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. XXXI (No. 8) AUGUST, 1917 NO. 735

CONTENTS:

PAGE

Frontispiece. The Wingless Victory.

Turkey in Asia. Hester Donaldson Jenkins 449

English Diplomacy. Paul Carus. 458

Warsaw To-Day (Illustrated). Marion Haviland 465

On Civil Authority. Martin Luther 478

The Professors' War. By One of Them 495

The New Soul of India. Basanta Koomar Roy 504

Democracy for Ourselves. Alice Edgerton 508

W. E. Griffis on Wang Yang Ming 511

The Polish University at Warsaw 512

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, 1917

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. XXXI (No. 8) AUGUST, 1917 NO. 735

CONTENTS:

PAGE

Frontispiece. The Wingless Victory.

Turkey in Asia. HESTER DONALDSON JENKINS 449

English Diplomacy. PAUL CARUS. 458

Warsaw To-Day (Illustrated). MARION HAVILAND 465

On Civil Authority. MARTIN LUTHER 478

The Professors' War. By ONE OF THEM 495

The New Soul of India. BASANTA KOOMAR ROY 504

Democracy for Ourselves. ALICE EDGERTON 508

W. E. Griffis on Wang Yang Ming 511

The Polish University at Warsaw 512

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, 1917

BOOKS ON THE WAR

ENGLAND; Its Political Organization and Development and THE WAR AGAINST GERMANY. By Eduard Meyer.

Cloth, $1.50.

A portrayal of England's development as a state as it appears to one of the greatest historians of our day, a world authority on ancient history and its systems of government.

THE "AYESHA." By Kapitänleutnant von Mücke, of the "Emden."

Being the adventures of the Landing Squad of the "Emden," on their long adventurous journey from Keeling Islands in the Indian Ocean, to Constantinople.

Two editions—in German or English. Price, $1.25.

The world is indebted to Lieutenant-Captain von Mücke for this fascinating account of his journey. It is truly said that the exploits of this modern Ulysses have won him a place in the affections of friend and foe alike.

THE MENACE OF JAPAN. By Frederick McCormick.

Price, $2.00 net.

The author has been a journalist and war correspondent in the Far East since the Boxer war in China, and because of his long experience and wide acquaintance is especially qualified to set forth the real condition of affairs in the Pacific.

CENTRAL EUROPE. By Friedrich Naumann of the German Reichstag. Translated by Christabel M. Meredith.

Cloth, $3.00.

"Unusually timely....The most formidable and the one fraught with the most importance, a book that Americans ought to read seriously."—*Boston Post.*

"No other book that has come out of the war has attracted so much attention or caused so much discussion among the political and economic ruling forces of both the Allies and the Central Powers."—*New York Times.*

THE EUROPEAN WAR. By Anthony Arnoux, Ph.D., LL.B.

