in modern thought. The older, idealistic literature went hand in hand with an optimistic system of philosophy. Naturalism in literature, on the other hand, is the inevitable corollary of pessimism, positivism, determinism, materialism and monism in philosophy. The doctrine of heredity and environment play an extremely important role in the naturalistic school. The modern, naturalistic movement is moreover firmly founded in socialism and social compassion.

This modern storm and stress movement was, in Germany at least, in the first place a reaction against hyper-classicism. There had been in Germany throughout the nineteenth century many slavish imitators of classical drama, especially that of Schiller. The *Kleinmalerei* of the naturalistic school was set up in opposition to the *Schönfärberei* of the classical school. Both of these terms are borrowed from painting, and, indeed, the association between literature and painting is now closer than it has been for the last few centuries. In the modern, naturalistic drama there is, as Fromentin said of Rubens, "no pomp, no ornament, no turbulence, nor grace, nor fine clothing, nor one lovely and useless incident."

The naturalistic tendency may be said to go back to Emile Zola who was the first to enter the fight for a modern drama in France. But his three plays produced between 1873 and 1878 were hissed from the stage. It must have been a strange reflection for him that his ideals for the theater were ulti-

mately realized in Germany and not in his own country at all. But this naturalistic tendency, having its origin in France, went first to Scandinavia and Russia before it came to Germany where it later yielded its best fruits. Tolstoy's "Might of Darkness" (1887) and Strindberg's "Julia" (1888) were the god-parents of Gerhard Hauptmann's "Before Dawn" (1889), while its immediate model was "Die Familie Selicke" (1890) of Arno Holz and Johannes Schlaf. It was shown by the authors in manuscript form to Hauptmann before he wrote his first drama. How great was the influence of the Scandinavians on the creators of the naturalistic literature of Germany is proved by the fact that Holz and Schlaf published their first experiments in naturalism in 1889 over a Norwegian pseudonym. It is regrettable, however, that the leaders of the literary revolution in Germany did not know their immediate predecessors at home and surrendered themselves entirely to foreign influence. They knew nothing of Anzengruber's preface to the second volume of his realistic "*Dorfgänge*" (1879). Here this eminent Austrian dramatist independently and effectively advocates the cause of realism in literature.

The author analyzes the foundations of the modern drama in the work of the Scandinavians, Ibsen, Björnson and Strindberg, and the plays of the French novelists, the Goncourt brothers, Zola, Daudet and Maupassant. A section is devoted in this first chapter to Henri Becque, the founder of the modern, realistic theater in France, and another to the *Théâtre Libre* in Paris and the *Freie Bühne* in Berlin.

The realistic drama in France, which is the title of the second chapter, is illustrated by Porto-Riche and Curel, the psychologists; Brieux and Hervieu, the sociologists; Lemaître and Donnay, the humanists; and Lavedan, the representative of French comedy. The author finds the work of the leading French dramatists deficient in the verities of human psychology chiefly on account of their preoccupation with the problems of marital infidelity, the phenomena of sexual passion, which, in spite of Brieux's denial in his drama *La Française* (1907), still seem to absorb the interest of French society and literature, and it is with great relief that he turns in the third chapter to the naturalistic drama in Germany, to which he rightly attributes qualities of the highest order. Only blind prejudice engendered by the present war will attribute this viewpoint of Professor Lewisohn to national bias. One may disagree with him in regard to the relative merits of certain playwrights or certain works of an author, but no intelligent reader or theater-goer can deny that the drama of Germany stands head and shoulders above that of any other country, even though it may be, as a Germanophobe recently expressed himself to the present writer, for the reason that in all other countries there isn't any drama.

Gerhard Hauptmann, whom Professor Lewisohn considers to be "as surely the representative dramatist of our time as Shakespeare and Molière were of theirs," is the chief protagonist of the naturalist school, and Halbe, Dreyer and Hirschfeld are his followers. Hartleben and Wedekind are the revolutionists in the drama. Sudermann represents the school of

and whom he calls the playwrights of the transition; Oscar Wilde, whose product is artificial comedy; Barker and Galsworthy, who represent naturalism in the English tongue, and Shaw, who perfected the intellectual comedy. The author puts John Galsworthy at the head of serious English dramatists, calls him "a modern dramatist of the rank, if not the stature, of Ibsen and Hauptmann," while Granville Barker, whose play "The Madras House" (1909) he considers "one of the most fascinating of modern plays," he holds to be "of all but the highest promise and originality." The author omits, for reasons given in the foreword, the discussion of the theater of Italy, Spain and Russia. As for American drama, we infer from his book that there is none.

The symbolic, neo-romantic movement, its success and failure in the drama, is dealt with in the fifth and final chapter. The official founder of the symbolist school in literature is Stéphane Mallarmé, and the originator of the symbolist drama is Maurice Maeterlinck. But again, as was the case with the naturalistic movement, it never reached the stage of the land of its origin. It was again Germany, the land in which the naturalistic drama attained its highest development and which has always been eager to learn from others, that bade it the most eager welcome. According to the view of this author the work of Rostand, who is held to be the foremost neo-romantic dramatist of France, is symbolical in only a very narrow sense. The symbolical drama, says Professor Lewisohn, is a creation of the children of the great mystical races—the Germanic Maeterlinck and Hauptmann, the Jewish Hoffmannsthal, who, by the way, wrote his first drama *Gestern* (1891) when but seventeen years of age and thus sets a new standard of precocity in the annals of literature, and the Irish Yeats. Associated with the latter in the Irish movement are Lady Gregory and Synge.

The volume contains also study lists and a critical bibliography, which will prove very valuable to students of contemporary drama.

This book is written in a brilliant style and is filled with really deep and critical thinking from the first to the last page. It is indeed a most welcome addition to the literature of dramatic criticism in the English tongue and a great credit to American scholarship.

MAXIMILIAN J. RUDWIN.

PURDUE UNIVERSITY.

WHAT IS MAN. By *Rev. Bernhard Modin, A. B.* Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Book Concern, Pp. 335.

Nineteen hundred years ago Cicero said:

"Whether the soul is of air or fire I do not know, neither am I ashamed as other philosophers are, to acknowledge this my ignorance in things of which I have no knowledge. But should I in an obscure thing dare to express my earnest and firm conviction, I would be ready to swear to the fact that whether the soul consists of air or fire, it surely is of divine origin," and in echoing the Roman sage's opinion the Rev. Bernhard Modin adds to-day: "As to the origin and essence of the human spirit we know absolutely nothing by experience. This knowledge we must acquire from divine revelation." Taking a deep interest in philosophy and natural science, he learns from secular sources as much as he can accept from mechanics and physiology, but bases his fundamental ideas, as he says, "upon the Rock of Ages, the Holy Scriptures." The book shows the author to be a thoughtful

man still holding to the Bible in both spirit and letter. It is obvious that he does not believe in evolution. From Adam to Christ he counts four thousand years (p. 288). He discusses his subject "What is Man?" in two parts: I, The Body of Man (73ff); and II, The Spirit of Man. In the former he explains the functions of the physical organs, the senses, and the limbs, while in the latter he describes memory and other powers of the spirit, conscious and unconscious. In explaining the faculties of the soul our author loves to fall back upon the Hebrew terms and analyses their original meaning, but he is modern enough finally to answer the main question of his book by approvingly quoting from Shakespeare's Hamlet (II, 2): "What a piece of work is man! how noble in reason! how infinite in faculty! in form and moving how express and admirable! in action how like an angel! in apprehension how like a god!"

κ

ROME AND GERMANY. The Plot for the Downfall of Britain. By "*Watchman*." London: Henry J. Drane, Danegeld House, 82a, Farringdon, E. C. Price, 1 shilling. Pp. 386.

Much has been written about the cause of the war, and new theories are appearing almost daily. The one presented in this book is the most recent to come to our notice, and here at last we have revealed to us the "*real* cause of the war." The anonymous author explains in the first chapter the policy and methods of Rome, her attempt to crush Protestantism and especially to reconquer England, that country which represents Protestantism with its political and religious liberty. After touching on the South African war our author states his views of German ambition and hostility, and Germany's plans of invasion, which reach a climax in her alliance with Rome. The third part of the book reveals the activity of the Jesuits in Britain, the moral decay of the nation, and the activity of the pro-Boers and anti-English in the country. The conclusion is a cry of warning against the menace of Rome, which has found in a Protestant emperor the means of vanquishing the only country that stands for liberty.

κ

ABOVE THE BATTLE. By *Romain Rolland*. Translated by *C. K. Ogden, M. A.*, Magdalene College, Cambridge.

The author of *Jean-Christophe* is one of the few leaders of European thought whose reputations will be enhanced by their writings during the war. While so many have capitulated to the passions of the moment, Rolland, the greatest writer in modern France and the leading champion of the Latin spirit, remains true to his ideals. "Over the carnage rose prophetic a voice";—it is surely to these magnificent essays, so lucid, so full of common sense, that Whitman's words apply. The essays have now appeared in an attractive and

NEUTRALITY

By

S. IVOR STEPHEN

(Cloth, \$1.00; paper, 50c.)

PRESS NOTES.

"This book is an impressive mass of facts which cannot fail to startle even the most indifferent American newspapers which, under the protection of so-called 'freedom of the press,' dare to exploit private interests in time of excitement, although they well know public opinion is practically a powder magazine which a false alarm may explode."—*Chicago Examiner.*

"A stab at the press who ruthlessly ride over public opinion and do not preserve the neutrality which our nation has expressed."—*Fort Smith Times Record.*

"This book is a humdinger."—*Trenton Times.*

NEUTRALITY PRESS, Chicago

A Handbook of American Private Schools

The second edition revised and enlarged of the **Handbook of the Best Private Schools.**

A critical and discriminating account of the Private Schools as they are with historical chapters.

Among the new features are a Complete List of **Private Secondary Schools**; new **Educational Directories**; a list of **Secondary-School Periodicals.**

New introductory chapters: **Measuring Educational Results, The Year in Education; Review of Recent Educational Literature, etc.,** by Professor Clayton C. Kohl of New York University, Professor Arthur O. Norton of Wellesley College and others.

640 pages, round corners, crimson silk cloth, gold stamped, \$2.50.

A Handbook of New England

Descriptive of Town and Country along the Routes of Automobile Travel, with Introductory Chapters.

768 pages, round corners, crimson silk cloth, gold stamped, \$2.50.

Porter E. Sargent

50 Congress Street

Boston, Mass.

Problems of Science

By FEDERIGO ENRIQUES

Translated by Katherine Royce, with an introduction by Josiah Royce

Pp. 392, cloth. Price \$2.50

A scientific methodology with numerous references to contemporary interests and controversies.

Press Notices

"Prof. Royce thinks that the book will be read with particular interest on account of the opposition that it offers to current 'anti-intellectual' types of philosophizing, though the book was first published in Italian before the controversies about 'pragmatism,' 'intuitionism,' etc., arose."—*Springfield Republican.*

"The book is written in a very attractive style, and presents some of the most difficult problems in a way that the unprofessional reader can understand."—*Boston Transcript.*

"The work before us is perhaps the most considerable since Mill."—*The Nation.*

The Open Court Publishing Co.
CHICAGO

New Volumes
of the
**Open Court Classics
of Science and Philosophy**

The Geometrical Lectures of Isaac Barrow. Translated from a first edition copy and provided with an Introduction and Notes by *J. M. Child*, B.A. (Cantab.) B.Sc. (London). With a portrait of Barrow. Cloth, \$1.00.

The translator claims to have discovered in these lectures, concealed under the geometrical form of theorems and constructions for drawing tangents and finding areas, an absolutely complete elementary treatise on the infinitesimal calculus; i. e., a complete set of standard forms for the differentials and integration of algebraic and trigonometric functions together with a logarithm and an exponential, and the rules for their combination as a sum, a difference, a product, a quotient or a power of a function; for the rest it is noticeable that all Barrow's results are given in the form that would be obtained algebraically by logarithmic differentiation.

Diderot's Early Philosophical Works. Translated and edited by *Margaret Jourdain*. With portraits of Diderot and Saunderson. Cloth, \$1.00.

This translation includes the *Philosophic Thoughts* (1746), a development of Shaftesbury's scepticism in which Diderot is still theistic, yet he shows how the arguments against design have impressed him; the *Letter on the Blind* (1749) in which the transition to rationalistic negation is complete, and Diderot criticises the argument from design through the mouthpiece of Nicholas Saunderson, a blind English mathematician of the early years of the eighteenth century; and the *Letter on the Deaf and Dumb* (1751), an interesting but composite fragment dealing with esthetics, which was an inspiration to Lessing.

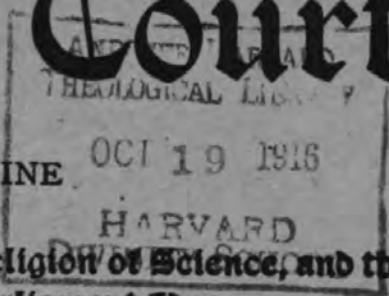
The Open Court Publishing Company

122 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE

CHICAGO

The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE



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

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER.

VOL. XXX (No. 10)

OCTOBER, 1916

NO. 725

CONTENTS:

	PAGE
<i>Frontispiece.</i> Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz.	
<i>Our Secret Alliance.</i> CORNELIA STEKETEE HULST	577
<i>The Leibniz Bicentenary</i> (Illustrated)	610
<i>The Precursor, the Prophet, and the Pope.</i> Contributions to the History of the Bahai Movement. ROBERT P. RICHARDSON	617
<i>Miscellaneous.</i>	
The Passing of a Patriot (Samuel W. Pennypacker)	638
Book Reviews	639
Notes	640

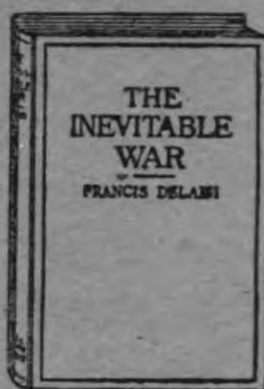
The Open Court Publishing Company

CHICAGO

Per copy, 10 cents (sixpence). Yearly, \$1.00 (in the U.P.U., 5s. 6d.).

Entered as Second-Class Matter March 26, 1897, at the Post Office at Chicago, Ill., under Act of March 3, 1879
Copyright by The Open Court Publishing Company, 1916

There Would Have Been No War



F the French government had said to the English
You shall not have our army
the French government had said to the Germans
You shall not have our money

Read these definitions taken at random from

THE INEVITABLE WAR

(La Guerre qui Vient)

By FRANCIS DELAISI

AMBASSADORS: "Ambassadors in gold braid are today no more and no less than the agents of the banks and the great corporations."

DEMOCRACY: "A blind used to cover up the intrigues of the financial oligarchy which is in reality in control of the government and the people."

DIPLOMATS: "The tools of the financial and industrial oligarchy who work to obtain for them foreign loans or foreign purchases of their goods."

FINANCE'S STRONGEST ALLY: "Popular ignorance."

FOREIGN POLICY: "(Something) beyond the control of both public opinion and parliament; it is even beyond the control of government. In our trustful democracy it rests with a single man and a small coterie of financiers and men of affairs who will to unchain a war and embark this country on a series of the most perilous adventures."

MOVING FORCES OF WARS: "Orders, concessions, loans."

Milwaukee Free Press

"Delaisi developed a positive clairvoyance in foreseeing certain phases of the struggle which he predicted and which are now being realized. . . . The chief interest of his work . . . lies in his clear discernment of the European conditions that brought about the war and in his forceful description of them. . . ."

"As a voice speaking out of the past—half a decade ago—it will have more convincing power as to the causes of the terrible European struggle than the utterance of the present-day observer, always open to the accusation of bias."

Price, 12mo, Cloth, \$1.00 Net



GOTTFRIED WILHELM LEIBNIZ.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

VOL. XXX (No. 10)

OCTOBER, 1916

NO. 725

Copyright by The Open Court Publishing Company, 1916

OUR SECRET ALLIANCE

BY CORNELIA STEKETEE HULST.

FOREWORD.

It would seem that the many books and articles thus far published on the European war of 1914 must have told the whole story, but certain events that have impressed themselves upon me seem not to have been traced in any, and so I feel constrained to point them out, especially because the evidence that I shall present from Boer sources has never been published, so far as I know, and should be laid before the jury of the nation and historians that will render final verdict upon this case.

That jury of historians will, as always before judging the evidence, try the witness, so my readers will pardon me if I precede my narrative of events by an account of myself, how I happened to secure my knowledge, and what my invalidating biases may be. I believe that I am typically American. My grandparents came to America when my parents were children, and were among the Pilgrim Fathers of the immigration into the West, their motive, faith in America and discontent with certain temporary infringements upon liberty in the Netherlands, that home of liberty. I have never known more devoted Americans than my father and mother were. My father's keen interest in American and Dutch history probably stimulated me, for even before I had reached the university my interest was vivid and so wide that nothing that was human was foreign to me. My seminary course of the university led me into Austrian and Russian history in a study of the Near Eastern question, or Balkan problem, as it was in 1889. I left the university strongly prejudiced in favor of England, owing to the fact that her affairs had occupied a disproportionate amount of our consideration and that almost all of the history that we read had been from English sources and written under the national bias. It has taken me twenty-five years to realize how wise Washington Irving was when he said that the world's history will have to be rewritten in America to secure a just consideration for all. I was brought up in reverence for the Republican party, but came to admire greatly some things that President Cleveland did, and have ever since given my admiration irrespective of party. The contemporary history of the intervening years I followed rather closely by means of London publications, so my information is not to be dis-

counted as coming from enemy sources. I have been keenly in sympathy with the great English Liberals in their struggle against modern imperialism in England, and Leonard Courtney, Gilbert Chesterton, Bernard Shaw, Philip Snowden, Frank Harris, Francis Neilson, and a host of others who have stood against the imperial policies of their country are my heroes, along with the great English Liberals of the past age, Matthew Arnold, Carlyle, Morris, Hunt, Keats, Shelley, Byron, and Browning, whose patriotism led them to tell their country her sins in the hope to save her from wrong-doing. This seems to me true patriotism and the correct interpretation of "my country wrong or right." The thing which would cheer on our country when she is wrong is unworthy of the name of patriotism and will lead her to destruction, so my prayer is and will continue to be, *God speed the right and chastise us into the path of right-doing.*

When I say that the facts of this war seem to me to incriminate England, it is not because I have a German bias. I have not had access to the German side of the story, except recently in pamphlets and periodicals, which I try to read with discrimination, keeping in mind the principle that bias and deliberate attempts at deception in enemy literature are pitfalls that must be avoided. Of course I have admired greatly the literature, science, public economy, and general administration, in which Germany has led the world.

As I have said, my information is almost all from English and American sources. If I know more of Rhodes and his policies than others do who have read much since the war began, it must be credited to the vivid interest that I brought to the reading of the *Contemporary Review* and the *Fortnightly Review* in the nineties, and to the accretions that followed, largely at the time of the Boer War and after the Boer War, when we, who were ardent sympathizers with the republics against the British Empire, entertained some of the most notable men who came to this country, men who knew the South African situation at first hand.

* * *

"Alliance, if you please, understanding between gentlemen."

CECIL RHODES in 1895 made his first attempt to annex the South African republics to the British empire, and this was a prelude to uniting Africa later from the Cape to Cairo by annexing the German colonies through which his railroad was planned to pass. It was at this time that, "thinking in continents," he formulated his world-policy to "paint the map of the world a British red." After the annexation of the African republics, the next great step in the process was to be a division of the world before 1920 between the Russians and the united Anglo-Saxon peoples, and the means that were to be employed were alliances of Great Britain with Russia and with the United States. The proposition was stated boldly and fully, and in such a manner as to make the inference perfectly clear that before 1920 Germany must be removed from the map, her fragments appropriated by the Allies. As this policy was r-

Review (London, December, 1894) no pretext was made that Germany was threatening the world and no chivalrous or holy motives were assigned for forming this concerted action against her. The "changed purposes of Pan-Germanism," and "protection of little nations," and "war against militarism," and "war against war" were all advanced later in the procedure—was not the purpose to appeal to the public and confuse the issue, to win our American diplomats and our American people as well as the people of allied Europe? Mr. Rhodes himself never professed fear of Germany and thought that the British navy would be sufficient, if increased according to his recommendation, to capture the new German navy whenever it chose.

Those who try to understand this world war of Rhodes's making and our part in it can do so only if they look to the motives assigned long before the fray was begun, and before our diplomats were captured. Therefore I propose to direct attention back to the beginnings when motives of imperial methods were not masked, and to the men who first worked for an American alliance. My discussion will be limited mostly to events on this side of the Atlantic to show the extent to which the project of an alliance with "America" has succeeded. Most of the evidence will be unearthed by future historians who can gain access to facts now hidden, and a great deal will never be brought to light, for the agreements have been secret, "understandings between gentlemen," as Mr. Chamberlain stated in his announcement to the House of Commons in the course of the Boer War. An investigation of the expenditure of Cecil Rhodes's millions, bequeathed to be administered secretly with the purpose of bringing "America" into alliance with Great Britain would bring to light much that is hidden, but will hardly be permitted by the empire that after the Jameson Raid failed to investigate Rhodes's piracy in its behalf. On this side of the Atlantic, however, the course of events is sufficient to prove that a secret alliance was made—the proof was practically sufficient before Mr. Chamberlain made his announcement. Perhaps no treaty entered upon as our constitution provides, *by and with the consent of the Senate*, has ever been so important in its influence upon our national ideals and welfare as this secret one has been, so it behooves us before the next step is taken to understand as completely as possible what has happened, what is involved, and what is likely to follow.

It might seem that it would be impossible to win the United States to the Rhodes policy of annexing the republics and painting

the map of the world red, including our own territory. Washington had warned us in solemn accents not to entangle ourselves in foreign politics, and had promised us the greatest material prosperity if we would treat all nations justly and as friends,—“I conjure you to believe me, my fellow countrymen.” Webster had urged us merely to live up to our republican principles as a means of influencing the world to a more fortunate future in which the nations would improve their conditions by adopting our most successful institutions; and our country has been so marvelously successful that it has more than realized the hopes that the fathers cherished. Washington and Webster might well have been astounded to see the United States of 1895, its population, its power, its wealth, its expansion, and the influence that its ideals had exerted upon the world as manifested in legislation and in revolutions in other states, with the aim to secure such liberties and independence as had benefited us.

How many changes in British colonial government might be credited to American success? How much had our influence to do with the formation of the republics in Central and South America, and with successful and unsuccessful revolutions in Europe, Africa and Asia in the course of the last century? “Where the bayonet is at their throats, men pray for it,” said Webster, and this is still proved true in the revolution attempted in South Africa in 1915 and in the Irish revolution of this current year. Our “Glorious Fourth,” Independence Day, had taken rank with Christmas in the hearts of our people, and it had been our unvarying practice for over one hundred years to extend our sympathy to people in any part of the earth engaged in a struggle for liberty. With such traditions would it not seem impossible to win our American people to imperialism as a home policy and support of Rhodes imperialism as a foreign policy? It *has* proved impossible to win the nation at large and in the open, but easy to get an effective secret alliance. Why? It is time that we should consider this, for the danger is within our gates.

The first incident in which an American of great influence allied himself to help carry out the Rhodes policy was the Jameson Raid (Dec. 27, 1895—Jan. 1, 1896), intended to result in annexing the South African republics to the British empire. In the courts of Pretoria and in the trial of Dr. Jameson before the parliamentary

tempted to make their raid seem chivalrous, even holy, by a telegram appealing for assistance in behalf of women and children who had really never been in danger—a telegram concocted two months before it was sent out, to be despatched guilefully at the psychological moment. Not only the “reformers” and Jameson and Rhodes were guilty of this conspiracy, but also the highest British officials, including Joseph Chamberlain, secretary for the colonies; Lord Salisbury, prime minister; and the Prince of Wales, later King Edward VII, for these stood by Mr. Rhodes throughout the trial and continued to give him their support afterwards. The parliamentary committee that conducted the trial shielded the main plotters and entered into the plot, for they refrained from asking the questions that would have shown the guilt of the imperial officials; Parliament also became implicated by accepting the report of this committee without further question. If I remember correctly, only two members of the committee dissented and only a few editors took exception. From that day the policy of the British government has never varied from the policy that Rhodes outlined—alliances have been made as he advised, and more than he advised, and the navy has been increased as he suggested. If the present war ends as he planned, Germany will have been eliminated before 1920 as a world power. The pleas of righteous and chivalrous purpose made by the imperial officials of to-day must be discounted in history as heavily as those of the chartered company whose offenses the empire condoned and sheltered—for, as pointed out by a few English Liberals even to-day, the acts have been paralleled with the sending of the Johannesburg telegram, only more wily and successful—see the succession of documents and speeches in *How Diplomats Make War*, by Neilson, member of Parliament throughout the five crucial years, 1910-1915. Of course that is not the subject of this paper but another story.

The Boer War and the alliance of England, Russia and America against Germany were planned by Rhodes, as I have said, before the Jameson Raid, in 1895. If President Cleveland was approached with a suggestion to form such an alliance he did not respond, for in accordance with American traditions he expressed the sympathy of our government to the Transvaal after the Jameson Raid, he upheld the Monroe Doctrine against the encroachments of England in Venezuela, and he requested the recall of a British diplomat who was using his influence in favor of certain candidates in an American election. Entering upon their duties the year following the Jameson Raid, President McKinley and John Hay made the

secret alliance, adopting an imperialist national policy and the secret Rhodes imperialist world-policy. These have since been maintained by our succeeding presidents but have never been openly approved by the nation, for every administration still sees an attempt to fix the date for the independence of the Philippines, and every effort to enter into open alliance with England and come to her open assistance in war has been thus far frustrated.

As a tooth of a mastodon shows an anatomist what the rest of its skeleton and its life habits must have been, so a very few facts will be sufficient to show what manner of men Hay and McKinley were: both had marked traits.

Hay characterized McKinley as a man who wore a mask and had the face of a "fifteenth-century ecclesiastic," a description that could hardly be bettered. All the world knows what that type connoted—wile and guile; and these traits are amply illustrated in admiring remarks that Hay adds on the way McKinley could talk even to an office-seeker so as to let the man go away satisfied, supposing that he had received a pledge, only to discover his mistake later: "Six different senators might in turn press the claims of their protégés, and Mr. McKinley without duplicity would send each senator away believing that his own would be appointed; and all the while the President had settled on another candidate." This speaks volumes for McKinley's "diplomacy"; and what definition could Mr. Hay have constructed for "duplicity" that he did not include this under it? What will he not do by omission and commission, and still hold himself guiltless? With such an estimate of McKinley and such an idea of duplicity, Hay worked for McKinley's election, thereby again giving his own exact measure in public morality. Thayer says of McKinley's methods: "He had the art of throwing a moral gloss over policies which were dubious, if not actually immoral," and instances the extermination of certain tribes of Filipinos, which extermination McKinley termed "benevolent assimilation" to make it look well to the public. This is the Rhodes method to perfection, and provides a formula that will give the correct interpretation to many events: "*throwing a moral gloss over policies which were dubious if not actually immoral*"!

... Hanna and Carnegie, were McKin-

as that the sun in the heavens once shone upon Britain and America united, so surely is it one morning to rise, shine upon, and greet again the reunited state—the British-American union.” It is to be noted here that Carnegie was distinctly of those who did not put “America first”—what abuse would not our Anglophiles have uttered if some German-born American had written with like enthusiasm proposing even alliance with Germany!

Of Hay we are told in Roosevelt's *Autobiography* that since the days when he served as secretary to our great radical, Abraham Lincoln, he had grown more and more conservative, and that he considered Roosevelt too liberal, but that he and Roosevelt were in complete accord on foreign policies. Thayer says that Hay came to resent the interference of senators while he was conducting the state department and would greatly have preferred to carry on his work without explaining foreign affairs to them and winning their support. “Trust the President,” a slogan he might have made to fit his own case, has become in this war the slogan of the men who have been initiated into secret imperial diplomacy, who do not refrain from questioning him on foreign understandings because they know that he is going to be unduly friendly with England and distinctly hostile to Germany. If he should be unduly friendly with Germany and distinctly hostile to England they would not trust him or ask the nation to do so.

By a man's chosen friends one knows him, and Hay's friends were not of democratic type. One of the letters he wrote while in England mentions with admiration a very rich senator, his friend, who had been entertaining him at an English countryseat where he was spending the summer, and calls him “the finest type of Tory baronet you ever saw”—a truly American spirit would have had at least a grain of regret at the sight. Hay developed a frigid manner and was difficult of approach, even forbidding to the public, and his most intimate friend, Henry Adams, the historian, had like serious limitations. Thayer describes Adams as a man who had lost his faiths and enthusiasms, who had withdrawn from the world as a solitary and now admitted only the select to his presence, and who saw life as a jest and nothing more. The friends were evidently sophisticated in the full derivative sense of the word, men who professed wisdom, but who had lost the true wisdom of life. Adams had adopted a habitual tone of sardonic irony, and Hay, to judge from his letters reported by Thayer, was given to perpetual banter, sarcasm, and jesting, a style quite the opposite of sincere and noble, and all the more to his discredit because in his impressionable youth

he had lived in the daily presence of so great, sincere, simple, and kindly a man as Abraham Lincoln. That noble presence and Hay's contact with the pioneers of the West in his early youth should have taught him the relative values of diamonds-in-the-rough and sparkling paste, but he did not learn the lesson. He became exclusive, and the basis of his exclusion was not sincerity and nobility. He seems not to have been sensitive on these points, as is seen in his relation to McKinley and his evident pleasure in the company of insincere politicians whom he fell in with in London and to whom he lent his support.

If Mr. Hay had found a statesman of the type of Gladstone at the head of the Liberal party when he visited London in 1896, he might have been elevated to higher ideals, he certainly would not have been tempted as he now was by Chamberlain and other men of the Rhodes school. It is startling to see how like McKinley, Hay, and Adams in guile, insincerity, and lack of faith, were the English Liberal statesmen at the head of their party in 1897, as described in two keenly analytical articles in the *Contemporary Review* (London) of that year, signed "A New Liberal," and entitled "Wanted, a Policy" and "Wanted, a Leader." In the hierarchy the Tory leaders, Chamberlain and Rhodes, outranked these as masters of masters. In those articles are set forth the "helplessness and headlessness" of the Liberal party of 1897. Many reforms awaited a champion, but no champion presented himself to lead the Liberals to victory in their behalf. Of the Liberals on the Front Bench:

1. Lord Roseberry has proved a disappointment. "When a man fails like that he does not return";

2. Harcourt cannot get a following. "It is painfully clear that public opinion credits him with no belief and less enthusiasm. . . he fails to impress people with his sincerity. . . People don't believe in him, or they don't trust him either. . . That sounds brutal, but there it is, and there is no use in keeping up the farce of pretending not to see it";

3. John Morley is a most estimable man, but he incurs the suspicion of being an impractical doctrinaire—"a man of scrupulous ratiocination, and fastidious words, rather than a man of action. Of his kind he is admirable, but an impossible leader";

4. Asquith is not promising, though even in his college days he was picked out as Mr. Gladstone's successor and noted by Mr. Gladstone himself. "He failed to develop the right qualities. . . Possibly the strong wine of social success changed him. . . The party

gets no help from him and certainly no sort of inspiration. Probably the reason is *that he has none to give. For his fatal fault, if I understand him, is that he believes in nothing*”;

5. Campbell-Bannerman also is not promising. “I have given him up. He is too rich and too lazy, and his only ambition seems to have been the hope of the speakership and a peerage.”

The “New Liberal” of 1897 wrote with the eye of a seer, and his judgment has been justified in every case by events. In 1916 the world knows the sequel:

1. Lord Roseberry never returned;

2. Mr. Harcourt never got a following;

3. Henry Campbell Bannerman realized his ambition of the speakership and a peerage. He was the leader of the Liberal opposition during the Boer War, perhaps *persona grata* to the government because when the Prince of Wales (later King Edward VII) shook hands with Rhodes in the face of the Jameson investigating committee, Campbell-Bannerman, then a member of that committee, refrained from asking for the telegrams that would have shown the imperial officials in collusion with Rhodes. His pro-Boer questions annoyed Mr. Chamberlain in the course of the Boer War, but did not change the outcome one iota. Perhaps they helped Campbell-Bannerman to realize his peerage, for when Sir Edward Grey was asked to undertake the foreign office he refused to consider the invitation unless Campbell-Bannerman should be “banished to the House of Lords,” where questions, if asked, would not annoy him and would certainly be innocuous.

4. Mr. Asquith has been the premier that, along with Sir Edward Grey, led affairs to Armageddon. “The strong wine of social success” may have led him farther and farther from the straight way, for he married the woman of high social standing who was widely celebrated a few years ago by William Watson’s poem, “The Woman with a Serpent’s Tongue”:

“Who slights the worthiest in the land,
Sneers at the just, contemns the brave,
And blackens goodness in its grave....

.....

“To think that such as she can mar
Names that among the noblest are;
That hands like hers can touch the strings
That move who knows what men and things?”

Had Watson a premonition of this war when he wrote that last verse? During this war Mrs. Asquith’s influence has been felt to

be so malign that the newspapers of the empire have been appealed to, to keep silent on the subject.

3. Finally, the prophet was right on Mr. Morley, for he left the cabinet in 1914 when this war began, because he would not be held responsible for the future, having been deceived by Sir Edward Grey though a minister of the Crown, on the most important facts preceding the declaration of war. He has been the man of probity and honor, but not a strong leader.

Hay visited London in 1896, a few months after Jameson's Raid and at about the time when Mark Twain was visiting the scene of the raid in South Africa; and he returned to London as our ambassador in 1897, immediately after McKinley's inauguration, at about the time that Mark Twain was writing his marvelously lucid and penetrating chapters on Rhodes and the raid in *Following the Equator*. Because my well-restrained statements concerning Rhodes might see exaggerated and because sound conclusions could hardly be stated more picturesquely or with greater force, I shall quote his words to show the respect that was paid to Rhodes and his policies in the nineties:

"In the opinion of many people Cecil Rhodes is South Africa; others think he is only a large part of it. . . . He is the only colonial in the British dominions whose. . . . speeches, unclipped, are cabled to the ends of the earth, and he is the only unroyal outsider whose arrival in London can compete for attention with an eclipse. . . . The whole South African world seems to stand in shuddering awe of him, friend and enemy alike. It was as if he was deputy-God on the one side and deputy-Satan on the other. . . . blasphemed by none among the judicious, and even by the indiscreet in guarded whispers only."

This is how Rhodes's influence was estimated by an unbiassed American observer, perhaps the keenest mind among us at that period. It would hardly be possible to overestimate the influence of Rhodes upon the policy of his country. He was no poor scholar with a limited influence upon scholars, like Treitschke, no remote philosopher influencing a still smaller circle of philosophers, like Nietzsche, but himself the Superman, nourished on the doctrine of the survival of the fittest formulated a generation earlier by his own countryman, and interpreting that doctrine in the light of his conviction that He and His are the fittest. A good imperialist appreciation of Rhodes is the article by H. Cust, M. P., in the *North American Review*, July, 1902. This member of Parliament expresses no horror of Rhodes though his schemes imply the wars to

follow, a conspiracy to be carried out later by political corruption, and consummate hypocrisy to cover up the tracks. Cust is one of that Parliament, doubtless, that rewarded Alfred Austin with the Laureateship hot-cakes after his writing his poem in praise of Jameson's chivalrous(!) raid, and he and his like have led their nation into holy horror of Germany because, they charge, she intended to enter on a career of conquest and annexation—the very policy they admired in Rhodes! Can they produce documents to prove their charge stronger than those that convict Rhodes? Rhodes saw the annexation of the republics before he died, and he lies buried in a spot that he himself selected on the top of a high African mountain overlooking the scene of his triumph. When the people of the conquered republics lift up their eyes to that tomb they quote the appropriate text that the devil took him up into an exceeding high mountain and showed him all the kingdoms of the earth and the glory thereof, and said unto him, "All these things will I give unto thee if thou wilt fall down and worship me"—but Rhodes, being an imperial Englishman, did not say, "Get thee behind me, Satan." Our friends in South Africa tell a good story that illustrates the feeling concerning his plans to annex the world—that while Mr. Rhodes was a guest at their home they were out on the porch one night when the talk turned to the stars and whether they are inhabited. Mr. Rhodes was the person who hoped they were not, and the rest judged that that was because the stars were beyond his reach: he could not hope to annex them to the British empire. Mark Twain sums up Rhodes's schemes to annex everything beneath the stars, in chapters that should be read by every American and made our text-book to ensure our understanding the policy and the methods that took Hay and his successors in. What could be more illuminating testimony than this:

"What is the secret of his formidable supremacy? One says it is his prodigious wealth—a wealth whose drippings in salaries and other ways makes men his interested and loyal vassals; another says it is his personal magnetism and his persuasive tongue, and that these hypnotize and make happy slaves of all that drift within the circle of his influence; another says it is his majestic ideas, his vast schemes for the territorial aggrandizement of England; and another says that he wants the earth and wants it for his own, and the belief that he will get it and let his friends on the ground floor is *the* secret. . . . He deceived the Duke of Fife—it is the Duke's own word—but that does not destroy the Duke's loyalty to him. He tricks the reformers into immense trouble with his raid, but most

of them believe he meant well. He weeps over the harshly taxed Johannesburgers and makes them his friends: at the same time he taxes his charter-settlers fifty percent. . . . He raids and robs and slays and enslaves the Matabele, and gets worlds of Charter Christian applause for it. He has beguiled England into buying Charter waste paper for Bank of England notes, ton for ton, and the ravished still burn incense to him as the Eventual God of Plenty. . . . An archangel with wings to one-half of the world, Satan with a tail to the other half. I admire him, I frankly confess it, and when his time comes I shall buy a piece of the rope for a keepsake."

What insight into the weaknesses and wrongs of the modern world! Oh, that Mark Twain had been our ambassador to London instead of Hay! He would have understood the methods by which the imperial officials that supported Rhodes were working, and would have seen through the toils that were weaving to ensnare our republic. Perhaps Hay saw more than he commented on, knew more than he told, and made terms with it as he had with McKinley's indirection.

Two incidents revealed in his letters seem to show that Hay was simply flattered and dazzled and did not know that he was taken in. The first was that in which he met both Mr. Chamberlain and Harcourt at a dinner in London, in 1896, and had some talk with them, feeling like the maiden in highly distinguished company: "It was a chance that a girl of her age rarely gets to see the greatest politicians of the time in their hours of ease"; second was that of a day or two later, when Balfour and Harcourt invited him to talk over Cleveland's Venezuelan message and the prospect of McKinley's election. He was then struck by the fact that nearly every word he had said to Balfour had been repeated to Harcourt and that Harcourt had remembered it all: "These English public men have wonderful memories," he muses. He was then asked to talk with Mr. Chamberlain and Curzon, also. The conversations are said to have been long, and probably touched on other subjects besides those for which he was invited, for Thayer tells that when Hay was in London in 1896 "*he got wind of the changed purposes of German imperialism. . . . In brief, his experiences in London revealed to him the aims of Pan-Germanism.*"

In the opinion of Dr. Usher, Pan-Germanism was merely an expression of the national consciousness and an effort at self-preservation paralleled in other nations: "If Germany is wrong, others too have been wrong; indeed, if her conduct is unjustifiable, no country in the world can establish its moral and ethical right

to existence." Certainly as compared with England Germany had been slow in setting out to annex colonies, and she is hardly to be blamed for looking toward the Philippines and tracts in China and Africa if England is approved for annexing Egypt and millions of fertile miles in other regions. The questions for historians to settle are whether in 1896 Germany had changed her legitimate purposes so as to threaten the civilized world or any particular nation in it, and exactly what the "*changed purposes*" were, as presented then to Mr. Hay in London by British government officials. I have seen no proof that she had changed her purposes, but, as I have shown, on the contrary, that Mr. Rhodes had schemed before 1877 to paint nearly all of the available earth red, and, backed by the imperial officials, had outlined a scheme in 1895 for dividing the world between the Russian and Anglo-Saxon peoples allied—which could only be done by breaking Germany. From 1895, if not earlier, Germany must prepare for "the Day," and her preparations to defend herself must give an opportunity to her *foes who had made the conspiracy against her* to ascribe her efforts to overwhelming ambition, and in general to misinterpret her every act of prudence to the world. It should be the first doctrine of history that assertion from an enemy source does not constitute proof, but it seems not to have occurred to Hay or to Thayer that mere statement from London was not enough to prove felonious intent on the part of Germany and that the informers were not above suspicion of both national interest and duplicity, Chamberlain having just been implicated with Rhodes in Jameson's piratical raid in South Africa (as all the world believed the more because the investigating committee had not fully investigated) and Harcourt being considered insincere by even his own party, as "A New Liberal" testified.

Hay seems to have felt something of this, as his choice of the word "politician" shows. Did he know that Rhodes and his followers were themselves "thinking in continents" since 1877, with the purpose of "painting the map of the world red," and that the first step in the process after the unification of Africa was to be a division of the world (especially Germany) between the allies (Russia and the United Anglo-Saxon peoples)? He may have known all of this and thought it no worse than McKinley's duplicity, which he counts not against him, for these are the ways of the world that is after all very merry, and very bright with tinsel! As for *Republic vs. Empire*, that meant little to him—possibly he had come to like the ways of empire best. He may therefore have seen deeply into the Rhodes policies and have wished to bring the changes that they

implied—in short, he may have simply judged their evil as good in promise and to be winked at. He certainly showed penetration sometimes, for of the French-Russian alliance, which had just been announced in London in 1896, he remarked that France had sold herself like a prostitute and would not even receive a high price, a judgment that is being justified in this war, where poor France has lost far more than she can hope to gain, but Russia and England may hope to win, as Rhodes computed.

It is not to our purpose to go deeply into the motives that led McKinley and Hay and their circle to desire an alliance with England, secret if it must be, open if possible. Perhaps the "big business" of such men as Carnegie and Lodge predisposed them toward an imperialism of the type that supported Rhodes rather than toward a republicanism that hampered "big business" by anti-trust legislation. Not only Carnegie in 1893, but Sir George Grey in the same year, and Rhodes in 1895 had written articles expressing themselves for the incorporation of the United States in the British empire—Rhodes had held these ideas much earlier. Is it possible that Hay did not know this? As soon as he, then our ambassador to England, brought the question of alliance up in 1898, consulting influential friends by letter, Senator Lodge approved it heartily, perhaps then as now interested personally as well as in behalf of his state in the "big business" of making munitions. Alliance, of course, means wars to follow.

Hay to Lodge: "Your letter gave me the most gratifying account of feeling among the leading men of America that I have had from any source. It is a moment of immense importance, not only for the present but for all the future." "The leading men of America" who had expressed approval doubtless included Roosevelt and others of the Harvard group.

Was the motive of these men standing for alliance high and idealistic, defensible and appealing? If it had been they would have worked openly, not in secret. (1) Was it warmth of feeling for the mother country? Possibly it was to some extent, as in Carnegie's case, but then it is the hyphenated Americanism that men of this group have been rightly quick and loud in condemning. It now appears that this class of English-Americans have been our only alarming "hyphenates" for the past twenty years, and it is consistent with the Rhodes methods that they, who are themselves pro-English and working for an English alliance, have cast reproach on our German-Americans for warm regards to the sufferings of their mother-country, though not one of our German-Americans

has proposed to form a German-American alliance, or to involve the United States in war for Germany's sake. To continue the question of motive: (2) Was it because England had given to America the most precious of her national institutions? That question is open to debate, and other nations would have much to say. If one is to look to sources, the Dutch might maintain that little Holland gave what is best in her own institutions to England, as well as that she gave the most precious gifts to the United States, not only to New York, but even to New England— even to Harvard. (3) Was it because the men of "big business" in the two nations acting together could put money in their pockets? There is good evidence that it was. What ignoble and mercenary motives must our American poet, William Vaughn Moody, have been hearing when he stood on Boston Common beside the Shaw Memorial and, facing the monuments of a past of splendid ideals, was moved to write in his "Ode in Time of Hesitation,"

"When we turn and question in suspense
 If these things be indeed after these ways,
 And what things are to follow after these,
 Our fluent men of place and consequence
 Fumble and fill their mouths with hollow phrase,
 Or for the end-all of deep argument
 Intone their dull commercial liturgies—
 I dare not yet believe! My ears are shut!
 I will not hear their thin satiric praise. . . .
 We shall discern the right
 And do it tardily—O ye who lead,
 Take heed!
 Blindness we may forgive, but baseness we will smite."

Men of Massachusetts, and Boston, and Harvard have been foremost in defending and assisting the British Rhodes-imperialists in this war, and in assigning low motives to those who stand against them. Let them reexamine the evidence and see if they be not themselves again on the wrong side. In England the most open minds are realizing, even to-day,² the wiles of their secret foreign office and admitting its methods of bringing on this war. It is well that we should not forget that the same interested classes in Massachusetts once found good arguments for slavery and the slave trade, and that a generation ago their "gentlemen mobs" stoned Whittier and tried to hang Garrison to a lamp-post. Let them examine the life of Rhodes and the imperial "gang" who captured our diplomats twenty years ago by inventing "Pan-Germanism" just at the

² Neilson, *How Diplomats Make War*.

time when they themselves had determined to paint the map of the world British red by this attack of allies upon Germany, let them examine the means by which our information during this war, and before it, has been diverted and perverted to further the purposes of the empire; let them try to investigate the use that has been made of Rhodes's millions, bequeathed to be expended by a secret committee, to win America to an alliance with England. Does not all this secrecy prove that this cause cannot stand the light?

"Massachusetts, God forgive her,
She's a-kneelin' with the rest."

Most of our people to-day, and also a great body of English people, are not to be blamed for not understanding the situation in Europe and our relation to it, for they have been deliberately misled by masters of guile, as the following incidents will show. Some of our leaders have been fully aware of the ignoble and un-American policies that are being secretly carried out and they should be held to account. One likes to think that even those who yielded to the lower motives had been appealed to also by higher sentiments and traditions. Let them defend themselves,

"Blindness we may forgive, but baseness we will smite."

I believe that the great body of our English-American people in New England, as throughout the country, is truly American at heart, as is proved by the fact that the race-sympathy of our English-Americans was strongly against Rhodes and his imperialism and *with the radical English party, the pro-Boers, in the Boer War*. By selection and descent they are of the very best that England has produced, and superior to the larger number of the English to-day in England, being the idealistic, radical element that England cast out as effectually as France cast out her Huguenots, and as the most independent element has been cast out from Ireland—all to our good fortune. It is only our imperialists of "big business" and "frenzied finance," in sympathy with the English Tory element,

to Senator Lodge in 1898 he tells how he persuaded Mr. Chamberlain to give warm words of support to the project of an alliance between England and America, and how warmly Chamberlain gave them. Mr. Chamberlain must have been a good actor if he kept his face straight when he heard it, for he had been scheming for some time past how to get America to enter into an alliance, against her ideals, traditions and interests. With Rhodes, Chamberlain doubtless held the opinion that unless Great Britain could make the American alliance and the Russian alliance, and carry out her policies against Germany before 1920, she would sink to a third-rate power, while the United States would take first rank. They might well have thought that it would be difficult to persuade the United States to abet, and to follow! The following is the quotation from Hay's letter to Lodge just referred to:

"Among the political leaders on both sides I find not only sympathy, but a somewhat eager desire that the other fellow shall not be the more friendly. Chamberlain's startling speech was due partly to a conversation I had with him in which I hoped that he would not let the Opposition have a monopoly of goodwill to America. He is greatly pleased at the reception his speech met with on our side, and says that he 'don't care a hang what they say about it on the continent.'" Of course, "the continent" is Germany, always the "enemy" in mind in the nineties. Chamberlain's "startling speech," after warm references to "kinsmen across the Atlantic" (he chose to forget how many of the people in the United States are not from England and "kinsmen") contained these words: "I can go so far as to say, that terrible as war may be, even war itself would be cheaply purchased if in a great and noble cause the Stars and Stripes and the Union Jack should wave together in an Anglo-Saxon alliance." There is no suggestion on either side that loss to the United States may be involved. Oh, that Mark Twain had been our ambassador in London! John Hay is distinctly of that half of the world that would look up to Rhodes as "an archangel with wings"—Mark Twain belongs to the other. Is it conceivable that if he had been our ambassador in London Mark Twain would have been persuading Chamberlain and Rhodes to take him into the lair of the Lion, *and be warm about it?* not knowing that they were scheming how to persuade him to enter? And Hay is thought to be a statesman! And he proceeds to violate . . .

world and strengthening empire, and to work in alliance with England for the destruction of Germany! Let future historians decide whether he was a trustful incompetent biased by cater-cousinship, merely taking fair words at their face value and knowing nothing of further imperial purposes, or whether he was a profound schemer who knew the real motives and further policies but chose not to admit the real situation, while he pledged his support to an alliance meaning wars and the absorption of our republic in an empire. In the following years, while the splendid English Liberals (called in derision pro-Boers, although they were only pro-justice, and in the best sense pro-British) tried with all their might to keep Mr. Chamberlain from the war that the Rhodes policy ran in Africa, Hay and McKinley abetted the imperialists to the best of their ability. Hay sometimes had a sense that he had fallen from the old high ideals—witness his letter to John Bigelow, our veteran diplomatist, who had written him in the traditional American spirit concerning the Philippines:

Hay to John Bigelow, London, Sept. 5, 1898: "I fear that you are right about the Philippines, and I hope that the Lord will be good to us poor devils who have to take care of them. I marvel at your suggesting that we pay for them. I should have expected no less of your probity, but how many except those educated by you in the school of morals and diplomacy would agree with you? Where did I pass you on the road of life? You used to be my senior; now you are ages younger than I am. . . . and yet I am going to be Secretary of State for a little while!"

After such clear admission of an understanding of what he had become, the things that Hay did as Secretary of State in the Boer War seem not less than the conscious sin against the Holy Ghost, the unpardonable. Thayer says: "John Hay was among the few who understood the significance of the change from the very first moment, and he accepted it without looking back, or, so far as appears, without regrets. . . . He shaped all his work as Secretary of State with reference to it. *To place this country as speedily as possible in such relations with the rest of the world as became its character*, was henceforth his controlling purpose." This last statement means that he made his arrangements with Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Salisbury to help in crushing the Boer republics, and even in devising measures to be used against Germany in the war that they, with Rhodes, projected before 1920. Proof of this and of his

with England to Congress, but the mere mention of this purpose called forth such a storm of remonstrance from the country that they gave it up. In a few days hundreds of thousands of names were sent in through Irish-American societies, a convincing demonstration. The many public meetings held throughout this nation to pass resolutions, collect money for the Boer republics, and send supplies for the Boer prisoners of war in the Bermudas spoke the same strong sentiment. In Chicago an ambulance corps was fitted out; in Denver and Boston the city councils adopted resolutions of sympathy; public meetings were held in every part of the nation for protest; Edward Everett Hale led in relief work; but for the first time in its history the national government refrained from passing resolutions of sympathy because the president, who strongly dominated his party, opposed it. In every way he showed his willingness to let the republics go down, so reversing the policy of President Grant toward them when the British attacked them at Amajuba, and of President Cleveland when Dr. Jameson made his raid. He even permitted unusual violations of American rights, the most notable of which were rifling of mails under our flag in Africa, and treating foodstuffs as contraband of war. This argues that McKinley and Hay had discussed with officials in London even the policy they would follow in the projected European war to occur *before 1920*, the war against Germany, and is significant especially in connection with articles in the English press of the nineties on cutting off food supplies in case of war with Germany. An American ship filled with grain and billed for Africa was captured while crossing ~~the Atlantic~~ by a boat of the British navy. Some editorials made comments at the time that this was probably not a *bona fide* transaction, for the republics would hardly buy grain in the United States, but that it was perhaps intended as a precedent, to be quoted when food supplies were seized in the next war. The incident is worthy of the "Rhodes gang," and of wily and guileful fifteenth-century diplomacy on this side.

A short time before the South African war broke out President McKinley called Hay home from London and appointed him Secretary of State. At the close of the Boer war I happened to hear of the extreme dissatisfaction among the friends of John Sherman at McKinley's policy. Sherman had been Secretary of State during the time when Hay had been ambassador in London, but had not been consulted on all of these matters of the Spanish and African wars and would not have consented to the new policy, which was agreed on secretly while he was officially at the head of the depart-

ment. Hay and Chamberlain doubtless made their alliance or came to their "understanding" before the Spanish war, which McKinley professed to be trying to keep out of, and which he need not have fought, for there was no proof that the "Maine" was blown up by Spaniards, and Spain had just offered to come to an agreement on points under dispute.

Certain editorials written before the Spanish war in some of the "inspired" papers pointed out that the war, if it came, and especially the Philippines, if they were taken, would draw us out into world politics, and this has always seemed to me the probable reason why we went to war and acquired the islands. Spain had been impoverished by them, their people were Asiatic and not likely to become able to manage themselves as a republic even after our efforts to teach them, and strategically they are hard to defend. A genius at strategy, Napoleon, practically gave us Louisiana because it would be hard to defend, and Russia gave us Alaska for the same good reason, but McKinley and Hay possibly wanted to take the Philippines because when the day of our trial comes they wanted us to be so endangered that England could seem to deserve our gratitude by offering us assistance—and so the alliance would be made. This happened in a small way when Dewey entered Manila. The incident of the German admiral at the battle of Manila, of which so much has been made, illustrates imperialist efforts to make the most of trouble between the United States and Germany.

It was not very long since England had taken Egypt, and only a short time since she had tried to take the Boer republics—why should Germany, also wishing colonies, not have been thinking of capturing the Philippines? Our president helped to thwart her by actually taking them and then made them the occasion of our building a great navy, to save England and France the necessity of maintaining a fleet in the Far East. We became, in fact, the offensive arm of the British in the Far East,³ and pulled the chestnuts out of the fire. The only people among us who can gain by our holding the islands are the munitions makers and a few bankers who will exploit mines and franchises; the nation must pay. While Spain is recovering from her possessions, having lost them, we who

shall continue to be weakened by holding them.

but were unable to change them. They were the more embittered because Sherman had been forced out of his seat in the Senate to give it to Mark Hanna as a reward for election services in McKinley's campaign, and because now he had been not only disregarded, but forced out of his position in the Department of State. Even Thayer, Hay's apologist, thinks that Sherman had been badly used—another instance of fifteenth-century guile, added to ingratitude.

My informant in this matter of anti-imperialist feeling was the Hon. F. W. Reitz, a man whose testimony on the South African situation should be taken into account by any who write history. Mr. Reitz, if any person, knew the whole story. Born in Africa, he was connected by birth and marriage with the foremost families of South Africa. His sister was the wife of Premier Schreiner of Cape Colony, who was the brother of Olive Schreiner the author. He had completed his education in a European university, and had distinguished himself in law before he entered public life. Preceding President Stein, Mr. Reitz had been at the head of the two republics in their most critical days. He was the president of the Orange Free State who made the treaty of alliance with the Transvaal, by which the two nations joined their forces if either should be attacked. After his removal to the Transvaal he was appointed judge of the Supreme Court, and later Secretary of State, which position he filled throughout the war, taking charge of the affairs of the nation after President Krüger removed to Europe. He is a man of insight and conviction, of calm and kindly nature, serious, but also gifted with a sense of humor, which, like Philip Freneau in our Revolutionary war and James Russell Lowell in the Mexican war, he used to keep up the spirits of his countrymen by a series of war poems in dialect. Mr. Reitz was an "Irreconcilable" and had been forbidden by Mr. Chamberlain to return to Pretoria, being made an exception to the Proclamation of Amnesty.

While considering what he and his family would do next Mr. Reitz came to this country, and while he was lecturing in Michigan and Iowa on the Boer war he and his wife were our guests for three or four weeks just after they had been in Philadelphia and Washington among our anti-imperialists. At this period, if ever, he would have given way to bitterness and shown poor judgment, but throughout this trying time he remained perfectly just, and deliberately as well as constitutionally moderate in statement. His disabilities have since been removed and he is now a member of the senate in the South African parliament. The following incident, of which the last part was told me by Mr. and Mrs. Reitz, illus-

trates the length to which McKinley and Hay were willing to go in their partisanship for England at the time of the Boer war.

Soon after the South African war began our consul in Pretoria notified the State Department that the British were interfering with our mails and opening state documents under our flag on trains in Africa, but nothing was done about it by our president and Mr. Hay, outside of attempting to discredit the report. When the consul started for America to lay his evidence before those interested, he and his report were held up to ridicule before he arrived and he was at once superseded by Adalbert Hay, the son of our Secretary of State.

Adalbert Hay was very young and had had no previous experience in foreign affairs; his father was known to be hostile to the cause of the republics to which he was now accredited—in fact was understood to have bargained them away by secret diplomacy—but these were evidently not sufficient reasons against his selection for the post at this time. When young Mr. Hay started to fill his post as consul at Pretoria, his father sent him by way of London, where he visited *en route* Lord Salisbury, the very man who was conducting the war by which the republics he was accredited to were being done to death! Has fifteenth-century politics anything to exceed this in ingenious and studied insult?—an affront given weak friends suffering defeat, to flatter and reassure a powerful friend hostile to them, and this affront given by the very person that bargained them away and betrayed them? There is something barbaric about it—it belongs earlier than the fifteenth century, to the period of Regan and Oswald!

The sequel is brighter and more creditable to human nature. When Mr. Adalbert Hay reached Pretoria he was received in a friendly spirit by President Krüger and Mr. Reitz, the Secretary of State. He was entertained at the home of Mr. Reitz, and proved himself then and always kindly and straightforward. When the Boer government at Pretoria was broken up, he returned to America a true friend to many of the Boers whom he met in Africa, and leaving many friends behind. In Washington, after he returned, he was frank in correcting misunderstandings about the Boers and began collecting money for Boer relief, which led to a difference between him and his father; but after his death (he fell from a window in an upper story of his club, where he was sitting to take the air one very warm night) his father contributed money in his memory for the relief of the destitute in South Africa. That was

after the war was over, when the republics had been annexed to the empire.

Another incident that shows the feeling of President McKinley to the British and the Boers is the following, which also, I think, has never appeared in print. It was told us by Mr. Wolmarans, one of the committee of three sent over by the republics to lay their cause before our president. When the hour appointed for the interview came the envoys were attended by a number of people, including their secretary and Mr. Montague White, the former representative of the Transvaal in London. President McKinley listened to their address, then took up a typewritten document which had been prepared before they entered, and read it as his answer. We are told by Benjamin Franklin that the American Indians had a custom of making no reply to a delegation from another tribe until at least a day had elapsed, so that the other tribe might know that its communication had been duly considered. This was held to be a point of dignity and good manners, but such dignity and good manners were not observed at the White House that day. When his "reply" was finished the President asked the delegates whether they had noticed the beautiful view from the window of the room in which they were standing, and led them to see it, and while they were looking at the view that he pointed out, he left the room. No time was given them for discussion.

One might think that this would cap the climax of the incident, but not so. In the course of the interview the secretary happened to stray about the room, and at the open door which led into the next room found Lord Pauncefote, the British ambassador, sitting within earshot of the proceedings. It is to be hoped that American diplomacy never reached a lower ebb.

After President McKinley's death, we who had felt the error of those days had hopes that President Roosevelt would be the strong man who would set things right. At once imperialist editorials began chorusing the praises of our Secretary of State and hoping fervidly that he would be retained, and very soon an announcement followed that President Roosevelt had invited Hay to retain his position and would carry out the McKinley policies. He seems to have carried them out, always and consistently. It is far from me to wish to detract from the good things that President Roosevelt did. He proved himself a strong and able man in some things, but he failed to take the greatest opportunity that Fate gave into his hands, of being just and friendly to all foreign nations. In his autobiography his ideal for his foreign policy is high and thor-

oughly American in character, but he did not reverse the policy toward the South African republics, with whom we had had special treaties signed by President Grant; he refused to read or even receive the written statement sent him by Korea, when Japan was annexing that little country, with whom we also had a treaty; he himself, with Secretary Hay, violated the little republic of Colombia, breaking the treaty we had with her and not even compensating her generously, and yet he has been violent in reproaching the United States for not going armed to the aid of Belgium, assigning the reason that she is a "little nation" that had a treaty with us—although she had given various evidences that she intended to fight on the side of France, and although Germany had proposed to England to pledge herself not to invade Belgium if England would do the same, and had offered Belgium to do her no injury if she would merely permit transit—far less than the Allies have since exacted from Greece. It seems that Roosevelt's sympathy is as 1:3 at the most, and that in the fourth case it is a Rhodes-imperial pretext. He cast in his lot with the "Rhodes gang," and when he became a candidate for the presidency one of the candidates for the vice-presidency on his ticket was John Hays Hammond, the mining engineer who had worked with James and Rhodes in Johannesburg, who was one of the "reformers" that devised the fake telegram. Roosevelt is discredited in that he would have accepted Hammond as his running mate, to manage by his Rhodes tricks the making of our treaties, and in case of our president's death to become our president, in charge of foreign affairs.

When Mr. Reitz was in the United States he was told by a person in contact with President Roosevelt that the President would be pleased to talk the African situation over with him, but he did not act on the suggestion, for there was nothing to be said except in reproach, and that would not be worth while.

One letter in Thayer's *Life of John Hay* is evidence that Hay and Roosevelt were not in a frame of mind friendly to Germany and anxious to make the most of incidents that betokened friendliness on the part of officials representing Germany. By Thayer this incident is quoted only as evidence of Hay's humor and playfulness. but it is also evidence that he played a dangerous game and maliciously fomented ill-feeling against Germany, and that President Roosevelt was far from blameless. The incident reported is this: the Emperor of Germany had sent President Roosevelt a medal such as he had presented to the German soldiers who fought against the Boxer rebels in China, intending it as a delicate recog-

dition of our soldier-president, and certain that his gift would not be open to criticism on the ground of its intrinsic value, for our Constitution forbids our presidents to receive such gifts. The gift was not acknowledged speedily and cordially, and an attaché placed himself in the path of the Secretary of State as a reminder of his monarch's interest:

Letter of John Hay to President Roosevelt: "State Department, Nov. 12, 1901. Count Quadt has been hovering around the State Department for three days in ever narrowing circles and at last swooped upon me this afternoon, saying that the Foreign Office and even the Palace *Unter den Linden* was in a state of intense anxiety to know how you received His Majesty's Chinese medal, conferred only on the greatest sovereigns. As I had not been authorized by you to express your emotions I had to sail by dead reckoning, and considering the vast intrinsic value of the souvenir—I should say at least thirty-five cents—and its wonderful artistic merit, representing the German eagle eviscerating the Black Dragon, and its historical accuracy, which gives the world to understand that Germany is IT, and the rest of the world nowhere, I took the responsibility of saying to Count Quadt that the President could not have received the medal with anything but emotions of pleasure commensurate with the high appreciation he entertains for the Emperor's Majesty—and that a formal acknowledgment would be made in due course. He asked me if he was at liberty to say anything like this to his government, and I said he was at liberty to say anything whatever the spirit would move him to utter. I give thanks to whatever powers there be that I was able to allow him to leave the room without quoting *Quantula sapientia*."

Mr. Hay must have been an excellent dissembler if the German diplomat did not see the tongue in the cheek. Again this is Oswald diplomacy; and the man who writes such a letter is piling up the fuel to start the fire of war. This letter implies perfect agreement on the part of President Roosevelt and his Secretary of State.

I do not remember that President Roosevelt made an effort to secure an alliance with England in his administration, but this was done by his successor, President Taft, who was named as candidate by the Republican convention because Roosevelt gave him the strongest of support, using the argument that Taft was thoroughly acquainted with the situation and would carry on the "policies" of the Administration. This he proceeded to do, and in March, 1911, proposed to make a treaty with England providing for un-

limited arbitration for all time. This, of course was greeted by a chorus of approval by English speakers and editors.

Strangely enough, Sir Edward Grey's peace speech was delivered while he was supporting estimates for greater naval expenditures, consistently with Rhodes's advice. That year England, Russia and France spent £24,241,226 against Austria and Germany's £11,710,859; by 1914 the Entente were spending £43,547,555 against the Triple Allies' £17,605,204, this last including Italy's expenditure; and long before 1911 the Entente had secret agreements as to mobilizing and plans of campaign, that only the small inner circle knew, not including other members of the Cabinet, unless Mr. Asquith. In the summer of 1911 the Moroccan incident all but precipitated war. On the authority of William T. Stead we know that the British envoys went to the conference instructed to bring on war, and Lord Roberts in a signed article tells that then the British navy was assembled and ready for action. But that time Russia did not mobilize and so Germany would not declare war, though she had been deliberately affronted. When President Taft proposed *unlimited arbitration for all time* with England did he know that this danger of European war was to be created in 1911 by England? And why did he not try to bind us to Germany by a like treaty at the same time? Also why did he send a squadron of our navy to visit the nations now Allies, but not to visit Germany? Immediately upon his proposing unlimited arbitration with England for all time, Sir Edward Grey's speech took it that "this would probably lead to their following with an agreement to join each other in any case when one of them had a quarrel with a third nation *that had refused to arbitrate.*"

And this phrasing, "a third nation that had refused to arbitrate," throws light upon (1) the next attempt to bind the nations by arbitration treaties, and (2) the proposal made by Sir Edward Grey just before the war in 1914 that Germany subject her cause to arbitration, even while Russia was mobilizing, when every day lost would place Germany at the mercy of her foes and result in their fighting the war on her territory when they were fully ready—another instance that shows how carefully imperial methods are thought out. Did President Taft know that these arbitration treaties that he proposed could be "worked" in this way to enable the Allies to get the best of Germany?

When President Taft and Sir Edward Grey were first proposing unlimited arbitration, the British editors were mightily pleased, but American editors were not. The *Washington Post* ex-

pressed the national feeling when it said, " 'Peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none,' is part of the unwritten constitution of the United States." Soon it became clear, as in McKinley's administration, that an open alliance would not be acceptable to this nation. Congress was strongly against it, as well as the press, but no sooner had Congress adjourned than President Taft again advanced the project, and again had to drop it. The Chicago *Inter Ocean* called it "bubble-blowing—a splendid jug-handled arrangement for us to be obliged to quarrel with every European nation for England's sake! For that is what it would come to." Finally President Taft, convinced that unlimited arbitration was impracticable, began holding unofficial conversations with M. Jusserand, the ambassador from France, with the result that he finally arranged arbitration treaties with England and France, but not with Germany, who perhaps saw her danger. If Germany also had signed she would have been obliged either to break her treaty of arbitration while Russia was mobilizing, or to suffer the consequences—invasion when Russia and the other Allies were fully ready to attack her, when no chance was left her to push the war to their territory.

When one sees these methods, that Rhodes would surely have applauded, one must question whether there is a chance that the holy names of "peace" and "arbitration" have not been used among us these last few years to cloak the policy of war that was proposed against Germany before 1920. More than a suspicion has grown upon me, knowing the Rhodes policies and imperial methods, that our arbitration treaties and peace societies have been designed by the imperialists as another effort to "throw a moral gloss over policies dubious if not actually immoral," claiming "benevolence" while ruthlessly working for "extermination." Our small "ring" working for alliance and peace meant to join the British in this Rhodes war against Germany. Failing to bind Germany by the second type of arbitration treaties, Sir Edward Grey nevertheless proposed to her in 1914, while Russia was mobilizing, to submit her cause to arbitration, so placing her under a moral cloud before the public even if he could not bind her as he had wished.

Another evidence of laying plans far ahead to crush Germany by the arbitration treaties is shown in the following quotation from *Figaro*, 1911, published in Paris at the time of Taft's proposal for arbitration treaties: "If other nations do not join the movement, those who have pledged for arbitration should adopt the principle of boycotting by inserting a clause in agreements that they should

suspend all relations of commerce, transportation and postal service with any country warring upon the signers."

This is not only against Germany, but also against us and all other neutral nations. Will our imperialists and anglophiles acquiesce, though they are so determined to maintain our rights to sail on enemy ships that they would plunge us into war with Germany for it, while at the same time they have not maintained rights in Mexico, but recall us from the danger zone there where many Americans have been killed just because they were Americans?

And after all of this, what must be thought of the latest of peace societies that aims *to secure peace by preparing us for war and binding us by treaty to fight the nation that refuses to arbitrate?* President Taft is its president—he who tried to bind us to England, but not to Germany, by a treaty of unlimited arbitration for all time, just before Sir Edward Grey tried to precipitate war in 1911 by insulting Germany, and who made arbitration treaties that could be "worked" against Germany while her allied enemies were arming. John Hays Hammond is its vice-president—he who wrote the fake-telegram, appealing for assistance for women and children who were not in danger, two months before it was guilefully sent out by Rhodes. This spring, when that "Society to Ensure Peace by Preparing for War" was forming, a member of the British Parliament lecturing in this country told us that an attempt will be made in our Congress to frame new arbitration treaties containing this clause. Is it likely that such treaties would be used to do justice to all nations, or that John Hays Hammond and the other tricksters who planned the arbitration schemes against Germany in the past would manage by a fake-telegram or other equally unscrupulous and more clever means to "throw a moral gloss' over their unholy policies and make it seem that we ought to go to war as they desire?

We shall not need to devote space to the other acts of President Taft nor to those of President Wilson, which are still fresh in our aching memories. John Brisbane Walker in his Cooper Union Speech has summed up the case well in his eight charges that President Wilson has not been for America first, but for England. President Wilson, like President Roosevelt, is doubtless prejudiced because he has read much English history from English sources. He has been fighting for Duessa, the Empire and "big business," while our true Una is abandoned and strays without her natural protector. May he see the wiles of the enchantress, and come back to defend our ideal.

And what of our prospects if Mr. Hughes should be our next president? It is clear that Roosevelt wanted to be president himself to carry out his plans, but both he and Taft have expressed themselves as perfectly satisfied, since the long conference that they held with the new candidate—the conference of Roosevelt and Hughes was reported in the papers to have been three hours long, and to have been held so secretly that even the waiters were not in the room except when specially summoned. Why such secrecy? It is in accord with too much secrecy that has gone before.

And why all of this preparedness? There is no person in this country who would not want a preparedness for defense, and an efficiency equal to German efficiency in that truly holy cause. Is one not justified in hazarding a conjecture that we are preparing to enter this war on the first likely pretext, and to be ready to take part at the next turn of the Rhodes diplomatic screw, when Russia will be the victim, along with Japan, who has risen into power since 1895 and is now allied with Russia for protection of the East? When I say that that will be the next Rhodes war if all goes according to schedule, I find that even people who have an unusual knowledge of history do not know what I mean, for our busy lives are too full of local affairs to permit most of us to wander so far afield as Africa in our reading. But a few months ago I talked with a man who understood perfectly, an English gentleman who had been in Oxford when Rhodes was there and knew him personally. This gentleman not only understood what the Rhodes wars are, but proved his mastery of the Rhodes policies by saying, "The next European war will be against Russia, and Germany will fight as an ally of England," meaning the broken Germany that he expects to come out of this war. Japan may well be more afraid of us than we are of her if our Rhodes imperialists get their way. To-day Russia and Japan are England's allies, but "perfidious Albion" cannot be counted on to-morrow. When the last of the independent nations have been broken, the map can be painted red—if the people of the United States will consent.

If Great Britain is successful in this war, the fruits that she garners will be exactly what Rhodes planned before 1895—Germany's African colonies lying on the route from the Cape to Cairo, and the breaking up of Germany as a world power, carrying with it the destruction of her commerce abroad. Incidentals "to the good" will be also the relative weakening of all other strong European nations and a prolongation of their weakness through the long period to come when they will be repaying the money they have

borrowed from her, and the interest on it. The only other nation that can gain much for the present is Russia, and her prospects for the future are not good. Japan offers a new and different problem, which this paper cannot attempt to discuss—but observers must realize that the United States is expected to fight her soon. The usual means by which England reduces the power of strong rivals proportionally to her own is to incite them to fight each other without herself striking a blow—and let it not be forgotten that we also are her great rival, the greatest if we accept the judgment of Napoleon when he signed the deed giving us Louisiana and of Rhodes when “1920” was written. Our true eastern policy should be an honest friendliness with China and Japan. Japan would willingly grant, as China has done, such restrictions of immigration as would safeguard our country, and would offer such privileges of investment as China would gratefully give us since we returned the surplus indemnity money. That act of common honesty has been called exceedingly shrewd diplomacy on our part by the nations that kept their surplus indemnity money—and so it doubtless is, for it still holds true that honesty is the best policy. How much has not England paid in money, men, and honor for her Rhodes, whom she shielded when he stooped to dishonor for her gain? and how much will she not pay for him in years to come? and what will be our penalty for McKinley and John Hay? May it not be a war with Japan! She doubtless fears us because she has seen us from the days of the Spanish war living by a secret alliance with England, conquering Asiatic islands, helping to conquer African republics, policing the waters of the Pacific so that England may use her fleet elsewhere, and adding boats upon boats to our navy, possibly to use them against her and China. Shall we profit if we help ~~to annex~~ China and Japan to the British empire? After ~~we~~ helped Great Britain to annex the South African republics, she repaid us by cleverly inserting a clause into her ~~law~~ regarding the importation of machinery, that effectually ~~ex~~cluded American industrial machines from Africa.

The hope of our poor world at this crisis seems to me to be in the United States, and to lie in justice and friendliness to all nations, and in making a notable success of the Republic. Since I have understood the Rhodes policies and methods of the empire in

our political "rings" can be broken and that we have held more investigations and arrived at more disagreeable truths than the empires have. Could Canada conduct an investigation of the matters of which I have spoken, though she pour out her blood and treasure for the imperial cause? Who ever heard of any muck-raking in the Russian empire? But it is the first principle of public health that muck must not only be raked, but cleaned out. In the British empire it is clear that matters are hushed up and that the highest officials, including the king, constitute a "ring" that cannot be investigated. Even the farce of Jameson's trial would not have occurred if that genius at world-politics, President Krüger, had not "waited for the turtle to show its head" before he struck at it, and then sent Dr. Jameson to London for trial. Our political "rings" are not hard to reach, and we can investigate if our people demand it. Also, we have no official who "can do no wrong," or who, having done wrong, is beyond impeachment and its penalty.

The greatest question before the American people just now is this of alliances and foreign wars, and it is essential that all parties should announce their platform of principles and purposes. Every time that our presidents have moved toward open alliance with England this nation has shown its disapproval so strongly that the matter has been dropped, as I have shown. The astonishing votes for Ford at the primaries this year spoke the same national feeling—*no foreign alliance, no war*. In Ohio and Pennsylvania the vote showed Roosevelt so far behind Ford that he could not hope to carry an election; the people have spoken against him as they spoke against Taft, and many good judges on public matters believe that he will never again emerge to win an election. That vote is an argument that no man can carry an election here if it is understood that he purposes foreign alliance and war. If President Wilson has a chance of reelection it is because he has not yet committed us to war, much as he has done that is unjust and dangerous. Many people still believe that he does not want war, as he says that he does not. If Mr. Hughes purposes war, he has a chance of election only because he has not announced himself. If these two candidates purpose alliance or war after the nation has shown such evidences that it does not want either alliance or war, they are playing a game of bunco on our people in not announcing their stand.

And among our people a profound distrust is rising. Only to-day it was pointed out to me that German-Americans have not been put on committees for the coming republican campaign, and

the bitter forecast was made that this probably meant Hughes for President, Roosevelt for Secretary of State, and both for war. I am not German myself, I have not known many Germans; but our German-Americans seem to me to have been excellent citizens and to have shown themselves wonderfully patient and devoted under the bad treatment they and their mother country have been receiving. All attempts to prove them implicated in violence and treason have proved fruitless—and only a few German citizens have done far less than might have been reasonably expected in the way of violence. Then why discriminate against our German-Americans, if the Republican party means justice to German-Americans here and to Germany abroad in case of Hughes's election?

The two policies from which we must choose—let us be clear on this matter—are *Rhodes imperialism and America finally again subordinate to England in a map painted British red, or the United States still the Great Republic and leading the world by her example to a friendliness that enriches all by commerce instead of hate that impoverishes all, even the one who wins, by war.* Rhodes and his imperialists realized that if his policies were not successful before 1920, including the alliance with the United States, the United States would become before 1920 the leading power of the world—as it has done. In this century just past, most strongly in the five years just past—when China, Portugal, South Africa, and Ireland have tried to become republics—this world tendency toward American ideals is proved. We may still conquer the world in peace by our idealism, even England. Shall we disappoint the hopes of those who struggle, by ourselves giving up what has been our most precious acquisition and their star of hope? And is this change to be brought about by the secret machinations of a small group of our own interested officials against the will of the people? In the century that is past the British empire has waged almost perpetual wars for conquest and power, with the result that her people are the most poverty-stricken in western Europe, and according to her own statistics have degenerated greatly physically. Our splendid Canadian of Toronto, Mr. McDonald, tells as a peace argument how the men of his clan in Scotland have dwindled in size as a result of the wars of the empire—if we send out our young men into imperial wars we shall likewise attain riches for a few munitions makers and bankers now, but poverty and degeneration for the nation at large, and final extinction as a republic for all.

what we should have instead of war was reported in the *New York Times* last spring, in an interview with Henry Ford, which was *that we should spend one-fourth as much money as a war would cost us in trying to find out who gets up and disseminates this agitation for war*. If either President Wilson or Mr. Hughes will announce a policy of friendship with all nations and entangling alliances with none and will pledge himself to such an investigation as Ford suggested, the votes cast for Ford in the primaries assure him an overwhelming majority. A Ford policy of peace and investigation, or a secret and Rhodes imperial policy of wars—which shall it be?

God give us wisdom, and preserve our republic to be a friend and guide to the nations. God speed the right!

THE LEIBNIZ BICENTENARY.

THE current number of *The Monist* (October, 1916) is devoted to a commemoration of the scientific and philosophical work of Leibniz and its influences on modern thought. It is just two hun-



In the first article, "Leibniz's Life and Work," C. Deslile Burns gives a brilliant account of Leibniz's life and his public activities, especially in the founding of learned academies.

Philip E. B. Jourdain, in an article on "The Logical Work of Leibniz," gives an account of Couturat's monumental work on the subject, and supplements it with a fuller account of some important parts of Leibniz's own work and the later developments of his "principle of continuity."



JOHANN HEINRICH LAMBERT.

In an article on "Leibniz and Descartes," C. Delisle Burns attempts to estimate: (1) The dependence of Leibniz upon Descartes for his conceptions of method; (2) His relation to Descartes in psychological questions; and (3) His dependence upon the Cartesian mechanism in physical science.

In "The development of Leibniz's Monadism," T. Stearns Eliot deals with the prejudices, traditions, and suggestions which

combined with the central motive in forming Leibniz's philosophical system.

Prof. Florian Cajori, in "Leibniz's 'Image of Creation,'" gives an interesting account of the shape which Leibniz's discovery and advocacy of the binary system of numeration in arithmetic took in his mind.

In "Leibniz's Monads and Bradley's Finite Centers," T. Stearns



BERNARD BOLZANO.

Eliot writes on the analogy between Leibniz's monads and F. H. Bradley's "finite centers."

In "The Manuscripts of Leibniz on his Discovery of the Differential Calculus," J. M. Child gives annotated translations of (1) the famous cancelled postscript, on Leibniz's early studies, to the letter from Leibniz to Jakob Bernoulli of April 1703, and (2) the *Historia et Origo* of about 1714.

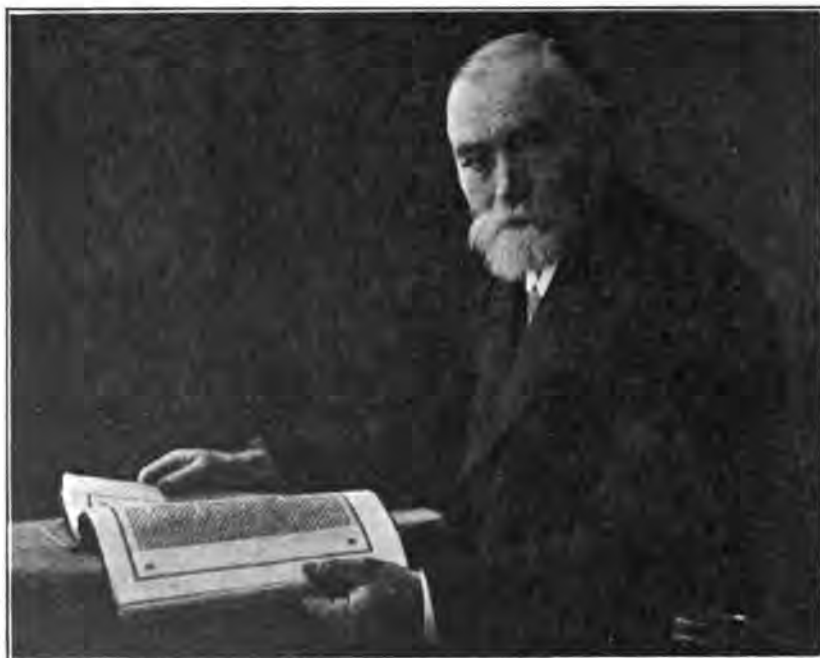
This series of translations from Leibniz manuscripts will be

continued in the following number of *The Monist* (January, 1917), which will also contain articles on other mathematicians whose work has followed in the same direction as that of Leibniz. For instance, Miss D. M. Wrinch, in the article "Bernard Bolzano (1781-



HERMANN GRASSMANN.

In the January *Monist*, Mr. A. E. Heath will also present a deeply interesting biography of Hermann Grassmann, the strikingly original mathematician and lovable man who, just seventy years ago realized Leibniz's dream of a geometrical characteristic by an application of the powerful methods invented by him. With this article are connected in idea A. E. Heath's other articles: "The Neglect of the Work of Grassmann" and "The Geometrical Analysis of Grassmann and Its Connection with Leibniz's Characteristic."



*Mein freundlicher Gruß
von
G. Frege.*

GOTTLOB FREGE.

All this material in celebration of the Leibniz bicentenary has been gathered together and edited by Mr. Philip E. B. Jourdain, a Cambridge scholar who is greatly interested in the realm of mathematics, physics and logic, and has made valuable contributions to the literature of these subjects.

He sends us also most of the portraits published in this number, together with the facts about them. Besides Leibniz, Lambert, Bolzano and Grassmann they include the three chief representatives of Leibniz's thought in modern logic—Frege, Peano and Russell.

The frontispiece is the very characteristic portrait of Leibniz prefixed to the first volume of the first series of Onno Klopp's edition of Leibniz's works. The original is an engraving by Weger of Leibniz and bears the inscription:

"Haec habui quae scivi, et laetus recta peregi:
Quaeque relicta jacent, mentem tamen acta sequuntur."

The first illustration in the text is Leibniz's house in Hanover, from a photograph kindly given to Mr. Jourdain by Miss M. E.



GIUSEPPI PEANO.

Butler. The portrait of Lambert is from a lithograph by Engelmann and Co. which appears as frontispiece to Daniel Huber's *Johann Heinrich Lambert nach seinem Leben und Wirken aus Anlass der zu seinem Andenken begangenen Säcularfeier in drei Abhandlungen dargestellt* (Basel, 1829)—a rare book of which a copy is in the Venn Collection of Books on Logic in the library of

the University of Cambridge, England. Below the portrait in Huber's book are the lines of Lambert:

“Auf unserer Erde werden die organischen Körper unter allen übrigen am häufigsten und leichtesten herfürgebracht. . . Alles wozu in der Welt die Mittel am häufigsten vorrätig sind, muss mit unter die Absicht der Schöpfung gerechnet werden.”

The portrait of Bernard Bolzano is taken from the frontispiece to his *Lebensbeschreibung* (Sulzbach, 1836), an autobiographical



BERTRAND RUSSELL.

sketch. The portrait of Hermann Grassmann is from a photograph in the possession of Dr. Paul Carus.

The portraits of Frege and Peano are from photographs (by Emil Tesch of Jena and M. Fiorino of Turin respectively) given to Mr. Jourdain many years ago by Professors Frege and Peano.

THE PRECURSOR, THE PROPHET, AND THE POPE.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF THE BAHAI MOVEMENT.

BY ROBERT P. RICHARDSON.

SO long as sectarian religion plays a notable part in the activities of the human race, the religious prophets and the cults that have them as central figures will offer no small interest to those who study the social organism. One of these prophets and the sect that has grouped itself around his name—the cult of Baha'u'llah, the case which is perhaps the most pregnant of all in the instruction it can afford—I took up in *The Open Court* of August 1915, in an article entitled “The Persian Rival to Jesus, and His American Disciples.” Of the reception accorded to this I have assuredly no cause to complain; my little essay found a far wider circle of readers than I had anticipated, and impartial reviewers gave it an appreciation that was most gratifying. The Bahais, it is true, have not looked with favor upon my efforts; but, though they voice their disapproval in no uncertain terms, and denounce me as an enemy to “the sacred cause,” they utterly fail to meet the points I raise in criticism of the Bahai movement. Objection is made to my strictures as a whole, but there is no attempt to take them up in detail and show that I am in error; I am met by reiteration of the Bahai pretensions and passionate denunciation of all who dare question them, but by nothing that can be deemed a reply.

One implication that the Bahai apologists would seem to make is however worthy of notice: my information, they say, is drawn from “turbid sources” and I narrate misdeeds attributed to the Babis and Bahais by their adversaries. In other words, it is contended that in my account of the two sects I have given credence solely to their enemies, and have taken pains to gather together all that these enemies say, without weighing in the other scale the attempts made by Bahai writers to exculpate their heroes from the accusations brought against them. To demand an impartial hearing

is wholly reasonable, but had I not, in fact, already given precisely such a consideration to both sides in my examination of Bahatism, I would never have allowed myself to pass judgment upon the movement, much less have published the results of my investigations. I began to investigate the subject wholly without prejudice, and it was only after carefully examining the Bahai claims that I acquired, as a "postjudice," a strong conviction that they were false. It is to be noted, indeed, as a fact not without its significance, that the Bahai advocates, instead of frankly taking up the grave accusations that history brings against the Babi and Bahai leaders and controverting them one by one, have always adopted the policy of silence. Hearing both sides is the very last thing that the Bahai apologists would wish an inquirer to do. A great part of the voluminous literature put forth in Bahai propaganda quite ignores the serious charges that have been brought against the Bab and Baha. And where, by exception, reference is made to a few of these charges—I say "a few," for never have I found all or even the greater number taken into account—they will be carelessly dismissed with a "defense" largely based on the supposition that the "high spirituality" shown in the Babi and Bahai scriptures makes any accusations against their sacred authors wholly incredible.

This stand, it need hardly be said, has not been taken by me. I am compelled to regard it as untenable. No sober minded investigator could write history on such principles. All our experience goes to show it to be not alone in art that men with the morality of a Benvenuto Cellini produce works whose inspirations to us are of the highest. Again and again do we find writers and preachers whose lives will not stand the light of day upholding the most exalted ideals and advocating a lofty morality that they themselves do not practice. For example, "The Universal Prayer" of Alexander Pope (which is decidedly above the best of what Baha'u'llah has put forth) breathes a spirit quite unlike that which ruled the daily life of the despicable little hunchback who penned it. Even, then, were all the utterances of the Bab and Baha'u'llah pregnant with lofty inspirations; even though we found nothing but exhortations to the highest morality and could draw from them a moral code of supreme excellence. we could not on that account

This I have done, and I have by no means accepted indiscriminately all that has been said against the Babis and Bahais, but have carefully weighed in the balance the pros and cons of each case. Many of the derogatory statements made by the enemies of the new sects I did not see fit even to mention in my previous article. I did not, for instance, put down the statement of a European traveler that the Bab in his mercantile career at Bushire, before he became a religious reformer, "was noted as a person of irregular and eccentric habits, possessing somewhat indefinite ideas of *meum* and *teum* and consequently better known than trusted." Neither did I record the tale of the believer who went with gifts to the heads of his sect at Adrianople, and was scandalized by coming upon the two brothers, Azal and Baha, in the course of an unseemly quarrel and hearing each of these saintly characters cast aspersions upon the chastity of his brother's wives and reproach the rival prophet for practices not mentionable in polite society but only (in the Occident) discussed in works on sexual pathology. I did not give currency to the Azalite contention that at Acre a Bahai could secede from the flock of Baha'u'llah only at the peril of his life; that two men who fell away in their allegiance were murdered by the disciples of the Blessed Perfection in the Caravansary of the Corn-sellers and the bodies buried in quick-lime on the premises where they were ultimately unearthed; and that four other recusants only escaped a like fate by precipitate flight from the town. Nor did I refer to Haji Jafar, a Bahai of Acre, who had lent to Baha the sum of twelve hundred pounds, and demanded, with inconvenient importunity, the payment of this debt. The result, the Azalites say, was that at the command of Mirza Aka Jan of Kashan, one of the lieutenants of the prophet, the old man was killed and his body thrown out of the window of the upper room which he occupied in the caravansary, the report being then spread by the Bahais that their victim had cast himself out of the window to die for the sake of "the Beloved."

Again, in my former article, I told of but two Babi insurrections, those of Mazandaran and of Zanzan,¹ though these were

¹ In my previous article on page 464, line 6, read, not "in the province of Zanzan," but "at Zanzan, in the province of Khamsa." Other errata are: page 464, line 8 from below, read "W. H. Dreyfus, in his *Le Babisme et le*

not the only ones brought about in Persia by the followers of the Bab. There were, among others, two insurrections at Niriz, the first of which began at the same time as that of Zanjan, but did not have quite as long a duration as the latter, coming to an end the day after the Bab was executed at Tabriz. The Mohammedans say that in the first Niriz insurrection the Babis gave free vent to their passion for loot, and moreover indulged in arson and the indiscriminate slaughter of Moslems without regard to age or sex. This particular accusation however does not seem to be verified, and I have given it no credit. Yet my rejection of the charge is based entirely on the lack of sufficient evidence in its support. I cannot regard the behavior ascribed to the Babis at Niriz as in any way inconsistent with the character of the Babi insurgents. The leader in these Niriz disorders was that very Seyyid Yahya of Darab who so proudly boasted that he intended with his own hands to kill his father if the latter did not accept the new religion of the Bab (a fact handed down to us, in proof of the holiness of the sainted Seyyid, by a Babi historian), and a man who would kill his own father for unbelief might, we can well believe, not scruple to put to death the infidel women and children of Niriz.

In fairness we must admit that the Bab himself did not sanction the wanton slaughter of those who rejected his revelation. He explicitly bade his followers to spare the lives of all infidels save those who, in the Holy Wars to which the Bab obligated his people, might be killed defending their hearths and homes from the Babi bands. But the sweet mercies of the Bab extended only to life and limb, not to property; he urged his disciples to strip the unbelievers to the skin; so when Mulla Mohammed Ali at Zanjan gathered together all the valuables that could be found in the houses of the wealthy townfolk he was merely following out the precepts of the *Bayan*. To loot was, with the Babis, the performance of a religious duty provided the victims were infidels and were systematically despoiled of their goods under the efficient directions of a Babi chieftain. Individual acts of pillage were frowned upon by the Bab, and he expressly tells his people that when, as merchants, they do business with Europeans they must meet their financial engagements with the most scrupulous exactitude. The reason he assigns for this is interesting; it is not because infidel European creditors have a right to payment of what is owing them, but because Babi debtors who do not pay Europeans may suffer very unpleasant consequences. As intimated above, I have not given credence to the report that the Bab, as a Bushire merchant, was guilty

of fraudulent practices, yet, in consideration of the doctrines he taught, those of us who agree with Archbishop Whately that "Honesty is the best policy, but he who acts on that principle is not an honest man" will not be inclined to ascribe to the Bab any very high degree of integrity.

It is obvious from the instance just given that the sacred writings put forth by the Bab contain admonitions which are assuredly not those of a lofty morality. His admirers, in asking us to judge Babi practice solely by Babi precept, would seem to know but little of the contents of the Babi Bible, the *Bayan*. The internal evidence of the Babi scriptures, which could not in any event suffice to make good the pretensions of the forerunner of the Bahai prophet, are, it happens, quite sufficient to condemn them. The Bahai writers picture the Bab as a reformer who prepared the way for Bahatism by mitigating the errors of Mohammedanism. With impressment they point out to us that this teacher of a purer morality revoked the Mohammedan ordinance by which the killing of idolators was enjoined on the faithful as a religious duty. But they neglect to tell us that the Bab went on to say that his disciples, when they got the upper hand over other sects, must despoil the unbelievers of all that they possessed "except in the cities where this is impossible" in order to force them to embrace the true religion, and reproached, for their mansuetude, the Mohammedans of past times, who, the Bab holds, ought in the dispensation of his predecessor, Mohammed, to have "made the whole world Musulman" by forcing the inhabitants of each city they conquered to embrace Islam. The Mohammedans did not do this, and hence the unhappy infidels, who might so easily have been saved, are, the Bab tells us, now burning in the fires of Hell.

Mohammed himself was lax enough to prescribe that Jews and Christians, provided they paid tribute, might be allowed to dwell undisturbed under Musulman rule, and in later days the more liberal interpreters of the Koran sought to derive from the sacred text a like privilege for other unbelievers. Zoroastrians were usually given the benefit of the doubt, and some commentators went so far as to contend that any infidel save and apostate Mohammedan might be allowed to live in peace in a Musulman country. In the time of the Bab the religious principles of the Persians had so far relaxed that even apostasy from Mohammedanism was frequently tolerated or, to be more precise, ignored by the authorities. Islam contained liberal minded and humane men in the very days when the Bab's disciples were throwing themselves at the throats of their opponents

and the zealots among the Mohammedans were exhibiting a like bigotry and barbarity. The Musulman mayor of Tabriz, a philosophical mystic, who, as the Babis themselves say, "did not entertain aversion or dislike for any sect" is a case in point; another case is that of Sheykh Murtaza of Nejef who (again according to Babi testimony) did his best to discourage persecution of the Babis and other heretical sects. And while admitting that the work of the Bab was not wholly for evil and that a thoroughgoing Mohammedan would perhaps be worse than a thoroughgoing Babi, we must none the less hold that a latitudinarian Musulman who does not take the Koran too seriously or one who strains a point to give it a humane interpretation is far more fit for civilized life than a devout follower of the Babi law.

The Babi preachings, the efforts of the Bab and his apostles to kindle the fires of a purer religion from the embers of degenerate Mohammedanism, resulted in a recrudescence of religious fanaticism. The recruits of the new sect came chiefly from the Puritan elements of Islam, which Babism welded together and made a power in the state. Men like Mulla Mohammed Ali of Zanzan, who had long made himself a nuisance by insisting upon the observance of all the details of the Holy Law of the Koran, continually urging the public authorities to adopt drastic measures with the worldly minded recalcitrants, took up the Babi banner. The events that took place at Zanzan give a good illustration of the course followed by the converts to the religion of the Bab. Here Mohammed Ali laid particular stress upon the Bab's prohibition of tobacco, and his followers were able to intimidate the town people to such an extent that, as he boasted, "the unbelievers no longer dared to smoke the kalyan in the bazaars." Complaint was made to the Shah who summoned Mohammed Ali to Teheran and, after reprimanding him for his behavior, forbade him to return to Zanzan until further notice. Mohammed Ali however soon slipped quietly out of Teheran and went back to stir up more trouble at Zanzan where he counted his adherents by the thousand. The authorities feared to arrest him, and for a while a sort of armed truce was maintained between the Babis and the representatives of law and order. But one day a Babi got into a fight with a Musulman, stabbed him, and was arrested. Mohammed Ali made repeated demands for the release of his follower without success; the man languished in prison for a whole month, at the end of which time the Babis broke open the jail and, according to their own account, released all the prisoners "from the murderers down to

those guilty of every minor crime." Then government troops were sent to the province of Khamsa, and civil war began.

The Persian Court, which in the ordinary course of events deprecated religious zeal and frowned upon the efforts of the Mohammedan mullas to stir up the Musulman people against the heretics in their midst, became alarmed at the course taken by the Babi propaganda and leaned to the side of the clerical party. The mullas were allowed to work their will on the Babi heretics, and after the attempt to assassinate the Shah in 1852 the government not merely gave them a free aid of the secular arm but was itself the heart of the persecution. My opponents seem aggrieved that I have not given some account of the martyrdoms that mark the Babi and Bahai annals and told how (especially in the great persecution of 1852) the Persian officials vied with each other in devising terrible torments for their victims to undergo. That this would be of moment in a history of Mohammedanism or a history of Persia is true, but just how it is relevant to an examination of Babism and Bahatism is not clear to me. Almost all religions have, at their origin, undergone persecution, and the severity with which the persecution is carried on is a measure, not of the merits of the new religion, but of the demerits of the old one. To show that in the councils of the Persian and Turkish governments in the nineteenth century the spirit of humanity was conspicuous by its absence would surely have been a work of supererogation, nor does any one need to be told that Mohammedanism has too often shown itself a religion of blood. The question is: Were the Babis equally prone to commit crime in the name of religion, or were they at heart peace-loving citizens goaded into violence by wanton persecution?

Going back to the very inception of the movement we find that the first killing in the heretic hunts was due to the Babis, this being the cold-blooded murder of a Mohammedan mulla. Did the Babis disown this deed as the individual act of misguided members of their body? Not at all; the perpetrator was given safe refuge by his coreligionaries of Mazandaran who, be it noted, had as head the greatest of the Babi apostles, Huseyn of Bushraweyh. And when the sect put forth a history of these stirring times we find the believers, not regretting this and other deeds of violence, not representing them as retaliation for acts of their enemies, but, on the contrary, glorifying these crimes and looking upon them almost in the light of religious duties. Nor does the Babi historian, Mirza Jani, disdain to cast a glance into the future, and tell us exultantly that a day shall come when seventy thousand Mohammedan mullas

will be beheaded "like dogs." At Zanjan the Babi leader on capturing Farrukh Khan, a former Babi who had recanted and fought now on the Musulman side, is said to have first skinned his captive alive and then roasted him. Farrukh Khan, when captured, was at the head of twenty-two other soldiers of the government forces who, besieged in a house in Zanjan by the Babis, were, as the latter say, induced by "fair words" to lay down their arms and surrender. These too were executed, the Babis tell us, though it is not stated that they were skinned and roasted.

The partisans of the people of the *Bayan* would have us dwell on the cruelty of the Mohammedans toward the new sect and on the fortitude with which the Babis endured the gruesome tortures inflicted upon them, while leaving well in the shade or completely suppressing the records of the cruelty and crimes of their own party. I cannot consent to do this, and I must indeed confess that the picture of a murderer or an accomplice of a murderer submitting to torture without a tremor does not cause me to feel any admiration for the criminal, and utterly fails to arouse my enthusiasm. In fact, whether the sufferers be guilty or innocent, when I am told of men, having imbedded in wounds made in their bodies burning wicks steeped in oil, being paraded through hostile crowds to the place of execution, all the while singing songs of joy to testify to their willingness to undergo martyrdom, the impression this gives me is not that the victims belonged to the higher types of humanity, but that they as well as their torturers were of the same type as the Indian savage who goes to the stake defiantly singing his war song and taunting his captors upon whom he would promptly have inflicted the torture of fire had they been in his power instead of he being in theirs. The insensibility to pain exhibited by the religious fanatic by no means shows an unwillingness to inflict it upon others. Those who are unaffected by their own sufferings are usually among the least humane of mankind. Sympathy for the sufferings of our fellows is bred by susceptibility to pain and is not found with the callous savage.

That many of the Babis executed for the attempt on the life of the Shah were wholly innocent there can be but little doubt. Yet, even when the reprisals were at their height, the animus that actuated the Persian officials was not a religious one. This is shown by the fact that Baha, the future prophet, who even then played a notable part in the affairs of the sect, was arrested and, according to the Bahai account of the matter, gained his freedom, not by denying his faith, but by convincing his judges that he was in no way

implicated in the plot against his sovereign. His argument, as reported in the *Traveller's Narrative*, was that "No reasonable person would charge his pistol with shot when embarking on so grave an enterprise. From the very nature of the event it is clear and evident as the sun that it is not the act of such as myself."

The severity of the measures which the Shah ultimately adopted against the Babis does not appear unnatural in an Oriental monarch when the circumstances of the case are taken into account. Among the believers the doctrine had become wide-spread that to the Bab and his successors belonged not merely the spiritual power but the temporal as well, and that the ruling dynasty had no legitimate claim to the Persian throne. Babi apostles had even been known to threaten with the torments of hell-fire those who dared to lend their support to the government of Nasiru'd-Din Shah. Early in the troubles brought about by the sect the royal family itself had suffered; for in the first Babi insurrection, that of Mazandaran, two princes of the blood had fallen by the hands of the insurgents. Now came the attempts upon the Shah's own life. The Babis who sought to slay him, when questioned by the authorities after the failure of their attempt, stated that personally they were grateful to the Shah for certain benevolences which he had shown them, and that in trying to kill him they were only obeying the orders of their superiors who were clothed with sacred authority; that anything which these holy men commanded was necessarily right simply because they commanded it. Such a criterion of right and wrong is accepted even by the modern Bahais. In the "Tablet of the Most Great Infallibility," Baha'u'llah tells his flock emphatically that in a manifestation of the Deity (i. e., in himself) "no sin or error is to be found or spoken of"; that if God through His prophet "declares a virtue to be an error or infidelity to be faith, it is a truth from His Presence," if He declares the right to be the left, or the north to be the south. . . . water to be wine or heaven to be earth, it is true and there is no doubt therein; and no one has the right to oppose Him, or to say 'why' or 'wherefore'; and he who disputes Him is verily of the opposers in the Book of God." In a note to this "Tablet," the translator, Mirza Ali Kuli Khan, Charge d'affaires of the Persian Legation at Washington (where the presence of a Bahai may perhaps be accounted for by the fact of the Persian diplomatic corps representing rather the interests of Russia and England than those of Iran) is at pains to tell us that in this teaching Abbas, the pope, follows in the footsteps of his father, the prophet, since Pope Abbas

teaches that "the infallibility of a Manifestation of God is not to be judged by men according to their own limited view or estimate of the deeds of a Manifestation. But the Manifestation of God is infallible in the sense that He, as the Temple of God, 'doeth whatsoever He willeth'; and all that He doeth must be recognized by men as based on Divine Wisdom."

This doctrine, which can be characterized only as the most pernicious religious principle that any human being has ever dared to set forth—the very principle which actuated the religious sect known as the Assassins—has been constantly adhered to by the Babis and Bahais through thick and thin. Time and time again did members of the sect tell Professor Browne that, once convinced of the justice of the claims of a pretendent to prophetship "we must obey him in everything, for he knows better than we do what is right and wrong." Nor did they hesitate to draw the logical conclusion that murder committed in the name of religion was highly meritorious. "A prophet," they said, "has the right to slay if he knows that it is necessary, for he knows what is hidden from us; and if he sees that the slaughter of a few will prevent many from going astray, he is justified in commanding such slaughter. The prophet is the spiritual physician, and as no one would blame a physician for sacrificing a limb to save the body, so no one can question the right of a prophet to destroy the bodies of a few that the souls of many may live"!

Just how high in the Babi hierarchy were the men who ordered the "removal" of the Shah it is impossible to ascertain. Azal, though he then stood at the head of the Babi flock, cannot be assumed to be responsible for the plot against the Persian sovereign. It would be a mistake to regard the Babi sect of these days as a well-organized body ruled in all its activities by a supreme commander. Even during the lifetime of the Bab the temporal affairs of the sect were largely under the control of his apostles. Some of these, in fact, were given a veneration but little below that in which the Bab himself was held. Huseyn of Bushraweyh was looked upon as the *Babu'l-Bab* or Gateway of the Gateway, and when the Bab finally arrogated to himself still higher honors than that of voice of the invisible Imam Mohammed² and proclaimed himself

promoted to Babship itself, the Bab having, toward the end of his career, abandoned the title by which he is commonly known. To encourage his followers at the siege of Tabarsi, Huseyn did not hesitate to promise that those who died in battle should be resurrected in forty days, and would then be recompensed by the position of king or prince or at least governor of some part of the earth. The more ambitious Babi warriors who aspired to speedy death were allowed to select in advance their future kingdoms, Turkey or China, England or France or Russia. Mohammed Ali of Barfurush, who succeeded to the command of the Mazandaran insurgents after the death of Huseyn, was looked upon by some Babis as having filled the highest of human offices, that of "Point" during an interregnum in which the founder of Babism ceased to deliver revelations to the world. This apostle himself declared that he was the reincarnation of the Prophet Mohammed. Jani, the Babi historian, tells us that when the mother of the Barfurush apostle married his reputed father, Aka Salih, she was three months gone with child, and that she gave birth to her son six months after her marriage, wherefore his enemies subsequently questioned his legitimacy; but his friends interpreted the fact in a favorable manner, recalling the circumstances of the birth of Jesus. The story is also told that when Mohammed Ali had become prominent in the Babi sect he one day said to Aka Salih: "Know that I am not your son, and that your son lost his way behind a stack of fire-wood on such-and-such a day whereon you sent him on an errand, and is now in such-and-such a city, while I am the Lord Jesus who has appeared in the form of your son, and, for a wise purpose, has elected you my reputed father." Another Babi saint in whom self-conceit was not lacking was Kurratu'l-Ayn who looked upon himself as the reincarnation of Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet Mohammed, and told the people that any unclean thing was immediately rendered pure by being exposed to her gaze. The claims of the lady as well as those of her lover found a ready acceptance with the Babi herd who hailed the meeting of Mohammed Ali of Barfurush and Kurratu'l-Ayn with the cry: "The Sun and the Moon are in conjunction."

From the early Babis I now pass on to the modern Bahais whose cause my opponents have more particularly at heart. In *The Open Court* protest has been raised against the tenor of my previous article by Mr. Kheiralla, Mrs. Kirchner and Mr. Tobler. None of these meet the points that I raised; they lavish unstinted praise on the cult of Baha'u'llah, but make no reply to the specific

articles of my indictment. The letter of Mr. Tobler is, I think, of much value as a specimen of Bahai rhetoric and an exemplification of the mental attitude characteristic of the followers of Abdul Baha. He has however, it would appear, given but scant attention to the questions at issue. And it is rather amusing that, in reproaching me for not having consulted those whom he deems competent authorities on Babism and Bahatism, he actually cites three authors from whom it happens I did draw in the composition of my article, namely Count de Gobineau, M. H. Dreyfus and Mr. C. H. Remey. The first of these is really an authority: the only one in Mr. Tobler's remarkable list; the other two have as their sole claim to consideration the fact that they are representative Bahais. And had Mr. Tobler read the work of Count de Gobineau he would scarcely have committed the absurdity of citing this authority *in opposition* to my "allegations." The reference to Mr. Remey is likewise not very apt, for the latter though thoroughly devoted to the Bahai cause, is often more ardent than edifying. The perusal of his writings by outsiders is not likely to accrue to the benefit of the faith. I know, indeed, of one case where a man whose previous attitude toward the Bahai movement had been most sympathetic, after reading one of Remey's articles upholding the papal supremacy and the infallibility of Pope Abbas, threw the book on the floor, and said with some emphasis: "If *that* is the Bahai creed, damn Bahatism!" Mr. Tobler, in the further course of his remarks, intimates that the result of my article may be a St. Bartholomew massacre of the American Bahais. It is hardly worth while to dispute his imputation, but I would point out that since, according to Mr. Tobler, he and his coreligionaries are "joyfully willing" to "receive the crown of martyrdom" it is unreasonable in him to feel aggrieved because he conceives that I am trying to bring the American Bahais the joy they desire.

To the three Bahais that opposed me in *The Open Court* must be added a fourth opponent, Mr. James F. Morton Jr. who took up the subject in two letters to *The Truth Seeker*, a New York weekly devoted to the cause of freethought, but always scrupulously fair in giving a hearing to both sides of any question. In a

certain ways in which Bahaism appeals to him, and I shall proceed to consider the merits which he and my other critics ascribe to the cult of Baha'u'llah.

First and foremost among the claims put forth for Bahaism is its alleged promotion of love and unity. Kindliness toward those of other sects is fundamental in the Bahai religion, so we are told. The primary commandment, an advocate informs us, is: "Do not antagonize or denounce any religion." To follow Bahaism is "to never allow ourselves to speak an unkind word about another, even though that other be our enemy." Yet in Persia, Professor Browne found that the disciples of Baha'u'llah did not hesitate to refer to their Zoroastrian neighbors as "unclean pagans" and resented his association with these Guebres, while moreover they were circulating a work in which the Shiite Mohammedans are described as a "foul and erring sect." In Hamadan, where a portion of the Jewish inhabitants have gone over to Bahaism, the adherents of the older faith claim that "the continual attacks of the Bahais against the Jews" have produced the result [in 1914] of "hatred and bitter dissensions between fathers and sons, sisters and brothers, husband and wife." Turning to the Occident we find that Mr. Horace Holley, in his recent work on Bahaism, refers to Catholic practice as "a diabolical perversion of Christ's teaching," and in lurid language speaks of "the servant-maid who betrays her instincts to a priest lurking in his dark confessional." Whether such epithets be justified or not, it is quite clear that they do not tend toward bringing about that era of good feeling in matters of religion which is so ostentatiously paraded before the outsider and the neophyte as the primary aim of the Bahai movement.

Further enlightenment as to the efficacy of Bahaism in the promotion of religious concord is afforded by what has taken place in the very bosom of the sect. Here, if anywhere, we ought to find unity and harmony. Are we not told, in a pamphlet with the alluring title *Unity through Love*, that "in the future years. . . the people of Baha will not diverge and disagree as Christians have done." The reason given for this bright outlook is not however a very convincing one, it is "because they cannot. The dissenters, the reformers and expositors will no longer be Bahais. They have excommunicated themselves by their divergence; they have turned away from God."

Like statements are often made by Christians; there is but one Christian church, we are told, all the others are mere shams. And the actual state of affairs in Bahaism is quite similar to that in

Christianity. The Bahais are rent into two mutually hostile factions: The Orthodox or Papal party, headed by Pope Abdul Baha Abbas, and the Protestants, most of the latter owning allegiance to another son of the Prophet and a half-brother of Abbas, Mohammed Ali. The American adherents of the former usually write *Baha* and *Bahai*; those of the latter commonly spell these words with an *e*, writing *Beha* and *Behai*, but this rule is not absolute. The orthodox apply, as a term of reproach, the name *Nakazeen* or *Nakizis* (deniers) to all who admitting the claims of the Prophet, deny those of the Bahai Pope, whether such heretics follow the lead of Mohammed Ali or not. Mr. Kheiralla is a Nakizi, and that he is not especially friendly toward the orthodox Bahais of Greenacre is shown by his reference to these people (in language more disparaging than I myself have seen fit to use in my account of the Greenacre affair) as Bostonians who "cheated Miss Farmer out of her property known as Greenacre." The attitude of the Papal party toward the Bahai heretics may be judged from what a pious follower of Pope Abbas tells us in a pamphlet entitled *The Dawn of Knowledge and the Most Great Peace*. "Can anything be more abominable, loathsome or abhorrent to refined senses than the disgusting spectacle of a dog vomiting up a mess of partly digested food, then turning around and licking it up again! Yet this, the Holy Spirit has declared, is how the violators of the Covenant appear to the faithful."

The doctrine of the Covenant is the Bahai dogma in which is embodied the claim of the leader of the sect to papal power. The idea seems to be this: that in the present dispensation—the dispensation of Baha'u'llah, which the Bahais claim has superseded that of Mohammed, just as (they hold) Mohammedanism superseded the Christian dispensation—God has made a covenant with mankind that he will not empty the vials of his wrath upon any human being who accepts His prophet, Baha'u'llah, as the latest manifestation of the Deity, and takes the inspired utterances of Baha as law. So far, there is, I think, substantial agreement between all fully initiated Bahais, in other words, all save the neophytes who are allowed, for a time, to look upon Bahaim as

Saviour, they feel a necessity for a "Center of the Covenant," as they rather curiously put it, that is, for an infallible interpreter of the inspired words of the Bahai Messiah, Baha'u'llah. This Center of the Covenant they find in the person of Abdul Baha Abbas, the son of Baha'u'llah. The Nakizis, then, are those Bahais who claim the right of private interpretation of the Bahai scriptures and hold that the Covenant needs no "Center."

How important in the eyes of the orthodox Bahais is adhesion to the Center of the Covenant may be judged from the statement of the Bahai book, *Explanations concerning Sacred Mysteries*, that "Whosoever is, in this day, firm in the Covenant and the Testament of God, and turns unto Abdul Baha in compliance with the decisive command of the Blessed Perfection, he is of the companions of the right hand, and is of the exalted letters; such a soul is day by day in advance and progress and his death is conducive to loftiness and eternal life. On the other hand, whosoever violates the Covenant of the Blessed Perfection, and turns away from Abdul Baha, the Center of the Covenant, he is every instant declining, is a follower of natural desires, one of the companions of the left hand, and one of the letters of the hell-fire"; and "He who is not firm in the Covenant of God is of the hell, the doors of the Kingdom are closed unto him... How great will be the punishment which is appointed for such a soul after his leaving the body!" According to this, not only are the unregenerate persons who reject Bahatism *in toto* doomed to perdition, but even Mohammed Ali and the other members of the Prophet's family and *entourage* who decline to admit the claims of Abbas to infallibility are destined to the very bottommost pits of hell! So kindly a forecast brings home to us in a striking way the universal love and charity that pervades the Bahai movement, and convinces us that it is not without reason that one of my critics ascribes to the followers of Pope Abbas a "breadth and tolerance" which is "in pleasing contrast with Judaism and Christianity."

Friendly relations are not however always interrupted by a belief that one's neighbor is doomed to perdition. Catholics and Calvinists have been known to live together in peace without allowing their religious differences to interfere with the usual social amenities. Surely this should have been the case with the sons of the Prophet of Love. Does not Mr. Phelps tell us, in his *Life and Teachings of Abbas Effendi*, that if we analyze this peculiar spirit of the Bahais; if we seek to penetrate that which marks them off from other men, the conclusion to which we are brought is that

its essence is expressed in the one word *Love*. These men are lovers; lovers of God, of their Master and Teacher, of each other, and of all mankind." Nowhere, we may well conclude, would the teachings of Baha'ullah be more fruitful than in the Bahai community at Acre; here, and especially in the bosom of his own family, his influence ought to have made itself felt and have shown that tendency to peace and harmony which the Bahais rate so highly. Abbas, we might suppose, would be content with consigning his brother to hell, and Mohammed Ali would rest satisfied with a polite denial of his destiny of damnation. This has not been the case; accusations and recriminations have been bandied back and forth between the two parties, and to prevent physical conflicts it has been necessary to call in the aid of the Ottoman police.

Abbas bases his papal pretensions upon certain documents supposed to have been written by Baha'u'llah, and Mohammed Ali likewise relies on the writings of the Prophet in disputing his brother's title to the spiritual throne. Neither will acknowledge the other's title deeds to be genuine; each accuses the other of altering and interpolating the manuscripts left by their father. In reply to the question: "Has Abbas dared to change the texts uttered by Baha'u'llah?" Mohammed Ali and his adherents answer: "Most certainly, Yes. We have in our possession *many* texts of Baha'u'llah which have been changed by Abbas Effendi." According to them, whenever Abbas came across an unpublished "Tablet" of Baha containing anything inconsistent with his own pretensions, he either cut out the portion which went against his assumption of authority and palmed off the remainder as a complete tablet in two portions, or, if this was not practicable, suppressed the sacred text altogether. And Mirza Aka Jan, amanuensis of Baha for forty years, who on his master's death took the part of Mohammed Ali, goes so far as to assert that Abbas forged an entire tablet in trying to make good his claims. Against Mohammed Ali the partisans of Abbas make quite similar charges. The Protestant Bahais assert that Abbas, when his father died, unjustly appropriated the whole of the latter's property, and while each week ostentatiously distributing a large sum of money to beggars, left his father's widows and their children in penury until the Turkish government stepped in and forced him to disgorge. The Papal party, on the other hand, accuse the half-brothers of Abbas of being profligate and wanton, of frequenting wine shops and of being spendthrifts, and say that

they pawned valuable rugs and jewelry of the deceased Prophet—goods to which they had no right—and squandered the proceeds.

Shortly after the death of Baha, Abbas and his adherents commenced to erect on the side of Mt. Carmel above Haifa an edifice designed, so they said, to serve as a mausoleum for the bodies of the Prophet and his forerunner, the Bab, there being also included in the building a hall for devotional purposes. Mohammed Ali went to the Turkish authorities and represented to them that this structure was really designed to serve as a fort, and that Abbas and his followers intended ultimately to use it in an attempt to make themselves masters of this part of Syria, which they hoped to wrest out of the control of the Ottoman government. That the contention was not unpalatable is shown by the impression the edifice produced upon an Occidental Bahai belonging to the Papal flock who visited Acre a few years ago: "After seeing its massive walls and solid masonry, we did not wonder that the Turkish Government might believe that the Master was building a great military fort."³ It would not be the first time in the history of the movement that a tomb was used to further a revolt, for in the insurrection of Mazandaran the Babis had as their headquarters the mausoleum of Sheykh Tabarsi, and so strong a fortress did it prove to be that within its walls they were able to withstand a siege of nine months duration.

At all events, this attempt on the part of his brother to stir up the authorities against him, caused much inconvenience to Abbas and his followers, though finally they were allowed to proceed with the construction of the tomb. Even then however their troubles were not over. The adherents of Mohammed Ali, men who had the full benefit of that teaching which, the Bahais say, will turn this world of strife into a dove-cote, men who had passed year after year in the irresistible atmosphere of love and harmony that radiated from Baha'u'llah, men among whom were included three sons of the Prophet and many other prominent Bahais, notably the beloved disciple designated by Baha as "The First to Believe," Mirza Aka Jan of Kashan, "cursed and insulted the visitors to the Holy Tomb of the Blessed Perfection," so the Papal historians say. And, as we are told, "Finally it was feared that some of the youthful believers would no longer be able to endure the evil tongue and cursing of the Nakazeen, and a disturbance would arise which would be contrary to the tranquil disposition of the Bahais and would desecrate the Holy Tomb. Consequently His Holiness

³ Mrs. C. True in *Notes taken at Acca*.

Abdul Baha asked the local government to supply a guard to accompany the believers upon the days of visiting the Holy Tomb, so that they might be protected from unseemly disturbance and be able to engage in prayer and devotion with composure."⁴ On reading of these facts, one wonders whether there is not a spice of humor in the statement of a certain Bahai writer that the Most Great Peace which Bahaism is to bring will be "a peace which passeth the understanding. "Perhaps there may be none, for Bahais have a very peculiar way of looking at such matters. Not long ago, at a public meeting, a Bahai proselytizer lauded the religion in glowing terms for the great harmony it invariably brought about, and when one of the audience, who had seen something of the movement, made the comment that her experience had been quite the contrary, that in no sect had she seen more discord than among the Bahais, she was met by the triumphant reply that that was just it, that this apparent inharmony was the very proof of their harmony!

The schism of the Bahais into the followers of Mohammed Ali and the orthodox adherents of Abdul Baha Abbas took place shortly after the death of Baha in 1892. Not all the original supporters of Abbas have remained among the faithful. From time to time members of the Papal flock fall away from grace and become Nakizis. Abbas is obliged to be continually warning his people against the pestilential heretics who would lead them astray. "You must be very careful, perchance amongst you may be those who will be Nakazeen, the violators of the Covenant. Do not listen to them." The Most Great Branch (which is one of the titles of Abbas) has to repeat to his people again and again that "In the Tablet of The Branch He [the Prophet Baha] explicitly states: *'Whatsoever The Branch says is right, or correct; and every person must obey The Branch with his life, with his heart, with his tongue. Without his will, not a word shall any one utter.'* This is an explicit text. . . . So there is no excuse left for anybody. No soul shall of himself speak anything." The faithful are to bear in mind, Abbas modestly says, that "Any opinion expressed by the Center of the Covenant is correct, and there is no way for disobedience for any one." And he tells his flock that at pres-

⁴ Mirza Aka Jan ("Khadim'u'llah") asserts that he was cruelly beaten by the followers of Abbas at the express commands of the Pope and was even insulted and struck by the latter in person. Other details of the controversy between Abbas and Mirza Aka Jan are given in the Appendix.

ent the importance of the Covenant "is not known befittingly; but in the future it shall attain to such a degree of importance that if a king violates it to the extent of one atom he shall be cut off immediately"!

Not content with the role of a mere interpreter of dogma, Pope Abbas tries to stretch to the utmost the prerogatives of the Center of the Covenant, and claims, under the name of infallibility the right to direct the daily life of the faithful. To avoid being called a Nakizi, a Bahai must let the pope of the sect rule his doings as well as his dogma, since the infallible interpreter so interprets the dogma of infallibility as to make it mean much more than infallibility. For their very goings and comings the Persian Bahais are bound to obtain previous permission from the Pope, and a member of the flock who arrives in a strange country without a written permission to travel and a papal certificate of orthodoxy must be shunned by all true believers. "Write to every one," Pope Abbas tells one of his American lieutenants, "and awaken all, that they must not meet any Persian who has not in his hand a credential in my handwriting and signature." And, on another occasion, to all the "believers and maid-servants" throughout America this notice is sent: "Whosoever from amongst the Persian believers arrives in America although he may be related to me, that is, even if he be my son-in-law or she be my daughter, first ask of him the letter giving him a *new* permission to come again to America. If he shows you any such letter, be most careful and attentive that it is my writing and my signature, that they may not be counterfeits. Then you cable to me and inquire about him, otherwise do not associate with him. . . . Whosoever speaks with him is a violator of the Covenant." Even Occidental Bahais find it advisable to obtain a written permission from the Pope when they change their place of residence. Quite recently a Bahai lady, Mrs. Getsinger, who after carrying on propaganda work in India had been permitted to dwell for some time with the "Holy Family" at the foot of Mt. Carmel, left Syria for the United States, and, though to all the American Bahais she was well known as an ardent and faithful believer, it was thought necessary to publish in the *Star of the West* of October 16, 1915, a reproduction in facsimile of the passport issued to her by Pope Abbas granting permission to "the maid-servant of God, Lua" to come here.

he will become afflicted with remorse and regret." Most of the American Bahais have taken these admonitions to heart and are very punctilious in obedience to their pope; they carefully shun and avoid the stranger until he produces a certificate of orthodoxy. Their attitude was shown in 1913 when two Persian Bahais landed in San Francisco from a Pacific steamer and attempted to attend divine service at the Bahai meeting place in that city. These newcomers, having no credentials, were, as the *Star of the West* tells us, "advised to leave and return to their hotel." And while later they were entertained at the home of one believer unmindful of the commands of the Pope, the more faithful members of the flock gave no sanction to this lapse from loyalty. They were indeed highly scandalized and brought the case before His Holiness himself, who wrote back a pastoral letter which in emphatic terms commended the Bahai assembly of San Francisco for excluding the strangers and blamed the disloyal one who had received them as guests.

It is proverbial that in religious movements the Americans among the converts distinguish themselves by the financial support they afford. And it is his American followers, above all, that Abbas appears anxious to keep in the full bloom of orthodoxy. We may see a connection between these two facts without attributing to the Bahai pope any sordid motives of personal gain, but merely supposing him to have in view the needs of his church. The rivals of Abbas seem to have scented the rich pickings to be had in the United States, for the Bahai Pope says that "all the enemies of the Cause in Persia—Yahyais [i. e., Azalites], Naka-zeen and Sufists—are turning their attention to America and will come in order to weaken the Cause of God." These competitors for American money—"thieves," "wolves," and "traitors" as he deems them—cause the good Pope much anxiety, and he seems to be unable to give complete trust even to his own household. He specifically warns the Americans not to receive his sons-in-law, Mirza Jalal, Mirza Mohsen and Mirza Hadi, or his grandsons, Shougi Effendi and Rouhi Effendi, without credentials from his hand. When they become suspect, even those connected with him by family ties are given scant consideration by Abbas. A year or so ago the husband of his wife's sister, the venerable Mirza Asad'-u'llah of Nur, a Bahai apostle who had well-nigh worn out his

promptly branded a Nakizi; all the faithful were henceforth bound to avoid him as though he were the pest. In vain was Abbas asked the reason for this excommunication; all explanation was refused, but it would seem that the Ultramontane Curia of Acre suspected Asad'u'llah of a tendency toward liberalism. And when a little later, in the spring of 1914, his son, Mirza Ameen'u'llah Fareed (who had interpreted into eloquent English the discourses made by Abbas when the Pope was in America in 1912, but had fallen into disgrace from his connection with Asad'u'llah) left Egypt, where Asad'u'llah was then staying, and went to England, Pope Abbas felt it incumbent upon him to send, through Mirza Lotfullah, the Papal Delegate to the British Isles, an urgent message to the Bahais of England forbidding them to associate with or even meet Dr. Fareed or any of his relations. Not all the English Bahais heeded this charitable mandate, but those who disobeyed paid the penalty of expulsion from the fold, and the orthodox Bahais now look upon them as accursed Nakazeen. In obedience to the command of the Pope the orthodox promptly excluded the mother and sister of Dr. Fareed from the chapel of the "Religion of Unity" when these ladies ventured to present themselves there to participate in the Bahai devotional exercises. And when certain recalcitrant Bahais gave a reception with members of the Fareed party as guests of honor, one of the orthodox bell-wethers (a prominent Washington Bahai who was then in England) stationed himself outside the house where the reception was held, and solemnly warned all who entered that it was "forbidden" to have any communication whatsoever with the Nakizis within, and that to disobey meant to be put under the ban of His Holiness Abdul Baha. The result of all this was that the English Bahai world soon found itself in the throes of a serious schism, and the breach has not yet been healed. Not long ago Mirza Asad'u'llah came to the United States to inaugurate here a religious movement of an eclectic and syncretic character, "The School of the Prophets," which is to have in its doctrines none of the bigotry and intolerance of papal Bahaim. And it was probably he and his companions that Abdul Baha had in mind when, in a communication to the Bahais of this country, dated Haifa, October 14, 1915, he said: "It may come to pass that some corrupted souls shall come to America working to bring about the wavering of your hearts; but you must be firm like unto a mountain in faith and the Covenant."

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE PASSING OF A PATRIOT.

Samuel W. Pennypacker, judge, statesman and man of letters, former governor of the State of Pennsylvania, has passed from us at a time when his countrymen were in deep need of his advice and counsel. He died September 3, 1916, of uremic poisoning, at the age of seventy-three. He was vigorous up to the time of his death. He was a member of the State Public Service Commission of Pennsylvania, and he was carrying on a forcible campaign in the newspapers against the hysteria and delusions of our most dangerous "hyphenates," the Anglomaniacs. Almost the last letter that the Ex-Governor dictated was a letter to Roland Hugins, author of *Germany Misjudged*, in appreciation and praise of his book.

The former governor was never mealy-mouthed in discussing the issues of the world war. He was strongly convinced that pro-Ally sympathizers had made a silly interpretation of its causes and significance. He thought that American statesmanship had been purblind to the best interests of America, and that the Wilson administration had shown an inability to manage our relations with Europe that approached fatuity. He held that the United States had sacrificed a marvelous opportunity to make a real friend of Germany, and had wrongfully lent its aid to the British, who are likely some day to "crush" us, as they are now trying to "crush" Germany. He stood for a real and not a hypocritical neutrality.

The word of such a man is bound to carry weight. This great Pennsylvanian was not a "hyphenate," except in the inclusive sense that all white men on this continent are sprung from European stock. He came from a very old Dutch family. He had attained high rank in letters and in law. His public career was a long and distinguished one. He fought in the Civil War, responding to the first call for troops from his state. He was judge of the Common Pleas court for more than a decade. In 1902 he was nominated and elected governor of Pennsylvania. His term was marked with many important legislative reforms. He brought about the passage of the present libel law of Pennsylvania, which compels editors and publishers to print their names on the editorial pages of their newspapers. He created as governor the Pennsylvania state constabulary, now a model for other states. He originated the National Divorce Congress, of which he was the first president. All of his public acts were marked by fearlessness and by constructive statesmanship.

Germany Misjudged, the book that the Ex-Governor praised, is one of the several notable war books brought out during the past year by The Open Court Publishing Company. Its author is also a descendant of "old" Dutch

stock, a young man, not yet thirty, an instructor of economics in one of our larger universities. The publishers believe that *Germany Misjudged* is in many respects the clearest, fairest and most convincing presentation and defense of the German cause that has appeared in English.

Samuel W. Pennypacker's letter to Mr. Hugins follows:

"I write to express to you the very great satisfaction given me by your recent book *Germany Misjudged* which I have just finished reading. It is a most valuable contribution to the literature on this war. In fact I am inclined to think that it is the strongest and clearest presentation of the cause of the Germans that I have anywhere met. You have evidently selected your facts with great care and the conclusions from them are unanswerable.

"The present administration blundered frightfully when it threw the weight of American influence into the cause of the Allies—a blunder which will have grave consequences for generations to come. It is incomprehensible to me that Mr. Wilson should fail to see that a real neutrality was the only course for us to pursue.

"I wish it were possible by some means to get your book generally into the hands of American readers. Judging from your name I infer that you like myself are of Dutch origin."

BOOK REVIEWS.

PERSONAL EXPERIENCES AMONG OUR NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS. By *Captain W. Thornton Parker, M.D.* Illustrated. Published by the author at Northampton, Mass. Pages, 232. Price, cloth, \$2.00 postpaid.

These war reminiscences of Dr. William Thornton Parker cover the period from 1867 to 1885 and furnish an interesting presentation of frontier life from personal experience. The single chapters have been published in article form in various periodicals and contain material of intense interest. Wars are now being waged in ancient Europe, but in this country the terrors of frontier life are almost forgotten and have become scarcely believable, and for this reason the book will prove the more interesting to the rising generation.

Dr. Parker has also published within the last year a genealogical history of two colonial families in which he is personally interested, *Gleanings from Colonial and American Records of Parker and Morse Families, A. D., 1585-1915*. It is a very attractive volume, bound in blue and gold cloth with gilt lettering and contains photographs of colonial representatives of these families, their homes and trophies. There is a picture of the battle of Bunker Hill with a descriptive key of the important leaders who took part. The frontispiece is an excellent reproduction in colors of a famous painting of a battle of the Revolution.

In addition to the above books, the author has just published the *Annals of Old Fort Cummings, New Mexico, 1867-8*. The ruins of this old fort, which is rich in memories of the early Indian wars, are just north of Columbus, New Mexico, in a region which has been the center of interest during the recent troubles on the Mexican border.

FUNDAMENTAL SOURCES OF EFFICIENCY. By *Fletcher Durell, Ph. D.* Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1914. Pp. 368. Price \$2.50 net.

The present work is an attempt to analyze the various forms and sources of efficiency into a few elemental principles. The author feels that the study

of such primal elements will not only aid in the mastery of efficiency in a given field, but will prevent this important idea from assuming a narrow meaning and thus leading to limited or even harmful results. In the preface he explains that the leading ideas here presented were suggested by the study of Spencer twenty years before. This basis has been supplemented by careful perusal of the publications of the Efficiency Society and of leading writers along these lines. Groups of exercises have been inserted after each chapter so that the book is well equipped as a text-book for efficiency courses. This purpose is further served by the careful subdivision of chapters. Something of the scope of the work can be indicated by the topics of the chapters as follows: Definition and First Principles; Reuse; The Unit and Its Multiples; The Group; Multiplicative Groups; Orders of Material; Externality; Uniformity and Diversity; Expenditures and Results; Symbolism; Directive; Kinematic and Dynamic; Rhythm; Dialectic; Limitation; Error and Paradox; Combinations of Efficients-Summary; Applications.

A commentary on current typographical tendencies is furnished by the frequent appearance of the word "Reuse" printed without a hyphen. The word is perfectly good, and our modern rules would dispense with the hyphen, but the word is not in such general use but that its appearance without context as the title of the chapter and in such headings as "Marginal Reuse," "Negative Reuse," "Special forms of Reuse," etc., proves puzzling to the general reader.

κ

NOTES.

It will be of great interest to scientists and students of physics everywhere to learn that just before his death last February, Prof. Ernst Mach had completed a manuscript on the "Principles of the Theory of Light" upon which he had been at work almost to the very last days of his life. This treatise on Light will form a companion volume to his previous works on *Mechanics* (English translation by T. J. McCormack, Chicago, Open Court Publishing Company, 1902) and the *Theory of Heat*, an English translation of which is now on the press with the same publishers. Like these earlier works Professor Mach's last book will present the development of principles from a critical point of view and by the historical method. The *Prinzipien der Lichtlehre* will appear during 1916 from the press of Johann Ambrosius Barth of Leipsic.

Carlyle and the War

By

Marshall Kelly

(Cloth, \$1.00. Pages, 338)

PRESS NOTES.

"Marshall Kelly's book points out the fulfilment, in the present upheaval, of many of Carlyle's prophecies concerning democracy and aristocracy in conflict."—*The World*.

"Carlyle was the greatest man of the nineteenth century, an opinion which may explain why the Kelly style of writing, if not of thinking, is that of Carlyle, plus."—*Literary Digest*.

"The value of this collection of Pro-Teutonism may be judged by the fact that its author declares flatly: 'Carlyle was the greatest man of the nineteenth century.'"—*Chicago Journal*.

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY

122 S. MICHIGAN AVENUE

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

Germany and Belgium

By

Dr. J. H. Labberton

Translated from the Dutch by DR. W. E. LEONARD.

(8vo. Cloth, \$1.00. Pages, 163.)

"Feeling that it is impossible for a great people like the Germans to 'fall so low,' as the reports of their treatment of Belgium would testify, Mr. Labberton set himself to work to investigate and test his judgments, the underlying idea of the results being that politics and ethics have nothing to do with each other and that international law 'differs from national law in that it is the codified morality of states,' and is rather ethical than legal."—*Detroit Times*.

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY

122 S. MICHIGAN AVENUE

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

The Philosophical Review

The Philosophical Review for May, 1916, was a special number of about three hundred pages in length, consisting of papers in honor of Josiah Royce on his sixtieth birthday. The contents are as follows:

Frontispiece

Prefatory Note

Josiah Royce: The Significance of His Work in Philosophy

G. H. Howison

Voluntarism in the Roycean Philosophy..... John Dewey

Novum Itinerarium Mentis in Deum..... Charles M. Bakewell

The Teleology of Inorganic Nature..... Lawrence J. Henderson

The Foundation in Royce's Philosophy for Christian Theism

Mary Whiton Calkins

The Interpretation of Religion in Royce and Durkheim

George P. Adams

The Problem of Christianity..... Wm. Adams Brown

Royce's Interpretation of Christianity..... B. W. Bacon

Error and Unreality..... W. H. Sheldon

Realistic Aspects of Royce's Logic..... E. G. Spaulding

Neo-Realism and the Philosophy of Royce.. .. . Morris R. Cohen

Negation and Direction..... Alfred H. Loyd

Types of Order and the System Σ C. I. Lewis

Interpretation as a Self-Representative Process..... J. Loewenberg

On the Application of Grammatical Categories to the Analysis of

Delusions..... E. E. Southard

Love and Loyalty..... E. A. Singer

Josiah Royce as a Teacher..... Richard C. Cabot

Royce's Idealism as a Philosophy of Education..... H. H. Horne

The Holt-Freudian Ethics and the Ethics of Royce

William Ernest Hocking

Words of Professor Royce at the Walton Hotel at Philadelphia,
December 29, 1915.

A Bibliography of the Writings of Josiah Royce..... Benjamin Rand

The price of this special number is \$1.50

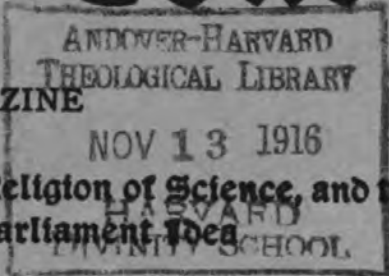
LONGMANS, GREEN & COMPANY

Fourth Avenue and 30th Street, NEW YORK.

London Agency, 39 Paternoster Row, E. C.

The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE



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

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER.

VOL. XXX (No. 11)

NOVEMBER, 1916

NO. 726

CONTENTS:

	PAGE
<i>Frontispiece.</i> The Siege of Constantinople.	
<i>Mentality in War-Time.</i> WILBUR M. URBAN	641
<i>The Precursor, the Prophet, and the Pope.</i> Contributions to the History of the Bahai Movement (Conclusion). ROBERT P. RICHARDSON	657
<i>A Japanese Author on the Chinese Nestorian Monument</i> (Illustrated). FRITS HOLM	686
<i>Miscellaneous.</i>	
"Italy and the War." A Letter from a Roman Patriot (With editorial reply). ERNESTO BUONAIUTI	695
The Siege of Constantinople in 1453 (With illustration)	702
America First (Poem). LOUIS DORN	703

The Open Court Publishing Company

CHICAGO

Per copy, 10 cents (sixpence). Yearly, \$1.00 (in the U.P.U., 5s. 6d.).

Entered as Second-Class Matter March 26, 1897, at the Post Office at Chicago, Ill., under Act of March 3, 1879
Copyright by The Open Court Publishing Company, 1916

There Would Have Been No War

IF the French government had said to the English
You shall not have our army
the French government had said to the Germans
You shall not have our money



Read these definitions taken at random from

THE INEVITABLE WAR

(La Guerre qui Vient)

By FRANCIS DELAISI

AMBASSADORS: "Ambassadors in gold braid are today no more and no less than the agents of the banks and the great corporations."

DEMOCRACY: "A blind used to cover up the intrigues of the financial oligarchy which is in reality in control of the government and the people."

DIPLOMATS: "The tools of the financial and industrial oligarchy who work to obtain for them foreign loans or foreign purchases for their goods."

FINANCE'S STRONGEST ALLY: "Popular ignorance."

FOREIGN POLICY: "(Something) beyond the control of both public opinion and parliament; it is even beyond the control of government. In our mistrustful democracy it rests with a single man and a small coterie of financiers and men of affairs at will to unchain a war and embark this country upon a series of the most perilous adventures."

MOVING FORCES OF WARS: "Orders, concessions, loans."

Milwaukee Free Press

"Delaisi developed a positive clairvoyance in foreseeing certain phases of the struggle which he predicted and which are now being realized. . . . The chief interest of his work . . . lies in his clear discernment of the European conditions that brought about the war and in his forceful description of them. . . ."

"As a voice speaking out of the past—half a decade ago—it will have more convincing power as to the causes of the terrible European struggle than the utterance of the present-day observer, always open to the accusation of bias."

Price, 12mo, Cloth, \$1.00 Net

The Open Court Publishing Company

CHICAGO



THE SIEGE OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

From a 15th century book in the National Library at Paris.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

VOL. XXX (No. 11)

NOVEMBER, 1916

NO. 726

Copyright by The Open Court Publishing Company, 1916

MENTALITY IN WAR-TIME.

BY WILBUR M. URBAN.

THE shock of the great world war has been followed by cries of the "bankruptcy of civilization!" Culture, morality, religion—all have broken down! Everywhere there is an immense beating of breasts; everywhere a mad fear of bogies and a still madder search for scapegoats. But little has been said about the breakdown of mentality of which precisely these frantic cries are an infallible expression.

That the mental faculties of all the belligerent peoples have suffered a severe strain there can be little doubt. It is taken for granted, and possibly it is true, that the Germans have long since lost the power of seeing or thinking straight; there are those who do not hesitate to call them "gibbering maniacs." But an unbiased study of the newspapers and magazines of England and France will, I think, suggest that the gibbering is not all in one camp. A friend of mine, of English descent and of strong pro-English sympathies, expressed himself as follows: "When I read the English newspapers and some of the journals, I want to throw the blasted little island into the ocean. When I read the German, especially the *Tages-Zeitung*, I want to go out and kill a German." The French seemed to give him more comfort, but surely he had not yet heard of the lengths to which their fight against German *Kultur* has gone, certainly not of Camille Saint-Saen's diatribe against Wagner in the *Echo de Paris*: "After the massacre of women and children, after the bombardment of hospitals, etc., etc., how can there be found a single Frenchman to demand the music of this fakir?"

The impairment of the belligerent mind was to be expected and should be treated with sympathy and understanding. If, as Mr.

Arthur Bullard maintains, "you can count on the fingers of one hand the men of note in any of the belligerent countries who . . . have kept their heads level in the crisis, who have preserved any objective sense of justice," who will find it in his heart to blame? Leaving out of account the exigency of the manufacture of war sentiment, it is inhuman to expect a man to see straight when his eyes are suffused with tears, or to think straight when all his faculties are strained to the utmost upon the abnormal and demoralizing task of war. "To fight and to discuss ethics at the same time seems indeed impossible." But with the breakdown of American intelligence it is different. Here it is not so easy to have patience. Mr. John R. Mott tells of an English bishop who regretted our lack of restraint, saying that "he had hoped the Americans would keep their moral powder dry,"—that their influence might count in the settlement at the end of the war. Alas for our moral powder—of which we have always thought ourselves to have an inexhaustible supply! But of that perhaps the least said the better.

To one who has simply watched this *débâcle* of intelligence the whole thing has not been without its comic side. For those who seek some antidote to the ever-gnawing pain which the hates and misunderstandings of great peoples and cultures have brought us, it is a welcome relief. Perhaps a light and frivolous manner is the only treatment the subject deserves—or will bear. I have in my possession, for instance, a fine collection of logical "howlers," culled from the war literature, invaluable in a class in logic, but scarcely suited to wider publicity; they would be recognized in some instances, and these the best, as coming from distinguished pens! They comprise all the known fallacies, material and formal—"and then some"! The fallacies of ambiguity that have gathered about the words *Kultur* and militarism! The playing fast and loose with analogies—between burglars and national armies, between civil and international law, between a United States of America and a United States of Europe; between, I had almost said, our own back yards and the Universe! The fallacies of observation and inference! The irrelevancies! Arguments, even by distinguished men, to the effect that the Germans have never produced anything of importance in art and science, by the simple expedient of merely

when noted alienists determine the precise form of the Kaiser's insanity—*without even seeing him!*

I have said that it is hard to have patience with the breakdown of our own intelligence which the present strain has entailed. Yet this is scarcely fair. We, no less than the belligerents, have had a serious shock, and as is usual in such cases the shock has left characteristic "psychoses." "A man is inclined to fallacy on a special subject," says a recent writer on logic, "when he lies open to some cause impairing on that subject his interest and noetic power. He is inclined to fallacy generally when a wider cause of impairment extends over his whole character." "The student of abnormal thinking ought," he holds, "to look to such causes for the source of fallacy."

Why is my friend Jones so invariably fallacious when he talks about the war? Though otherwise a man of good understanding, when he gets started on this topic all the fallacies, verbal, inferential, and demonstrational, appear with fatal impartiality. Can any one doubt that such a wider source of impairment is here in question? That our brains have been unsettled and our tongues loosed? Amnesias, lesions, mob suggestion—are not all the signs of a great moral shock in evidence? Is it surprising that history is forgotten: that the touch with reality is lost, and the *non sequitur* triumphs? For my own part I verily believe, paradoxical as it may seem, that the distinctively *moral* shock of the war has been greater for America than for any of the belligerent nations. It is hard to take the protestations of the others seriously: in their hearts they knew too much.

"I can never get over the invasion of Belgium! I can never get over that." To this my friend Jones inevitably returns, and no matter what the argument may be his judgment is pre-determined by the emotion of that initial shock. Whether in the light of history and a knowledge of human nature and the European situation, we *should* have been so shocked, is a question that might well be raised. One might well ask with Mr. Gibbons in his *New Map of Europe*, "Where does history give us an example of a nation holding to a treaty when it was against her interest to do so?" But this is here beside the mark. The fact remains that we have been shocked—and deeply. "We had thought" that treaties had become inviolate, that international law was finally established, that war was an impossibility, an absurdity, that we were on the road to continuous and universal progress. We had thought, we had hoped,—how often I have heard and read this plaintive refrain! An almost

incredible innocency of mind, a *naïveté* almost unknown to the sophisticated European, was necessary to that faith. But that does not alter the fact that my friend Jones had it.

“With all their progress as a race and nation,” says a recent writer, “Americans are singularly blind to the realities of national existence.” We have been raised on the “optimistic fallacy,” and in international matters we have given it full play. Can any one be surprised that the shock of disillusionment was overwhelming, that in our present state of mind we have had little use for either history or logic? But this is not all. Add to this lovable if dangerous ignorance still another invincible quality of my friend Jones, and the psychological picture is complete. If, as Mr. Brooks Adams has pointed out, in domestic matters the average American is unable to think of social and national forces except in terms of persons, it is even more true in all that concerns international affairs where the demands of knowledge and imagination are still more exacting. He thinks of national forces in terms of men, of states as though they were individuals who act on single and sentimental motives; and as the cry “guilt is personal” is often the limit of his wisdom in his national distress, so in his greatest of all distresses, to find a scapegoat seems his highest duty as it is his deepest need. The “will to believe” has slain its thousands, but the disillusionment of that will its tens of thousands!

• II.

It is hard to resist the temptation to exploit my collection of logical howlers. After all, is not a light and frivolous manner really all the subject deserves? But that, I fear, would appear smart and pedantic, and—now that logic and reason have made the Germans mad, and we are even called upon to learn of the emotional and intuitional Slav—scarcely convincing. Besides, the experiences of Mr. Bernard Shaw are not precisely encouraging. Let us rather go straight to the heart of the matter, to the “psychoses” that beget the fallacies.

For one thing, as a result of the shock there have been *amnesias* of a profound and far-reaching character. The horrible Congo,

like a man" has become a sweet and appealing child of nature simply masking in the head and pelt of a bear. What a miracle has been wrought in the decade since from being "an immoral race of blackguards with no sense of national honor," the Servian regicides have become "that brave and noble little race, spirited defenders of the liberties of Europe!" These two sentiments are quoted from the same newspaper. "It is indeed," as a distinguished historian remarked, "as though history had never been written!"

It was at the very beginning of the war that my friend thus expressed his amazement, as we heard on every side that the case against Germany was closed. Familiar with the workings of the individual and social mind, to him this finality was ominous of worse things to come. The signs of mob passion, of the profound forgetfulness that goes with it, and the inevitable loss of the sense of evidence, so dependent upon the ability to *remember* all relevant circumstances—all this was not to be disguised, even by the obvious if pleasing fallacy of the High Court of Humanity. For already in this first test of the quality of our judgment was revealed as in a flash the whole extent and meaning of the shock—the forgetfulness of all that wars and diplomacies have taught us in the past, the false assumption that the evidence is really all in, and above all the sullen indifference to the question whether it is or not!

But I pass over this. The case against Germany is closed. Who am I that I should seek to reopen it? The American people, a glorified jury of "good men and true," have had the white book, the yellow, the blue, the orange, the green, or whatever the colors may be, put before them; the evidence is all in; the jury has been charged by a distinguished lawyer; its judgment is passed; and the case is closed—with a finality as complete as ever marked any rough and ready justice of the Western plains, from which apparently we still get many of our ideas of judicial procedure. And yet the situation is not without its elements of humor. The apotheosis of the good men and true—the calm assumption that they are a match for the diplomatic cunning with which these documents were written and *selected*; and still more the fact that a distinguished lawyer should have taken them seriously at all!—surely these things argue a mentality as curious as it is amazing. But there is something more amazing still. For even granting the exactness and completeness of these documents—which no sophisticated European would think of doing at all, are not the probabilities of reaching a true judgment still almost *nil*? Twenty ambassadors and five ministers are at work at the same time to reach an understanding.

Twenty-five different voices crossing each other! What was the chance of a reasonable issue of the confusion then? What—and it is this that especially concerns us now—is the chance of *our* forming a true picture of the motives and the forces then at work? Recall what you know of permutations and combinations and reckoning of probabilities, and decide for yourself!

But I pass over this. It was indeed but ominous of worse things to come. I pass over the whole curious chapter of atrocity stories, our acceptance of which, had not the historian and the psychologist been able to predict it with almost mathematical certainty, would have staggered belief. I pass over our avidity for the most impossible tales—the wholly motiveless character of which would have been obvious to us in our saner moments—our curious insensibility to contradictory evidence when it appears. I pass over the logic—and the candor!—of the editorial in a leading New York daily which, while grudgingly admitting that we might have to revise our opinions on some of these points, still insisted that we “*need no longer consider the question of evidence after the destruction of the Lusitania!*”

The impairment of our mentality has gone deeper than all this. Beneath the loss of the sense for evidence in the ordinary meaning of the term, is a more profound disturbance of our feeling for credibility. It is not merely as though history had never been written; it is as though all our knowledge of races and peoples, even of human nature itself, had been thrown into the discard. Our credulity has grown with what it feeds upon. We no longer see in lights and shades but only in blacks and whites. As of Germany's enemies we are ready to believe an impossible goodness, so of Germany herself nothing has become too incredibly diabolical for us to accept. Of this deeper abnormality—this more fundamental loss of the touch with reality there have been instances innumerable, but I concentrate upon one splendid frightful example, an article in the *Saturday Evening Post* for July 3, 1915, entitled “The Pentecost of Calamity,” by Mr. Owen Wister.

III.

I have chosen this illustration, not because it is exceptional (everybody is doing it—there are fashions in thought as well as in clothing); but because both the emotion of the shock and its disastrous effects are displayed with something that approaches genius. I doubt whether there is a single fallacy of observation or

inference that may not be justly charged against it, but here again I have no desire to be either pedantic or hypercritical. I am interested in the psychoses that beget the fallacies.

First, then Mr. Wister gives us a picture of Germany in peace—a trifle roseate it is true to those of us who have spent much time in the land of music and philosophy, but then Mr. Wister must have his literary effects, and the picture is in the main true. “Nothing,” he concludes, “can efface this memory, nothing can efface the whole impression of Germany. In retrospect this picture rises clear—the fair aspect and order of the country and the cities, the well-being of the people, their contented faces, their grave adequacy, their kindness; and crowning all material prosperity, the feeling of beauty, Such was the splendor of this empire as it unrolled before me through May and June, 1914, that by contrast the state of its two neighbors, France and England, seemed distressing and unenviable. . . . In May, June, and July, 1914, my choice would have been” (could he have been born again) “not France, not England, not America, but Germany!”

But almost over night Mr. Wister’s beloved Germany is absolutely changed. A children’s festival in Frankfort (I should like to reproduce his charming description, for it epitomizes what seemed to him the whole splendid *Kultur* of the people) gave rise to this exalted eulogy. But now another festival is to be recorded. A German torpedo sank the Lusitania and the cities of the Rhine celebrated this also for their children! (This has been authoritatively denied, but let Mr. Wister have it for his argument.) “The world is in agony,” cries Mr. Wister, “over this moral catastrophe.” Mr. Wister is in agony too, and in the throes of that agony he paints a picture of Germany as black as the first was white. “Is it the same Germany,” he exclaims, “that gave these two holidays to her schoolchildren? The opera in Frankfort and this orgy of barbaric blood-lust, guttural with the deep basses of the fathers and shrill with the trebles of their young? Do the holidays proceed from the same *Kultur*, the same Fatherland? They do, and nothing in the whole story of mankind is more strange than the case of Germany.”

There you have it—the readiness for the impossible to which the moral agony of the shock lays the mind open! “It would be incredible,” he admits, “if it had not culminated before our eyes.” It is incredible. To this Mr. Wister and all of us should have held fast—if we wish to save our reason. Not the *two events* perhaps, assuming that the latter took place (history is full of such contradictions—even our own), but Mr. Wister’s and others’ *explanation*

of them. Such a change as is here assumed is not only strange. Its possibility would make impossible all history, all knowledge, all prediction about human nature. The two Germanys are absolute contradictories. Either the picture of May and June—of the “contented faces” and “grave adequacy,” Germany as a supreme expression of reason and ordered life—was false, or the present picture of barbaric blood-lust and gibbering madness is a caricature. Either Mr. Wister’s eyes, and those of most of us, were blind then, or they are blind now. But if they were blind then, which by his own admission they must have been through all the long years of peace, who shall guarantee that they are any clearer now mid the shock of war?

You have your choice then; you cannot have it both ways and keep your reason. Mr. Wister tries to and comes perilously near losing his. For after all there must be some explanation of this incredible change. Mr. Wister has an explanation—one *far more incredible than the fact to be explained*. I had thought it limited to my friend Jones, “the man in the street,” but no one seems to be immune. It is precisely in this explanation, I hold, that the full extent of the impairment of our mentality is to be seen. Of this “gibbering madness” then—so long incubating, under a fair and rational exterior, he finds the explanation in a people schooled for generations in a long course of diabolical philosophy. He gives us a composite picture, what he himself calls “an embodiment, a composite statement of Prussianism, compiled sentence by sentence from the utterances of Prussians, the Kaiser and his generals, professors, editors, and Nietzsche, part of it said in cold blood, years before the war, and all of it a declaration of faith now being ratified by action.”

I confess that it is difficult for me to take this Nietzsche and other nonsense seriously. After some years of residence in Germany and many years of study of German thought, it all seems to me a splendid though pitiful hoax, over which the historian of the future will have many a laugh. Be that as it may, what concerns us here is Mr. Wister’s “composite statement” and the way it is

Without doubt he has made the Germans talk gibbering

nonsense? I have. Does he not know that at this very time Nietzsche himself, by this very method, has been made to praise both peace and war? Now I contend that under ordinary circumstances Mr. Wister would be the first to see the fallacy of this method. I think also he would see the incredibility of this explanation of the incredible. My friend Jones is not a man of "ideas." Knowing nothing about them, before the war he was as ready to sneer at them as powerless as he is now to ascribe to them the miraculous. But Mr. Wister is. Surely he knows what they can and what they can not do.

But I will not press this point. It is enough to call attention to the fact that the Prussians themselves are playing this same game and finding it just as easy. To take one of many instances: Chamberlain in his war essays, entitled *Wer hat den Krieg verschuldet?* and *Grundstimmungen in Frankreich und England*, has built up composite photographs that for madness (more methodical than gibbering perhaps) also leave little to be desired. I wish there were space to reproduce them here, but I can merely suggest. What, for instance, must be the German estimate of the British frame of mind, and the ultimate British motive of the war, when he finds, in the leading English engineering journal, *The Engineer*, September 25, 1914, this enlightening proposal: "Now there is one way by which the end in view [of securing the trade hitherto carried on by Germany] can be attained. It is a ruthless way, but eminently simple. It is the deliberate and organized destruction of the plant and equipment of German industry in general, and in that organized destruction the great iron and steel works of the Fatherland should share. The occupation of German territory by the allied troops should be accompanied by the destruction of all the large industries within the sphere of occupation. It is held that if it were known and felt here and in France that such a scheme of organized destruction was to be carried out on German territory, capital would be at once stimulated in steady streams in aid of home industries, which would profit enormously by the course taken." Surely the German has a right to nightmares and bogies of his own! Or what do you suppose is the picture he forms of France when he learns from Chamberlain and others that in the French schools *la revanche* is constantly taught, and that there, no less than in the books of military writers, the revenge means the demand for the *Rhine frontier*? Or what his feelings when he is maddened by quotations from books that bear such titles as these: *La Fin de la Prusse et le démembrement de l'Allemagne*, or *Le*

Partage de l'Allemagne; l'échéance de demain, written by a French officer as late as 1912?

I do not believe in German bogies any more than in English. I am merely suggesting how fatally easy the whole thing is. But to return to our point. *It is to this silly and sordid business that we have sunk.* It is well enough for the belligerents themselves who have no longer perhaps any reason to save! But for us! For there is a way of keeping our reason, if we really care to. I can imagine a golden formula, a sort of sovereign specific against vapors and chimeras in war time. It should include meditation on bogies and how they are made—with special reference to antichrists, and for Americans a close study of contemporary characterizations of Cromwell and Lincoln. These exercises in memory should be followed by *daily repetition* of certain question-begging epithets—such as Kipling's description of the trenches as the "frontier of civilization" and Bergson's "scientific barbarism," *until their full meaning is realized.* And finally, daily exercises in common sense and credibility. This should include a relentless subjection of oneself to the reading and re-reading of Mr. Wister's paper, of Chesterton's paradoxes on German barbarism and Chamberlain's mouthings on England's immorality and degeneracy. This is, I admit, heroic treatment, but I have found the cure useful in my own case and believe that it may be found helpful to others. Anything to free us from this nightmare of fantastic ideology!

IV.

With this I come to what seems to me the most disastrous phase into which our precarious mentality has fallen—the rage against German *Kultur* and philosophy. In the bitter disillusionment the pricking of our optimistic fallacy has brought with it, we are not only raging against those who, we think, have taken our illusions from us; we are also wreaking our fury upon abstract ideas in a way that would be laughable if it were also not really tragic. The greybeard of to-day may rush into print with the cry that he "will never be able again to look a German in the face without a

except among the allies, but all this merely adds to the gaiety of nations—which will be sadly needed after the war is over.

But with those larger ideas and ideals that color our life and society the case is different. Here a sullen reaction against a caricature of the magnificent conceptions which bear the mark, "made in Germany" may for a long time estrange us from ideas that we sadly need; the mere accident of their temporal association with the German name may blind us to values that are eternal. Science and thought are not national, but the "fallacy of accident" to which our emotion makes us prone may easily tempt us into thinking that they are.

It is disquieting to realize that in this rage against ideas, and the orgy of fallacious thinking that has followed, the scholar has, alas, very nearly kept pace with the "man in the street." Fortunately English scholarship is beginning to cry *peccavi*. The distinguished classical scholar, Professor Gardiner, writes in the *Hibbert Journal*: "When I hear some of my colleagues whose books are full of references to German writers and who have been inclined in past days to pay perhaps too much attention to the latest German view, now belittle German methods of discovery, I think they are not speaking worthily and are allowing a natural indignation at recent events to warp their judgment." And again, in the same issue the Rev. A. W. F. Blunt: "To speak seriously as if German culture was entirely a fiction of German vanity is both silly and ungrateful and I think many must have writhed inwardly with feelings not unlike shame as they have read of late letters in the public press, with distinguished names at their foot, in which the tendency has been to cast doubt on the genuineness of Germany's titles to admiration from the world of intellect." Sane and noble words these! Would that we Americans might also cry *peccavi*! Would that we, who have not the Englishman's excuse, had never sinned!

It is no part of my intention to defend the German culture, although I owe it much. Others can do that better than I. I am concerned wholly with our present *attitude* and the mentality it displays. For this belittling of German thought and culture, shameful and ungrateful as it is to many of us, has a more serious aspect. In the "dark ages" men argued that if a man were a materialist in philosophy he must necessarily lead a bad life; if he did not pay his debts, his mathematical reasoning must be faulty. How great the improvement of the understanding has been! Now we merely argue, that if a man believes in the "great state" of Hegel, the

“categorical imperative” of Kant, or in Nietzsche’s “overman,” he must have an irresistible impule toward gratuitous murder; if he happens to believe his own nation in the right, his scientific reasoning is not to be trusted. Of the famous or infamous manifesto of the German professors and scholars much has been written, but the best of all was when an American colleague (himself a logician!) bemoaned the fact that after this self-stultification and breakdown of intellect, we must, alas, lose all confidence in their scientific and philosophical work! “Surely such foolishness,” as an editorial in the *Hartford Courant* mildly says, “will not long survive the excitements of the war, even in perfervid minds.”

“I regard it,” says Mr. Blunt in the article already referred to, “as a public danger that a man like Lord Haldane is popularly suspected because he is known to be an expert in German philosophy.” Is it not still more a public danger that this same German philosophy, and the ideas of society and the state so long associated with it, should, because of certain supposed practical consequences, be not only suspected, but condemned root and branch? Is not this, *even if the connection were established*, as the German himself would laughingly say, throwing out the baby with the bath? The grotesque and childish ideology which makes German philosophy the cause of the war is in itself no less a public danger because it is also a delicious hoax the like of which the world may have to wait centuries again to see. Our confusion of the real causes of things is in itself a public misfortune for it has for the present at least undone the work of years of clear thinking. But it is still more a public danger because of the contempt for ideas and true idealism that the reaction will surely entail.

In this recrudescence of ideology the philosopher has, alas, again kept pace with the man in the street. It is to be hoped that he will be the first to suffer when the reaction comes. First it was Nietzsche’s “overman,” then the Hegelian “great state,” and finally the “categorical imperative” of poor inoffensive Kant. The mad philosopher, the man of the clouds and the pedantic little man of Königsberg—all of whom prior to the war it was good form to profess not to understand—are now seen to have forged the arms of German militarism. Those who were loudest in deriding theory then are the first to believe the incredible of it now. To one who knows, these three men differ so profoundly in their moral and political outlook that the effort to make each one of them responsible for the war should in itself constitute a *reductio ad absurdum* of the whole proceeding, and clear evidence that the “will to believe”

has here celebrated another triumph. But ignoring this point, and the professional shame it entails, let me proceed at once to what for me constitutes the tragic aspect of the whole situation. It is the unnecessary and wholly unpardonable pollution of international culture, the dragging into the dirt of free, pure, and abstract thought, the prostitution of it to base ends. More than this, there is the inevitable blinding of our own eyes—perhaps for decades to come, to the eternal values of this philosophy itself.

For in this Nietzsche and other nonsense there is at least one important half-truth. All these men, however much they may differ in moral and political outlook, agree in teaching one all-important thing, the sacrifice of the individual to the over-individual good. It may be an over-individual law, an over-individual will or state, or the overman—the principle is the same. Who that knows anything about the spiritual developments of the past century is unaware that this is Germany's great contribution to international culture? Who does not know that, notwithstanding its excesses and defects, it is the inspiration of much of our social advance? And finally who is there that—eschewing all false ideology, yet knowing what ideals really can do—does not understand that while the forces that have made our modern industrial world, and modern Germany itself, lie far below the level of these ideas, yet it is these same ideas that have served chiefly to guide the blindness of the will?

It is, I repeat, not my intention to defend the German culture and philosophy, though defense of its essential genius and central principle would not be difficult. It is even possible that the success of this principle in its struggle with individualism is infinitely more important than any of the immediate issues of the war either political or moral. But with this I am not concerned. In the end this philosophy will take care of itself; the struggle for national existence and social righteousness are the final tests to which any such philosophy must submit. Besides it is a question whether upon these ultimate problems argument is not almost if not altogether futile—whether for instance when the German and the American speak of freedom they do not use an entirely different spiritual idiom. With our *attitude* toward this philosophy I *am* concerned, and deeply—with the impairment of mentality it displays and the intellectual and moral dangers it involves.

How unreasoning that attitude has become is clear to any one who reads. It is because of his acquaintance with and admiration for this philosophy that Lord Haldane is popularly suspected! Only two years ago his brilliant presentation of this philosophy

before the American Bar Association was followed by columns of newspaper eulogy. Now reaction is heard on every side. Professor Kuno Francke says somewhat pathetically that "the German's conception of the state and his devotion to it is something that the American can scarcely understand." And forthwith editorial writers shriek: "We don't want to understand!" If this seems to you beneath notice, what shall be said of that speech of one of our leading statesmen before the New York constitutional convention wherein he actually argues, that after the invasion of Belgium and the destruction of the Lusitania, there is nothing for it but to abandon the entire philosophy of the state which produced them and go back unreservedly to the individualistic principles of our fathers? For irrelevancy, for adroit *argumentum ad populum* and for sheer Bourbon disdain of the popular intelligence, surely this has rarely been equalled. It has indeed been equalled only by those who, because the Germans have a disconcerting way of using both science and logic, would have us despair of logic and science themselves.

v.

It is to such lengths that the rage over our bitter disillusionment has brought us. I gave so much space to Mr. Wister's article precisely because you will there find—as every one will, I am sure, admit—the mentality of my friend Jones reproduced with a perfection that amounts almost to genius; certainly the *Saturday Evening Post* was an ideal place for its publication. But it will ever remain a mystery to me how Mr. Wister did it. With such an unbounded scorn of Jones's mentality as he professes in his *Quack Novels and Democracy*, with such a fine sense for the "optimistic fallacy" in our literature and politics, it is curious that he should have been wholly blind to the role it has played in our attitude toward the war, that instead of fanning the rage of a disillusioned optimism he should not have been the first to warn us against its dangers.

That we have always had this tendency to optimism and sentimentality in our own political life, Mr. Wister has admirably shown. How by the continual mouthing of the "blessed words" liberty and equality, by nourishing our optimism on phrases, we have acquired an instinct to look away from any reality that falls short of squaring with them. From all such unpleasant facts political and social, "we turned our eyes so quickly and so hard that our national sincerity ended by acquiring a permanent squint." Is it possible that he is wholly unaware of our "optimistic fallacy" in international

matters as well, and of the squint our national eyes have here acquired?

"We had thought we had attained to knowledge of and belief in an inviolable public right between nations, and an honorable warfare if warfare there must be," cries Mr. Wister. We had thought, we had thought—and now you have taken our belief from us! The cries of this disappointed sentiment one hears everywhere. They recall the vicar in *Trilby*, when he shrieked at little Billee: "You're a *thief* Sir! a *thief*! You're trying to *rob me of my Saviour*!" We had thought! We had thought! Yes, but what right had we to think so? When the most sacred rights of the individual in national and civic life are violated in the interests of business and property, what right had we to expect that the more intangible and uncertain customs misnamed international law, would hold against the strain of nations and cultures fighting, as they maintain, for their very existence? When our own civic and national existence is shot through with "official lies," what right had we to think there would be no "scrap of paper" in international life? Those large abstract ideas of universal peace, of the inviolability of treaties, of international arbitration and the international commonwealth, the emptiness of which has come home to Mr. Wister with such a shock—has not our sentimental belief in and attachment to them been just because we have kept, and (unlike the European nations) *could* "keep them," as Lowell says, "in the abstract?"

One does not need to justify the wrongs of Belgium and the Lusitania—which I would be the last to do—to see how cheap and easy much of our moral pathos really is, to see that our national sincerity has indeed acquired a permanent squint. I have been studying ethics all my life and it has been my business to teach it, but I am not afraid candidly to confess my growing disenchantment with its pathos. If not precisely a convert to the socialist's distaste and contempt for what he calls moral ideology, I have seen enough to know that it has gone a long way toward saving his own mentality in the present crisis. For of the few that have kept their heads the socialists are easily first. As in the participation in the war itself it was their necessity and not their will that consented, so in their judgments they have, on the whole, retained a remarkable balance. The openly confessed wish of the Russian socialists that Germany should be victorious in the East and defeated in the West, will remain one of the monumental things of this war. If we, as a people, could have attained to even this much clarity of

vision, if we could, as the good bishop hoped, have kept our moral powder dry; if we had not used up most of it at the beginning of the war, and soaked the remainder with our tears, what might we not have done, if not in the political, at least in the cultural reconstruction that must constitute the bitterest and the hardest task of the entire war! But for that it is now, I fear, too late.

"Comprendre et ne pas s'indigner!" This has been said to be the last word of philosophy. I believe none of it; and had I to choose, I should much prefer, when in the presence of crime to give my indignation rein and not to understand." These words are the fitting prelude of that amazing article published by Prof. Henri Bergson under the title, "Life and Matter at War." Of one who has consistently disdained intellect and analysis and has trusted to the revelations of intuition guided by emotion, this choice of indignation rather than understanding was perhaps to be expected. Nay more, it is to be pardoned in a Frenchman, as similar lapses of reason are to be pardoned in the German savant. But in us such things are not to be pardoned. Our task is decidedly to comprehend and not to excite ourselves either with vague moral enthusiasms or with large unanalyzed ideas. Good for stimulus and action—"for fighting," as Lord Roberts said, "the enemy with one's mouth"—they are fatal to knowledge and reflection. It is ours, I say, to comprehend and not to say, "we do not want to understand." Above all we must protest against all the cheap ideologists and idea mongers who have been raging and imagining a vain thing. Against those who frighten us with tales of science become diabolical, of logic and reason having made the Germans mad, and who, neglecting the plain facts of political and economic rivalry, bring the great world war under some cosmic myth of "Life and Matter at War." This way lies madness! No more of that!

THE PRECURSOR, THE PROPHET, AND THE POPE.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF THE BAHAI MOVEMENT.

BY ROBERT P. RICHARDSON.

[CONCLUSION.]

AS the second merit claimed for Bahaism, we may take its alleged furtherance of scientific progress. This is the claim of Pope Abbas as cited by Mrs. Kirchner, and Mr. Morton asserts that the Bahais take an "eager interest" in science in "pleasing contrast" with the attitude taken by Christians and Jews! It is a pity Mr. Morton did not go into details as to just how he reached this conclusion. Perhaps he regarded the reception accorded his lectures at Greenacre as a tribute to scientific thought. The fact that the Greenacre Bahais listened with "extreme appreciation" to Mr. Morton's Single Tax theories does not however prove them to have a marked aptitude for economic science; indeed most scientific economists would draw quite the contrary conclusion. Neither does the gratifying reception given Mr. Morton's advocacy of Esperanto permit us to exalt the Bahais at the expense of our other fellow citizens. The Bahai Pope cannot be granted laurels as a patron of science merely because he has taken up Esperanto, and (according to a statement he made to the Esperantists of Edinburgh) has commanded all the Oriental Bahais to study this language. In the universal language movement the cause of Esperanto is, in fact, not that of science but the very reverse. Esperanto represents stagnation and traditionalism, those of the original Esperantists that were truly progressive having passed on to a more scientifically framed language, Ido.⁵ Only the less scientific of the advocates of

⁵ I must say however that all the artificial languages devised up to date, even when ruled grammatically by true scientific principles, seem to me to suffer from this fatal defect: that their inventors have been strangely anxious to provide for the discourse of the groom and the housemaid, or, at best, of the shop keeper and the tourist, while neglecting the vastly more important needs of the scientist and the scholar, the technologist and the merchant. The

a universal tongue are still content to accept the *ipsi dixit* of Dr. Zamenhof, and reverentially abide by the blunders of the "master," but it is the very attitude of submission to tradition in despite of reason which would appeal to the religious mind.

From my own observations I am inclined to say that to describe adequately the "science" in which the Bahais are so eagerly interested, one ought to prefix an adjective, and, for instance, speak of "Bahai Science," where the word *Bahai* is privative, like the *non* in "nonsense" or the *Christian* in "Christian Science." An example is afforded by the regard in which the true believers hold the number nineteen. This number is in their eyes important by virtue of a branch of "science" known as Cabbalistic Science or Cabbalology: the science of the numerical values of letters and words which in Christendom has produced so many ponderous tomes on the number 666 and the Beast of Revelations. Side by side with it goes an art: Onomatomancy or Gematria, the art of divination by the numerical value of words; adepts in this will tell all about a person's past, present and future by merely adding together the numerical values of the letters of his name.⁶ So important are these numerical values⁷ that, according to the Bab (who devotes no inconsiderable portion of the *Bayan* to Cabbalology, and commands his followers to commit to memory these sections in particular) seventy thousand angels are constantly watching over each letter of the alphabet! Because the numerical values of the letters of a word important in Babi and Bahai theology (*Vahid* or "Unity") sums up to nineteen, the Bab and Baha call upon us to revise not merely the calendar and have nineteen minutes in an hour, nineteen hours in a day, nineteen days in a month and nineteen months in a year, but also to adopt the nineteen system in all weights and measures whatsoever. Every nineteen days the Bahais hold "unity feasts," and the American believers in holding these make it a point to affect the conciseness of the vocabularies of such languages as Volapük, Esperanto and Ido is largely due to the small provision made for the well developed and highly specialized terminology current in business, science and technology.

⁶ Of course, quite distinct from all such absurdities is the contention that ancient writers sometimes practiced symbolism, using a word of a particular numerical value to convey to the initiated something of which they desired the casual reader to remain ignorant. Scholars recognize it to be no un-plausible conjecture that the author of the Apocalypse may have used the number of the Beast to fix its identity upon the Emperor Nero whom he would not dare to name outright, the reference being thus to the author's own time and not to a prophesied future occasion.

⁷ It may perhaps be worth while to note that when the numerical value of a letter (or of a word) is spoken of, the adjective "numerical" has here quite a different meaning from that of its mathematical use in which we speak of the numerical value of a quantity.

Oriental fashion of dining, not merely in the dishes served but in table manners as well. Under the original Babi law, when one had guests at dinner he was bound to endeavor to fix the number of partakers at nineteen or a multiple, though if this was impracticable the will might pass for the deed. The penal code of the Bab specified punishments lasting for nineteen periods of time or fines of nineteen pieces of money and with this naturally went a monetary system based on denominations of nineteen. Baha however has remitted the obligation to carry out this last scheme, so we may still hope to retain a decimal coinage when Bahaism holds sway.

The projected Bahai "reform" of weights and measures is not brought to the attention of the public by the American and European Bahais, but they never hesitate proudly to boast of their intention to inflict upon us the calendar devised by the Bab. An especially amusing instance of this occurred with me some time ago, when I attended a Bahai meeting in one of our larger cities—Philadelphia. On this occasion the sect could muster only four believers in attendance at their services, but none the less did the person at the head of the little flock tell me in a most impressive manner that when the Bahais got into power they intended so to alter the calendar as to give us a year with nineteen months of nineteen days each. Fortunately for us, at the present rate of their progress, it will be many a year before the Bahais are strong enough to put this plan into effect. Notwithstanding their grandiloquent talk, there are to-day assuredly not more than five thousand Bahais (Nakizis included) in the whole of the United States and Canada, and a conservative estimate would go far below half that number. The claim made some years ago that there were thirty thousand of the faithful in the United States may have been justified at that time—the time of high water mark for Bahaism—but in all probability it was not. The Bahais are by no means loth to exaggerate; even now, it is said, they do not hesitate to tell the Persians that half of the inhabitants of Chicago acknowledge the Bahai faith! The actual strength of the sect in Chicago may be judged from the fact that on a recent occasion (in the year 1915) a count of the believers in attendance at the devotional services of the Chicago

the words *Allaho Abha* ("God is the most glorious"). Nine is a sacred number as well as nineteen, since the letters of the name of the Prophet Baha give this as the sum of their numerical values. Not infrequently the figure 9 is imprinted in large type on the front cover or flyleaf of a Bahai book "to indicate that it is related to the people of Baha." Prayers at morning, noon and night are prescribed for the Bahais, and on each of these occasions the believer is bound to say three prayers, each of which includes three prostrations towards the direction of Acre, there being thus nine prostrations in all. The Bahai temples are to have nine sides, and communities unfortunate enough to be under Bahai rule are to be governed by a council of nine true believers.

A further illustration to show that the phrase "Bahai Science" is not unworthy a place in our vocabulary alongside the expression "Christian Science" is afforded by the Bahai use of their "Healing Tablet." When a Bahai brother or maid-servant (a Bahai lady is not a sister but a "maid servant" or "leaf") becomes ill there is a more potent aid at hand than carnal medical science. Bahai science is called in, and at the next Bahai assemblage the Healing Tablet is repeated in unison nine times for the benefit of the patient, who soon recovers—or else does not, for in this strange world there have been known cases so grave that even the wondrous Healing Tablet could not bring about a cure. Here is the Tablet in question: "Oh my God! Thy name is my Healing, and Thy Remembrance is my Medicine, and Thy Life is my associate, and Thy Mercy is my need and my aid in the world and in the day of judgment. Verily Thou art the Knower and the Wise." Other practices in the matter of diseases, less pardonable than the use of the Healing Tablet, have been ascribed to the Bahais. It is said that when a Nakizi becomes especially obnoxious, the faithful will gather in a circle and concentrate their most evil thoughts in unison upon their enemy, thus applying what Christian Scientists call "malicious animal magnetism" to the suppression of heresy. I myself hardly credit this report, though the lady who gave it circulation, herself a Bahai, firmly believed that such doings took place at Greenacre and were

and philosophy were especially obnoxious to him. Books on other subjects, if found to be unobjectionable, might be left intact for 202 years when, if worthy of being handed down to posterity, they must be copied out and the original destroyed, this process of copying and recopying being repeated every 202 years. But works on the three subjects named were to be indiscriminately immolated whenever the Babis conquered a city. And only lack of power prevented the Bab from carrying out his literary reforms as ruthlessly and effectually as the Caliph who destroyed the Alexandrian library. In the sacred writing given the world by the Bab, we have what the Babis regard as a perfect code of laws and a system of profound philosophy, the exposition of which is most luminous and logical. What need then of studying jurisprudence, philosophy and logic, especially in view of the Bab's remark, in justification of his prohibition of such studies: "Assuredly I myself have never been instructed in these sciences." Professor Browne, to be sure, describes the sacred Babi books as for the most part "hard to comprehend, uncouth in style, unsystematic in arrangement, filled with iterations and solecisms, and not unfrequently quite incoherent and unintelligible to any ordinary reader," and tells us that what is good in the writings of the Bab is "lost in trackless mazes of rhapsody and mysticism" and "weighed down by trivial injunctions and impracticable ordinances," but he was a reader who did not see the Babi scriptures with the eyes of faith. In the eyes of the Bab himself his compositions were clear and convincing, and he forbids his followers to seek any proof or explanation of religion beyond what they will find in the *Bayan*. Here too other "sciences" besides theology have been brought to entire perfection, notably cabbalology, the believers being expressly prohibited from adding any further developments of their own to the "science of numbers" as expounded by the Bab.

The writings of Baha likewise, which his disciples so greatly admire, were the product of a mind which had never been submitted to scholastic instruction. The prophet says: "I have not learned the science possessed by the people and I have not entered the schools. . . . The gale of the Almighty passed over me and taught me the knowledge of that which was." None the less, according to Mr. Kheiralla, does the Prophet display a "knowledge which is beyond that of man." What he really displays is exemplified by the statement made in the *Book of Ighan* that copper "if it is protected in its own mine from superabundance of dryness, will in seventy years attain to the state of gold." This piece of misinfor-

mation was not original with Baha; it had long been a belief of the Oriental "philosophers"; but, in reiterating it, the Bahai prophet exhibited a gross ignorance of facts known to every schoolboy in the Occident. While the education of Baha was thus as deficient as that of the Bab, the views of the former on educational matters were more liberal than those of the latter. In the eleventh of his "Glad Tidings" Baha revoked the prohibition of his forerunner, and gave his followers permission to acquire "sciences and arts of every kind," making however the express reservation that only such study was permissible as is "beneficial and the cause of progress to the servants."

Knowledge for its own sake, the mere pursuit of truth, was not a merit in the eyes of the Blessed Perfection. The sort of education he recommends is that exemplified by the Catholic parochial schools, and in the ultimate working out of the scheme laid down by Baha it will be compulsory and will be supported by taxes levied by that board of nine believers which is to enforce the Holy Law wherever the Bahais get into power. Any one who thinks that those at the head of the Bahai flock favor any secular education that would be inimical to what they regard as the "spiritual development" of the people is woefully mistaken. The education they have in view is the education which strengthens the faith. The followers of Baha'u'llah are admonished by the prophet that "schools must first train the children in the principles of the religion." Commenting upon this statement, M. Dreyfus, a prominent Bahai, says "there is no danger of a prescription emanating from such authority ever being disregarded," to which remark he adds that, since Baha warns his people not to bring up their children in "ignorant fanaticism and bigotry" there can be no fear "of generations instructed in Bahatism ever falling into fanatical excesses. Presumably the Bahais think we ought not to regard as a sign of fanaticism the doctrine put forth in a pamphlet called *An Epistle to the Bahai World*, written by one of the sons of the Prophet Baha'u'llah. The author of this, Mirza Badi'u'llah, was the brother of Mohammed Ali and the half-brother of Abbas; at first he adhered to the former and was counted among the Nakizis, but in 1903 he recanted and abjuring his heresy became one of the most fervent upholders of the papal prerogatives. His *Epistle*, the English translation of which came out in Chicago in 1907, was translated and published, not merely with the consent, but by the express command of Pope Abdul Baha Abbas, so that it is absolutely authoritative.

In this precious treatise (which is not one of those that the

Bahais are in the habit of parading before the eyes of prospective converts and neophytes) we are told that the most important moral duty is submission to Abdul Baha, this being the one "which holds the first degree in importance, which is incumbent upon all" while "second in importance are the other commands of the Book of God. For instance, if a person commits a murder he has committed a crime the harmful result of which will concern him; but if he disobeys the word of the Covenant of God (disobeys Abdul Baha) and causes dissensions in the Law of God, the harmful result of it will touch the Cause itself (humanity at large)." [The parentheses of this citation are not inserted by me, but are to be found in the original text published by the Bahai Publishing Society of Chicago.] An American Bahai, Mr. Remy, tells us that "Abdul Baha commands that nothing but reality be taught. There is but one reality in the world to-day and that is the New Covenant." In other words, the whole of Bahai education must be overshadowed by the inculcation of submissiveness to Pope Abbas. Another Bahai tells us that "this world has an owner; Abdul Baha owns the world and all that is in it." Bahais may say that children impregnated with such doctrines and brought up to regard disobedience to the Bahai Pope as worse than murder will be "free from fanaticism" but they will find it hard to get anybody else to believe it.

A fourth feature in its favor is that Bahatism, we are told, unlike certain other religious movements, offers "no menace to the larger principles of liberty." This contention assuredly cannot be admitted by those of us who regard separation of church and state as one of the larger principles of liberty, since complete union of the two is definitely held up as the Bahai ideal. Never in this matter has there been any deviation from the original doctrines of Baha'u'llah; these his followers accept in all their pristine purity, though, as one of my critics remarks, "it would be too much to hope that Bahatism, any more than any other form of faith, should remain forever untainted." Many of the older religious bodies have been tainted by the doctrine of a free church within a free state and are tamely content to claim exemption from taxation and a few minor privileges of like character. But this "fatal error" (as Mr. Holley calls it) that "religion has made in permitting or compelling society to develop its governmental activity apart from its spiritual life" has not yet crept into Bahatism, which repudiates the "alienation of religion from government" and aspires to "a new social synthesis, in which the world-states and the world-churches are united and allied." As M. Dreyfus says: "The separation of Church

and State can only be temporary. . . . In the presence of religious unity the State will be religious." The very "inner significance" of such a temple as the Bahais are about to build near Chicago is "the union, after their long estrangement, of Church and State" (Holley, p. 184). And a third Bahai finds in the Bible a prophecy to the effect that this great blessing shall come to us in the year 1917 when "the opponents of this Great Truth shall find themselves in the minority; then the laws and ordinances of God [i. e., those revealed by Baha] shall prevail to guide, rule and govern the nations of the world." "These teachings," says Pope Abbas, "make tame every ferocious animal, give speed to those that only move, transform human souls into angels of heaven and make the world of humanity the center of the manifestation of mercy." Mr. Kheiralla, too, thinks that when the commandments of Baha dominate, unity and peace will be attained and "the Wolf and the Lamb shall live together." Those however who have heeded the lessons history teaches us and have not forgotten what has in the past been brought about by connection between church and state, will be less optimistic, and will see in the religious unity to which the Bahais urge us and the "Most Great Peace" which is to be its result, the kind of unity and peace that comes when the lion and the lamb lie down together with the lamb inside.

A fifth recommendation that Bahaism is said to have to the more advanced portions of mankind is its "departure from the crude anthropomorphisms of the old religions." Just how wide a difference there really is between the Bahais and the votaries of the older cults, who think of their deities as persons whom they might meet face to face, may be judged from the remark made to Professor Browne by a Persian Bahai while Baha'u'llah was still alive and residing at Acre: "God is something real, visible, tangible, definite. Go to Acre and see God!" Baha himself showed no desire to discourage his followers from taking this view of his personality. Two eminent believers, as we are told by Mr. Phelps (who, be it remembered, is not a hostile witness, but an ardent advocate of the Bahai cause) quarrelled about the precise relation . . . of Baha

that the death of his Azalite enemies at the hands of his own disciples was the work of God.

The frank deification of flesh and blood by oriental Bahais has its counterpart with the occidental converts in an attitude well illustrated by what Mr. Horace Holley tells us of his feelings on meeting Abdul Baha Abbas, the son of Baha'u'llah, or as Mrs. Phoebe Hearst is said to have put it, "the son of God." Mr. Holley says: "He displayed a beauty of stature, an inevitable harmony of attitude and dress I had never seen nor thought of in men. Without having ever visualized the Master, I knew that this was he. My whole body underwent a shock. My heart leaped, my knees weakened, a thrill of acute, receptive feeling flowed from head to foot. I seemed to have turned into some sensitive sense-organ, as if eyes and ears were not enough for this sublime impression. In every part of me I stood aware of Abdul Baha's presence. From sheer happiness I wanted to cry—it seemed the most suitable form of self-expression at my command. While my own personality was flowing away, even while I exhibited a state of complete humility, a new being, not my own, assumed its place. A glory, as it were, from the summits of human nature poured into me, and I was conscious of a most intense impulse to admire. In Abdul Baha I felt the awful presence of Baha'u'llah, and, as my thoughts returned to activity, I realized that I had thus drawn as near as man now may to pure spirit and pure being."

As sixth point in the praise which my critics lavish on the Bahai body may be taken the allegation that it is radically different from "the many freak sects of our day." That is, if I understand this contention aright, the grotesque absurdities that mark the mushroom cults which spring up in our midst from time to time, are wholly absent in Bahatism: all that it has in common with such cults is recognition of the supernatural, and, whether its supernaturalism be wrong or right, Bahatism is at least a dignified and decorous religion. With this appreciation of the cult of Baha'u'llah I cannot agree, and I think it has been shown, by facts brought to light in my previous remarks, that Bahatism is by no means lacking in grotesque and absurd features. Its very phraseology, the phrases peculiar to it, used so unctiously by the American and European members of the sect, can only be described as ludicrous in the extreme. Take, for example, such phrases as "The Most Great Infallibility," "The Most Great Peace" (an expression which is forever rolling off the tongues of the American Bahais) and many others of like character, the Bahais being inordinately fond of superlatives so

formed. Take the Prophet's designation of Acre, his place of exile, as "This Most Great Prison" (a better description of Baha's abiding place, toward the end of his stay, would have been "This Most Great Palace") or the reference made by the very "Supreme Pen" of the "Blessed Perfection" to his own "peerless and wronged Beauty," quoted by a disciple who appears to think this a most admirable way of speaking of oneself. Or take the titles assigned to certain members of the flock at Acre. "The Sailor of Sanctity," "The Barber of the Truth" (which designated, it would appear, that barber who agreed for the sake of Baha, so the Azalites allege, to cut the throat of Azal while giving his ministrations to the latter), "The Baker of the Divine Unity," "The Confectioner of the Divine Eternity." Consider the habit of saying, in reference to Baha and Abbas, "May our lives be His Sacrifice," "May the lives of all the denizens of the world save Him be a sacrifice to Him," phrases to which Bahai assemblies will listen with profound edification. Take the names "maid-servant" and "leaves," by which the Bahai ladies are known to the faithful. (Imagine an American, like Mr. Remey, in telling of his meeting with a Bahai woman at Khazvan in Persia, saying: "We, in our turn, gave her the greetings of the *maid-servants* of the West.") Consider such a rhapsody as this, written by Mrs. Brittingham, after she had made a pilgrimage to Acre and met Pope Abbas: "I have seen the King in his beauty. . . The Master is here and we need not look for another. This is the return of the Lion of the tribe of Judah, of the Lamb that once was slain; the Glory of God and the Glory of the Lamb." Really, when we see how the American Bahais express themselves, we can hardly be surprised that Badi'u'llah, the brother of the Bahai Pope, should write: "Consider how great is the utterance of His Holiness Abdul Baha that inhabitants of America, notwithstanding the long distance and the difference in the tastes and customs, have been so attracted and enkindled as to cause the amazement of intellects." Without admitting the justice of the inference as to the greatness of the utterance of Abbas we must, nevertheless, concede the "amazement of intellects." especially in view of the next statement

upon and which may be mentioned here is the ordinance of fasting. In this respect, Baha'u'llah was more rigid than his predecessor, the Bab, who did not make the practice obligatory on men and women above the age of forty-two. Baha, saying "I love fasting! Unless the people become old and weak they should fast," decreed that for all persons above the age of fifteen, except travelers, the sick and infirm, and women who are pregnant or have children at the breast, the law shall hold that for nineteen successive days in March of each year (throughout the whole month of Ola in the Bahai calendar) "no manner of food or drink is to be taken between sunrise and sunset. The nights are to be passed awake and in prayer. The Bahai periodical published in Chicago every nineteen days by the American Bahais, the *Star of the West*, in all seriousness set forth these regulations repeatedly in its issues of 1912, the year Pope Abbas visited the United States. The Bahais here have not yet been able to put this ordinance of fasting into effect, but appear to look upon strict observance of it as an ideal to be attained some time in the future.

A complement to the view which ranks Bahaism as a highly refined supernaturalism, free from the crudities of the vulgar cults, is the contention that the movement associated with the names of the Bab, Baha'u'llah and Abdul Baha embodies, to a certain extent at least, the modern rationalistic spirit of the West. As Professor Browne says. "No mistake could be greater." The Babis and Bahais, with their insufferable dogmatism, are the very antithesis of the eclectic and latitudinarian Sufis of Persia, "whose point of view is quite incompatible with the exclusive claim of a positive and dogmatic creed," and who, far better than their rivals, represent in the domains of the Shah that spirit which has brought the people of the Occident to look upon religious dissent with the eye of toleration. A Sufi philosopher would have little inclination to say that disobedience to a spiritual leader is worse than murder. Bahaism takes this stand because, in the words of the first American Bahai, Thornton Chase, it is essentially "a call to obedience." Not to it belongs the spirit which leads one to garner and make his own the best from all religions. To your true Bahai nothing save the commands of his Asiatic masters is worthy even of contemplation. As a very prominent American Bahai, Mr. C. M. Remey, puts it: "In those centers where the people have *clung exclusively* to the teachings of Baha'u'llah, shutting out from the meetings the very mention of all else, in these places there has been growth and fruition, fragrance and spirituality, because the people have been nourished upon the

pure life-giving spiritual food of The Word of God, and consequently have grown in the grace of the Kingdom." Abdul Baha is at pains to prescribe in advance that in the Bahai temple to be erected near Chicago "the words of Baha'u'llah only are to be read." When the faithful have raised the million dollars which Abdul Baha says must be expended on the Chicago edifice, other temples are to arise throughout the land to serve the same purpose, notably one on Monsalvat⁸ at Greenacre, the property recently captured by the true believers. Abdul Baha "hopes and prays that Greenacre may become the elysium of heavenly beatitudes." The religious parliament idea, the idea on which Greenacre was founded, that of giving a sympathetic ear to the religious views of others, Miss Farmer's idea, which Mr. Remy quite correctly says was "to provide a platform open to all, from which each might proclaim his message, whatever it might be, the only restriction being that each speaker should expound his theories in the spirit of toleration toward all holding views other than his own," was all very well so long as it brought about increased opportunities for carrying souls over to Baha, but it belonged only to a transitional stage. It would be a most pestiferous doctrine did it lead believers in the teachings of the Blessed Perfection to harken to any other religious preachings. As Mr. Remy says: "The original Greenacre ideal had its mission to perform. It gathered together people to receive the spiritual teachings of the Bahai Message. That being accomplished, it has fulfilled its mission according to the lines prescribed and outlined by its founder.[!] Little did Miss Farmer and her friends realize, when they started this work, that the Covenant of God would be proclaimed there, and that the Center of the Covenant would actually appear there and teach the people. Now, through the bounty of God, a new and a great opportunity is offered to Greenacre, that of becoming a great center for the study of the Covenant and the investigation of spiritual reality. Greenacre has diligently sought the Truth from all sources, and she has found it, and now her work lies in nurturing souls in the pure reality of the Word of God." On reading such a statement, one can only echo: True enough! Little indeed did the group of idealists who built the original Greenacre, putting into it not merely their money, but the

best of their work of heart and soul, dream that the foundation for which they sacrificed so much would one day pass into the control of a sect whose most earnest desire is to propagate the doctrine of the infallibility of the Center of the Bahai Covenant and to deal damnation around the land on all who dare deny the claims of Pope Abbas.

Of the various points raised in contravention of my strictures on Bahatism, the most absurd is assuredly the contention (made by Mrs. Kirchner, if I apprehend her rightly) that Baha'u'llah cannot justly be termed a rival of Jesus, since "each have their own identity or station." It would be quite as sensible to say that in the United States presidential contest of 1912 Mr. Wilson was not a rival of Theodore Roosevelt, because, forsooth, he recognized the perfect legitimacy of Mr. Roosevelt's title to the presidential chair during an earlier period between Sept. 12, 1901 and March 4, 1909. There is, in Bahatism, a place assigned to Jesus, sure enough; but what? It is a place on the scrap heap. Jesus, in the Bahai view, is an obsolete prophet of the past. And when did he go into this category? As late as 1864 when Baha'u'llah announced his mission or in 1844 when the Bab began to preach? Far, far earlier than either of these dates. The Bahai view is that Jesus has had no message for the human race since the beginning of the Mohammedan dispensation which the Bab and Bahais fix at Anno Domini 612, ten years before the Hejira (the flight of Mohammed from Mecca, ordinarily taken as the commencement of the Mohammedan era.)

Since that time (until Bahatism arose in the nineteenth century) it has been the duty of all mankind to listen, not to the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount, but to the revelations put forth in the Koran by the Prophet of the Sword! The date thus fixed is sixty years earlier than that of the conversion of England to Christianity; it is one hundred and fifty years before the time Charlemagne brought the Saxons into the Christian fold. The Christian period in northern Europe was thus a sad mistake from the very beginning; the northern pagans should have been converted to Mohammedanism, not to Christianity. Through all these years of the Mohammedan dispensation, for thirteen centuries, the whole of Europe (outside of the fragment under Musulman sway) was wallowing in religious error: whether a man looked for guidance to Rome or to Geneva or to Wittenberg, he was turning away from God, for the divine will had, so the Bahais hold, fixed the center of true religion, not in Christendom, but in Islam. Only that

part of the human race (the Bahais would say, if they spoke with perfect sincerity and straightforwardness) could be regarded as heeding the admonitions of the Deity which took the teachings of His latest manifestation, Mohammed, as guide until these were superseded by the revelations of the Persian prophet. Jesus, the Bahais will admit, was indeed a greater prophet than any of his predecessors, and gave to mankind a doctrine as pure as the people of his time and the next six centuries were fit to receive. But as soon as the inhabitants of the earth were ready for loftier and nobler teachings, a far greater prophet, so the Bahais contend, arose in the person of Mohammed. And in Baha'u'llah finally appeared the greatest of all manifestations, the "crowning glory," as Mr. Phelps puts it, the prophet "in whom the perfect Divine Image was reflected." Christians of the present day are called upon to abandon Jesus and put Baha in his place; to forget the anguished figure on the cross who prayed, "Father forgive them, for they know not what they do," and give their reverence to the prophet who on the death of Fuad Pasha, the Turkish official that had banished him to Acre, penned in his palace "prison" a poem of bitter exultation consigning his enemy "to hell, where the heart boils and the tormenting angel meets him." "Jesus," as some of Baha's more ardent admirers would say, "lived for his own age and his own people. . . . But the Blessed Perfection. . . . lives for our age and offers his spiritual feast to men of all peoples." Jesus, the Bahais say, was but the manifestation of the Son; Baha'u'llah, however, was the "Appearance of the Everlasting Father" and the Bahai view is that "his knowledge, teachings, life as well as his personality are superior to those of Jesus Christ."⁹ The prophecy of the Bible, say the Bahais, is that after the Son shall come the Father, and the Father has come. As some believers look at the matter however several Sons came before the Father, and these minor prophets were reincarnated as the earthly progeny of the Blessed Perfection. According to this view, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Mohammed reappeared on earth as the four sons of Baha, as Ziah'u'llah, Badi'u'llah, Abbas and Mohammed Ali respectively. Abbas himself does not make this specific claim—to do so would be exalting his rival, Mohammed Ali, at his own expense—but he at times makes pronouncements in which he would seem to put himself in the ranks

To any one aware of the facts about the cult of Baha'u'llah that have been brought out in this and in my preceding article, the case against Bahaism is so convincing that the conversions effected in Europe and America appear to present quite a puzzling problem. How has such a sect gained a foothold in civilized communities? The answer to this question is that Bahai success in the Occident has had a twofold root: first, the nature of what passes for logic with men and women of the emotionally religious type; second, the fact that the Bahai leaders have, in their propaganda, made free use of the Persian practice of *ketman*. Let us consider the latter before we take up the former, and first of all let us see just what *ketman* is and ascertain the extent to which it has been and is used in the Bahai propaganda in the Orient.

Deviation from the truth occurs with men of all races and countries, but, as the Bahai author, Mirza Huseyn of Hamadan, says, it "is the principal vice of the Persians." In the land of the Shah religious dissimulation has been taught systematically for centuries under the name of *ketman* or *takiya* as a practice, not merely permissible, but in many cases highly meritorious. According to this doctrine, if you are among people of another faith than your own, and the disclosure of your true belief might cause you grave inconvenience, you are quite justified in denying your own religion, in making professions of faith contrary to what you actually hold, and in going through religious rites which at heart you thoroughly repudiate and condemn. Following these convenient precepts, Shiite Mohammedans, when they go to Turkey or other countries where the hostile Sunnite sect is in power, will quite commonly represent themselves as belonging to the Sunnite branch of the followers of Mohammed. And *ketman* does not alone allow your passing yourself off as a member of another sect than that to which you really belong; it also sanctions the most extreme misrepresentation of the doctrines of your own religion. "If," say the holy men of Persia, "you can produce a favorable impression upon an infidel by misrepresenting the nature of your religion, do so by all means, and God's blessing will be upon you. Even if there is no hope of making a conversion you must not cast pearls before swine, or expose a holy faith to the derision of scoffers. To avoid this you are justified in going to any lengths to deceive and edify the unbeliever, even to the extent of falsifying the sacred scriptures of your faith."

In the times before the Bab arose, the Persian casuists of all ages and of all sects had glorified the practice of *ketman*, and there would be nothing surprising in so convenient a custom being carried

over into a religion growing up on Persian soil. Early Babism, however, seems to have been comparatively free from it. Not until Baha began to remodel the work of the Bab did systematic dissimulation become one of the mainstays of the movement. Nowhere has *ketman* been practiced to greater perfection than in the religion of Baha'u'llah. One notable instance of its use by the Bahais was in the production of the *New History of the Bab* by the rewriting of the *Point of Kaf* of the Babi author, Mirza Jani. The Bahai writer who here distinguished himself by his suppression of inconvenient facts was that very Huseyn of Hamadan who so vigorously reproached his countrymen for their habits of prevarication. In his revision of Jani's matter, passages which show how well recognized were the claims of Azal to the spiritual throne on the death of the Bab are invariably omitted. Thus the story which Baha himself circulated of his mother, the "honorable concubine" of Azal's father, having had a miraculous dream which made known to the family the future greatness of Azal when the latter was yet a child (a story which is of value as showing the attitude Baha originally took toward his brother) is completely elided, and so is a passage indicating that even Kurratu'l-Ayn occupied a higher position in the sect than did Baha. As for the account given by Jani of the naming of Azal as the Bab's successor, a matter into which the author of the *Point of Kaf* goes with some detail, this is carefully omitted by the Bahai reviser, who passes over the subject in very significant silence. Again, there is suppressed a long passage concerning an Indian convert to Babism, Jenab-i-Basir, and his relations to Baha and Azal, a passage telling of many minor prophets or "manifestations" over all of whom stood Azal making "apportionment to every claimant of his rights." Jenab-i-Basir, claimed to be a reincarnation of the Imam Huseyn of the Muslims, and was awarded the right to recognition as this manifestation. Precisely what constituted a "manifestation" is not very clear, but at all events none of these minor prophets, not even Azal the master of all, was looked at in the light in which Baha later posed before his flock as a superior to the Bab himself. Jani regarded this "chaos of Theophanies," as Professor Browne describes it, as a proof of the

utterances as nothing more than the ravings of men unbalanced by excessive indulgence in opium and hashish.

The legitimate title of Azal to the post of successor to the Bab was a serious obstacle to the putting forward of the claims of Baha to prophethip. "The Bahais," says Professor Browne, "endeavored to get over the difficulty by ignoring Subh-i-Azal's existence as far as possible, and by suppressing all documents tending to prove the position he undoubtedly held." And when Browne was in Persia in 1887-1888 he found that the Bahais he met "generally feigned complete ignorance of the very name and existence of Subh-i-Azal." The early Babi books, which, if the assertions made by Baha and his advocates were true, ought to lend support to the Bahai side of the controversy, have been as far as possible kept out of sight or, as the Azalites think, largely destroyed by the partisans of Baha, into whose hands fell the major portion of the scriptures left by the Bab and his apostles. Professor Browne, in regard to this matter, says: "From my own experience, I can affirm that, hard as it is to obtain from the Bahais in Persia the loan or gift of Babi books belonging to the earlier period of the faith, at Acre it is harder still even to get a glimpse of them. They may be, and probably are, still preserved there, but for all the good the inquirer is likely to get from them, they might almost as well have suffered the fate which the Azalis believe to have overtaken them."

Fortunately the Bahais were not able to work their will with all the Babi books, and some very instructive works are still accessible to the historian. The *Bayan* of the Bab is, of course, of paramount authority in the study of Babi doctrine, but for historical investigation concerning the doings of the Babis, the most important of the early works now extant is the *Point of Kaf* of Jani. A copy of this, the only one now known to exist, was brought to Europe by Count de Gobineau and in 1892 was unearthed in the French Bibliothèque Nationale by Professor Browne. A few years ago an English diplomat, freshly returned from Persia, where he had held repeated and intimate conversations with many of the followers of Baha, made to Browne the following comment on the attitude of the Bahais toward this book: "As for the History of Hajji Mirza Jani, which you regard as of such incomparable interest on account of the light which it throws on various conflicting tendencies and rash deeds and doctrines which agitated the young Babi church, I do not doubt from what they said, that they would, if possible,

compass the destruction of the one surviving copy of the book, to which, unfortunately as they consider, you obtained access."

Since the power of destruction of the Bahai leaders did not keep pace with the will to destroy all damaging evidence against the cause, cases occur in which the only resort remaining is to endeavor to explain away the evidence that could not be destroyed. In one particular instance the character of the explanation put forward is especially noteworthy. Up to 1858, Baha "was, as his own writings prove, to all appearances as loyal a follower of Subh-i-Azal as he had previously been of the Bab," so Professor Browne tells us. How do the Bahais explain the apparent subordination of Baha to his brother when they are compelled to face such facts? By telling us that the Blessed Perfection practiced *ketman*; that he allowed outsiders and even members of the Babi flock to believe Azal was the supreme ruler of the Babis after the death of the Bab in order to avoid the persecution with which the government authorities and the Mohammedan mullas would be likely to pursue the leader of the obnoxious sect—that Baha so arranged matters that most of the trouble would fall on a mere figure-head in the person of his brother, while the true head of the faithful would be left in comparative peace!

Now Baha, be it remembered, is in the eyes of his adherents "the perfect manifestation of God," a phrase which one of them explains as follows: "The Bahais use the illustration of the sun and the mirror to explain what they mean by a Manifestation of God; the perfect Manifestation of God is the perfect mirror which reflects so faithfully the light, warmth and glory of the sun that it has a right to say, 'I am the sun.'" What, then, we see in Baha is a reflection of the divine attributes; and we may not unreasonably infer, from what the Bahais tell us, that God, like his prophet, is an unconscionable liar, delighting in the practice of *ketman*! This brings up a rather interesting question: If such be the case, why should any one believe in the revelations of the Deity put forth by Baha'u'llah? If the Deity delights in lying how can we rely on the truth of what He tells us? To the Bahais I leave the task of attempting a reply.

For falsification of history the Bahais find other uses besides

the work of a single aberrated Babi. As a matter of fact three Babis took part in the actual attempt and were caught *flagrante delicto*. This much seems certain; and further it is said, though perhaps without justification, that the attempt was proposed to the Babis of Teheran by one of the saints, Mulla Sheykh Ali (by honorary title Jenab-i-Azim), that twelve believers volunteered, that the three who were caught in the act began their work by a mistake half an hour too soon, so that the other nine would-be assassins were not on hand to lend their aid, and that to this unfortunate blunder the Babis subsequently ascribed the failure of the plot. Various other points of Babi history are perverted in the accounts given us in the Bahai books, and it is hardly unjust to characterize as a tissue of falsehoods what these works put before the public as the story of the Bab and his disciples.

Equally disingenuous have the Bahai publicists been in dealing with the movement headed by Baha'u'llah. Of their falsification here I have already given some account in this and in my previous article. In addition however I may mention that different texts sometimes come to light of the same epistle addressed by Baha to some ruler or potentate. One text is that really sent; the other appears to be that circulated in the Bahai flock, and in this much bolder language will be used, language which, if in the original epistle, might have got the writer into trouble, but which impresses the faithful with the idea of the perfect fearlessness of their prophet. An obvious advantage of this procedure is that vague premonition of impending evil in the original document can after the event, by change of a few words, be turned into a fairly definite prophecy of something that has actually come to pass, and the believer thus be greatly edified.

Another variety of *ketman*, of which the Bahais have not been slow to avail themselves, especially in connection with the Christian missions of the Orient, is that of simulating a faith other than one's own. In Persia a Bahai will go to a missionary and, denying that he is a Bahai but saying that he is a Musulman dissatisfied with Mohammedanism, endeavor to obtain employment. He will take any position he can get, from teacher of language to cook, and once he has obtained a foothold he will do his utmost to fill the mission with his coreligionists (likewise sailing under false colors) where they will secretly work in unison for the good of the faith. Some missions have become thus so surrounded by Bahai employees that they were more Bahai than Christian, and it has been quite a while before the innocent missionaries realized that their subordinates

were covertly working against Christianity and for Bahaim. A Bahai will not hesitate to become baptised as a Christian, and to pose as a Christian evangelist if the missionaries will so employ him. The tale is still told in Persia of the Swedish mission where two Bahais so crept in and received salaries for preaching the Gospel to their countrymen, while in fact the propaganda in which they were very actively engaged was in behalf of Baha and not of Jesus.

Turn now to the use of *ketman* in putting forth a religious faith in colors other than its own—the use which is especially relevant to the problem of the occidental Bahai conversions. To the American and European inquirer Bahaim is never presented on first sight in all its ugly nakedness. It is dressed up for the occasion in a guise quite different from that in which it appears to the initiated. The movement is represented as having been a constant fight for human freedom, and to its opponents is ascribed a blinding bigoted fanaticism. The essentially sectarian nature of the cult of Baha'u'llah is kept out of sight, and it is portrayed as a means of rendering the Mohammedan bigot tolerant and of leading the Hindu out of his narrow caste system. By softening down religious prejudice it is to bring about a cessation of religious strife. Stress is laid on the humanitarian aspects of Bahaim, and the dogmatic side is ignored or glossed over. Its purpose is represented, not as the bringing over of souls to Baha, but as the promotion of progress and all forms of social betterment. "Love and Unity," we are told, "are its sole principles; and on this broad program all believers in various faiths can unite." The prophet is pictured, not as the founder of a new sectarianism, but as a utilitarian philanthropist who, with vision wondrous clear, laid plans for the amelioration of man's lot and developed a scheme which comprehends "the sum of all and every dream or plan for human betterment, from the Republic of Plato on through all the Utopias that men's minds have planned and men's hands sought to materialize." Baha'u'llah's message to mankind is represented as including the best that science has to offer in aid of human progress, and, if it be but heeded by ever increasing numbers of believers, the world, so the Bahais say, will be on the way to become a terrestrial paradise.

By painting so idyllic a picture, the Bahais can gain the sympathies of men and

ment, many people can, unfortunately, be gradually led on and on by playing upon their emotions until they are finally brought to accept doctrines which would in the beginning have been utterly abhorrent to them. And this is what takes place in Baháism. The true Bahai doctrine is disclosed by degrees as the mind of the convert is found prepared to receive it. How deep a disguise is laid on the cult of Baha'u'llah at its first presentation depends upon the circumstances. Things that would shock the American or European neophyte if put before him at too early a stage, can be disclosed at once to the Asiatic proselyte without any fear of disturbing his equanimity. Even Americans and Europeans in the Orient are told far more than the proselytizers for the sect in the West think it advisable to put before the public. The good souls in Christendom, who from afar cast admiring eyes at the Bahai communities of Persia and Turkey, can be kept in ignorance of many features that it is hardly possible to veil from the inquirer on the spot. And moreover, the native Bahai, in his ignorance of the standards that prevail with the inhabitants of civilized countries, will often make the most unedifying statements without the slightest idea that what he is saying could in any way prove a stumbling block to a prospective convert. But while the oriental Bahais by such naivety make many damaging disclosures, they never wantonly tell the inquirer what they do not deem him apt to assimilate. When Professor Browne was in Persia the Bahais had high hopes of converting him, and no pains were spared to instruct so prominent a proselyte. He was told much that the present Bahai missionaries in Europe and America wisely refrain from putting before the outsider, yet his instructors took great care not to disclose immediately the doctrines of Baháism in their entirety. If one of the more impetuous propagandists seemed inclined to advance too rapidly in revealing the nature of the Bahai faith to the stranger, older and wiser heads would check his indiscretions by saying that Professor Browne "was not yet ripe" for these things.

Just such an attitude is taken by the Bahai leaders in the Occident. Here too the pious propagandists feel no compunction in keeping the real essentials of the Bahai faith out of sight of the unripe inquirer, and only bringing them to the notice of the thoroughly corrupted convert. In my previous article I told of an occurrence, coming under my own observation at Greenacre, which showed how far the Bahais there were from esteeming frankness as a virtue. At this place a pamphlet expounding the doctrines of the papal pretensions of Abbas came into the hands of a visitor

to the summer colony of the Bahais, a man who gave his full sympathy to the humanitarianism which is put forth to the public as the Alpha and Omega of Bahaism, but felt only aversion and contempt for such doctrines as the dogma of the Most Great Infallibility. Naturally Bahaism took a sudden drop in the esteem of this attendant at the Bahai meetings. And the Bahai view of the matter seemed to be that there was nothing to be ashamed of in resorting to misrepresentation for the good of the faith. The saints had hoped, it would appear, to overcome gradually the natural broadness and love of liberty of their prospective convert, expecting to pervert him in the course of time to the full bigotry of Bahai sectarianism. And they felt it was really too bad that an indiscrete member of their circle should have disclosed the essentially dogmatic and intolerant nature of the cult of Baha'u'llah before the inquirer had been inveigled into the fold.

This is merely a single exemplification of Bahai methods; the American Bahais systematically practice *ketman*, and, if I were to attempt to characterize the Bahai leaders of the United States in a single phrase, I would feel quite justified, from what I know of their procedures, in describing them as amateur Jesuits. For them to be entirely frank and open, where this might prove a stumbling block in the path of the convert, would indeed be in flagrant contravention with the commands of Pope Abbas, who specifically bids them keep certain of their deliberations hidden that they "may not become a cause of hindrance" to the weaker brethren. The Bahais show their amateurishness by actually putting this admonition into print, though they take care not to disclose what particular deliberations are referred to. Again do they show themselves to be amateurs when they deliberately put on record the fact that *ketman* was practiced by their Pope in connection with the doctrine of the Covenant. "Abdul Baha," the *Star of the West* tells us, "has always maintained his position as The Center, although for some years this Centership has been veiled from the people because of their spiritual blindness." In other words, in order to gain a foothold in the United States and Europe, it was thought advisable to keep carefully concealed from the proselytes

belonging to the inner circle of the propaganda) and his apostles had been making public declaration that "The spirit of Bahaism is anti-papal." But in 1912, when he made his trip through Europe and America, he and his lieutenants thought it safe to disclose the true doctrine to the rank and file of the believers; to explain to them that the head of the sect was a pope and not a mere episcopal shepherd; and to inform them that "To-day the most important affair is firmness in The Covenant." And so ensnared in the meshes of fanaticism were most of the Bahai dupes that they felt no resentment at the deception that had been practiced upon them, but docilely acquiesced in the papal claims of Abdul Baha.

It is hardly necessary to say that for the Bahai propaganda to prosper there is another requisite besides the application of *ketman*, namely a certain cast of mind in the public addressed. Men and women whose minds run in logical channels, though they may be temporarily deceived by the advocates of the new religion, will not become converts to Bahaism merely because the Bahai movement appears at first sight to have very laudable ends in view. They will look below the surface; they will ask whether the means proposed are likely to be conducive to the ostensible ends; and they will above all inquire whether the Bahais are committed to anything else besides the humanitarianism they parade before the public eye. Fortunately for Bahaism there are many persons who do not answer this description. The Persian cult depends for its career in the Occident on people of the emotional type who do not investigate so closely a religion they are inclined to favor. These, once their emotions are touched, are liable to succumb without further question, and are always prospective converts to a religion upheld by propagandists skilled in the use of rhetoric and possessing the gift of oratory.

To take rhetoric as evidence of religious truth is a rule that has few, if any, exceptions with the Bahai proselytes. Such a criterion has in fact been in vogue from the very beginning of the movement, even with the Babi progenitors of the Bahais. The former explicitly recognized, as among the "signs of Godhead," "verses spontaneously uttered, which are the greatest of all signs." By these signs, by the Bab composing within five or six hours "over two thousand verses" of "exceeding eloquence and beauty of ex-

tions of rhetoric as an evidence of divinity is taken by the Occidental Bahais.

An illustration of their point of view is afforded by the following passage from an article by Mr. Harrold Johnson: "That he was in very deed a Divine Manifestation Baha'u'llah speedily proved. For from Adrianople, and a little later from his fortress-prison of Acca, this tortured prisoner penned and dispatched astounding epistles to the Pope, to the crowned heads of Europe, and to the Shah of Persia." Another excellent exemplification came to me personally at Greenacre in the course of a conversation with an American Bahai, who told me that his conversion was brought about, not by calm and deliberate consideration of the merits of the movement, but by mere perusal of the eloquent composition of Baha'u'llah known as *Hidden Words*. Reading this had filled him with enthusiastic fire and caused his bosom to thrill with a feeling that had been hitherto unknown to him. It is men and women like this that the Bahai leaders hold in their toils; those of a saner type may sympathize and lend their support to what they have been led to believe is a humanitarian cause, but they will not remain in the Bahai ranks when they learn the true inwardness of the movement.

Though beautiful rhetoric and *ketman* are the mainstays of Bahaism, two other things brought to our notice in the arguments of its advocates are worthy of mention here: prophecy and marvelous events. Of the former, and in particular of Mr. Kheiralla's efforts to show that the Bible prophesies the advent of Baha'u'llah, little need be said. The remark, so well made, that study of the Apocalypse either finds a man crazy or leaves him so, applies equally well, I apprehend, to any attempt to find prophecies in other parts of the Bible applicable to the present day. As to the prophetic foresight attributed to Baha himself, we have already taken note of the facilities afforded for the production of such alleged wonders by the willingness of the Bahai flock to accept as authentic "Tablets" not precisely the same as those put out before the events they are supposed to have predicted.

Of another type is a Babi prophecy which modern Bahais cite as a proof of the divine guidance of their predecessors. The story goes that Mulla Mohammed Taki, while discussing Babism with his niece, Kurratu'l-Ayn, was "led to curse the Bab and to load him with insults." At this Kurratu'l-Ayn looked into his face, and said to him: "Woe unto thee, for I see thy mouth filling with blood!" The following day, as the mulla was crossing the threshold of the mosque, he was struck upon the mouth by the lance of a Babi who

continued his attack until Mohammed Taki was mortally wounded. In the Orient such an occurrence may pass as proof of the possession of prophetic gifts, but an Occidental jury would be likely to see only a proof that the "prophetess" was accomplice before the fact to a murder. In behalf of Kurratu'l-Ayn let me say that this "prophecy," of which the Babis and Bahais so curiously boast, may perhaps be a figment of the imagination. Under the same head as such "prophecies" comes the rumor spread in the bazaars of Teheran, shortly before the Babi attempt to assassinate the Shah in 1852; a rumor to the effect that the end of the month of Shavval would be fatal to the Persian monarch. In fact the attempt took place on the last day of that month, but its failure prevented the Babi historians from recording here a case of prophetic foresight.

As to the miraculous features of the movement I can only endorse the well-put comment of P. Z. Eaton, formerly a resident of Tabriz, that "Persian flattery, Persian imagination and Persian falsehood easily account for all the wonders mentioned," and the remark of another author well acquainted with Persia that, considering the fact that "the Persians of to-day are ready to believe the most incredible report of miraculous performances by dead or living saints, it is really to the credit of Bahaism that it has so few alleged miracles to offer when it would be so easy to impress a much larger number on the credulity of its votaries."

Bahaism proper indeed makes but a sorry showing as regards miracles in comparison with its progenitor which, according to the accounts of its advocates, has quite a respectable number to its credit; and if we go by the strength of the miraculous element in the claims of a religion, we must needs rank the Bab as a much greater prophet than Baha. Even as a child he predicted the earthquakes that occurred, and frequently told pregnant women the sex of their future offspring. Later in life a locked door would fly open when he merely laid his hand upon it, and a box of sweetmeats, which at the beginning of a journey he consigned to the hands of a hostile guard, proved miraculously inexhaustible, the Bab each day making a liberal distribution of the contents to his companions. During another journey occurred the miracle of his transfiguration; the Bab's companions "looked and saw the form of His Holiness erect in the saddle like the *Alif* of the Divine Unity, while a continuous flow of light hung like a veil round him and rose heavenwards; and this light so encompassed him, forming, as it were, a halo about him, that the eye was dazzled by it, and a state of disquietude and perturbation was produced." At his touch

a pipe cover of base metal was miraculously changed into gold, and a spoonful of sherbet administered by his holy hands cured his first disciple, Huseyn of Bushraweyh, of the palpitation of the heart from which the latter had suffered. When the Bab was at Milan, "an old woman brought a scab-headed child, whose head was so covered with scabs that it was white down to the neck, and entreated His Holiness to heal him. The guards would have forbidden her, but His Holiness prevented them, and called the child to Him. Then He drew a handkerchief over its head and repeated certain words; which He had no sooner done than the child was healed. And in that place about two hundred persons believed and underwent a true and sincere conversion." Invalids at a distance, too, he healed. At Tabriz, when he was taking afternoon tea in a garden, "one Mash-hadi, Ali by name, entered the garden in a state of great trouble, saying, 'Three of my family are sick, and I despair of the lives of two of them, since there is no hope of their being restored to health; but the third, whose recovery appears possible, I pray thee to heal.' 'Be of good cheer,' answered His Holiness, 'all three will get well.' After a while the man departed, but next morning he came to me [says the narrator] saying, 'On arriving at my house I beheld all three sitting up in perfect health, as though they had never been ill.' This man became a sincere believer, and was converted, and set himself to perform humble and devoted service. So likewise others who heard and understood were amazed at the might and spiritual virtues of His Holiness." The very water in which the Bab washed his hands proved a sovereign cure for divers maladies, and at Chikrik the water in which he bathed was regularly sold and brought the price of eighty tumans.

To no such miracles as these can Baha lay claim. When called upon to apply his divine powers to the alleviation of human ills he found it most convenient to devise excuses for not exercising them. Thus a blind man in Teheran sent to the prophet begging that his sight might be restored, but the answer was sent back that it was to the glory of God that he should remain blind! The marvelous events of which the Bahais tell us in connection with their Messiah consist almost exclusively of the divine retribution falling upon the princes and potentates who disregarded his admonitions. In the opinion of the Bahais, the loss of the temporal power by the Pope of Rome and the loss of the throne of France by Napoleon III were alike due to the failure of these rulers to take any notice of epistles addressed to them by Baha'u'llah! Here, though we may be sceptical as to the agency of Baha in bringing about the events,

we can hardly find fault with the results ascribed to him. There is a third case however, in which the exultation of the Bahais over the wonders wrought by their prophet is more open to criticism. Frederick the Third of Germany, when crown prince, made a trip to Syria, and an invitation was extended to him to come to Acre and do homage to Baha'u'llah. But "The Most Great Invitation," as the Bahais term it, was disregarded, and for this (as Mr. Kheiralla puts it in his book, *Beha'u'llah*) the Prince "was judged by the statement that he should never rule his country. He was crowned on his sick-bed and died three months later without having actually ruled Germany a single day."

Nakizis and orthodox Bahais alike glory in this demonstration of the power of their prophet, and point out as a contrast that the blessings of God were liberally showered upon the Czar of Russia whose officials gave protection and a certain amount of support to Bahaim in the Russian provinces bordering on Persia. From all accounts Frederick was a prince of unusually high type and of great promise; his death would seem to have been a very decided loss to humanity. And as to the Russian Czar, it is hardly necessary to characterize the system of government carried on in his name. So, on looking at the matter from a merely worldly point of view, we must regard the divine judgment said to have been brought about by Baha as decidedly discreditable to the Prophet.

So much, then, for the "evidences" of Bahaim, and the causes that have contributed toward the success of its propaganda. There remains but one question to be asked. Has the cult of Baha'u'llah any merits at all? The reply is that merits, minor and relative, it undoubtedly possesses; even its progenitor, Babism, had these. Though in the Babi scriptures "precept bore but a small proportion to dogma, and dogma a still smaller proportion to doxologies and mystical rhapsodies of almost inconceivable incomprehensibility" (as Browne well says); though the positive precepts of the Bab that were not maleficent were "generally quite impractical and not rarely extremely inconvenient," yet there remains a modicum of sense and of sound prescriptions not unworthy of praise. The Bab, for instance, told the people of the Bayan to clean their teeth carefully each day; he told them not to put too heavy a load on a beast of burden; and he admonished parents not to deal harshly with their children. But even with these precepts, just as in the Bab's advocacy of "integrity" in dealing with European merchants, we find the grounds upon which Babi practice is based to be very far from those upon which a rational ethical system can be founded. Thus

the Bab urges that children shall be treated with consideration, not out of any regard for the happiness of the millions of ordinary human children that may exist, but because at some time in the future a great prophet shall arise who will begin his career of incarnation as a child, indistinguishable from other children, and it would be a fearful thing for any one to have to reproach himself for having harshly treated the divine infant.¹⁰ And when from meritorious practices we pass to the absurdities prescribed by the Bab; when we learn that he forbade his followers to wear beards, to drink asses' milk, to eat omelettes or any other dish in the preparation of which eggs were broken before they were cooked, above all when we consider the downright immorality of the Babi ordinances enjoining holy wars and the robbery of all unbelievers, we see that the claim of Babism to our sympathies is exceedingly slight. Of Bahatism, likewise, this is true; the merits of both reside chiefly in the purely negative part of their teachings.

When the Bab abrogated a useless or pernicious ordinance of Mohammed he did well; when Baha in his innovations went still further in removing the trammels of the old tabus he did better. The ill was in the work of construction and conservation; in reiterating some of the worst of the old dogmas and in replacing others by new ones equally bad or worse. Baha, for instance, made a step forward when he lifted the Bab's embargo on beards and permitted his followers to let their hair grow at their will. It was a step backward however when he made more stringent the Babi regulations concerning fasting. It was progressive to remit the obligation to propagate religion by conquering infidel countries and dispossessing of their property those inhabitants blind to the merits of the religion of their conquerors; and we must recognize as a merit of the Bahai revelation that the Prophet bade his people associate with the followers of other religions "with spirituality and fragrance." But when we consider the excommunications of Pope Abbas and his forecast that eventually even kings who disregard the New Covenant shall be "cut off," and recall that a number of Baha's Azalite opponents actually were cut off by the sword or by poison, we realize that the Bahai faith, though it may be a step in advance of the original Babism, is no whit more tolerant than Mohammedanism. For, as has already been mentioned, even sincere and devout believers in the law of the Koran have been

¹⁰ This remark alone is sufficient to confute the partisans of Baha, who contend that the latter is he whose coming the Bab predicted. For when the Bab's ordinance concerning the treatment of children was framed, Baha had already passed out of the stage of childhood.

known to contend that the authorities of a Musulman country ought to extend their protection to all citizens save heretical and renegade Mohammedans, allowing people of every religion to live in peace under Mohammedan rule. And it is giving a very favorable interpretation to Bahai doctrine to allow that it concedes this much: to suppose that excommunication and "cutting off" are processes intended to be applied solely to Nakizis and one-time Bahais that have relapsed into infidelity. History shows indeed that intolerance so attenuated in precept would be likely to count for even less in practice.

Bahatism is, we must conclude, far behind the liberal Protestant Christianity of to-day, and even behind the Mohammedan in its best and most tolerant phase. There are however many Mohammedans and likewise many Christians who have nothing to lose by becoming Bahais. Let the apostles of the cult of Baha'u'llah be content to work in such fields. Let them go to Naples and convert the pious members of the Camorra, or to Sicily and labor with those brigands who are highly scandalized and shocked if a prisoner they are holding for ransom asks for meat on a Friday. Let Bahai missionaries go to "Holy Russia" and seek to wean the Orthodox peasants from their pogroms. But let them keep away from the more civilized portions of humanity and not attempt to drag down to the level of the Asiatic barbarians who originated the Bahai cult men and women with ideals infinitely above this narrow sectarianism.

A JAPANESE AUTHOR ON THE CHINESE NESTORIAN MONUMENT.

BY FRITS HOLM.

[It may be remembered from this magazine's January, 1909, issue that in 1907-8, the Danish author of this paper, Dr. Holm, commanded an expedition to Sian-fu, which succeeded after many hardships and great expense (more than \$14,000) to make and transport to New York a two-ton, ten-foot replica, carved out of the same kind of limestone as the original, of the Chinese Nestorian monument of A. D. 781, excavated accidentally in A. D. 1625. For his work Dr. Holm has been distinguished by over thirty governments, universities and learned societies, and the present pope recently conferred upon him the highest decoration ever bestowed by the Vatican on a non-Catholic in this country. Dr. Holm's replica of the *Chungchiaopei* was on exhibition, as a loan, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York from June 1908 until June 1916, when it was purchased by Mrs. George Leary, it being as yet undecided where its permanent home is to be. Meanwhile, besides lecturing and writing about the monument, Dr. Holm, although not a man of means, has managed to present to six governments (Denmark, Spain, Greece, Venezuela, Mexico and the Holy See) full-size reproductions in colored plaster of the flawless replica, while he allowed Yale University, in 1910, to purchase a seventh cast at cost. It is, therefore, no wonder that the Nestorian monument has, so to speak, come into its own during the past eight years since Dr. Holm undertook his hazardous mission, whose results he is so energetically and disinterestedly pursuing; and, in this connection, it is singularly pleasant to contemplate the arrival of a new volume, by a Japanese savant, concerning the famous tablet.

People interested in the subject who may wish to communicate with Dr. Holm, can reach him at 14 John Street, New York City.—ED.]

NOT only the orientalist, but the general reader, will feel under an obligation to Prof. P. Y. Saeki, a valued member of the faculty of Waseda University, at Tokyo, for his most interesting

publication of Professor Saeki's book; a brief preface by that great Oxford assyriologist, the Rev. Prof. A. H. Sayce; another preface and an introduction of 165 pages by the author; his new translation of the "luminous" inscription; and extensive notes on the text.

One important point, upon which Professor Saeki insists, is that we should not translate *ching* by "illustrious"—Nestorianism having for so long been termed "the illustrious religion"—but "luminous."



THE ROOFS OF SIAN-FU.

In the beginning of his long and interesting introduction, which to many, no doubt, will form the most fascinating part of the book, Professor Saeki describes Sian-fu, the provincial capital of Shensi, and informs us that Kioto in Japan was laid out after the model of Changnan, the name of Sian-fu when that wonderful center was the Tang emperors' capital, and when Christianity was first brought to China in A. D. 635. At that time Sian-fu, the author states, had 25 inner and outer gates, but in 1907 I found but four, though they were impressive enough.

Leaving behind all such data, more or less well known, Pro-

fessor Saeki's book becomes distinctly alluring, if not almost sensational, when on page 48 he starts discussing the never fully explained fate of the millions of Chinese Nestorian Christians, saying "and we are glad to announce that we have discovered some remnants of the Assyrian Christians in China."

There is little doubt that Professor Saeki's learned theory pos-



PAGODA OF THE TANG DYNASTY (618-906) NEAR SIAN-FU.

sesses a great many winning points, and, in brief, they are the following:

It will be remembered by students of the Nestorian inscription, that this historical document itself clearly states that it was "written by Lü Hsiu-Yen, Assistant Secretary of State and Superintendent of the Civil Engineering Bureau of Taichou." While all former translators of the inscription have endowed Lü Hsiu-Yen with a

military title, Professor Saeki disputes the correctness thereof, making it clear that Lü was decidedly a civil mandarin. He furthermore points out that Lü, at the time he "penned" the inscription, according to native experts on Tang calligraphy, must have been



THREE MOHAMMEDAN SERVANTS AT SIAN-FU.

quite a young man, since the calligraphy employed is, indeed, that of a youth.

Now, it so happens, that one of the foremost Chinese "secret societies" of yore and of to-day is the Chin-Tan Chiao, meaning the "Religion of the Pill of Immortality." It was founded by one Lü Yen, who was born in Shansi A. D. 755.

In A. D. 781, when the Nestorian monument was erected, or rather in A. D. 780 when the inscription was chiselled, Lü Yen, of great fame as poet and calligrapher, was a young man twenty-five years of age, who had lived the life of a student surrounded in Shansi and Shensi by Nestorian converts, high and low; and Professor Saeki asserts, with no inconsiderable force of conviction, that Lü Yen is no other person than our Lü Hsiu-Yen of the inscription.

That the middle part of the name, represented by Hsiu, should have disappeared during the centuries, Professor Saeki considers not very exceptional, citing other cases of similar nature.

If, therefore, Professor Saeki is correct in his attractive assumption that Lü Yen of everlasting fame, founder of the Secret Society of the Pill of Immortality, is identical with Lü Hsiu-Yen of the Nestorian inscription, then it is fairly easy to follow our learned author another step into the enticing realm of reconstruction. We must admit that a great many of the teachings of to-day of the afore-mentioned society, the Chin-Tan Chiao, are similar to those of the Syrian church, and that consequently its millions of members, of whom some fifteen thousand were slain in 1891, members who are found mostly in northern and northwestern China where the Nestorian converts used to reside, are the logical descendants of that Christian community at Sian-fu which set up the Chingchiaopei in A. D. 781. It is probable that the founder of the Chin-Tan Chiao himself played an important part in the creation of the tablet as the youthful calligrapher who assisted the Persian prelate Adam, or Ching-Tsing, the "luminously purified" pope of China, our learned composer of the text on the monument.

May the merit of identifying Lü Hsiu-Yen with Lü Yen forever remain one of the most treasured possessions of Professor Saeki!

It is, of course, a great pity that Professor Saeki, like the late Father Henri Havrêt, S.J., of Shanghai, who wrote a magnificent treatise on the monument in three volumes, has never as yet had time or opportunity to visit Sian-fu and inspect the Nestorian stone. In fact, I fear that Professor Saeki has before his mind's eye quite an inexact picture of the old stela, because, while he has seen neither the original, nor the replica in New York, he is evidently acquainted with the "second replica" of the monument which Mrs. E. A. Gordon caused to be placed in 1911 on Mount Koya in Japan. Undeniably Mrs. Gordon was actuated by the noblest and most generous of motives. But however great the care exercised may have been, it must be conceded that the "replica" on Koya San

is indeed not a *replica* of the Nestorian monument, nor a facsimile, nor a reproduction, nor a copy of any kind whatsoever.

It is true that the interpretation of the word "replica" has been slightly broadened in the latest editions of both the Webster and Standard Dictionaries, but only slightly. A replica of a monument surely must possess its accurate dimensions. And Professor Saeki, enthusiastic about Mrs. Gordon's enterprise, tells us about this "second replica" on the top of Mount Koya, that it "was dedicated—,



THE ORIGINAL MONUMENT.
June 1907. Photo by the author.



THE MT. KOYA REPLICA.
Jan. 1912. From *Chinese Recorder*.

on October 3, 1911, and is an exact copy of the original stone" (italics are mine).

A glance at the accompanying two photographs, one of which is a hitherto unpublished photograph of the original monument which I took in June 1907 outside the western suburban gate of Sian-fu and the other a picture of the Mount Koya "replica," is enough to convince even the most casual observer that Mrs. Gordon's workmen had very unusual ideas of accuracy as to dimen-

sions and as to the way in which the six dragons at the top should be reproduced, which apparently must have been done from sketches or blurred photographs. Their success in creating this "second replica," therefore, can hardly be characterized as being more than moderate.

On the other hand, it is quite possible that the inscription itself on the Japanese stela is entirely faultless, especially if rubbings (*décalques*) of the original text were employed in chiselling the inscription. Photographs indeed would never suffice.

My illustration of the "replica" in Japan has been rephotographed from *The Chinese Recorder*, Shanghai, January, 1912, whose editor was not willing to publish some information which I sent him at that time concerning the deplorable lack of accuracy that makes Mrs. Gordon's gift such a questionable addition to the world of eastern archeology.

But while I sincerely regret that Japan does not possess, in spite of Mrs. Gordon's generosity, anything more than a large slab of stone looking somewhat like a Chinese memorial monument and giving the Nestorian inscription, it is only proper that I should be permitted to point this out, inasmuch as Professor Saeki, no doubt in excellent faith, informs us that the stone *is an exact copy of the original*, and that the reason for putting up the intended replica of the Chingchiaopei on Koya San, the noted Japanese Buddhist stronghold, was one of reverence to the sacred memory of the famous teacher Kobo Daishi (A. D. 774-835). This great traveler is supposed to have seen, during his years of wandering in China, the original Nestorian monument near Sian-fu, when he visited Shensi, where he studied the teachings of the Syrian church and extracted those things that he felt would be of value to those who sat at his feet at home to be taught. Professor Saeki tells us how thousands upon thousands of Japanese pilgrims to Mount Koya will behold this "replica," so it is to be deeply regretted that it was not made with more care for accuracy of detail.

Personally, I am, on the other hand, profoundly grateful to find it mentioned by Professor Saeki that "in 1909, when Prof. Y. Okakura went to New York, he examined Mr. Holm's replica in the Central [*should have been Metropolitan*] Museum and found, to his satisfaction, that it was a very good replica indeed." But then it must be remembered that my replica had the advantage of being made by *Chinese* artists and stonemasons only a few yards

stands well protected under the shelter of a roof. It was most gratifying to me, and to many friends when they learned about it, that my expeditions to Sian-fu had been instrumental in thus having the monument removed to a safe place, in which endeavor the *corps diplomatique* at Peking, and various missionary bodies, had hitherto, for over twenty years, unfortunately failed.



ROOM IN THE PEILIN WHERE THE NESTORIAN MONUMENT IS PERMANENTLY HOUSED.

Professor Saeki inserts a new stone into that elusive arch known as "The Mystery of Fu-lin," but it is not the keystone. Much has been written about the meaning of the two ideographs that make up the word *Fu-lin*, which name has been said to stand for anything from the township of Bethlehem to the entire Roman empire or the metropolis of Constantinople. Such learned men as

Friedrich Hirth, who read a most interesting paper on the subject before the International Congress of Orientalists at Copenhagen in August, 1908, Sir Henry Yule, Pauthier, K. Shiratori, and the indefatigable Edouard Chavannes, have theorized about Fu-lin, but they have never succeeded in agreeing upon a common solution.

It seems to be certain that the Ta-tsin of the inscription stands for Syria, or Palestine; and it is obvious from a number of sources, Chinese and foreign, quoted in various writings, that Ta-tsin and Fu-lin are practically one and the same country. In fact, Professor Saeki maintains "that we are quite safe in saying that Li-kan, Ta-chin and Fu-lin are names connected with lands where the Graeco-Roman civilization was grafted on Hebrew thought and culture. But in our Nestorian inscription, Syria, or at least part of Palestine, where Christ was born, was intended."

Professor Saeki's direct contribution to the question of Fu-lin is his pointing out, that the transliteration of the missionary Ephraim's name is undertaken by employing the two Chinese characters that stand for Fu-lin. Consequently, our authors says, Fu-lin is likely to be the "Country of Ephraim," or the land from where the missionaries originally came. But he also admits that we are hardly any nearer than we were before to finding out exactly where that land lay.

As to the new translation of the long and beautiful inscription on our monument, Professor Saeki's version, while different in parts from all other translations—as has, indeed been the case with every additional translation since the second quarter of the seventeenth century—, possesses the stimulating quality of having been painstakingly worked out by an *eastern* scholar. Inasmuch as Professor Saeki's knowledge of western languages and lore is amazing, any possible mistakes that may be found will not be in his English, and, therefore, it may be concluded with certainty that this new translation will start many a friendly controversy among those who are entitled to speak.

In concluding I may perhaps be allowed to repeat that the orientalist is not the only person who will be interested in Professor Saeki's scholarly work on one of the world's four or five foremost monuments. The general reader, indeed, will encounter inspiring

MISCELLANEOUS.

"ITALY AND THE WAR."—A DISCUSSION.

A LETTER FROM A ROMAN PATRIOT.

(Translated from the Italian original by Percy F. Morley.)

To the Editor of The Open Court:

"It is difficult to understand why Italy entered the war." Thus begins the article which you, esteemed Doctor, published under the title "Italy and the War," in the October (1915) number of the delightful and scholarly periodical so ably edited by you. Permit me, by a substitution of terms, to tell you that I find it really difficult to understand how Dr. Carus, whose rare capacity for penetrating and explaining spiritual events separated from us by hundreds or thousands of years, has not succeeded, nor is succeeding, in diagnosing the facts of a contemporaneous event, even though remote in space, namely, the war into which Italy has now so willingly entered.

The premises upon which you confess your inability to discover the motives which could have induced Italy to take up arms against Austria, are two: first, the notable sense of aversion to war, and the irreducible pacifism of the Italian spirit, which factors, according to you, render our people unfit for the rigors of warfare, and which were responsible for our military reverses in the wars of independence; in the second place, the fact that our real and dangerous rivals in the Mediterranean are the French and the English, not the Germans or the Austrians.

I hope you will not take offense at a clear and frank reply. First of all you fall, involuntarily no doubt, into a serious and unjust perversion of the facts of history, resurrecting, as you do, our military reverses of '49 and '66 and completely forgetting our brilliant campaign of '59 which led directly to the proclamation of the military sovereignty of Italy. And moreover you commit a rather serious piece of psychological injustice when you state that the deeply pacific spirit which imbues our social life renders our people altogether incapable of military prowess. Even if our great and noble traditions and the high state of civilization to which we have attained, make us admire more ardently an epoch, purely fantastic though it be, in which the emulation of the people does not take the form of war, but rather of works of progress and beneficence, there is no justification, it seems to me, for painting us a nation of faint hearts and cowards. If our national rebirth is not an epic of leaders, it is nevertheless an authentic and wonderful epic of the people. And though you may have thought yourself quite justified in launching your

ironical phrase, that "it is not likely that the Italians will reap laurels on the battlefield," here in Italy we hear from those who have returned from the front (among whom I have a brother who has been wounded in an Austrian fusilade on the Isonzo), reports which are more than sufficient to give us a lively sense of pride in the stoical serenity with which Italian soldiers are fighting one of the most extraordinary mountain wars that can well be imagined.

Perhaps the accounts of the dying utterances of our soldiers on the field have not reached *The Open Court*; but in my opinion more than one of our men has given utterance to words of beauty and gentleness without parallel. Let me cite an instance. An officer, Decio Raggo, mortally wounded on the edge of a hostile trench which had been captured by his soldiers, was removed to the hospital, where, though fainting from loss of blood, he writes with his trembling hand which was soon to be stilled in death, these epic words: "O youth of Italy, envy my fortunate end. In the love and for the love of all that is Italian, I die happy. You who wish me well, do not abandon yourselves to useless lamentations. Place flowers on the graves of those who die for their fatherland." If you, esteemed Dr. Carus, would not award laurels to such pure forms of heroism and patriotism, I do not know to whom you would ever award them;—perhaps to the aviator who destroyed the fresco of Tiepolo in Venice, or to the naval officer who only yesterday sank a passenger-boat in the Mediterranean?

But, you observe, the interests of Italy in the Mediterranean stand in clear and striking contrast to those of England and France, whence, ranging herself with the Entente, Italy is really laying the foundation of her own vassalage. Now, esteemed Dr. Carus, I can even agree with you in your contention that causes for Franco-Italian or Anglo-Italian disputes may arise in the future, as they have in the past, in this sea which the Romans used to call "ours" (*nostrum*). But every day brings its task, and we must be prepared to face it the moment it presents itself. To-day a much more serious game is being played in Europe than that for mere dominion in the Mediterranean. Do you not perceive reasons of a purely material nature which would justify the adhesion of Italy to the Entente? If, however, there were none in reality, you would have been driven to the conclusion that Italy was fighting an idealistic war, without any material advantage.

But a war is not unjustified or foolish simply because the object for which the people who have undertaken it are striving is not immediately discernible. History is not a usurer's register, and for us Latins there are conquests and spiritual liberations more precious than the annexation of provinces or improved financial conditions. Milan would not suffer economically under Austria, yet it is taking its part in the war. In reality, whoever wishes to understand our conduct must get away from the narrow materialistic and purely political view of the events which are transpiring in this tragic hour.

It is the spiritual logic of all our history that we are fighting for the

tion or cowardly renunciation of inestimable spiritual values and sacred social traditions.

From the time when a Saxon sovereign, Otto, summoned by an exiled princess, came down to Italy to assume the imperial crown that a genial pope had taken under his own protection against other barbarians who had poured down from the north, and inaugurated his mission by beheading the district chiefs of Rome, or plucking out their eyes,—the history of Italy was but one unflinching and unceasing effort toward freedom from the power of the Teutonic sovereign who had made of the empire a fief of his own, and in which the duty of protection had been transformed into a license to spoliage and tyrannize. The court and the soldiers of the new emperor had scarcely returned from the solemnities of the consecration when the monk Benedict, discerning them from the slopes of Mount Soracte, foresaw the bitter vicissitudes which were to result from the consecrating act of John XII: "Oh, woe unto thee O Rome; behold, the Saxon king has thee in his power; thy sons have fallen beneath the sword. Thy strength has softened. Thy gold and silver are vanishing into the treasuries of the Germans." Through long centuries, with alternating successes and reverses, Italy and the papacy have struggled against the Teutonic empire to regain the liberty taken from them by a ruler who ought to have been, by definition, a protector. It would seem that the German soul has no conception of treaties which impose duties, and knows only those which assure rights. When the legates of the Roman people appeared before Frederick Barbarossa and invoked their traditions to the safeguarding of their autonomy, the future destroyer of Milan haughtily replied, according to the account of Otto of Freising: "You sing to me the praises of your republic and your senators. But your Rome has inherited only its name from ancient times. It is we who have inherited the power and the glory of the ancient Romans, and the only legitimate government is my imperial authority. The empire was not created by your will. Charles and Otto liberated you from the Greek and the Lombard, and gained the imperial crown by the force of their arms. Their successors are not degenerates. Try to snatch the key from the hands of Hercules! You have no right to impose conditions; you are simply to obey my orders." Against this insolent Teutonic vanity which had made of the imperial government a pretext for every kind of injustice and oppression, the pontificate and the people rose in arms. In the long epic of events the pontificate and the people count two glorious names: Canossa and Legnano.

It may be, and it is, singularly painful to recall to-day old conflicts of peoples and revive dormant race rancors. It would seem that a common culture should now definitely blot out the memory of the struggles of the Italians against Germanic tyranny and reconcile us for ever with the peoples of the Rhine and the Elbe in the joint labor of social progress. The political alliance, the tremendous changes in the methods of science, had revived a certain mutual sympathetic friendship which might even seem the precursor of an historical collaboration destined to a great future. But the shock of reality has shattered appearances and brought again to the surface the irreducible elements of fatal dissension. The Italians to-day have spiritually re-

a people which is not new to political greatness—it is completely superfluous to dwell on political considerations and the calculation of probabilities which might enable us to foresee or invoke success.

ERNESTO BUONAIUTI.

ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF ROME.

Editorial Reply.

I take pleasure in presenting Prof. Ernesto Buonaiuti's views on the war and making them known to our readers in contrast to my own. I will not try to convert him nor even to refute him. I will be content to say that we would better agree to disagree. Our convictions are diametrically opposed and will remain irreconcilable.

Professor Buonaiuti's argument is ultimately an accusation of the German race as being barbarous and brutal. The Saxons and Swabians were vigorous conquerors, and Kaiser Frederick Barbarossa's answer to the legates of the Roman people appears to be one of the principal reasons, and a most formidable one, why the Italy of to-day should declare war on Austria in the moment when she and her ally, Germany, were attacked on all sides by the dangerous foes, Russia, France and the British empire.

Was not this speech of Barbarossa of the year 1177 known before? I should say that it was, and if it was of such a serious consequence for to-day why was it not taken into consideration at the time when the Triple Alliance was concluded with the two Teutonic powers? Why was the hatred of the Italians roused afterward, when England offered a goodly inducement in cash for joining the Triple Entente against the allies of Italy? In other words, the Italian army was hired to fight her own confederates for the sake of Great Britain.

I will not say that it is a disgrace to enter the military service of a foreign power and receive payment for it, but it seems to me treacherous to change sides at the critical moment and it is hypocritical to bolster up the Italian cause by artificial reasons and generalities that are not even "glittering." Most assuredly the arguments are not genuine; they remind me of the reason which I once saw in an Italian newspaper for the legitimacy of Italy's claim to Tripoli. It consisted of the statement that Tripoli had once belonged to the Roman empire. Why then does Italy not take France as well on the ground that it was ancient Gaul, and England, ancient Britain,—likewise Spain, Egypt, etc.? She has the same right to take all these countries as to take Tripoli. But she lacks the power, and even in this civilized age power is indispensable to the assertion of one's right; yea, more than that, power is sufficient to establish right, for even such barbarians and Huns as the Saxon princes and the Ghibellines can lay down the law if their sword is victorious.

Summing up the gist of Professor Buonaiuti's arguments, Italy must take up arms because the Germans are bad people and must be crushed. Strange that the Italians forget that England is also a G

series of conquests in which justice was mostly on the side of the vanquished? The history of ancient Rome reveals to us how violence and wrong triumphed over the destroyed states and devastated the cities of Carthage, Corinth and others. Was conquest by arms the glory of Rome but the shame of Otto and Barbarossa? I will not glorify military prowess nor defend the aspirations of conquest, but I wish to call attention to the inconsistency of a Roman condemning the Germans for having come to Italy as victors, while the Romans did not hesitate to invade *all* the countries round the Mediterranean which they claimed as their own with no more right than that of Great Britain to rule the seas to-day. The Romans subjected the nations to their dominion and extorted their last possessions from the conquered people with unspeakable cruelty. Wholesale crucifixions of the inhabitants of conquered cities, as for instance in Jerusalem, were common occurrences and by no means exceptional. It was not unusual to sell as slaves the inhabitants of states that persevered in their resistance, and that was humane for Roman victors—at least more humane than the treatment of captured Judea.

In their career of conquest the Romans in due course turned toward Germany and began to subject the German tribes; but unfortunately the Germans at that time were—as they are still—barbarians with not the slightest conception of the blessings which Rome was bringing to them, and in their ignorance they expelled the Romans, the carriers of civilization. This was abominable, and I wonder that Professor Buonaiuti does not mention the fact.

The unkindness with which the Cherusci under Armenius treated the legions of Varus in the year 9 B. C. is as good a reason for declaring war on Austria as Frederick Barbarossa's speech of 1177. Perhaps the atrocities of the Teutoburg Forest were not applicable for the present war, because the Cherusci belonged to those northern German tribes whose descendants were later known as Saxons, and some of the ancestors of the English people probably participated in the battle in the Teutoburg Forest. Indeed England would not exist to-day if Armenius had been beaten by Varus and the ancestors of the Saxons had been either exterminated or Romanized at that time.

By the way, I have never thought, nor did I say, that the Italian reverses are due to "their pacific aversion to war." Their inefficiency has other reasons than their pacific tendencies. It is by no means impossible that a man or a whole nation may be extremely bellicose and boisterous and at the same time inefficient in actual fight. The pugnacious man frequently turns out to be a coward when he meets his equal, and the lover of peace is usually a valiant warrior when war becomes unavoidable.

The Italians were induced to join the Triple Entente by the clever operations of English diplomacy, but it is unintelligible how Italy could be induced to fall upon her former ally Austria in Austria's hour of dire need and take the consequences of such a stupid (I will not repeat to say "treacherous") step. Treachery is bad enough but stupidity is worse. I believe that Italy will pay dearly for her folly.

I cannot now prove my contention that Italy's treachery was not (as some Italians think) smart but stupid, nor do I intend here to enter into a discussion of the question but must leave the justification of my view to the future. In a year or two we shall know the result without wasting words or being obliged to prop up our contention with arguments. If Italy should

prosper on account of this war, she will certainly be the only one who will not have sorely to regret having become an ally of England.

I do not wish to harp on historical data, for I believe with Professor Buonaiuti that "a common culture should now definitely blot out the memory of the struggles of former centuries, and that we should become reconciled forever with former foes in the joint labor of social progress." I believe in this principle just as strongly as Professor Buonaiuti, and yet it seems to me that Italy did not act upon it, but did the very reverse. She preferred to draw the dagger of war; and when her ally was attacked in the northeast stabbed her in the back. If that was justified on account of the degraded character of the German race, why had Italy joined the two Teutonic powers, Germany and Austria, in an alliance which was not only not to be kept, but changed into an inexcusable feud, an attack from the rear? I leave it to the Italians to find a term to designate their behavior.

Of course the Italian war is an attack not only on Austria but also on Prussian Germany, and here we must mention that Italy has entirely forgotten the history of recent events. She has forgotten that she owes to Prussia the possession of Venetia and of Rome, and the war which she now wages on Austria and which hits Germany in an indirect way is simply the thanks she offers Prussian Germany for the acquisition of Venetia and Rome! Nevertheless the Italians believe themselves justified in their wrath against the Teutons, because 800 years ago Kaiser Frederick Barbarossa treated some impudent Roman legates with the haughtiness of a victorious conqueror! That is the Italian explanation for giving an ally a stab in the back.

Italians have proposed other reasons why their country ought to join in the present war, and these reasons consist, bluntly speaking, in the demand of the Irredentist party to have all territories in which Italian is spoken incorporated into the modern state of Italy. The principle that the right to possess a country depends upon the language of the people is absolutely untenable and would as a matter of course subject the United States to the sovereignty of England; likewise, some districts of New York and Chicago would have to go to Russia, others to Turkey, still others to Greece and Italy, while large tracts would go to Germany. The argument is positively ridiculous, but even if we granted it the Italians would not be entitled to any portion of the present Austria, because there are no purely Italian-speaking provinces left in Austria's possession.

It is true that some districts in the south of Tyrol are sometimes called Welsch Tyrol, or, inaccurately speaking, Italian Tyrol. It is a country where the population is mixed, but it is certainly not an Italian country. The whole Tyrol numbers, according to the most recent census, 949,000 inhabitants, of which 657,000 live in the larger districts of South Tyrol. Northern Tyrol is purely German, but in the southern part the German language is the mother tongue of 272,000 people, which is a little more than one-third, but less than one-half, of the entire population; of the others, 291,000 speak an Italian patois, and 94,000 a peculiar dialect of their own which is called Ladino. There is no definite border line between the three languages, for they are mixed; and the two Latin dialects, Italian and Ladino, both strongly in-

included) has never belonged to Italy nor to any Italian state or principality. It belonged successively to the Ostrogoths, the Lombards, and since Charlemagne to the Franks, and from the foundation of the Holy Roman Empire until 1803 formed a part of that empire. For some time it belonged to Bavaria, and temporarily also to Carinthia. Two bishoprics were established by Conrad II in 1027 in Brixen and Trent, but both prelates were recognized as princes of the Holy Roman empire. Since 1363 the Hapsburg family has been established as the sovereign counts of Tyrol and has represented the powers of government even in the districts of Brixen and Trent, attending to the functions of government jointly with the prince-bishops of those places.

It is an indubitable fact that the Tyrolians cling with an intense love to the Hapsburg monarchy, and Andreas Hofer, the leader of the insurgents against Napoleon I, is still revered all through Tyrol as their national hero. The Austrian emperor finds his most faithful subjects in Tyrol, where he is always spoken of as "our Kaiser," and this sentiment is not limited to the north of Tyrol nor to the German portion of the population, but extends to the Welsch Tyrolians, including those of Italian speech. Dr. W. Rohmeder, who has traveled much in Tyrol, says in his report (published in the quarterly *Das Deutschtum im Auslande*, 1915, pp. 332-345) that he has often heard the answer from Welsch Tyrolians: "*Parliamo Italiano, ma siamo Tedeschi,*" or "*Tirolesi noi siamo, ma non Italiani, e vogliamo restarlo.*"

Far from feeling Italian or having a desire to join Italy, they hate the Italians with an intensity which they do not hesitate to express, and while it was under discussion whether the Welsch portions of Tyrol should be surrendered to Italy there prevailed a great anxiety all over Tyrol, mainly in the Italian portions of it, and the relief of the people found vent in outbursts of joy when Italy declared war. The Welsch Tyrolians are said to fight the Italians with almost greater bitterness than the German soldiers of the Austrian army because they were not at all willing to be delivered from what the Italians and their English allies term the "Austrian tyranny."

So far the Italians have not succeeded in conquering even a portion of Welsch Tyrol, and I doubt very much whether their army will make any headway. Let them try. The Tyrolians will do their utmost to defend their homes against *Italia irredenta*.

Just a word about the German migration into Italy. The northern portions of the peninsula possess a strong admixture of Gothic, Lombard, and Frankish blood, and the descendants of these German immigrants have always played the leading parts in Italian history. The farther south you go in Italy the less there is of German admixture; it disappears entirely in the southern provinces, and in exactly the same proportion the population becomes the more inferior.

One instance will suffice. The great Italian poet Dante (originally written Durante) is a scion of an Ostragothic noble family and is known to have been an ardent partisan of the Ghibellines. There have been many great men in Italy, but when we investigate their descent we will probably find few of them to be purely Latin Italians.

This theory of the inferiority of the Italian race where it has not been improved by Germanic or Norse admixture is not borne out in Italy alone; it shows itself also in the United States. Statistics teach us that the Italians head the list of criminals in America; but the northern Italians, that is, the

Italians having a goodly admixture of Germanic blood, cannot be classed among these. One of the typical crimes of Latin Italians, rarely found among other people, is the Black Hand—a modernized brigandage.

The story of the dying Italian officer told by Professor Buonaiuti is beautiful, but it is not new. Some time ago I saw in a German paper the same words attributed to a German *Landwehrmann*, and I fear it will be difficult to decide which of the two reports is original. Perhaps both have been copied from an old story founded on fact, the events of which may have taken place in ancient Greece.

It is a pity, however, that the Italian officer to whom Professor Buonaiuti attributes these sweet words was mistaken on the main point: He did not die for Italy, but for England in whose interest alone Italy joined the Entente. The war was not undertaken for Italy; on the contrary it was an un-Italian war, a war that was against the honor of Italy and also against Italian interests. It served the purpose of helping the Russians in their attacks on Germany and Austria, and of relieving the French and English in their anxiety concerning the outcome of the present war. The heavy sacrifices which the Italians offer now will in no way bring advantage to Italy; on the contrary they involve Italy in great dangers and serve only to impede the success of the Central European powers and afford a temporary advantage to France, Russia and England. But be comforted; to die for Old England is also a consolation. Is not England as good as Italy?

I have been puzzled why the Italians entered upon this war against Austria; now I know they have ancient and sore grievances against the German race, especially the Saxons. Further, I have learned that the Italians are very pacific, in spite of their expedition to Abyssinia and the conquest of Tripoli. But I only wonder whether in a few years they themselves will not adopt my views concerning the present war and criticize those politicians of theirs who have induced them to go to war. *Nous verrons.* EDITOR.

THE SIEGE OF CONSTANTINOPLE IN 1453.

In 1453 Constantinople fell a victim to the besieging Turks and it has remained in Turkish possession down to the present time. The reason why this important city could not be saved is not so much because of the weakness of the Greeks—at that time the rulers of the city—as because of the dissensions which prevailed in the Christian world. Greek Christianity had established itself independently of Rome, and the Roman church insisted on the submission of the patriarch of Constantinople as the condition of protection against the Turk. But the patriarch preferred to submit to the Turks rather than to Rome. He capitulated to Mohammed II on the condition that he should be guaranteed the right of exercising his authority within the domain of the Christian population. Emperor John VIII was ready to surrender the autonomy of the Greek church in exchange for assistance against the Turkish invasion. The proclamation of the union with Rome was solemnly read in Florence on July 6, 1439. The leading men of the orthodox Greek clergy were bitterly opposed to the step and only the Syrian sects of Armenians, Roumanians and Ruthenians who were already allied to Rome accepted it, but Christian Byzantium would rather belong to the infidel Turks than to the

Romans, and so the catastrophe of May 29, 1543, could not be averted in spite of the brave defense of the Greek garrison.

Our frontispiece represents a miniature contained in the book of travels of Bertrandon de la Brocquiere of the fifteenth century and is preserved in



CONSTANTINOPLE.

From Hermann Schedel's *Weltkronik*, Nuremberg, 1493.

the National Library at Paris. It represents the siege of Constantine's city and the firm establishment of the Turkish empire whose fate is now dependent on the outcome of the present war.

AMERICA FIRST.

BY LOUIS DORN.

Last night, at a meeting of Germans, I heard
 The thundering song of the Rhine, and it stirred
 My soul to its depths, so that mightily grew
 The love for the land of my fathers anew;
 And firmly it held me with powerful reins:
 The blood of the Teuton awoke in my veins.

I stepped to the street and I glanced at the stars
 That smile upon peace and that frown upon wars;
 My heart was entranced, for they seemed to bring down
 For Germany's head the victorious crown.
 But, passing along, by a friend I was hailed
 Whose ancestors whilom from Britain had sailed.

He said: "Do you see yonder stars in the sky?
 "As far as they travel, they shine from on high
 "On British domain; and your Germany must
 "Submit to my England and squirm in the dust.
 "Britannia rules o'er the lands far and wide,
 "She's queen of the oceans, we sing it with pride."

And soon we are hot in the midst of debate
 Repeating the words coined by frenzy and hate.
 He calls the good Germans barbarians wild,
 I shout: "That is slander by liars compiled!"
 "The Teutons are war-mad!" he cries and I hold,
 That British hypocrisy fights for its gold.

Our eyes were aglow with an unholy light,
 With quivering lips we put friendship to flight:
 We felt that the ties, which the heart bind to heart,
 From anger and passion were snapping apart:
 When suddenly, softly, a voice clear and sweet
 Was heard in a hymn from a house near the street.

We stopped and we listened; the song we knew well.
 Like waves of the ocean the notes rose and fell;
 They sounded a message of glorious times,
 Of love for the home, for American climes:
 The "Star Spangled Banner" so noble and fair
 Rang out and it hallowed the evening air.

The spell of the strains like an angel came down
 To silence the storm and to banish the frown;
 And out went my hand, it was fervently grasped:
 In friendship the Briton and Teuton were clasped.
 We spoke not a word, but we pondered it long,
 The message for us from America's song:

"Love, Teuton, thy people, its learning and grace,
 "Love, Briton, thy splendid and glorious race:
 "But let not that love tear the neighbors apart,
 "Shoot not at each other the poisonous dart
 "Of galling remark; and unitedly stand
 "For waving Old Glory, the flag of the land!

"The Stars and the Stripes are protecting a home
 "For every good folk under heaven's great dome,
 "A haven of refuge for all the distressed,
 "A promise of freedom for peoples oppressed,
 "An island of peace while the world is at strife:
 "For love is its spirit and justice its life!"

We stood there in silence, the song died away,
 The hour was sacred, we could not but pray:
 "Grant, O powerful Lord,
 bury the sword!"
 "The sword had gone,
 one.

Carlyle and the War

By

Marshall Kelly

(Cloth, \$1.00. Pages, 338)

PRESS NOTES.

"Marshall Kelly's book points out the fulfilment, in the present upheaval, of many of Carlyle's prophecies concerning democracy and aristocracy in conflict."—*The World*.

"Carlyle was the greatest man of the nineteenth century, an opinion which may explain why the Kelly style of writing, if not of thinking, is that of Carlyle, plus."—*Literary Digest*.

"The value of this collection of Pro-Teutonism may be judged by the fact that its author declares flatly: 'Carlyle was the greatest man of the nineteenth century.'"—*Chicago Journal*.

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY

122 S. MICHIGAN AVENUE

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

Germany and Belgium

By

Dr. J. H. Labberton

Translated from the Dutch by DR. W. E. LEONARD.

(8vo. Cloth, \$1.00. Pages, 163.)

"Feeling that it is impossible for a great people like the Germans to 'fall so low,' as the reports of their treatment of Belgium would testify, Mr. Labberton set himself to work to investigate and test his judgments, the underlying idea of the results being that politics and ethics have nothing to do with each other and that international law 'differs from national law in that it is the codified morality of states,' and is rather ethical than legal."—*Detroit Times*.

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY

122 S. MICHIGAN AVENUE

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

The Philosophy of Wang Yang Ming

By

FREDERICK GOODRICH HENKE, Ph. D.

Introduction by Professor James H. Tufts, Univ. of Chicago

Cloth, 512 pp. Price \$2.50

PRESS NOTES.

"Dr. Henke is to be congratulated upon a work of real scholarship in a field quite untouched before in English."—*Wisconsin Journal*.

"The western world knows so little accurately of the inner thoughts of Chinese Scholars, whether living or past, that such a work is a real gift to our philosophical literature."—*Los Angeles Examiner*.

"In a large volume Frederick G. Henke, once professor of philosophy at the University of Nanking, presents 'The Philosophy of Wang Yang Ming,' a translation of the first volume in the Shanghai edition. This makes available the paragraphic wisdom of one of China's foremost idealists, a man of the sixteenth century."—*Chicago Daily News*.

"It is not at all necessary to be a rule book philosopher to get good out of the learned sayings of Wang Yang Ming, and Prof. Henke's translation of them is meat for the scholar and a treat for plain folks."—*New York Sun*.

"Professor Henke, for the first time in English, with the co-operation of Chinese and foreign scholars, has produced a translation that is smooth, clear, readable, and, best of all, accurate. We owe a debt of gratitude to translator and publisher for this book revealing to the student the power of the progressive mind of China and Japan."—*Christian Intelligencer*.

"Few of the choice products of Chinese scholarship have been available to Western students. This translation should, therefore, receive an appreciative welcome. It is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the ethical and philosophical attitude of the cultured Oriental."—*New York Examiner*.

The Open Court Publishing Company

122 South Michigan Avenue

Chicago, Ill.

The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE



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

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER

VOL. XXX (No. 12)

DECEMBER, 1916

NO. 727

CONTENTS:

	PAGE
<i>Frontispiece. The Ascension of Mohammed.</i>	
<i>Voices from German Freemasonry. After ERNST SCHULTZE</i>	705
<i>Erasmus at the Court of Satan. B. U. BURKE</i>	715
<i>Carlyle and Germany. MEDICO</i>	719
<i>Carlyle on the French-German War, 1870-71</i>	724
<i>Sob Sisters and the War. CHARLES ALMA BYERS</i>	733
<i>The Caaba (Illustrated). PAUL CARUS</i>	736
<i>The Psychology of German Action. OTTO C. BACKOF</i>	746
<i>The Election</i>	764
<i>Mohammed's Ascension</i>	765
<i>A Personal Statement. BERTRAND RUSSELL</i>	766
<i>The Myth (Sonnet)</i>	767
<i>To Uncle Sam (Verses). GEORGE R. DEAN</i>	768

The Open Court Publishing Company

CHICAGO

Per copy, 10 cents (sixpence). Yearly, \$1.00 (in the U.P.U., 5s. 6d.).

Entered as Second-Class Matter March 26, 1897, at the Post Office at Chicago, Ill., under Act of March 3, 1879
Copyright by The Open Court Publishing Company, 1916

Dawn of a New Religious Era

By DR. PAUL CARUS

Second Revised and Enlarged Edition. Cloth, \$1.00

A noted student of theology said recently: "In 1893, Dr. Carus was considered a very radical or even blasphemous writer, but to-day the Orthodox Church has caught up with him and he is no longer considered anti-Christian."

Beginning with a short sketch of the work inaugurated at the Congress of Religions at the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago, 1893, the essays cover the modern trend of Higher Criticism and the gradual disappearance of dogmatic religion. The volume closes with a forecast of the religion of the future.

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY

122 S. MICHIGAN AVENUE

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

The Vampire of the Continent

By Count Ernst zu Reventlow

Translated from the German with a preface

By George Chatterton-Hill, Ph. D.

University of Geneva, Switzerland

Cloth, \$1.25

This book cannot be too strongly recommended to all those who desire to obtain an insight into the hidden recesses of European political history, where the forces are at work which have shaped the evolution of Europe since about the middle of the sixteenth century.

The author has attempted to show that the present war is a typically English war of destruction waged against a continental rival who was at once envied and feared. The history of the war cannot yet be written in detail. For the purpose of the present book such a detailed history is not necessary. But what is necessary is, that Americans should understand that this is not an accidental war, but a war carried on with the object of annihilating an economic rival.

The Open Court Publishing Company

Chicago, Illinois

PUBLISHING COMPANY
CHIGAN AVENUE
ILLINOIS

of the Continent

st zu Reventlow



THE ASCENSION OF MOHAMMED.

From a 15th century manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

VOL. XXX (No. 12)

DECEMBER, 1916

NO. 727

Copyright by The Open Court Publishing Company, 1916

VOICES FROM GERMAN FREEMASONRY.

AFTER ERNST SCHULTZE.

FREEMASONRY is a society which does not plead for any patriotism but stands for the ideal of humanity. It originated through the medieval guild of master masons retaining their aspirations and using the terms of the masonic trade as symbols for the building up of a temple of mankind.

Masons believe in the architect of the world as the main symbol of an ethical world-conception, and look upon one another as brothers. This ideal of brotherhood is adhered to even in the face of the difficulties of struggle, of competition and of war. Thus it happens that in times of war Freemasonry has always asserted its ideals with special emphasis, and it is natural that in times of national struggle and hatred Masonic ideals have again and again, with more or less success, been appealed to. There have been voices among the Freemasons tending to disrupt the friendly connection of the lodges between different countries, and on such occasions the differences between Masonic institutions in different countries often become apparent.

The Freemasons of England and France are almost at opposite extremes in their views, while their German brothers occupy a middle position; but at present the difficulty is not between the French and the English, but between the Germans and the two extremes of Masonic thought, viz., the almost atheistic lodges of Latin Italy and France, and the well-nigh dogmatic Christian conception prevalent in Great Britain. At present the situation is not clear, for the connection between the lodges in different countries has been interrupted, and the present war has allowed very little, if anything, in the way of a friendly approach between the French and German branches of the order. Our readers, however, will be

curious to learn how the humanitarian ideal of Masonry fares at such a time as the present, and we here quote at some length from an article by Ernst Schultze which is representative of Masonic feeling in Germany to-day. The article appeared in the *Mitteilungen aus dem Verein deutscher Freimaurer* and the extracts here presented have been translated into English for *The Open Court* by Mr. Percy F. Morley.

“History teaches us that the bloodier every recourse to arms and the longer its duration, the greater the danger it brings with it of a reversion to savagery, since war destroys at a single stroke associations that are the product of a long and laborious development. Yet we should not have believed it possible to-day that a struggle between civilized peoples would have brought forth, at the very outset, such a flood of meanness, falsehood and infamy. Whoever tries to keep a level head, not accepting every bit of sensational news as true as they whirl through the air by hundreds, but rather refusing to believe them in spite of a seeming probability until they have been sufficiently established,—he will find himself compelled to discount much of what even in Germany is accepted as true regarding our enemies. With what absolute assurance, even in the early days of August, 1914, and countless times since then, it was related how in every one of our hospitals there were wounded men whose eyes had been prodded out! But if one questions an eye-specialist the answer is that all this is fiction, and that hitherto only a single case has been authenticated.

“In like manner rumor, enhanced a thousandfold by the imagination of the masses, has exaggerated other things both great and small. Abroad—and unfortunately not only in the enemies’ countries—such sensational reports concerning ourselves seem to be far more widespread. Nor do they necessarily originate from deliberate falsehoods. Whoever knows the liveliness of the childish imagination will not at all be surprised that in the excitement of war elements which are a sheer product of the unbridled imagination should creep into the beliefs of one people concerning another, when even in times of peace these beliefs contain so much that is erroneous.

“In many a German newspaper to-day our opponents are being

every English newspaper is filled with falsehoods—indeed not even that the *Times* always avoids the truth. Because the Cossacks have caused boundless desolation in Eastern Prussia we are not justified in believing straightway that the whole Russian nation is so far removed from all semblance of civilization that our wounded and prisoners in that country are exposed to the basest treatment. We are quick at making generalizations which have no logical foundation and are morally unreliable.”

The same writer dwells elsewhere on the very real dangers to civilization in the present state of strife and hatred among peoples:

“We are facing a most solemn time. If we look carefully we can discern on the horizon of humanity the possibility of a lapse into barbarism. This danger can scarcely be overestimated. If we look into history we shall find numberless examples of the rise and decline of peoples, even of mighty and gifted peoples. But if we look more deeply we shall see the causes which have led to the disintegration of great nations. Some of these are well known: lack of population, whether caused by protracted wars or by a steady falling off in the birth-rate; senseless luxury and absurd high living; but most often moral weakness. There are other factors less frequently cited, but among them I shall single out one diabolical force which has occasioned untold evil, namely, hatred among nations

“Civilized nations must learn to bury race hatred, instead of allowing it to thrive and become powerful, or even to become the prevalent habit of mind. This feeling of hatred springs from three essentially different sources; first, the conceit of being a kind of chosen people; second, the feeling of aversion for all that is foreign; third, the remembrance of wrong suffered, and the thirst for revenge nourished thereby. The last two causes are the most dangerous, especially the third; and this is always tremendously augmented by a war.

“In this way even the Greeks themselves brought about their own ruin. Although far overshadowing all other Mediterranean peoples in gifts and cultural attainments, they allowed the hatred which ranged one state against another to become more and more ferocious and destructive from generation to generation. And its cause lay not in their deep-rooted tribalism; for often did Ionians rage more furiously against Ionians than against Dorians, while the Lacedemonian Dorians, in turn, were exterminating the Messenian Dorians—just as in the present war all community of race has been lost. It was terrible how the quarrels of the Greek cities

became more and more frequent, the intervals of peace shorter, and the possibility of an amicable settlement ever more remote. But the most terrible feature of it all was that the period of the greatest culture should also have been that of the most widespread war and the most merciless tactics. And it is actually a matter of history that once when the people gathered in public assembly to take counsel as to the means of rendering several thousand prisoners of war harmless, it was decreed that their thumbs should be cut off, for then, although they would still be able to row, they could no longer wield the spear....

“Vain were the efforts of those who pleaded for moderation. When in the Peloponnesian war the Syracusans had killed 18,000 Athenians and had made prisoners of 7000, including two generals, one of the most distinguished popular leaders proposed that the generals be put to an ignominious death, and that the rest of the prisoners be treated with extreme cruelty. When Hermocrates opposed this demand and sought to show that mercy on the part of conquerors is even greater than conquest, the people raised an uproar and refused to listen to his admonition. Then Nicholas, an old man who had lost two sons in the war, mounted the platform, supported by two slaves. He gained a hearing immediately, for the people thought he was about to speak against the prisoners. But instead he pointed out the great advantages of conciliatory treatment and the absolute necessity of avoiding a perpetuation of hostility and hatred between peoples. His speech, preserved for us by Diodorus, is of special interest and significance to-day. But the Syracusans, like nearly all the Greeks, were too lacking in political discipline for the counsel of moderation to prevail. They preferred to keep alive by every available means the reckless irreconcilability of their more and more brutal and excessive hate.

“The ancient Greeks had purposely erected their memorials of victory out of imperishable material, and Greece later teemed with indestructible monuments and votive offerings perpetuating the triumphs of Greeks over Greeks. Greater magnanimity and foresight, however, were evinced by the Macedonian kings when they

greater and mightier through the working of hatred against their neighbors, while they were but digging their own graves.

“From such considerations we find ourselves facing the twofold problem: (1) to strive to act in such a way that the people of other countries will not receive absolutely wrong impressions of Germany, its ideals and conduct, its soldiers and citizens; and (2) among ourselves, to see that the mental attitude of the German people, in spite of the provocation to which they are subjected by the military tactics of our opponents, remain worthy of the nation of thinkers and writers to which they belong. . . .

“What we really know to-day concerning the causes of this world-war is that it was kindled by some half dozen vain diplomats and generals while the greater part of each people desired peace. That to-day there seems to be nothing but bitter hostility and seething popular hatred is no refutation of this. These feelings have been artificially created since the outbreak of the war by false news concerning its causes, and by the rousing up of base passions, while into all this fire was poured the boiling oil of the cry for patriotism.

“Is the danger of an excess of hatred between peoples any less to-day than in Greek antiquity? We have no justification for thinking so. The boundless hatred which has become manifest in this war exceeds all that we thought possible. Daily we see the war fever fanned not only by the dum-dum bullets which lacerate the bodies of our soldiers, but by the poisoned arrows of falsehood and calumny shot off by the thousand. So we must be on our guard—and not alone against the fruits of such slander in foreign countries, but we must also guard against the infection among ourselves.”

Another Freemason writes from the field to an official publication of German Freemasonry as follows:

“What a hatred among men! Yes, but in what does this hatred really consist? I have heard and seen a great deal about hatred in this war, but I have seen no hatred between man and man, nothing worthy of the name. England is hated. Indeed! But it is not Carlyle or Ruskin, Milton or Shakespeare, that is hated. It is the hypocrisy of English politics. Russia is hated, but we do not hate Dostoyevsky, Tolstoy or Turgenieff. We hate the brutal ambition of an outward expansion which has no corresponding inner necessity. Toward France we do not feel hatred but sympathy because of the bitter woe she is compelled to suffer for the sake of a delusion. The individual may feel otherwise. The soldier in the shock of battle, in the instinct of self-assertion, may hate the enemy

that would kill him ; but the people as a whole, the great magnificent German people in arms, as in their unshakable fidelity they have proved themselves true, know but one hatred, the hatred of what is bad, of what hampers life, the hatred of lying and treason.

“Let our hate be the hate of love. While we fight for our German homes against half the world, while we conquer and kill and die, we are preserving our interests and at the same time the truest interests of our enemies. For it is—however strange it may sound—in the highest and truest interest of our enemy to be conquered and subdued by the German people. Whoever cannot believe this has certainly allowed his humanitarian ideal to come to grief.

“It is well for us that we can believe in this with our hearts. After this war a new humanity will be constructed and it will be a blessing to this future society if English and Russian imperialism have been destroyed. The German ideal, however, the ideal of a world leadership on a moral basis, brings into power what in all times has united the best in all nations.”

Similar belief in the divine mission of the Fatherland and praise of self-sacrifice in its behalf are found in the following passage :

“Scarcely ever before has the consciousness been so mightily present among our people that the meaning and mission of their lives consists in complete sacrifice for the good of the Fatherland ; that in these troublous times they must defend it to the utmost with their lives and resources ; that on it they must help to rear, through bitterest struggle, a glorious German life for coming generations. Brother Masons, a public spirit conscious of its royal creative power has prevailed in this time of moral upheaval and self-mastery of our people, over that dwarfed commonplace against which in days gone by the healthy idealism of our Freemasonry has had to battle at every step in practical life.”

German Freemasons are keenly alive to the host of problems and duties which have been created by the war. They believe, as Mr. Schultze declares, that “the world will be in still greater need of Freemasonry, in its international capacity, after the war than ever before,” and that “the most fruitful means for the German people to gain the good-will of foreign nations is to be found in the very ideals upon which Masonry is founded.”

that which has ever been dear to all Freemasons, viz., good-will and mutual service:¹

“True to the fundamental principles of our society, and as members of our circle, we indeed scorn the idea of entering the limelight. So it is impossible to know with certainty what is being accomplished by Freemasons. . . .

“Unfortunately we have hitherto made the unaccountable mistake of thinking that our consciousness of our own worth and the conviction of our own blamelessness were sufficient to impose the same view on the whole world. In practical social psychology we have still well-nigh everything to learn. If in court we do not think of relying on our own guiltlessness instead of offering proofs for it, we must admit that in international matters the same principle holds. Indeed it is even more true when we are dealing with nations, for in this case the judges are often prejudiced if they do not belong to the people in question, or are unrelated to or unconnected with them. Thus we have underestimated the psychological influence which our occupation of Belgium has had on all other peoples. That our own conscience suffered under this merciless necessity was indeed clear from the words of our Imperial Chancellor at the memorable session of the Reichstag on the fourth of August. Nevertheless we must not forget at the same time that our enemies scornfully sneer at the honorableness of this explanation, and also that in neutral countries sentiment has for the most part been against us. If fair judgment were a requisite in international relations there would be less talk among neutrals about Louvain and more about Eastern Prussia. But since an ethical demand cannot be enforced, we must in every future reckoning take all the details of the given psychological situation into consideration, even when they rest on ignorance or ill-will.

“If we wish to win our due place in the esteem of nations each German individually must do his part in the cultivation of the good-will of foreign peoples, while for the performance of this function for our people as a whole we have *institutions* to create, *departments* in the state machinery, which, in the history of nations, are evolved for this purpose. That our diplomacy has not accomplished this, indeed that it has not even taken the trouble to make us understood by others, the war was not the first occasion to bring home to us with terrible distinctness. But we are not going to dwell here

¹ For the general problems which the war has created for Germans, and especially for German Freemasons, see the writings of Diedrich Bischoff, *Deutsche Gesinnung* (Eugen Diederichs, Jena, 1914), and *Freimaurers Kriegsgedanken* (Bruno Zechel, Leipsic, 1914).

on the need of reform in our department of foreign affairs; we wish to speak of the role of German Freemasonry in its endeavor to gain the good-will of foreign nations.

“Are there reasons which render it desirable for us Freemasons to become active in these fields? Three such reasons present themselves. In the first place by its nature and plan our society is an international community which, though it has indeed suffered many a wound by the war, should nevertheless exert every effort to heal its wounded members. We cannot here go into the question of a lasting union in spiritual intercourse among the lodges of the present warring countries after the conclusion of peace. In the second place Freemasonry, from the fact that it has neither political nor economic interests of any kind, can exert a peculiarly strong spiritual influence abroad for good in every time of national trial. For this reason its utterances and pleading in many cases carry much more weight than is the case with bodies more or less dependent on the guidance of the German empire or of certain interested groups. Last, but not least, Freemasonry can and must see to it that in cultivating the good-will of other nations, we do not lose sight of the all-important thing, viz., the magic power of moral worth.”

The following extracts give expression to the broad ideal of human brotherhood which is one of the cardinal doctrines of Masonry.

“In Freemasonry the problem of internationalism gains a new significance. Are we a society whose goal lies in the brotherhood of all humanity—or are we not? The question formerly so often propounded to meet this is now no longer heard, viz., Can one reconcile with a Freemason’s duties toward his fatherland the fact that he is striving toward an ideal of humanity which involves to a mild extent the slighting of his duties toward his fatherland? While this old question has been disposed of, a new one raises its head demanding an answer: Would it not be wiser for the Freemasons of each country to limit themselves to their national boundaries and to drop all relations with their brothers in other lands, or at most to carry them only so far as the community of scientific endeavor or vocation might perchance lead?

“If we acquiesced in this answer to the question we should

'That the human race become
One united brotherhood,
Sharing truth and light and right.'

[Dass das menschliche Geschlecht
Eine Bruderkette werde,
Teilend Wahrheit, Licht und Recht.]

"We could then speak only of our own people, no longer of mankind. We should have to drop the cherished vessel in which our brothers of the eighteenth century have handed down to us through long generations the deepest and noblest possession of our order, crashing and scattering its contents or distorting them to a formless mass. . . .

"Are we justified, because Freemasonry was unable to prevent the war, in robbing it on this account of its ideal of the brotherhood of man? That would be the worst sort of fallacy. Neither in Germany nor in England does Freemasonry possess political power. In Russia it ceased to exist over a century ago. And if it seeks political power in Latin countries its ambitions are confined to home politics and have scarcely anything to do with foreign relations. Freemasonry in these countries directs its aim rather at the social question which, according to the striking presentation of Brother Bischoff, "is not conceived essentially as a problem in good-will but rather as one in justice." Brother Bischoff is also right when he says² that French and Belgian Freemasonry developed a thoroughly earnest and well-meant activity for the creation of harmonious international relations. Now we must by all means take into consideration that with the peculiar temperament of the Latin peoples, the inclination to a continuance of these efforts will be very slight in the two above-named countries, in the event of a war ending unfavorably for them. Perhaps years even may elapse before an echo is heard of those friendly relations between German and French Masonry for which Brother Bernardin of Nancy and our own Brother Kraft of Dresden so successfully paved the way in 1911. But even this would as little relieve us of the duty of later undertaking our task anew, as the many miscarriages of foreign Masonry during the war justify us in desisting from it at present.

"The very differences among the branches of Masonry of different countries makes it all the more clearly evident that the one

affects the other. Most indispensable is such a fructification in the case of English Freemasonry, as we know not alone from the public utterance of Amphyll. But if English lodge life has lapsed too much into mere ritual and sociability, that of the Latin countries, and not less that of Germany, need the influence of foreign brothers in order to advance. . . .

“If we Freemasons understand aright the tasks we shall have after the war, it will be to point mankind to higher guiding stars, striving, in spite of all obstacles, toward an inner union, and combating all barbarity and malevolence. Zschokke, a century ago (1817) expressed the duties of our order in the following magnificent terms: ‘Conceive for yourself an image of mankind in its coming perfection; all nations, without distinction of color, speech, mental make-up, religion or political relations, fused into one brotherhood; all freed from the prejudices of locality, position and vocation, without national or religious hatred; all united in brotherly equality and love, around the Father of all; all esteeming service and virtue above outward rank or the accident of birth or fortune; all emulating one another in humility, love and truth in the creation of their common happiness; all ministering to one another with unequal gifts; all, though endowed with unequal powers, wishing one another well; tolerant in the presence of differing views and judgments; all mutually honoring one another; nowhere despotism, nowhere servitude.’

“These aims have lost nothing in significance through the war. On the contrary, they have become dearer to us after all the ugly things we have had to experience and which, in this period of highly developed civilization, have pained us the more. Whoever takes the tasks of Freemasonry seriously will not allow himself to become disheartened though the work before us has now become more difficult. Without doubt the bulwarks of humanity are being ravaged by the flood, but we shall work all the more diligently for the restoration of what has been lost. As soon as peace makes an end to the clash of arms and allows us once more to look toward the future we shall undertake with swelling breast new and greater tasks, which will lay a more secure foundation for

ERASMUS AT THE COURT OF SATAN.

BY B. U. BURKE.

ERASMUS, absorbed till recently in heavenly contemplation, (for in Paradise many centuries are as a day), decided to celebrate the four hundredth anniversary of his publication of the first Greek New Testament, March 1, 1916, by revisiting the earth. He happened to alight in Flanders, where he was much shocked at the course of current events and suspecting the Evil One of a hand in the issue, betook himself to Hell for an explanation. Whereupon the following conversation ensued:

Erasmus. My dear Satan, I come to you fresh from a rapid trip to Earth, to beg of you to explain to me how such a lamentable state of things comes to be in force there. Having verified the date and seen the havoc that is daily being perpetrated, I can only conclude that you have contrived some method of persuading the globe to revolve backward. Now when I left the Earth I had already started and set in motion an excellent humanistic movement, which bade fair to put the world on the right path to universal brotherhood and to aid all those coming after me along the straight road of common sense. What then has become of the fruits of my labor, and who but you can have thus brought them to naught?

Satan. Truly, my dear Erasmus, such credit from a man of your penetration and clarity of intellect flatters me, and indeed I pride myself that the scheme by which I have arrived at such results has not been altogether without ingenuity. The world, as you say, had acquired a perceptible impetus in the direction of goodness from the example of yourself and others like you. The danger lay not so much with the leaders as in the fact that the seeds of good began to be disseminated among the people at large, and the world showed a dangerous tendency to become moral as a result of it. I therefore hit upon a plan which, as I said, I pride myself was not

without ingenuity. I took unto myself the principle of nationality, evolving and perfecting it to my own ends.

Erasmus. But why, Satan, put yourself to so much trouble? Why not have been content with the great amount of evil that is in any case existent in the world, and have lived in peace on that?

Satan. Ah, Erasmus, it is easy to see where you have been! It is to be regretted that no one ever visits those Elysian Fields without getting softening of the intellect. I assure you, if I ceased my exertions the world would be good in no time, and there would soon be no air left for me to breathe. Besides—a world either wholly good or wholly bad would be insufferable, there would be no snap, no spice to it, and a man of your reason would have been the first to admit this when you were upon Earth.

Erasmus. Expound to me then this scheme of nationalism, for I confess the whole matter is obscure to me.

Satan. Here then in brief is my receipt. The world being already divided as you know by varied tongues and natural geographical boundaries, I took pains to encourage this division more and more, inducing the men of various races to fraternize together instead of mingling with each other, and aiding by every means in my power the establishment of conventional states with, wherever possible, hereditary rulers. Some thought in time to elude me by the establishment of republics and there has been much vain talk of democracy, but men have as yet no true realization of this last, and I have found that a president can be as useful to my schemes as a crowned monarch. Granted then, the world split into distinct nations with definite boundaries, each with a man or group of men at the head of its affairs, and all the energy of the bulk of its members expended within its boundaries for their mutual cultivation and consolidation. These conditions I then soldered together with a cement of patriotism of my own brewing, the ingredients being: overweening conceit of the land of birth; the tendency to consider that everything to do with it, people, produce, language and all else are of necessity superior to similar products of other nations; the quality of being supersensitive as to this superexcellence and treating with high scorn any manifestations of proof to the contrary. These and a few other minor matters constitute, as you see, my dear Erasmus, a powerful notion: and believe me, the emotional enthu-

should have tended to unprecedented development? Indeed no such unity of purpose was dreamed of while I lived.

Satan. My objects were furthered in this way: that such union tended, by concentrating the gaze of the various nations on themselves, to blind them to their universal kinship, and consequently to develop in each unlimited national selfishness in proportion as each increased in prestige, power and wealth. Of course as long as the plan was in its infancy it worked for their good and I had a proportionately lean time, but I was prepared to wait until the scheme was ripe and am content with the result. For as the confines of the Earth have not expanded in proportion with the growth of these rival powers, it followed as a matter of course that in time they came to rub elbows and get seriously in each other's way, and each being convinced that they had attained to the one true solution of right living, (their ways all being ludicrously alike, did they but realize it), the moment these conceptions clashed they fell upon each other as you have seen, and the very intensity of their feelings of patriotism and nationality are keeping them at each others' throats and are likely to do so. Oh! It is indeed a great war such as there never was before, and I am glad to think, Erasmus, that you have seen something of it. I have as my abettors many marvelous scientists on all sides, and scarcely a week passes but they produce some scheme of annihilation more delightfully wicked than any that has gone before. I have in fact been obliged to add new furnaces of especial power in anticipation of their advent in my kingdom, for I cannot risk having my contrivances considered old-fashioned by mere mortals, however ingenious they may be.

Erasmus. But how then, Satan, are you benefited by war if the fighting units believe in their own ends and fight, not from desire of the conflict, but from a sense of duty?

Satan. How? Because no matter how they start the great majority are sooner or later brutalized by it. All their ignoble instincts are aroused and the evil passions that I most delight in are loosed upon the Earth and engender a riotous profusion of crime. The hate aroused too is as incense to my nostrils and I am even now casting about in my mind for a means of perpetuating it.

Erasmus. But how came it that such a very obvious danger as the clashing of so many interests should not have been foreseen and prepared against?

Satan. Oh, it was both by a certain faction, and they even went so far as to build a Peace Palace at the Hague with the special

object of thwarting my designs. That, I admit, gave me a bad moment, but there turned out to be after all only a very small body who cared about peace one way or the other at the time they had it, and the vast majority were too wrapt up in their own lives to pay any serious attention to public matters. I made it a point to see that as many as possible were engrossed in their own affairs to the exclusion of all else, thus leaving full control in the hands of their leaders, on whom I knew of course I could implicitly rely.

Erasmus. One thing still puzzles me. How then about the Christian doctrine, which is utterly opposed to all such slaughter? It cannot surely have died out, yet the modern methods seem analogous only with those of the Old Testament.

Satan. On the contrary, Christianity is flourishing as never before. It has been reduced to such a science that it can now be adapted to fit any needs or prove any ends. Indeed I have among the priests of all denominations some of my most zealous helpers, for they preach the continuance of hostilities and the righteousness of enmity even from their pulpits, and how should their followers suspect evil where they themselves are in good faith!

At this Erasmus groaned with horror and the Devil indulged in a very orgy of mirth. "That indeed is the cream of the entire situation," he continued, when he had sufficiently recovered to speak again, "that all this, my work, is being most solemnly waged in the name of the Most High!" and he guffawed again with even greater enjoyment. But Erasmus was too sickened with these last ideas to keep his temper longer. That poor innocent mortals, acting in good faith and living up to their principles (even if these principles were false), could be made all unconsciously to do the work of the Devil, even as in his own day; and that the centuries should have brought no improvement in such matters, clearly as he had demonstrated the evils of imposture and strife, seemed to him too horrible to be borne, and he left hurriedly, cursing the Devil with all the evil epithets formerly known to him.

But Satan only laughed the louder, for he well knew that to have made even the level-headed Sage of Rotterdam lose his equanimity was certain proof that he, Satan, was accomplishing more evil than he had ever managed to achieve before.

CARLYLE AND GERMANY.

BY MEDICO.

THE *New York Times Book Review* reviewed Mr. Marshall Kelly's book, *Carlyle and the War*, on May 7, 1916. I was particularly impressed when I read the words of that title; for Carlyle in relation to this war is a subject on which I have thought a good deal during the present conflict, not, however, with any intention of ever writing anything on it. But with Carlyle's political views in mind, I have often conjectured on his probable attitude in this war, and the extent to which his predictions have been, or will be, verified by the events of these momentous days.

Having never read nor heard before of the book reviewed by the *Times* I can of course have no opinion as to its merits; but there is one statement made by the reviewer in which he is in error. I say this on the basis of a rather careful study of Carlyle's published works and criticisms on them by several writers. The mistaken impression on the point in question is probably due to a lack of full knowledge of Carlyle's life, writings, and teachings. I quote the review literally: "His [Mr. Kelly's] attempts to yoke up Carlyle with the Germany of the world war would be a little more comprehensible, if he did not ignore the fact that the Germany and the German character, which he declares Carlyle knew 'as no other Briton has ever known' was not the Germany of present and recent years. It was the old Germany of philosophy, literature, art, and music. The modern militaristic, industrial and materialized Germany, was beyond the furthest outskirts of his vision."

Carlyle, it is true, did entertain a very high opinion of certain literary men of Germany and their writings. His debt to them he frequently and frankly acknowledges. There can be no doubt but that German literature influenced him deeply; an influence that was never lost throughout his long life. As to the "art and music" of Germany, or of any other country, I can find no evidence for be-

lieving that his liking for Germany was much influenced by them. For "art" as the dilettante views it he repeatedly expressed his contempt, though Carlyle himself was an artist of a high order, having a keen appreciation for works of art, and being highly susceptible to the charms of music.

But it is not on these qualities that his admiration for Germany is based. Except as he wrote in his early life of German writers and German literature his principal literary products dealing with Germany are of a politico-historical nature and are concerned chiefly with that part of the empire where those qualities mentioned by the reviewer are generally conceded to be least conspicuous, i. e., Prussia. His liking and his enthusiasm for Germany, in the last analysis, appears to be founded on two things: (1) The German character as he interpreted it, i. e., silent valor, lack of bombast and braggadocio, industry, justice, inherent honesty, connected with a romantic love for and belief in the destiny of the whole Teutonic kindred, in which were included, of course, all the Teutonic countries—England, Holland, Germany, and the three Scandinavian nations; (2) The excellence of the Prussian government under the management of the House of Brandenburg or Hohenzollern.

A careful study of his *Frederick the Great* will show innumerable specific examples of these beliefs, and further that they form the ground-work of the whole book and, in fact, its *raison d'être*: for Carlyle wrote always with a definite purpose other than "literary." I will not attempt in a communication of this character to make quotations to support my position, but am willing to undertake its proof if desired.

Carlyle lived through the period of the three wars by which German unification was brought about under the leadership of Prussia, and by Prussian methods; yet he never changed his former favorable opinions one iota as far as we have any record, and he lived ten years after the conclusion of the Franco-Prussian war. During Germany's victorious advance through France he wrote that Prussia alone of modern nations seems to have "the art of government." And during the siege of Paris, when English opinion

from the London *Times* of November 11, 1870.¹ Its influence at the time was great, and it is said to have accomplished the results desired by its author. Incidentally I might add that, the hour and day being considered, its republication at this time is particularly appropriate.

There do exist, however, other definite proofs that "the modern militaristic, industrial, and materialized Germany" was not "beyond the furthest outskirts of his vision," and further that it was well within the bounds of his sympathies. During the last half of his life, from about 1840 on, his writings were largely of a political nature, and he has repeatedly and picturesquely expressed his views on government. As Gilbert Chesterton says, "he was the first of the socialists," though his was far from the socialism of the modern exponents. Carlyle's idea, as I understand it, demands first a genuine government, strong, and if possible well-traditioned, stable, permanent and continuous; not such as is to be had by "election," for with modern democracy, so called, he had no sympathy whatever. The "governing powers" should first of all be fully alive to their tremendous responsibilities. Next they should be serious, talented and qualified leaders, the "able man" of Carlyle, and they should drill, guide, help, instruct and teach the nation they are called upon to rule, with an eye single to their high commission and nature's inexorable laws. The principle of *laissez-faire*, of extreme individualism in national life, was to him abhorrent. Government must be paternal and concern itself directly and in an infinite variety of ways with promoting the well-being of its people. Great penalties will follow neglect of this. Poverty in a country is an abomination and must be eliminated by active governmental interference. The poorhouses of England filled with able-bodied workers doomed to death-in-life afforded his text for *Past and Present*, a book in which many of his views on government are set forth. His observations on sanitation in factories, in the houses of the poor, on the consumption of smoke at the factories—all sound strangely modern and show him to have been far in advance of the opinion in his day, in these matters at least. An aristocracy that governs is a noble, a divine thing. A dilettante aristocracy that hunts foxes and passes "corn laws" is a diabolical anomaly and carries far-reaching penalties with it. What is an aristocracy etymologically but the "best," and duke, *dux*, a leader, or director? There is no doubt but that Carlyle believed thoroughly in government by the aristocracy, not necessarily always by the hereditary nobility; and

¹ Carlyle's letter to the *Times* will be found on another page of this issue.

further that only in rare instances do the aristocracies measure up to their responsibilities. In Germany, and in Prussia especially, he saw his ideas applied to a greater degree than elsewhere; hence his predilection for the Prussian government, a partiality that was apparently becoming more firmly rooted from year to year up to the time of his death in 1881.

But after all it is the modern Germany that has carried out Carlyle's principles of government and has applied them so thoroughly and so widely that one might be tempted to believe that he had furnished the model on which Germany was to build up a modern state as an example of what can be done by a living government. Yet so far as I know, Carlyle, while highly appreciated in Germany, is in no sense the father of its governmental undertakings. But to say that Carlyle would have been, on the whole, displeased with the Germany of 1881 to 1914, is equivalent to saying that that stern and earnest man did not believe what he preached so vehemently for more than fifty years.

I would not, however, convey the impression that I believe that Carlyle held the Prussia and the Germany of his day to be ideal, any more than I think there is reason to believe that he, if living, would call the Germany of 1871 to 1914 perfect. I simply hold that of the leading governments, that of Prussia, and later that of Germany, seem to be the least defective and to conform most nearly in theory and practice to the underlying principles of government.

As to industrialism in a state in contrast to "art, music and philosophy" he has left us in no doubt. All his visions of the well-governed state show it teeming with industry of every honorable sort, protected, supported, and regulated by an all-powerful government. In the early sixties he speaks of "a Prussia all shooting into manufactures, into commerces, opulences," and approvingly. As to those who pursue "art" as an end he has left us his opinion in language such as only he could command. Thomas Carlyle, "the last of the Puritans," said in no uncertain voice that man is here only to do his duty, and "art and litterateurs figure very little in all that." He has spoken over and over again kindly and even lovingly of the Prussian soldiers. Except Cromwell's Ironsides no others apparently ever so appealed to him, and he had followed the Prussian through all his wars up to the time of his death in 1881.

the virility, health and prosperity of a nation. His liking for the military, which increased as he grew older, is of more than passing interest, but cannot be inquired into nor analyzed here.

This question of Carlyle and the present war is one of more than superficial interest. For no other author's writings, doctrines and life-teachings are more at stake than are his. A public discussion of his teachings in their relation to the war and conjectures as to his probable attitude toward the several belligerents, would excite a lively interest among a considerable circle of readers.

As this point in the *Times* review of Mr. Kelly's book which I have taken up, is one that I conceive to be not of opinion, but of fact, and one that is essential to any intelligent discussion of Carlyle and the war, I thought it only just that the *Times* should give it the same publicity as they gave to the original statement to which I have taken exception. With these two view-points before it the public could at least decide for itself or, what is still better, investigate for itself. Nevertheless, the *Times* did not see fit to publish my statement, which accordingly appears here for the first time.

CARLYLE ON THE FRENCH-GERMAN WAR,

1870-71.¹

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

CHelsea, 11 Nov., 1870.

SIR,—It is probably an amiable trait of human nature, this cheap pity and newspaper lamentation over fallen and afflicted France: but it seems to me a very idle, dangerous, and misguided feeling, as applied to the cession of Alsace and Lorraine by France to her German conquerors; and argues, on the part of England, a most profound ignorance as to the mutual history of France and Germany and the conduct of France toward that country for long centuries back. The question for the Germans, in this crisis, is not one of “magnanimity,” of “heroic pity and forgiveness to a fallen foe,” but of solid prudence, and practical consideration of what the fallen foe will in all likelihood do when once on his feet again. Written on her memory, in a dismally instructive manner, Germany has an experience of four hundred years on this point; of which on the English memory, if it ever was recorded there, there is now little or no trace visible.

Does any one of us know, for instance, with the least precision, or in fact know at all, the reciprocal procedures, the mutual history as we call it, of Louis XI and Kaiser Max? Max in his old age put down, in chivalrous allegorical or emblematic style, a wonderful record of these things, the *Weisse König* (“White King,” as he called himself; “Red King,” or perhaps “Black,” being Louis’s adumbrative title); adding many fine engravings by the best artist of his time; for the sake of these prints, here and there an English collector may possess a copy of the book; but I doubt if any Englishman has ever read it, or could, for want of other reading on

¹ From the *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays of T. Carlyle*, Vol. V. New York, 1899.

the subject, understand any part of it. Old Louis's quarrel with the Chief of Germany at that time was not unlike this last one of a younger Louis: "You accursed Head of Germany, you have been prospering in the world lately, and I not; have at you, then, with fire and sword!" But it ended more successfully for old Louis and his French than I hope the present quarrel will. The end, at that time, was that opulent, noble Burgundy did not get re-united to her old Teutonic mother, but to France, her grasping step-mother, and remains French to this day.

Max's grandson and successor, Charles V, was hardly luckier than Max in his road-companion and contemporary French king. Francis I, not content with France for a kingdom, began by trying to be elected German Kaiser as well; and never could completely digest his disappointment in that fine enterprise. He smoothed his young face, however; swore eternal friendship with the young Charles who had beaten him; and, a few months after, he egged on the poor little Duke of Bouillon, the *Reich's* and Charles's vassal, to refuse homage in that quarter, and was in hot war with Charles. The rest of his earthly existence was a perpetual haggles of broken treaties, and ever-recurring war and injury with Charles V;—a series, withal, of intrusive interferences with Germany, and every German trouble that arose, to the worsening and widening of them all, not to the closing or healing of any one of them. A terrible journey these two had together, and a terrible time they made out for Germany between them, and for France too, though not by any means in a like degree. The exact deserts of his Most Christian Majesty Francis I in covenanting with Sultan Soliman,—that is to say, in letting loose the then quasi-infernal roaring lion of a Turk (then in the height of his sanguinary fury and fanaticism, not sunk to *caput mortuum* and a torpid nuisance as now) upon Christendom and the German Empire. I do not pretend to estimate. It seems to me, no modern imagination can conceive this atrocity of the Most Christian King; or how it harassed, and haunted with incessant terror, the Christian nations for the two centuries ensuing.

Richelieu's trade, again, was twofold: First, what everybody must acknowledge was a great and legitimate one, that of coercing and drilling into obedience to their own sovereign the vassals of the Crown of France; and secondly, that of plundering, weakening, thwarting, and in all ways tormenting the German Empire. "He

of it till Germany were burnt to utter ruin; no nation ever nearer absolute ruin than unhappy Germany then was. An unblessed Richelieu for Germany; nor a blessed for France either, if we look to the ulterior issues, and distinguish the solid from the specious in the fortune for nations. No French ruler, not even Napoleon I, was a feller or crueller enemy to Germany, nor half so pernicious to it (to its very soul as well as to its body): and Germany had done him no injury that I know of, except that of existing beside him.

Of Louis XIV's four grand plunderings and incendiariisms of Europe,—for no real reason but his own ambition, and desire to snatch his neighbor's goods,—of all this we of this age have now, if any, an altogether faint and placid remembrance, and our feelings on it differ greatly from those that animated our poor forefathers in the time of William III and Queen Anne. Of Belle Isle and Louis XV's fine scheme to cut Germany into four little kingdoms, and have them dance and fence to the piping of Versailles, I do not speak; for to France herself this latter fine scheme brought its own reward: loss of America, loss of India, disgrace and discomfiture in all quarters of the world,—advent, in fine, of the French Revolution; embarkation on the shoreless chaos on which ill-fated France still drifts and tumbles.

The Revolution and Napoleon I, and their treatment of Germany, are still in the memory of men and newspapers; but that was not by any means, as idle men and newspapers seem to think, the first of Germany's sufferings from France; it was the last of a very long series of such,—the last but one, let us rather say; and hope that this now going on as "Siege of Paris," as wide-spread empire of bloodshed; anarchy, delirium, and mendacity, the fruit of France's latest *marche à Berlin* may be the last! No nation ever had so bad a neighbor as Germany has had in France for the last 400 years; bad in all manner of ways; insolent, rapacious, insatiable, unappeasable, continually aggressive.

And now, furthermore, in all history there is no insolent unjust neighbor that ever got so complete, instantaneous, and ignominious a smashing-down as France has now got from Germany. Germany, after four hundred years of ill-usage, and generally of ill-fortune,

There is no law of nature that I know of, no Heaven's Act of Parliament, whereby France, alone of terrestrial beings, shall not restore any portion of her plundered goods when the owners they were wrenched from have an opportunity upon them. To nobody, except to France herself for the moment, can it be credible that there is such a law of nature. Alsace and Lorraine were not got, either of them, in so divine a manner as to render that a probability. The cunning of Richelieu, the gradiose long-sword of Louis XIV, these are the only titles of France to those German countries. Richelieu screwed them loose (and, by happy accident, there was a Turenne, as general, got screwed along with them;—Turenne, I think, was mainly German by blood and temper, had not Francis I egged on his ancestor, the little Duke of Bouillon, in the way we saw, and gradually made him French): Louis le Grand, with his Turenne as supreme of modern generals, managed the rest of the operation,—except indeed, I should say, the burning of the Palatinate, from Heidelberg Palace steadily downward, into black ruin; which Turenne would not do sufficiently, and which Louis had to get done by another. There was also a good deal of extortionate law-practice, what we may fairly call violently-sharp attorneyism, put in use. The great Louis's *Chambres de Réunion*, Metz Chamber, Brissac Chamber, were once of high infamy, and much complained of here in England, and everywhere else beyond the Rhine. The Grand Louis, except by sublime gesture, ironically polite, made no answer. He styled himself, on his very coins (ecu of 1687, say the medalists), EXCELSUS SUPER OMNES GENTES DOMINUS; but it is certain, attorneyism of the worst sort was one of his instruments in this conquest of Alsace. Nay, as to Strasburg, it was not even attorneyism, much less a long-sword, that did the feat; it was a house-breaker's jemmy on the part of the Grand Monarque. Strasburg was got in time of profound peace by bribing of the magistrates to do treason, on his part, and admit his garrison one night.

Nor as to Metz la Pucelle, nor any of these Three Bishoprics, was it force of war that brought them over to France; rather it was force of fraudulent pawnbroking. King Henri II (year 1552) got these places, Protestants applying to him in their extreme need, as we may say, in the way of a pledge. Henri entered there with banners spread and drums beating, "solely in defense of German liberty, as God shall witness"; did nothing for Protestantism or German liberty (German liberty managing rapidly to help itself in this instance); and then, like a brazen-faced unjust pawnbroker,

refused to give the places back,—“had ancient rights over them,” extremely indubitable to him, and could not give them back. And never yet, by any pressure or persuasion, would. The great Charles V, Protestantism itself now supporting, endeavored, with his utmost energy and to the very cracking of his heart, to compel him; but could not. The present Hohenzollern King, a modest and pacific man in comparison, could and has. I believe it to be perfectly just, rational and wise that Germany should take these countries home with her from her unexampled campaign; and, by well fortifying her own old *Wasgau* (Vosges), *Hundsrück* (Dog’s Back), Three Bishoprics, and other military strengths, secure herself in time coming against French visits.

The French complain dreadfully of threatened “loss of honor”; and lamentable bystanders plead earnestly, “Don’t dishonor France; leave poor France’s honor bright.” But will it save the honor of France to refuse paying for the glass she has voluntarily broken in her neighbor’s windows? The attack upon the windows was her dishonor. Signally disgraceful to any nation was her late assault on Germany; equally signal has been the ignominy of its execution on the part of France. The honor of France can be saved only by the deep repentance of France; and by the serious determination never to do so again,—to do the reverse of so forever henceforth. In that way may the honor of France again gradually brighten to the height of its old splendor,—far beyond the First Napoleonic, much more the Third, or any recent sort,—and offer again to our voluntary love and grateful estimation all the fine and graceful qualities nature has implanted in the French.

For the present, I must say, France looks more and more delirious, miserable, blamable, pitiable and even contemptible. She refuses to see the facts that are lying palpable before her face, and the penalties she has brought upon herself. A France scattered into archaic ruin without recognizable head; head, or chief, indistinguishable from feet, or rabble; ministers flying up in balloons ballasted with nothing but outrageous public lies, proclamations of victories that were creatures of the fancy; a government subsisting altogether on mendacity, willing that horrid bloodshed should con-

“refuges of lies” were long ago discovered to lead down only to the Gates of Death Eternal, and to be forbidden to all creatures!—That the one hope for France is to recognize the facts which have come to her, and that they came withal by invitation of her own: how she,—a mass of gilded, proudly varnished anarchy,—has wilfully insulted and defied to mortal duel a neighbor not anarchic, but still in a quietly-human, sober and governed state; and has prospered accordingly. Prospered as an array of sanguinary mountebanks versus a Macedonian Phalanx must needs do;—and now lies smitten down into hideous wreck and impotence; testifying to gods and men what extent of rottenness, anarchy and hidden vileness lay in her. That the inexorable fact is, she has left herself without resource or power of resisting the victorious Germans; and that her wisdom will be to take that fact into her astonished mind; to know that, howsoever hateful, said fact is inexorable, and will have to be complied with,—the sooner at the cheaper rate. It is a hard lesson to vainglorious France; but France, we hope, has still in it veracity and probity enough to accept fact as an evidently-adamantine entity, which will not brook resistance without penalty, and is unalterable by the very gods.

But indeed the quantity of conscious mendacity that France, official and other, has perpetrated latterly, especially since July last, is something wonderful and fearful. And, alas, perhaps even that is small compared to the self-delusion and “unconscious mendacity” long prevalent among the French; which is of still feller and more poisonous quality, though unrecognized for poison. To me, at times, the mournfullest symptom in France is the figure its “men of genius,” its highest literary speakers, who should be prophets and seers to it, make at present, and indeed for a generation back have been making. It is evidently their belief that new celestial wisdom is radiating out of France upon all the other overshadowed nations; that France is the new Mount Zion of the universe; and that all this sad, sordid, semi-delirious and, in good part, infernal stuff which French literature has been preaching to us for the last fifty years, is a veritable new Gospel out of Heaven, pregnant with blessedness for all the sons of men. Alas, one does understand that France made her Great Revolution; uttered her tremendous doom’s voice against a world of human shams, proclaiming, as with the great Last Trumpet that shams should be no more. I often call that a celestial-infernal phenomenon,—the most memorable in our world for a thousand years; on the whole, a transcendent revolt against the Devil and his works (since shams are all the sundry of

the Devil, and poisonous and unendurable to man.) For that we all infinitely love and honor France. And truly all nations are now busy enough copying France in regard to that! From side to side of the civilized world there is, in a manner, nothing noticeable but the whole world in deep and dismally-chaotic Insurrection against Shams, determination to have done with shams, *coute que coute*. Indispensable that battle, however ugly. Well done, we may say to all that; for it is the preliminary to everything:—but, alas, all that is not yet victory; it is but half the battle, and the much easier half. The infinitely harder half, which is the equally or the still more indispensable, is that of achieving, instead of the abolished shams which were of the Devil, the practicable realities which should be veritable and of God. That first half of the battle, I rejoice to see, is now safe, can now never cease except in victory; but the further stage of it, I also see, must be under better presidency than that of France, or it will forever prove impossible. The German race, not the Gaelic, are now to be protagonist in that immense world-drama; and from them I expect better issues. Worse we cannot well have. France with a dead-life effort, now of eighty-one years, has accomplished under this head, for herself or for the world, Nothing, or even less,—in strict arithmetic, zero with minus quantities. Her prophets prophesy a vain thing; her people rove about in darkness, and have wandered far astray.

Such prophets and such a people;—who, in the way of deception and self-deception, have carried it far! “Given up to strong delusion,” as the Scripture says; till, at last, the lie seems to them the very truth. And now, in their strangling crisis and extreme need, they appear to have no resource but self-deception still, and quasi-heroic gasconade. They do believe it to be heroic. They believe that they are the “Christ of nations”; an innocent godlike people, suffering for the sins of all nations, with an eye to redeem us all:—let us hope that this of the “Christ of nations” is the *non plus ultra* of the thing. I wish they would inquire whether there might not be a Cartouche of nations, fully as likely as a Christ of nations in our time! Cartouche had many gallant qualities; was much admired, and much pitied in his sufferings; and had many fine ladies begging locks of his hair, while the inexorable, indispensable gibbet was preparing. But in the end there was no salvation for Cartouche. Better he should obey the heavy-handed Teutch police-officer, who has him by the windpipe in such frightful manner; give up part of his stolen goods; altogether cease to be a Cartouche, and try to become again a Chevalier Bayard under im-

proved conditions, and a blessing and beautiful benefit to all his neighbors,—instead of too much the reverse, as now! Clear it is, at any rate, singular as it may seem to France, all Europe does not come to the rescue, in gratitude for the heavenly “illumination” it is getting from France: nor could all Europe, if it did, at this moment prevent that awful Chancellor from having his own way. Metz and the boundary fence, I reckon, will be dreadfully hard to get out of the Chancellor’s hands again.

A hundred years ago there was in England the liveliest desire, and at one time an actual effort and hope, to recover Alsace and Lorraine from the French. Lord Carteret, called afterward Lord Granville (no ancestor, in any sense, of his now Honourable synonym), thought by some to be, with the one exception of Lord Chatham, the wisest Foreign Secretary we ever had, and especially the “one Secretary that ever spoke German or understood German matters at all,” had set his heart on this very object; and had fair prospects of achieving it,—had not our poor dear Duke of Newcastle suddenly peddled him out of it; and even out of office altogether, into sullen disgust (and too much of wine withal, says Walpole), and into total oblivion by his nation, which, except Chatham, has none such to remember. That Bismarck, and Germany along with him, should now at this propitious juncture make a like demand, is no surprise to me. After such provocation, and after such a victory, the resolution does seem rational, just and even modest. And considering all that has occurred since that memorable cataclysm at Sedan, I could reckon it creditable to the sense and moderation of Count Bismarck that he stands steadily by this; demanding nothing more, resolute to take nothing less, and advancing with a slow calmness toward it by the eligiblest roads. The “Siege of Paris,” which looks like the hugest and most hideous farce tragedy ever played under this sun, Bismarck evidently hopes will never need to come to uttermost bombardment, to millionfold death by hunger, or the kindling of Paris and its carpentries and asphalt streets by shells and red-hot balls into a sea of fire. Diligent, day by day, seem those Prussians, never resting nor too much hasting; well knowing the proverb, “Slow fire makes sweet malt.” I believe Bismarck will get his Alsace and what he wants of Lorraine; and likewise that it will do him, and us, and all the world,

her lesson honestly. If she cannot, she will get another, and ever another; learnt the lesson must be.

Considerable misconception as to Herr von Bismarck is still prevalent in England. The English newspapers, nearly all of them, seem to me to be only getting toward a true knowledge of Bismarck, but not yet got to it. The standing likeness, circulating everywhere ten years ago, of demented Bismarck and his ditto King to Strafford and Charles I versus our Long Parliament (as like as Macedon to Monmouth, and not liker) has now vanished from the earth, no whisper of it ever to be heard more. That pathetic Niobe of Denmark, reft violently of her children (which were stolen children, and were dreadfully ill-nursed by Niobe Denmark), is also nearly gone; and will go altogether so soon as knowledge of the matter is had. Bismarck, as I read him, is not a person of "Napoleonic" ideas, but of ideas quite superior to Napoleonic; shows no invincible "lust of territory," nor is tormented with "vulgar ambition," etc.; but has aims very far beyond that sphere, and in fact seems to me to be striving with strong faculty, by patient, grand and successful steps, toward an object beneficial to Germans and to all other men. That noble, patient, deep, pious and solid Germany should be at length welded into a nation, and become Queen of the Continent, instead of vapping, vainglorious, gesticulating, quarrelsome, restless, and over-sensitive France, seems to me the hopefulest public fact that has occurred in my time.—I remain, Sir, yours truly.

T. CARLYLE.

SOB SISTERS AND THE WAR.

BY CHARLES ALMA BYERS.

VERILY, the old order changeth. The day of the real war correspondent, the man of red blood and nerve and with a nose for battlefield news, has passed. In the modern theaters of war he has become a *persona non grata*, and therefore non-existent. And in his place—*vive feminism!*—has come the “sob sister.” It is indeed a cruel war which the world is experiencing.

If there were some modern Diogenes to prowl about with a lantern—or even modernly equipped with a searchlight—looking for the possible good accruing from the ill-wind which sweeps the world to-day, it is to be wondered if he would be more successful than was the original, christened Laertius, who sought for an honest man. In America, on whose door Opportunity has loudly rapped, he would find, it is true, that we have reaped millions of dollars from “humanity”-protected ammunition and have produced and nurtured some scores of “sob sisters.” But what else? And would he be satisfied with the discovery? For Diogenes, you know, was a skeptic.

The “sob sister” is a peculiar species of the *genus homo*—feminine in name but common in gender, and variously garbed in skirts or trousers. But although peculiar, she—let us call her such for want of a more adequate pronoun—is by no means a *rara avis*. Begat of the union of the much-common “sob sister” of the daily newspaper and the once-loved muck-raker of the magazine—as mother and father respectively—she, although perhaps more *blasé* than they, is as much a product of the war as are the “war babies” of Europe; and probably as numerous. And of course since she is a child of the war and her father is dead, we, to be consistent to sentiment, must nurture her well—God bless the dear!

Not to the battlefields does the “sob sister” flock; but safe and secure in boudoir or den or editorial sanctum annex, far from the

din and bullets of conflict, she supplants the old-time war correspondent with ease and grace and sweet presumptuousness, her facile typewriter—like the old mill that, on the ocean bed, ground out salt, salt, salt—grinding out words, words, words. Occasionally mayhap, she, like the vulture that hovers safely against the azure sky, will visit the third or thirteenth trench “at the front,” for a fleeting moment at still of night, or the capital of some country at war, and send thence her wail to the sentiment-and-atrocity hungering world. But not for facts does she venture thither; instead, it is merely for “local color” and the essential prestige—if the latter be otherwise lacking.

She prejudiced? Ah, not necessarily; just human—avaricious. She caters to that market which rewards in dollars. The market itself may be prejudiced—may hunger for English-flavored sobs and universal German condemnation; but little cares she. For a jitney a word, she stands ready to herald any one who steals a loaf of bread as a Jean Valjean, or any Cavell as a Jeanne D’Arc. She might have even deigned to make heroines of Margarete Schmitt and Otilie Moss, executed in France for espionage, had a lucrative American market for German heroines existed. Hence—for an American press, English-prejudiced or English-subsidized—she, with a magnifying glass, explores the stars of the *Entente* firmament, soberly analyzing their divine luster and their beneficent brilliancy, and the meanwhile, under the small end of a telescope, she likewise soberly dissects the *Kultur* of the Teutons, kindly laying bare before our long-unseeing eyes its coarseness, its barbarity, its *et cetera ad infinitum*.

And besides undertaking to supplant the war correspondent, ’tis feared she imagines she is writing history! Does she? I wonder. Could one be really certain, one might be tempted to back-track over her dollar-paved trail, to reconsider her well-worn themes and present rebuttal. But why be ungallant—embarrassing? Moreover, why should one, by becoming analytical, court the stigma of propagandist? A propagandist, you know, must necessarily possess a German leaning, and is therefore a criminal. Then, too, there is that branding iron called the “hyphen”—contaminating if German—to be feared and shunned.

While no prize-fighter, college president, or other laurel-crowned person is necessarily debarred from the ranks, if his or her name be of the *n*th power, the fiction writer, of course, makes the best loved “sob sister” of all. She is so excellently qualified. Witness, for instance, the number of fictionists, both imported and domestic,

who have joined the sisterhood, and thereby become such valued authorities on the European war—its causes and its effects, its crimes and its glories, its barbarians and its heroes. But the name's the thing—the entering wedge. It was not sophisticated Shakespeare who asked: "What's in a name?" It was love-blind, love-loony Romeo; and Romeo was not an editor.

But enough by way of preamble. "Preparedness" is the issue of the day in America. And why not? Let us forget "militarism," since "militarism" can be a crime only when fostered by Germans. And in "preparedness" let us not forget the "sob sister." It perhaps is important, to an extent, that we possess a few battleships and be able to mobilize some soldiers, but most important of all is a country's ability to mobilize a goodly quota of untiring "sob sisters." They, as a sort of press agent, subsidized or otherwise, can right all wrongs and wrong all rights, and, above all, recruit "flunkeys" at will. If any one has made the pen mightier than the sword it is they. Therefore, let us be ever worshipful.

THE CAABA.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE Caaba is well known in the Western world as the holiest object of Islam, but while this is true it originally had no intimate connection with this rigorous monotheistic faith. On the contrary it is a pre-Mohammedan relic of an earlier paganism. It was holy to the Arabians long before the time of Mohammed when the inhabitants of the desert still were given to the old pagan worship of Sabaism. In the pre-Islamic stage the Arabians worshipped several gods and even then Mecca was the holy city because it held the sacred "black stone" (*hadjura 'l-aswad*) that was regarded with superstitious awe for reasons which we no longer know. May it have been a meteorite which had fallen from heaven? This is not impossible, but we must remember that it is not one stone, but about a dozen small stones united by a dark cement into one and held together by a silver band.

This stone is kept hidden from the profane sight of infidels and so we must content ourselves with the description of those fortunate men who have been able to visit Mecca when the stone was greeted by the faithful. The size of the black stone is not large, but it is set in a brick building as large as a small house, which on account of its rectangular form has been called the "cube" or in Arabic, *Caaba*.

A description of the Caaba, the oblong structure built to contain the precious black stone, is given at some length in T. P. Hughes's *Dictionary of Islam* where we read (s. v. Ka'bah, Hajura 'l-aswad, and Kiswah): "The Ka'bah (Caaba) is, according to Burckhardt and Burton, an oblong massive structure, 18 paces in length, 14 in breadth, and about 35 feet in height. It is constructed of gray Makkan stone in large blocks of different sizes, joined together in a very rough manner with cement. (Burton says it is excellent mortar like Roman cement.) The Ka'bah stands upon a base two

feet in height, which presents a sharp inclined plane; its roof being flat, it has at a distance the appearance of a perfect cube. The only door which affords entrance, and which is opened but two or three times in the year (Burton says it can be entered by pilgrims, by paying the guardian a liberal fee), is on the east side and about seven feet above the ground. At the southeast corner of the Ka'bah near the door is the famous black stone (*Hajura 'l-aswad*) which forms a part of the sharp angle of the building, at four or five feet above the ground.

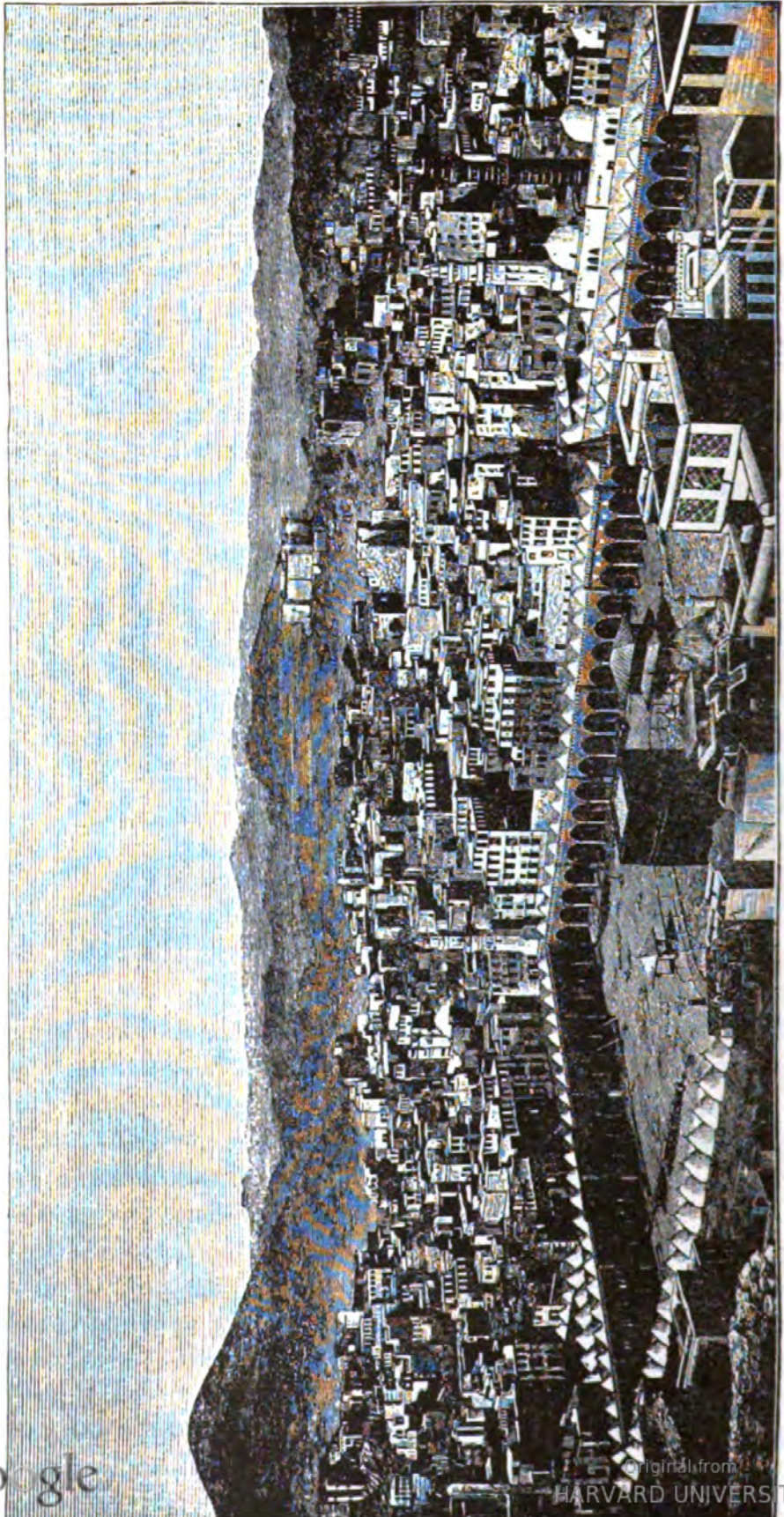
"The black stone, Mr. Burckhardt says, 'is an irregular oval, about seven inches in diameter, with an undulating surface, composed of about a dozen smaller stones of different sizes and shapes well joined together with a small quantity of cement and perfectly



THE BLACK STONE.

From T. Mann, *Der Islam einst und jetzt*.

well smoothed. It looks as if the whole had been broken into as many pieces by a violent blow, and then united again. It is very difficult to determine accurately the quality of this stone, which has been worn to its present surface by the millions of touches and kisses it has received. It appeared to me like a lava, containing several small extraneous particles of a whitish and of a yellow substance. Its color is now a deep reddish brown approaching to black. It is surrounded on all sides by a border composed of a substance which I took to be a close cement of pitch and gravel of a similar, but not quite the same, brownish color. This border serves to support its detached pieces; it is two or three inches in breadth, and rises a little above the surface of the stone. Both the border and the stone itself are encircled by a silver band, broader



MECCA, SHOWING THE SURROUNDING HILLS.

below than above, and on the two sides, with a considerable swelling below, as if a part of the stone were hidden under it. The lower part of the border is studded with silver nails.'



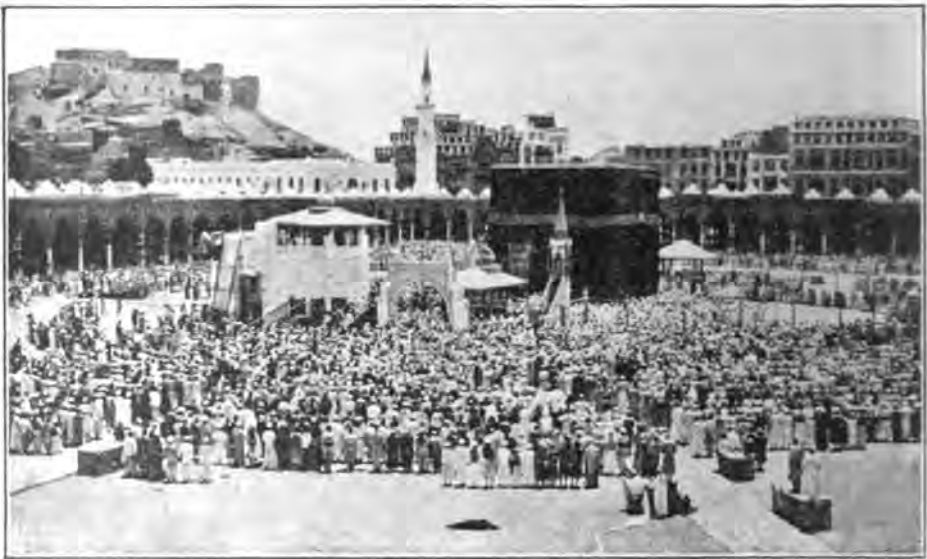
SYRIAN TILE REPRESENTING THE MOSQUE OF MECCA WITH THE CAABA.

1726. Original in the Arabian Museum at Cairo.

"Captain Burton remarks, 'The color appeared to me black and metallic, and the center of the stone was sunk about two inches below the metallic circle. Round the sides was a reddish brown

cement almost level with the metal and sloping down to the middle of the stone. The band is now a massive arch of gold and silver gilt. I found the aperture in which the stone is, one span and three fingers broad.'

"According to Ibn 'Abbas, Muhammad said the black stone came down from Paradise and at the time of its descent was whiter than milk (but that the sins of the children of Adam have caused it to be black by their touching it; that on the day of resurrection, when it will have two eyes, by which it will see and know all those who touched it and kissed it, and when it will have a tongue to speak, it will give evidence in favor of those who touched and kissed it.



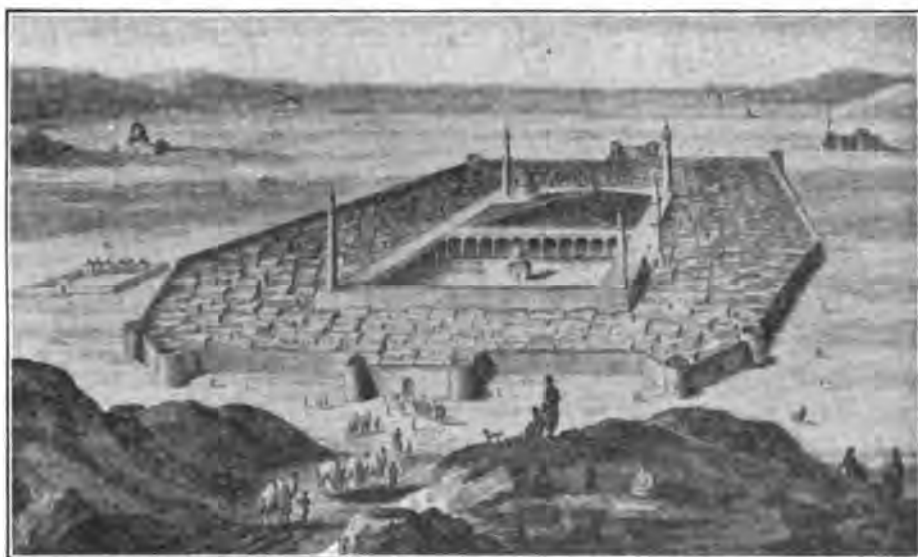
WORSHIPING PILGRIMS IN THE COURT-YARD OF THE MOSQUE
AT MECCA.

After Snouck-Hurzronje, *Bilder aus Mekka*.

"Maximus Tyrius, who wrote in the second century, says: 'The Arabians pay homage to I know not what god, which they represent by a quadrangular stone,' alluding to the Ka'bah or temple which contains the black stone.' The Guebars or ancient Persians assert that the black stone was among the the images and relics left by Mahabad and his successors in the Ka'bah, and that it was an emblem of Saturn. It is probably an aerolite and owes its reputation, like many others, to its fall from the sky. Its existence as an object of adoration in an iconoclastic religious system can only be accounted for by Muhammad's attempt to conciliate the idolators of Arabia.

"In the corner of the Ka'bah facing the south, there is another

stone about five feet from the ground. It is one foot and a half in length, and two inches in breadth, placed upright, and of common Makkan stone. According to the rites of the pilgrimage, this stone, which is called *ar-Ruknu 'IYamānī*, or Yaman pillar, should only be touched with the right hand as the pilgrim passes it, but Captain Burton says he frequently saw it kissed by the pilgrims. Just by the door of the Ka'bah and close to the wall is a slight hollow in the ground, lined with marble and sufficiently large to admit of three persons sitting, which is called *al-Mi'jan*, and is supposed to be the place where Abraham and his son Ishmael kneaded the chalk and mud which they used to build the Ka'bah. Here it is thought meritorious to pray. On the base of the Ka'bah, just above the



MEDINA, SHOWING THE PROPHET'S GRAVE.

From d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire ottoman*, Paris, 1790.

Mi'jan, is an ancient Kufic inscription, which neither Burckhardt nor Burton were able to decipher or to copy. On the northwest side of the Ka'bah, about two feet below its summit, is the water-spout called the *Mi'sābu'r-Rahma*, or the water-spout of mercy. This spout is of gold, and was sent hither from Constantinople in A. H. 981 (A. D. 1573). It carries rain from the roof and discharges it upon Ishmael's grave. There are two large green marble slabs, which are said to have been presents from Cairo, A. H. 241 (A. D. 855), which are supposed to mark the graves of Hagar and Ishmael. The pavement round the Ka'bah consists of a very handsome mosaic of various colored stones, and is said to have been

laid down A. H. 826 (A. D. 1423). On one side of the Ka'bah is a semicircular wall, the extremities of which are in a line with the sides of the Ka'bah, and distant about six feet leaving an opening which leads to the grave of Ishmael. The wall is called *al-Hatim*, 'the broken,' and the enclosed area *al-Hijr*, 'the enclosure.' The Ka'bah is covered with a cloth, which when Captain Burton visited Makkah in 1853, he found to be a coarse tissue of mixed silk and cotton, and of eight pieces, two for each face of the building, the seams being concealed by the broad gilt band called the *hizām*. It is lined with white calico, and has cotton ropes to secure the covering to metal rings at the basement. But on the occasion of Captain Burton's visit the *kiswah* was tucked up by ropes from the roof. The whole is of a brilliant black, with the gold band running round it.

"The *burqa'*, or veil, is a curtain hung before the door of the Ka'bah, also of black brocade, embroidered with inscriptions, in letters of gold, of verses from the Qur'ān, and lined with green silk.

"According to Burton, the inscription on the gold band of the *kiswah* is the ninetieth verse of the third Sūrah of the Qur'ān: 'Verily, the first House founded for mankind was surely that at Bakkah, for a blessing and a guidance to the worlds.' The whole is covered with seven Sūrahs of the Qur'ān.

"According to the traditions and the inventive genius of Muslim writers, the Ka'bah was first constructed in heaven (where a model of it still remains, called the *Baitu'l-Ma'mūr*) two thousand years before the creation of the world. Adam erected the Ka'bah on earth exactly below the spot its perfect model occupies in heaven, and selected the stones from the five sacred mountains, Sinai, al-Jūdi, Hirā', Olivet, and Lebanon. Ten thousand angels were appointed to guard the structure, but, as Burckhardt remarks, they appear to have been often most remiss in their duty! At the Deluge the sacred house was destroyed. But the Almighty is said to have instructed Abraham to rebuild it. In its construction Abraham was assisted by his son Ishmael, who with his mother Hagar were at the time residents of Makkah, Abraham having journeyed from Syria in order to obey the commands of God.

It then became the property of the Banū Khuzā'ah, who held it for three hundred years. But being constantly exposed to torrents, it was destroyed, and was rebuilt by Qusaiy ibn Kilāb, who put a top to it. Up to this time it is said to have been open at the roof.

"It is said, by Muhammadan historians, that 'Amr ibn Luhaiy was the first who introduced idolatry into Arabia, and that he brought the great idol Hubal from Hait in Mesopotamia and placed it in the sacred house. It then became a Pantheon common to all the tribes. The tribe of Qusaiy were the first who built dwelling-houses round the Ka'bah. The successors of the Banū Qusaiy were



THE GREAT MOSQUE AT MEDINA WITH THE PROPHET'S GRAVE.

From a photograph.

the Quraish. Soon after they came into possession, the Ka'bah was destroyed by fire, and they rebuilt it of wood and of a smaller size than it had been in the time of the Banū Qusaiy. The roof was supported within by six pillars, and the statue of Hubal was placed over a wall then existing within the Ka'bah. This took place during the youth of Muhammad. Al-Azraqī, quoted by Burckhardt, says that the figure of the Virgin Mary and the infant Jesus was sculptured as a deity upon one of the six pillars nearest the gate.

"The grandfather of Muhammad, 'Abdu 'l-Muttalib, the son

of Hāshim, became the custodian of the sacred house; and during his time, the Ka'bah being considered too low in its structure, the Quraish wished to raise it; so they demolished it and then they rebuilt it till the work reached the place of the black stone. Each tribe wishing to have the honor of raising the black stone into its place, they quarreled among themselves. But they at last agreed that the first man who should enter the gate of the enclosure should be umpire. Muhammad was the first to enter, and he was appointed umpire. He thereupon ordered them to place the stone upon a cloth and each tribe by its representative to take hold of the cloth and lift it into its place. The dispute was thus ended, and when the stone had reached its proper place, Muhammad fixed it in its situation with his own hand.

“At the commencement of Muhammad's mission, it is remarkable that there is scarcely an allusion to the Ka'bah, and this fact, taken with the circumstance that the earliest *Qiblah* or direction for prayer, was Jerusalem, and not the Ka'bah, seems to imply that Muhammad's strong iconoclastic tendencies did not incline his sympathies to this ancient idol temple with its superstitious ceremonies. Had the Jews favorably received the new prophet as one who taught the religion of Abraham, to the abrogation of that of Moses and Jesus, Jerusalem and not Makkah would have been the sacred city, and the ancient rock and not the Ka'bah would have been the object of superstitious reverence.

“When Muhammad found himself established in al-Madīnah, with a very good prospect of obtaining possession of Makkah and its historic associations, he seems to have withdrawn his thoughts from Jerusalem and its sacred rock and to fix them on the house at Bakkah as the home founded for mankind,—Blessed, and a guidance to all creatures (Sūrah iii. 90). The Jews proving obdurate and there being little chance of his succeeding in establishing his claim as their prophet spoken of by Moses, he changes the *Qiblah*, or direction for prayer, from Jerusalem to Makkah. The house at Makkah is made a place of resort unto men and a sanctuary (Sūrah ii. 119).

“The *Qiblah* is changed by an express command of the Almighty, and the whole passage is remarkable as exhibiting a decided concession on the part of Muhammad to the claims of the Ka'bah

less; for unto man is God merciful, gracious. We have seen thee turning thy face toward every part of heaven; but we will have thee turn to a Qiblah which shall please thee. Turn then thy face toward the sacred mosque, and wherever ye be, turn your faces toward that part. They, verily, to whom the Book hath been given, know this to be the truth from their Lord: and God is not regardless of what ye do. Even though thou shouldst bring every kind of sign to those who have received the Scriptures, yet thy Qiblah they will not adopt; nor shalt thou adopt their Qiblah; nor will one part of them adopt the Qiblah of the other. And if, after the knowledge which hath come to thee, thou follow their wishes, verily then wilt thou become of the unrighteous. They to whom we have given the Scriptures know him—the *apostle*—even as they know their own children; but truly a part of them do conceal the truth, though acquainted with it. The truth is from thy Lord. Be not then of those who doubt. All have a quarter of the heavens to which they turn them; but wherever ye be, hasten emulously after good. God will one day bring you all together; verily, God is all-powerful. And from whatever place thou comest forth, turn thy face toward the sacred mosque; for this is the truth from thy Lord, and God is not inattentive to your doings. And from whatever place thou comest forth, turn thy face toward the sacred mosque; and wherever ye be, to that part turn your faces, lest men have cause of dispute against you. But as for the impious among them, fear them not; but fear me, that I may perfect my favors on you, and that ye may be guided aright.’

“In the seventh year of the Hijrah, Muhammad was, according to the treaty with the Quraish at al-Hudaibiyah in the previous year, allowed to enter Makkah and perform the circuit of the Ka‘bah. Hubal and the other idols of the Arabian pantheon were still within the sacred building, but, as Muhammad’s visit was limited to three days, he confined himself to the ordinary rites of the *‘Umrah*, or visitation, without interfering with the idolatrous arrangement of the Ka‘bah itself. Before he left, at the hour of midday prayer, Bilāl ascended the holy house, and from its summit gave the first call to Muslim prayers, which were afterwards led by the Prophet in the usual form.

The following year Muhammad occupied Makkah by force of arms. The idols in the Ka‘bah were destroyed, and the rites of the pilgrimage were established as by divine enactment. From this time the history of the Ka‘bah becomes part of the history of Islām.”

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF GERMAN ACTION.

BY OTTO C. BACKOF.

“THE end of man is an action, and not a thought, though it were the noblest” (Carlyle). The final test of true culture is the quality of action, or work, that springs from it. The most difficult act of the mind is to translate its thought into action. The world calls for the doer of things. He who adds to its storehouse of products is everywhere welcome. This applies with equal force to the collective as to the individual man. In the struggle for existence the fittest survive. The law weighs the fit against the unfit, and almost imperceptibly eliminates the latter. Its decree is autocratic, final. It simply will not tolerate inferiority. According as a nation succeeds in expressing itself in its outer works, so will its proper station in the world's esteem be meted to it. In the present paper we are concerned primarily with the acts and work of the German in the domain of the practical.

The unanimous verdict of both friend and foe the world over is that the German's work is highly efficient. Judged by the severest tests of need and utility, his work in every field stands out resplendent. To be efficient, what a sum of prior elements had to adjust themselves, and coalesce, in their formation! Each act, each single piece of work, is thought-laden. Intelligence, design, purpose lie imbedded in everything created. What a world of meaning then does the word “efficiency” carry with it! Looking back to its genesis, the efficient act, if properly analyzed and appraised, would almost be a summary of human history itself. One school of thinkers actually insist on just such an interpretation of history as its proper and only gauge. Whatever may be the true method of historical research, human works are of paramount importance in all the affairs of life. When a man is trained to do with ease and precision the difficult work of the world, he acquires the reputation for efficiency. It might be said that efficiency is the last and best

expression of one's work. What makes this word all-important in reflecting an opinion of a given piece of work, is its coming from the world at large. It cannot under any circumstances emanate from the person or source to whom it may apply. It is always the calm, unbiased judgment of those other than oneself. No amount of self-inflated egoism or vanity can give it life and potency. It must come as a reward for honest work done. And when it is grudgingly admitted by an enemy bent on the utter destruction of the individual or people that is praised, what added zest and merit does it not thereby acquire? Verily by a man's work shalt thou judge him!

All of us have to learn how to work in one form or another. To some it comes easily, while others are forever in open conflict and rebellion with its every behest. The savage man regards it beneath his dignity and assigns it to the female of the species. As man advances in civilization by slow degrees he acquires the habit of working for self-sustenance. Only as he succeeds in giving conscious attention to work is he able finally to master its necessary detail. The man who can apply himself systematically and hold himself to his appointed task, will in proper time master its technique. This person it is who becomes master-craftsman and whose work is crowned by the word "efficient."

What an asset and blessing in this gloomy world of moil and broil are honest and willing workers who go about their tasks with good cheer! Moreover, these attitudes toward work are possible, and, indeed, probable under favorable environments. The amount of efficiency and merit of a given piece of work is attainable just in the proportion as any, or all, of the above attitudes of mind of its workers are enabled to express themselves. This is distinctively a result of time, race and apt social conditions in the country from which it springs. Efficiency, like all other products, is grounded in a long and logical past, and one in which it could and did receive its proper nurture, sustenance and support. Just this method, the synthetic and logical, is the distinctive Germanic one. They insist on proof. They will not tolerate gaps in their reasoning. They ask for the harmonious play and interplay of cause and effect, and are eternally searching for the connecting link which unites the chain of causality. In this manner they build their works and take an honest pride in the objective creations of their brain.

All work is the result of the exercise of the will. Whether we are aware of it or not, no act of ours can be born into the world of actuality without the exercise of that function of mind known as will. The will is the objectifying principle of the mind. A

trained will is one of the most priceless of human possessions. Not the entire wealth of all the rest of the world is equal to it. As man in his work approximates a perfectly trained will, so all nature does his bidding. At best we are but imperfect expressions of a properly trained will. Most of us cannot hold a sustained thought for any considerable period of time. A certain United States senator is said to have complained that "not one man in a million can think logically on a single subject for a period of a minute and a half." This may or may not be true. It simply means that they have not sufficient concentration of mind to hold a thought long enough to see its proper relations. Let us look at one more phase of the will and its operation. All of us at some point are victims of a palsied will,—a habit, to rise above the slavery of which often proves futile. A trained mind on the other hand learns so to direct the physical organs of the body that they will perform methodical work. This is a distinct advance in human culture, and what is more, along the lines of the practical and useful. The word method in itself shows a prior training. A knowledge of the kind of work, and the training to carry it out, are here the essentials.

Old races, and especially those whose growth and culture have been continuous and progressive, will furnish their individual members a vast, accumulated wealth of mental stimuli conducive to strong and sustained thinking. This practice in time enables them to hold and concentrate on a given topic, affording it a thorough analysis and consideration. All large and complex work requires strong, intensive concentration. The mind in concentration first gets control of itself, and by sheer will-power centers its attention on the matter in hand and proceeds to weigh all the interrelated aspects of the subject. In this way the oncoming act receives the benefit of a thorough mental seasoning before it is launched out into the world of the concrete. An act which is the logical child of deep concentration bears the impress of efficiency, because its prenatal influences were charged with much, if not all, of the structural elements essential to its being. It is indeed a favored child of fortune. We usually style it a rational act or deed. Such an act comes as the response to a series of logically interrelated parts and is inherently charged with the high efficiency of its kind. Contrast

fection. It at least feels and knows that nature operates through unerring laws and is ever on the alert to find new methods for their application and use to the world. In this way such nations cooperate with nature in the interest of man.

At this time when Germany occupies so prominent a place in the eyes of the world, it is not amiss to seek to interpret that part of her virile national life which has to do with the manner in which in times of peace she actually performs her work. After all, the constructive work of the world is performed during periods of peace. Then it is that the nation and the man are natural and normal. The justification for war in any forum is one of self-preservation, while that for peace is the amount of positive good it is extending to those who come within the radius of its influence. German action in its entirety must include the two essentials of construction and preservation. The first deals with the works of peace, that is the political, commercial and economic activities of its peoples pursuing their several individual vocations which economic need has prompted them to learn; whereas the military, also a very necessary part of their activity, is called into play when the life of the nation is threatened either from within or without. Right here I hasten to call attention most emphatically to a prevailing American habit of considering the German military system as a single, isolated, and separate institution. That is a partial, very inaccurate and therefore unfair treatment of the subject. The German government is the most intensively integrated state in the world. Every part unerringly relates itself to every other part in the economy of the state. To tear any part loose from its bodily constituent is to possess only a limb from its central trunk or torso, and therefore have only a partial and necessarily imperfect conception of its true function and meaning. The same would also be true if we sought to understand German economic life without a reference to its equally vital military arm of defense. This is seen only too clearly just now in reading the commercial magazines of both England and France, which are gloating over the total destruction of German commerce with foreign countries. The latter is actually the principal object to be obtained. Germany's economic activity is what causes friction. Her manner of doing things is so radically different from the prevailing mode that one of two things must happen. Either the destruction and wiping out of the German method, or its adoption by the rest of the world. If this view is the true one it becomes necessary to look into and analyze both forms

in juxtaposition to one another. In this way it will furnish a clearer insight into primal economic causes.

In the first place England preeminently stands for, and is the classic type of, the present prevailing form of the world's action. In every sense of the term she has won her present lofty station deservedly, if individualism, competition and free trade are still to remain the dominant, controlling force among men. When Europe began to emerge out of the mists of the dark ages, and feudalism was dissolving itself into its individual members, it was a logical thing indeed that the world's work had to be done by a form of society based on the initiative of each individual and free competition. That was indeed an era of intense activity among all members of society, and the old battle-cry was "every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost." A basic factor of this form of institution was the handicraft form of work. When machines came into use and began to multiply and grow into the almost automatic form they possess to-day, then indeed the old form of competition was being gradually done away with. In its place in the great industrial countries of the world a new form of economic life, radically different from the old, was slowly being evolved, and right here is where the trouble arose. Germany as a nation was just then coming into its pristine life and vigor. Being a country of deep philosophic insight, she early saw the import of events transpiring in the prevailing industrial and commercial world and sought to correct the basic inconsistencies of the existing form of economic life. In doing this, the rest of the world avers, she became radical. Hers is a distinctively group, or associated, form of activity. At no stage is its government timorous about entering the economic field either as an actual participant in the production and distribution of the commodities of life or as a partner to private enterprise outright, or as a cooperator in the many ways in which it has already acted, in fostering German industry and commerce. The now famous slogan, "Made in Germany," has just this inner meaning. As no other talisman in the world's history, this terse phrase truly symbolizes the highest achievements of one of the races of the earth. Quoting Pascal in the literal sense: "If all of the human race that has ever lived on this planet can be

digious effort to improving his methods. He recognizes the ever imperative necessity of improving the process of both production and distribution. To this end he enlists science in all its many applications, and aims to keep his product in the forefront of progress.

Over against the individualist and his formula for applied action, stands the German with his group-action. That is the awesome fact which strikes terror into the hearts of its opponents. Why should the German express himself in just this form? For some reason or other he takes to organization and accommodates himself to its discipline and control. Somewhere in his past he must have graduated into this self-abasement for the larger needs of his elective group. When we consult Tacitus and Julius Cæsar we find that the barbarian Germans looked much alike and preferred to live in what were known as the "family hundreds." This institution was in reality one large family and bore a distinct genealogic character. In these close family formations the Germans were being tamed to discipline and common control. This very discipline and common control will persist and come to the surface of their stream as an ever-recurring phenomenon of their outward life. Of all the European peoples they seem to have a natural bent toward an inner group formation and the discipline that goes with it.

As they emerge from the barbarian stage we observe them giving a ready response to the military form of feudalism during the middle ages. This form took on a very pronounced group type. Feudal homage and fealty, and a just pride in the several relationships of vassal and lord, comported easily with the German's conception of life and duty. At all times he was ready to surrender self for the larger needs of his tribe. Faith and service were the pole-stars of his conduct. The work tradition of his race—and who will work harder than he?—was fostered and preserved for him by the monks of the middle ages, who taught everywhere by precept and example the nobility of labor and the sweetness and joy of work well and ably done. In all countries their industry, perseverance and patience was a noble example to emulate and adopt. In an age of unbounded religious faith and devotion the serene composure and example of these religious celibates exerted a powerful influence on a race only too prone to imbibe the blessings of fruitful labor.

At this very time another phenomenon was enacting itself which was bound to exert a lasting influence on the German for good. In a commercial way it found an unerring expression in the

famous Hanseatic League of merchants which flourished for more than four hundred years. Their operations extended to the then known world. By this form of organization they took united action to insure the safety of commerce in the North and Baltic Seas. At one time more than eighty towns formed the league, and were bound together into one compact, homogeneous union actuated by a common purpose. Curious as it may seem to us in this century, the Hanseatic League in other days actually conducted most of the commerce of London and the British Isles. This fact is probably attributable to that strong tendency toward compact organization and centralization of power always present in what the German does. These German merchants again proved their ability to work together in harmony and effectiveness. Surely another example of their marvelous group-action.

In modern times the German major action invariably expresses itself in some group form. It may be claimed that by reason of the vast expansion of modern industry all activities are in a measure carried on by strongly centralized organizations of one kind or another. That is very true. The tendency of all industrial enterprises is everywhere toward an efficient and properly centralized control. The very exigencies of business require it. But while the mere administration and management of large enterprises are in this form, the corresponding benefits flowing from their efficient management are not always given in each case. The great difficulty in most countries has been, and is, that those who had the power and authority to extend the benefits accruing from such centralized power and control have not as yet seen fit to do so. At least most of the world of our day still operates under the old rules and methods of business. The country which has gone farthest in extending the benefits of intensive organization and equipment in both production and distribution is assuredly modern Germany. It is my honest contention that her reason for doing so is because her traditional bent has always been toward a pronounced group or associated action. For a clearer and more definite understanding of the subject I shall present the reasoning for it in the following form:

1. Educative—State Public Schools;
2. Physical Culture—Turner Societies;
3. Music and Singing—
 - a. Opera, Symphony and Oratorio,
 - b. Vocal—Sängerbunds, Choruses and Mass Music,
 - c. Instrumental—Bands and Orchestras;

4. Economic and Industrial—

- a. 20,000 Cooperative Societies with more than seven million members,
- b. Distinct trend toward state assumption of business of every kind and character,
- c. Classic Forum for Socialism of all kinds.
- d. Intense German Nationalism in all its phases.

5. Military, Naval and Aerial Arms of Defense.

By observing as far as possible the above form of analysis I hope to be able to state in precise language what I conceive the modern German type of action to be. I claim for it a form and I shall give each of its parts a proper elaboration in detail. In terse English I shall designate German action by the phrase, "The Group Formula for Applied Action." As stated above, German action must be considered from the two view-points of (1) construction, and (2) preservation or conservation. The first four classes above have to do with construction; the last, or fifth, has to do with the proper safeguarding of what has been built up and won in the past. This thought was beautifully stated by Prof. Brander Matthews in the following eloquent sentence: "Man refuses to surrender the guerdon of his past trophies." All sane peoples sooner or later must come to see the wisdom, the morality, the national ethics of an ample and superior power of self-defense.

1. The Educative Impulse of Germany.—If there is one thing which eternally tugs at a German's heart-strings it is his passion for learning. In old and young, rich and poor, those of high or low estate, the most democratic impulse of all is the intense yearning for education in all its forms. If there is any one type which is looked up to with veneration and respect it is the teacher. He is the hero-type of this people because in him is personified that very efficiency toward which all in some form or other aspire. The teacher is the central pivot around which revolves that marvelously complex though harmonious institution of his. Because of his intense love for learning, what should he do but nationalize it? It is truly his ruler, his king. He has crowned it as national. To think of education without associating it with the whole nation is sheer apostasy. The German starts on the road toward efficiency with a thorough education in his chosen field, and holds to this principle: that he has never finished his education; that he should be developing his mind and talents all the time. It is a common thing to see gray-haired men and women still pursuing educational

courses and following scientific lectures. To be well informed on many subjects is for them the fashion. Their culture and ideal are inner and intellectual rather than outer and superficial. The all-important fact is again their bent toward the group expression of the educative impulse. They needs must make it all-inclusive and give it a nation-wide sway. The deepest element of their being is thus portrayed through the national group form. From the high vantage ground of the national, the government can look down to the individual, and fashion out of the human raw material the cultured technician and specialist of science. In other words if a child gives promise of superior talents for anything this bent of mind can and does receive the jealous care of the state. The aim of its educational system is to develop the highest type of citizenship in mind, in body, in character and in ideals. A vital principle in education is efficiency, and toward that end all the energies of the state are directed. Like all other things they do, they abhor waste—the unconscionable waste of time to the child during its school years. For instance the child in the German school covers in its eight years in the grammar grades (between the ages of six to fourteen) an amount of work equivalent to twelve years in the average American school. In this way the children of the poor get what to us is equal to four more years of training,—quite an item when one considers how scarce time is to the hard-driven industrialists of all countries. The many extension courses are open to all; and employers are not permitted to deprive any ambitious boy or girl of further attendance at the school courses should he or she desire to do so. And during a period of at least three years employers are not allowed to deduct the pay of any such employee. The university course is of the very highest order. That is generally admitted by the entire world. The most important feature is that its form is national and constantly under the control of a highly organized body of competent teachers. From the kindergartens to the academies, all are under the control of the government. The academies are the highest institutions of learning. It is quite a general rule among German university professors that they are expected to have outside connections of many sorts. It is a common thing for the professor to assist in the direction of private commercial enterprises. In this way the usual routine of business is

the usual chiefs of business in any one of our commercial enterprises! Does not the thought seem ludicrous? And yet why should it? And do we treat our professors with the proper amount of respect due their culture and refinement? And what is more to the point, are we not daily losing a very efficient and valuable source of social work and service? Why not show the professors of our universities more sympathy and esteem? It might reveal an extremely valuable aid to social progress. It works in Germany and they would not do without it. Its benefits have gone into "Made in Germany," a socialized ultimate which symbolizes the marriage of theory with practice.

The educational system of Germany is the greatest and most thorough cultural organization thus far evolved by man. It is justly the German's greatest contribution to human institutions. All else of his is secondary. National compulsion, the emulative spirit inbred in his character, the honest rivalry of a true competitive skill, the traditional love and veneration for the professor and for education itself, the state's intimate cooperation by ensuring government employment as a reward for superior work, as well as the race's all-dominating impulse for culture in all of its forms, are some of the incentives inherent in the system. In a word, the educational may be regarded as the universal form which runs through and permeates all his other activities. By means of it he is enabled to expand their several uses and invent new adaptations and applications for old forms.

2. Physical Culture.—Like all strong, virile peoples, the German takes very decidedly to gymnastic exercise as a proper adjunct to his educative impulse. Right here he becomes distinctively German. He fashions his method in the truly "group" form. The *Turnvereins* are the mass-Germans developing strong healthy bodies which are to carry on the prodigious work of muscle and brain. Nothing short of the entire *Verein* or mass is sufficient for him. He must include the totality of his group in the pursuit of physical culture. Unlike other nationalities his bodily training must proceed along these lines. *Turnvereins* flourish in every conceivable corner of the empire. Like all German things they interrelate themselves with every other part of the general body, and are found operating in conjunction with each activity at the proper point of contact. Frequently we find them in intimate correlation with both the educational and military phases of the national life. At all times they form an active, stimulating social element in the nation's life. No German would think of doing without his *Turnverein* at any stage of his life's

work. One of its principal functions also is to be a recognized center for recreational needs of his being. This impulse finds a very active support from his various *Vereins*, and the amusements and entertainments which cluster around them are a distinctly healthful influence for enjoyment and relaxation, which he believes he needs after expending his physical and mental energies in work. His peculiarly apt word, *Gemüthlichkeit*, has no corresponding word in any other language. In its true sense it is related to "good company." The German has learned from experience that the active worker in every human field must have stated periods of relaxation and recreation, and with the precision so proverbial to him he organizes and systematically regulates his recreational impulse. By just this word, *Gemüthlichkeit*, can he best describe the acme of his enjoyment. Under whatever circumstances this may occur, it is distinctly a social affair and a healthy product of goodfellowship without the least suggestion of the vulgar or the obscene. This enjoyment or recreation of his he again translates into the terms of his life activities. In its proper time and place he expects to recover the nerve and muscle expended in his former acts by a judicious indulgence in recreation. In this way he conserves his vitality and prolongs his usefulness in the hive, and at the same time fans into a glow a hearty human interest in what is transpiring around him.

3. Music and Singing.—The German soul is spontaneously musical. In every conceivable manner the German bursts out into some form of musical expression. Someone has expressed it in this terse language: "Germany is the place where music is made." While this is stating it somewhat extravagantly, there is no denying the fundamental truth of it, that it is the place where the best music has been created, and surely where it is best understood and appreciated. Of all the fine arts music is the one which seeks to associate and conjoin everything necessary to its being. I have in mind a summary of this subject by Dr. D. J. Snider, in his work on music, in which he says: "Music is the most associative of the fine arts, the orchestra is the most associative part of music, and the spirit of this age is distinctively associative." Further on he says that the German is the builder of the orchestra, which at present is our high-

people, the German seeks to utilize it for his mass or group form more especially. While he is the creator of the orchestra, a wonderful group-form of expression, the most direct illustration of his inherent form of action, I take it, is the universal prevalence of the singing societies in all parts of his country. They exist in every city, village and hamlet in the land. These people simply cannot do otherwise than sing in chorus. In their periods of recreation the *Männerchor* or the *Sängerbund* are always the principal factors in their festive numbers. When they nationalize their song, in analogy to one of our conventions, they must needs have a *Sängerfest*, a vast concourse of choral song, a true ethical response to the nation's rhythmic soul. In all the many activities of life they intersperse the vocal and instrumental musical elements in every conceivable way, and thereby in a subtle, delicate manner, seek to soften the hard asperities of dull labor with the soothing strains of music. Being both philosopher and musician to the modern world, the German is practical and seeks to save himself from the all-devouring maw of modern commercialism by joining to the wear and tear of its hard work the saving restful elements of song and music. Only too well has he learned his lesson, and from it the rest of the world may truly take example. "The fellow is a singing craftsman in every field of human work." A man who still sings under the stress of intense industrial compulsion has not yet lost the joy of work, and he is indeed likely to be a willing and cheerful worker in his given field. Again, the ever-present instinct to join his musical impulse to other activities is everywhere seen. He needs must emphasize the race's tendency to join or associate the particular thing of the moment with another element, not deemed necessary by other peoples. By this method he lessens the load and makes it easier than it would otherwise be. This tendency toward association is his deepest instinct. In the smallest as in the greatest affairs of his life he gravitates easily toward a grouping of his work, and is incessantly inventing new methods of uniting both men and things in its process.

4. Economic and Industrial.—In this domain the German has forged a distinct, individual form. His economic life has gone round the world and left its impress for good to the man of the future. He had the courage to found a new and more improved method, and was enjoying its honest fruits when the hard logic of industrial events forced him into the arena of war. Germany has a distinct national policy. Indeed it may be truly affirmed that it has a distinct national entity—a form of political institution which rep-

resents directly the general aggregate aims and purposes of all its members. All of the interrelated parts stand in immediate connection with this national entity, enabling it to discharge its function with expedition and despatch. If such a country does its main work primarily through its national initiative, and the individual's work is but secondary thereto, does it not follow that the total of work performed will be enormously increased? Where the national initiative, represented in terms of work out in the world of trade, comes into competition with private initiative, which has the greater power? And why? And which is bound to survive and does survive? Can such a national entity be regarded as an organism complete in itself? Like the cells composing our physical bodies, do the individuals in this national entity stand in a similar position to its corporeal body? If so, again like the cells composing our bodies, are not such individuals subject to the dominance of the national will? Does not the German man, in all the relations of his life, normally show an acquiescence, in thought and action, to the larger rights of his state? And in line with my previous contention, is this not the logical outcome of his age-old traditional habit of group-action? Is this not the last expression of its evolution? And in the very nature of the case, must not the other nations of the earth eventually come to this form? And was it not, and is it not, in entire conformity with the spirit of our age—that of an ever-progressive system of intensive organization of human work and labor, the best of which must and ought to survive?

The most vigorous and powerful social systems are those in which are combined the most effective subordination of the individual to the interest of the social whole, and with the highest development of his own personality. Man is naturally a social product—the child of association. The completer the association the more developed the man. Conversely, the lower the man, the people, the race, the less their power of association. This is the final test of worth and efficiency. Germany has an inherent capability of expressing itself through organization. It seeks to do its work just that way. And unlike all other peoples, the German, in his private capacity as citizen, never regards his state or city as in any sense an antagonistic force working against his private, personal interest. The very reverse attitude of mind is his. His state is something to be looked up to, something for him to give allegiance to, something for him to offer personal sacrifices to at

"Fatherland," a totality of which he proudly feels himself a part. So when this part works it is always glad to ask and enlist the cooperation of the rest. This unified action is what has made Germany's competitors stand aghast in terror. A distinguishing trait of the German character is this spirit of cooperation, the willingness, the desire and the practice in winning results through harmonious organization. We have a slang phrase here in America which covers it—"team work." This spirit of cooperation in every form one meets everywhere. Fancy a country which has over twenty thousand cooperative societies with an aggregate total of more than seven million members, in actual practical operation, dispensing the blessings of the group or associated form of life to its many members with democratic prodigality. Inside of these societies the common man learns daily the important lesson that "in union there is strength," and the equally valuable truth that by uniting with "the other fellow" out in the world, many of its hard, ugly experiences are softened and made bearable for those the least able to carry the load.

In line with the foregoing it is proper to mention another factor in Germany's economic life. Four hundred and fifty-seven cities have adopted a modified form of single tax. In 1879 America's social philosopher Henry George gave to the world his matchless book, *Progress and Poverty*. Since then its principles have been analyzed and debated in all the countries of the world. Up to the present time they still remain in most countries in the form of an undemonstrated "academic discussion." Germany, true to its reputation for efficiency and natural facility in reducing abstract theories to the practical uses of the every-day man, was quick to see its truths and had the courage to apply the same. It is but justice to state that the German city, including among its other excellencies this single tax feature, is the best governed city in the world. Would it not surprise the average American citizen living in any of our cities, were he to receive his *pro rata* share of his home city's annual dividend? And yet this is what has actually happened in many German cities in recent years, due in large measure to the single tax on land values only. In the domain of the modern city the German has in a most emphatic way proved his ability to meet a hard problem face to face, reduce it to a science and solve it. From the German and his clean municipal government the whole world can safely take a valuable lesson. He has solved the complex problems of the large city, with its intertwined meshes of communal interests and individual welfare.

Right here I wish to add a word about the German socialist. A predominant trait of his is a rigid honesty. His philosophy, in the main materialistic, contains many precepts which are purely idealistic. His apotheosis of the state is in harmony with the basic trend of all German ideals. They are in agreement with the philosophic interpretation which Germans in general give to the state and its relations to the individual. A socialist looks with favor on the spread of the spirit, as well as the forms, of all kinds of organizations whatsoever. He reasons that by extending and multiplying the uses and application of organizations of all sorts, or the group expression in the economy of the world's work, and by constantly perfecting them and extending their influence, society's work in its proper time will be done altogether by itself.

The tentative strivings of the present state for the relief of its constituent members, are regarded by them as an evidence of the healthy growth of the social whole toward an ultimate collectivism (socialism), and therefore to be encouraged. On their idealistic side they conjure up a thorough democratic collectivism, with equal opportunities to all and favoritism to none in the administration of the state's affairs. All improvements fathered by the present state, not actually in line with the socialists' platform of principles, they put under the caption of "opportunism," and from that view-point they can and do enter with a right good will. The attitude of mind of the administrators, on the other hand, is that the socialists mean well in their platform, but from the outlook of the present and its practical needs, much of it is impractical, impossible and unnecessary; while from the view-point of the purely academic it may have the semblance of truth. From this compromise position of opportunism on the one side and an "intelligent self-interest" on the other, they have been able to come together and work in harmony on many questions of social good to the whole people. As a distinct factor in the economic life of Germany the socialist has been and is regarded with uniform respect. The time for crimination and recrimination has now gone by and with ever-increasing usefulness and cooperation is his work joined with the rest of the German's highly efficient activity.

In conclusion I wish to say that the German worships at the shrine of knowledge. Ever is he anxious to convert a mere textbook theory into objective existence. He nurses no illusions and

only too well that the great outside world calls for action. To that end he has bent his energies in the past fifty years toward the field of the practical, without surrendering his love for the metaphysical. In every activity he has studiously called in the savants of science to join hands with all the other factors to produce results. There is one distinctive innovation which he has added to the sum of his efforts, and this single factor has contributed in the main to his marvelous success. In all enterprises, great or small, he does not hesitate to call in the *aid of his government, state or city*. In all other countries beside, there has been a hesitancy, I might add a jealousy, on the part of private enterprise, to ask for state aid. This the German never feels. He not only calls in his government, but the latter at all times holds itself in readiness to cooperate with, and back up individual effort. This positive government factor in Germanic life and action is what gives it its world-wide sway. In no sense do they harbor the fetish of the sacredness of private initiative as the prime essential to a healthy civic life. Their experience is quite the contrary. With the constant pressure from within because of the rapid increase of its own population which needs must have employment; and the pressure from without because of actual hostile neighbors, Germany has found truth in the formula which bade it "Organize, organize, and again organize each and every social and human factor in the entire country into one compact, homogeneous, central body." This it has done, and in the estimation of the entire world it has succeeded. *It is efficient*. Finally, it is interested in the individual. It takes a conscious pride in his prowess. It seeks to add to the effectiveness of his worth and work. It sees a greater state in its greater unit, the individual man. As an intensively integrated and organized state, it possesses a definite *state consciousness* which is peculiarly its own. In the evolution of mind, it can be truly said that Germany has what no other nation possesses—an actual, definite consciousness of its purpose and being. In the exercise of this consciousness it is surely in advance of the unerring response of a united, homogeneous population, ready to do its bidding and coming without friction to the central source of its power, the state itself. As a reflex of this consciousness, the state is aware of the urgent need of every integral part, and seeks to give such part its proper nurture and support. State control insures all of its citizens against the unforeseen hazards of the future. With the facilities it possesses it can take broader observations on mooted problems, and have better means of pursuing its researches into unknown and undreamt-of fields of

inquiry which private initiative cannot and would not undertake. In this way it makes it possible to reduce investigations to their final terms and bring to the surface many unlooked-for and unheard-of discoveries. In the domain of invention they believe in fostering and protecting their mental workers to the very limit of finite boundaries. They are only too cognizant of the fact that wealth is produced by both manual and mental labor. Invention is the greatest product of mental labor. At one end, invention saves large amounts of manual labor; at the other end, equal amounts of manual labor produce greater results. The marriage of labor and invention produces a greater surplus of wealth. It opens up new fields, and extends the boundaries of human opportunity. As a distinct governmental policy Germany believes in caring for its valuable inventor class. It gets behind its inventors, and by stimulating prizes, by the use of governmental laboratories, by the support of technical schools, by the protection of inventors in the patents or formulas they have discovered, and indirectly by extending banking credits, and many other practical encouragements, it hopes to preserve to this original fountain-source that highly valuable social factor of progress, the individual inventor's consciousness of safety from fraud, misappropriation and theft, which seeks to rob honest mental and physical labor of its just fruits. In this way it is hoped to keep alive and intact the inventor's pride in his own achievements.

Non-government activity, the policy we are now pursuing, worked very well, until Germany took the initiative and became the pace-maker for the world. She follows the other trend. Overtly she pursues the national policy of helping each and every individual, company or institution in the empire. The day of state initiative, under the German lead, is now at hand. Other countries must follow or fall hopelessly in the rear in the struggle for industrial and commercial supremacy. The dynamics of private initiative as compared with governmental initiative is as the ratio of the single unit to the whole. Can such a rivalry in competition be equal at any stage? Are the facilities of the one, even a Rockefeller or a Carnegie, a match for the unlimited resources of the whole? Is the part at any stage, under any circumstances, the equal of its genetic whole? Is Germany's action already posited in the aura of a newer and future time? And most important of all, is Germany awake, and alive and conscious of the added responsibility of her self-imposed task? Has she the fibre, has she the courage, has she the calmness, has she the type of man for the ever-widening circle of

artificial in the superstructure she has so painstakingly built? Are the traditions of her race such as to warrant an assumption of this titanic responsibility? Does the outward man and his activities, in the travail of the past, give any hint of his day (*der Tag*) among the children of men when he shall have earned the honest title of premier? The very world-war in which he is now engaged cannot be anything other than a prefigurement of his coming status. He could not meet the surcharged shock of its opposition, had he not provided himself with the needed shield and armor of successful resistance. In all the annals of human action, his mind's alembic has forged the ponderous as well as the subtlest mechanism for his sustenance and defense. In the farthest reaches of thought, in the deepest recesses of difficulty's fastnesses, in the arid wastes of unpromising hope, as in the abysmal depths of the sea, he has forced his issue against refractory nature, and an almost insurmountable human barrier; and in the breach of a calloused, hostile, envious inefficiency, he has compelled a recognition on the plateau of the world. His place in the sun is on a promontory where fall the earliest morning and latest evening rays. His coming was slow, but orderly and sure. His arrival is an ethical reward for patient study and work. He has, and is, and ever hopes to demonstrate to mankind and posterity the need of the world's teeming millions for his "formula of group action" in the workshop of man.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE ELECTION.

Our recent presidential election has been one of the most curious events with astonishing, and to some extent quite unexpected, results, in which the hyphenated vote was probably more important than could be foreseen. Mr. Wilson and Colonel Roosevelt antagonized the German-American and the Irish-American voters to such an extent that through the *Nationalbund* and the Independence Conference they expressed their determination to rise like one man against both.

The Independence Conference—originally founded as the Embargo Conference because it advocated an embargo on munitions—went a step farther. It took an active interest in the campaign in behalf of Mr. Hughes, because its leaders had been assured that Mr. Hughes would not be so subservient to Britain as Mr. Wilson had been, but that he could be depended upon to be a true American president. They advised the hyphenated vote (both German and Irish) to stand up for Governor Hughes.

The situation looked promising for Hughes, but throughout the campaign our newspapers reported his speeches in such a way as to create a doubt in the minds of those who wanted a truly neutral attitude on the part of this government toward Europe. At the critical moment, Mr. Hughes, when speaking in Columbus, Indiana, was asked questions from the audience, and in answer he replied first, that he certainly would not forbid the sale of munitions to the Allies, and second, that he would not advise Americans to avoid traveling on vessels of belligerent nations. Since in sheer self-defense Germany will have to attack armed merchantmen, Mr. Hughes's policy must inevitably lead to war between the United States and Germany. The result of his own speeches, together with the activity of Roosevelt in his behalf, turned a great many German-Americans against him, since they preferred Wilson's definite assurance of a policy of peace to the aggressive spirit of Mr. Hughes.

The *Nationalbund* and the Independence Conference received a number of letters protesting against their policy, and it was foreseen by the leaders of the German-American citizens that the hyphenated vote would not follow blindly the advice of their leaders but would be split. Further it ought to be said that the brewers of Ohio fought shy of the alliance of the Republican party of their state with the temperance movement and advised their friends to support Wilson.

The writer of these lines knows that while the multitude of hyphenates voted for Hughes a great many of them held back. Some voted for Benson and a large number voted for Wilson because, as they said, "Wilson was the lesser evil," and "we are sure that Wilson will at least keep peace."

It is an old experience that our presidents owe their election to the mistakes of their rivals. When Bryan traveled over the country McKinley stayed at home. Bryan preached free silver and every speech he made gained votes for McKinley. So again recently Mr. Hughes and his supporter Colonel Roosevelt went about making speeches, and their statements raised serious doubts in the voters' minds about the advisability of Hughes for a president.

There are too many people among Mr. Hughes's own party who have found reason to distrust him, people who felt that his election would endanger the peace of the whole country, and there are other minor reasons which contributed to the final result. Mr. Hughes made peace with Colonel Roosevelt but not with the Progressives. His campaign was managed by the old guard to the exclusion of any other element. It would have been better if Mr. Hughes had made peace with the Progressives and kept away from Colonel Roosevelt. Mr. Wilson's success in California seems to be due to the support he received from the labor unions.

It seemed as though it would be easy to defeat Mr. Wilson. He has made so many mistakes that history is not likely to pronounce a favorable verdict upon his administration, but it would have taken a stronger man than Hughes to beat him.

As matters now stand we must trust to the manhood of Congress, and we hope that the members of Congress will have enough backbone to hold back the present incumbent of the presidency and make him live up to our national traditions. We want an American president, not one who considers the interests of England first and those of our own country as secondary. P. C.

MOHAMMED'S ASCENSION.

Among Moslems the observance of the injunction against pictures became such a habit that to make portraits or even draw the outlines of a human face has been avoided in all Islam. Nevertheless this regulation can not be traced back to the prophet himself. It might be easily explained from the Mosaic law which forbids making any likeness of God, and since man has been made in the image of God the portraiture of men is likewise to be regarded as sinful. The truth is that Mohammed himself never paid any attention to painting either to approve or disapprove, but Mohammedan art has carefully heeded the interdiction. Under this limitation artists of Islam invented a new style of developing beauty merely by ornamentally interlaced lines, called arabesques.

The modern Moslem seems to feel no inclination to see the likeness of Mohammed represented in art—a desire which would be a very natural one, and showed itself prominently in Christian art. Nevertheless Mohammed has been portrayed in the development of Islam during its spread over Asia. As an instance we reproduce in our frontispiece a picture of the prophet's ascension on his winged horse Borak, here represented with a human head to indicate that it is endowed with a human soul and has been deemed worthy to be received into heaven.

The picture however refrains from showing the face of God. The prophet is led into heaven by an archangel and presented to another who seems to be accompanied by a host of angels whose faces appear above his head. The picture shows the influence of Persian art. It was found in Herat, Afghanistan, and is preserved at the National Library at Paris. It is assumed to date from the beginning of the fifteenth century.

A PERSONAL STATEMENT.

BY BERTRAND RUSSELL.

On Friday, September 1st, two men from Scotland Yard, acting on behalf of the War Office, served a War Office Order on me, forbidding me to enter any prohibited area without permission in writing from the competent Military Authority. (Prohibited areas include practically all places near the sea, including many whole counties.) On September 11th, in reply to representations, an official letter was sent to me by order of the Army Council, containing the following paragraph:

“I am further to state that the Council would be prepared to issue instructions for the withdrawal of the order if you, on your part, would give an undertaking not to continue a propaganda which, if successful, would, in their opinion, militate to some extent against the effective prosecution of the war.”

My profession hitherto has been that of a lecturer on mathematical logic. The Government have forbidden me to fulfil an agreement to practice this profession at Harvard, and the Council of Trinity College have forbidden me to practice it in Cambridge. Under these circumstances it became necessary to me to lecture on some more popular subject, and I prepared a course on the Philosophical Principles of Politics, to be delivered in various provincial towns. As three of these towns are in prohibited areas, I cannot go to them without permission in writing from the War Office. In reply to a request for this permission, I was informed that I must submit the lectures to the War Office censorship. I replied that this was impossible, as they were to be spoken, not read; but I sent the syllabus of the course.

In reply, I received a letter, dated September 13th, acknowledging receipt of the syllabus of lectures, and stating that “in the absence of further details,” it was “impossible to advise the Army Council whether they might properly be given during the war.” The letter further stated that “such topics as ‘The Sphere of Compulsion in Good Government’ and ‘The Limits of Allegiance to the State’ would, in particular, seem to require very careful handling if they are not to be mistaken for propaganda of the type which it is desired to postpone till after the conclusion of hostilities.” It concluded by offering to give permission for the lectures if I would give “an honorable undertaking” not “to use them as a vehicle for propaganda.”

My proposed course of lectures on “The World as it can be made” is not intended to deal with the immediate issues raised by the war; there will be nothing about the diplomacy preceding the war, about conscientious objectors, about the kind of peace to be desired, or even about the general ethics of war. On all these topics I have expressed myself often

First and foremost, because I cannot acknowledge the right of the War Office to prevent me from expressing my opinions on political subjects. If I say anything which they think prejudicial to the conduct of the war, they can imprison me under the Defense of the Realm Act, but that is a proceeding to which I am not a party, and for which I have no responsibility. If, however, I enter into a bargain by which I secure certain advantages in return for a promise, I am precluded from further protest against their tyranny. Now it is just as imperative a duty to me to fight against tyranny at home as it is to others to fight against Germans abroad. I will not on any consideration, surrender one particle of spiritual liberty. Physical liberty can be taken from a man, but spiritual liberty is his birthright, of which all the armies and governments of the world are powerless to deprive him without his cooperation.

Apart from this argument of principle, which is hardly of a kind to appeal to militaries, there are other more practical reasons for not giving such an undertaking as is required. It is impossible to be absolutely certain what one will say when one speaks extempore; and it would be obviously absurd, in reply to an awkward question, to say "I am under an honorable undertaking not to answer that question." Even if these difficulties could be overcome, it is utterly impossible to know what would be covered by such an undertaking, since there is no precise definition of the propaganda to be avoided, and no indication as to whether only certain conclusions are forbidden, or also the premises from which they can be deduced. May I say that I consider homicide usually regrettable? If so, since the majority of homicides occur in war, I have uttered a pacifist sentiment. May I say that I have respect for the ethical teaching of Christ? If I do, the War Office may tell me that I am praising conscientious objectors. May I say that I do not hold Latimer and Ridley guilty of grave moral turpitude because they broke the law? Or would such a statement be prejudicial to discipline in His Majesty's forces? To such questions there is no end.

If the authorities at the War Office were capable of philosophical reflection, they would see an interesting refutation of militarist beliefs in the terror with which a handful of pacifists appears to have inspired them. They have on their side the armed forces, the law, the press, and a vast majority of the public. The views which we advocate are held by few, and expressed by still fewer. To meet the material force on their side we have only the power of the spoken or written word, of the appeal from passion to reason, from fear to hope, from hate to love. Nevertheless, they fear us—such is the power of spiritual things even in the present welter of brute force.

THE MYTH.

Some time ago I received the printed copy of an almost fanatical pro-Ally speech in which the Belgians are represented as martyred saints while Germany is denounced in strong terms as inhuman and barbarous. The general attitude of the speaker is high handed and his utterances come in the name of a higher morality as if dictated by the spirit of humanity. The next morning mail brought me a sonnet from an Anglo-American friend which apparently refers to the same leaflet and sees in the orator's interpretation of current his-

tory a revival of the old solar myth in which the dying sun-god is the victim of the powers of darkness. Here is the sonnet:

The prophet speaks: "Behold the Shining One,
Who bleeds for us, for righteousness, and law;
We hail thee, Belgium, with a holy awe,
And God will crown thee with the moon and sun."
The prophet speaks: "Behold Dominion,
The abhorred Lust, the Foe with flaming jaw;
We curse thee, and the host of heaven will draw
Thee down, Germania, to the pit—undone."

Is it "the prophet's" "hail" and "curse" have pith?
Teach they true politics and God's own plan?
Will they suffice us, as they have sufficed?—
Is it they but reshape an ancient myth
In the sick fancies of a good old man—
Primordial Devil and primordial Christ?

TO UNCLE SAM.

BY GEORGE R. DEAN.

Are you neutral, Uncle Sam,
In this foreign strife,
When you're aiding, all you can,
In destroying life?

On the Sabbath you are heard,
In the halls of Peace,
Praying, in a pious tone,
That the war may cease.

While you pray, and by your leave,
Powder, shot and shell,
From your "friendly shores," prolong,
Mars' destructive hell.

Widows, orphans, shattered men,
Cry to you in pain!
"I am neutral," you contend,
While they plead in vain.

All the world finds fault with you,
In your greed for pelf,
Pointing out, you're serving Death
For your selfish self.

Moral law condemns your course,

PHILOSOPHICAL PROBLEMS IN THE LIGHT OF VITAL ORGANIZATION

By EDMUND MONTGOMERY

Cloth \$2.50

Both Materialism and Idealism are regarded by Montgomery as inadequate interpretations of Nature: Ideal states, as such, possess no causal efficiency, while inert particle, or units of any kind, mechanically moved, possess none of the endowments of true reality. The perceptible world displays power-endowed, combining, interacting, and interdependent real existents.

Constructively Montgomery essays to show what kind of perduring and efficient entity really underlies the fleeting phenomena of consciousness, what abiding matrix issues them into actual awareness and harbors them as memorized and systematized knowledge. This matrix the author finds to be a product solely of vital organizations which, in turn, is regarded as consisting not in the structural aggregation and functional cooperation of autonomous cells, but in the phyletic elaboration of an individuated whole, adjusting itself more and more adequately to its environment.

Thus a new solution is offered to the problems of substantiality and identity, while rational and ethical conduct are likewise shown to be wholly dependent upon vital organization.

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY

Chicago and London

Official Diplomatic Documents Relating to the Outbreak of the European War

With photographic reproductions of official editions of the Documents (Blue, White, Yellow, etc., Books) published by the governments of Austria-Hungary, Belgium, France, Germany, Great-Britain, Russia and Serbia.

Introduction, Daily Summaries, Cross-References, and Footnotes by
Edmund von Mach, A.B., A.M., Ph.D., (Harvard)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction.

List of principal persons mentioned in the correspondence, showing their official positions.

Calendar of despatches sent and received.

Part One. Despatches sent and received at the various Foreign Offices; arranged by names and places; with diaries, summaries of despatches, and footnotes.

Part Two. The parts of the several official publications of diplomatic documents not printed under Part One.

Part Three. Documents frequently quoted but not contained in the official publications of collected diplomatic documents.

Appendix. The several official publications of collected

YOUNG INDIA

An Interpretation and a History of the Nationalist
Movement from Within.

BY LAJPAT RAI

Price, \$1.50 net; weight, 16 ounces

Mr. Rai is one of the most prominent leaders of the New National Movement in India. He is an ardent patriot, is proud of his country, her civilization, her literature and her great place in the world's history, and he believes she is destined to have a great future, commensurate with her great past.

But now she is a subject land, ruled by a foreign power, her own people having practically no voice in the direction of their own national affairs or the shaping of their future destiny. This deeply grieves and galls him, as it does a large part of the Indian people. The Nationalist Movement, of which he gives an account in this book is a protest against present political conditions, and a demand for larger freedom and independence.

Indeed, its aim is self-rule; not necessarily severance of connection with the British Empire, but partnership in the Empire,—home rule inside the Empire like that enjoyed by Canada, Australia and South Africa.

WHOEVER IS INTERESTED IN LAJPAT RAI'S BOOK SHOULD READ

INDIA IMPRESSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

BY J. KEIR HARDIE

Price \$1.00 net; weight 11 oz.

A powerful personality in English politics was Keir Hardie, a leader of the Labor Party. Self-educated, actuated by a passion for justice, he wished to see for himself the conditions in which the people whose cause he espoused in Parliament were living. During two months in India he wrote a series of letters to the *Labour Leader* and later converted them into the vivid picture which this book presents. Its comprehensiveness will be suggested by this selection from the chapter headings: Some Facts and Figures, The Swadeshi Movement, Amongst the Peasants, The Partition of Bengal, A Land of Hunger, Sedition, How India Is Governed, Native States, Poverty and Plague, Britain as Absentee Landlord, and the Colour Line.

"A fresh and interesting interpretation of the unrest in India which is filling the English with such apprehension."—*Boston Transcript*.

"Apart from politics, the little book contains many interesting observations and sketches of Indian life, education, administration, and the relations between rulers and ruled, foreigners and natives."—*Chicago Record-Herald*.

"This is one of the most interesting and accurate books on India. It is full of first-hand information and is written in an enjoyable and straightforward manner."—*Los Angeles Times*.

"As a polemic tract on the part of the opposition against the British policy in India, the little book is a masterpiece."—*Boston Herald*.

"His remedy is, in brief, real statesmanship. To him this means the lowering of taxes, encouragement of native industries, autonomy. Surely not an extreme program, though, of course, the admission of Hindus to places of authority and trust is the real crux of imperialism. The book is not the work of an agitator, but of an intelligent and humane administrator."—*Chicago Evening Post*.

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY

122 S. MICHIGAN AVENUE