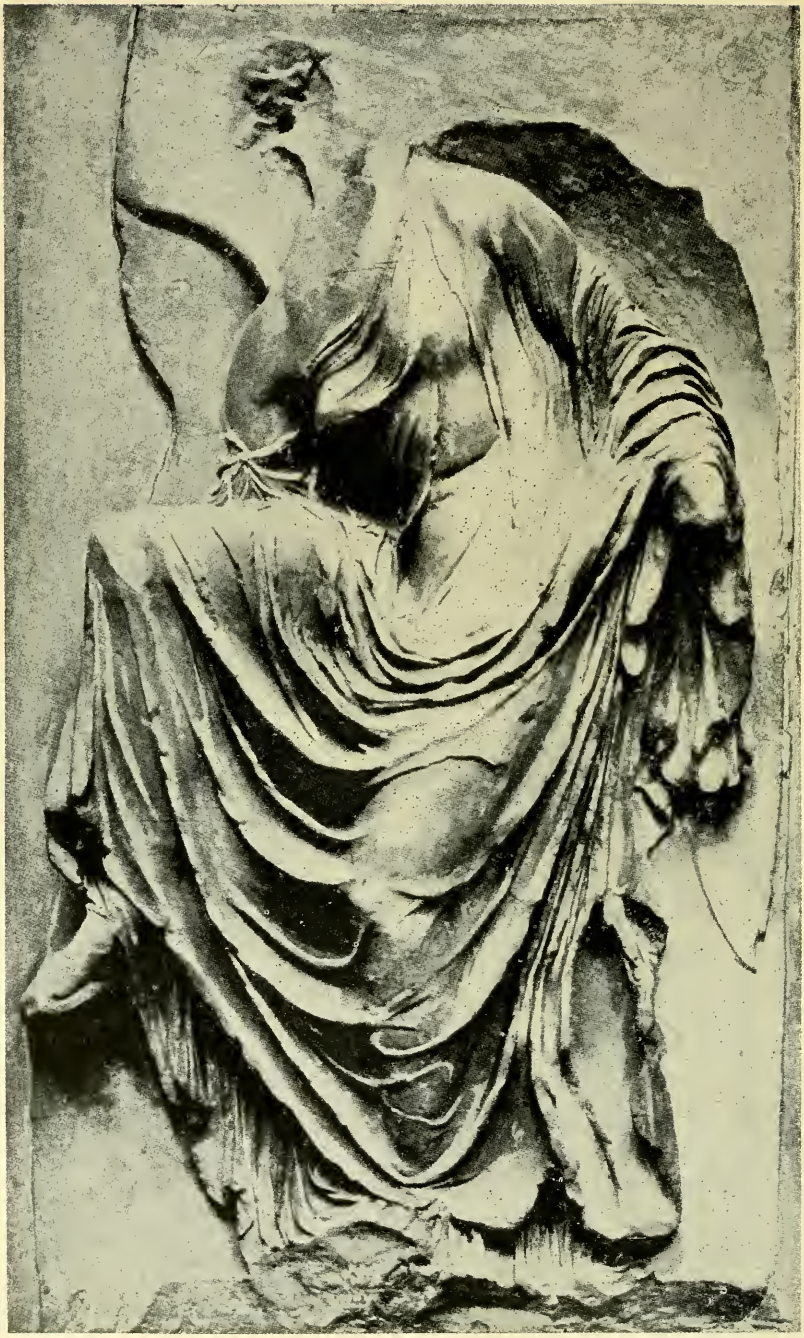
3 vols., Cloth, $4.50 per set.

A history of Europe from 1871 to the present war. All of the important facts concerning the present world war are told in these three volumes. Also maps and statistics of the belligerent countries.

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY

122 S. MICHIGAN AVENUE

CHICAGO ILLINOIS



THE WINGLESS VICTORY.
(See page 464.)

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. XXXI (No. 8) AUGUST, 1917 NO. 735

Copyright by The Open Court Publishing Company, 1917

TURKEY IN ASIA.

BY HESTER DONALDSON JENKINS.

TURKEY in Asia is practically the whole of Turkey of to-day, although but a short time ago there was a Turkey in Africa and a large and important Turkey in Europe. Step by step, and indeed such steps as are taken by seven-leagued boots, the Turks have been driven back into Asia.

Asia was the original teeing-off place for the Turks, although, wielding the scimitar instead of the brassy, they strode into Europe until they were putting on the green about Vienna. But the Ottoman ball did not drop into the Viennese hole but rolled back to Hungary, and from there the Turkish arms have extended to Africa and the gates of India.

Their origins are Touranian and Tatar, and they are distantly related to the Chinese so that, except for the Finns and the Hungarians who are said also to be of Touranian origin, they have no kin in Europe. Nor are they related to any other of the people who live on the shores of the Mediterranean; neither Armenian, Egyptian nor Semite can call them brother. That is, of course, the pure Turk; intermarriage and the ravishing of nations to fill their harems have made them a mixed race with many blood ties. One of the most common mistakes about the much misunderstood Turk is to confuse him with the Arab or Saracen, but they are entirely different races.

It would be interesting to trace the Turk as he comes from the Chinese steppes over Asia Minor into Europe, taking Constantinople for his capital and moving on to the gates of Vienna, but our concern here is with his Asiatic adventures.

In the tenth century occurred the momentous encounter with the Arabs. Had the Turks reached Byzantium without the en-

counter what might have been the history of a Christian Turkey? But on the Asiatic plains they met the enthusiastic followers of Mahomet who was conquering the world for Islam. A heathen people with no strong religion, the Turks were easily converted to Islam, becoming in time its greatest champions.

They were also an illiterate people who naturally accepted the Arabic alphabet, and as their men became learned they turned to the Arabic Koran for their inspiration as we of the west turned to the Bible. Had not a counter influence reached them, they would doubtless have modelled their literature on the Arabic, but instead they fell under the influence of Persian literature, of which their own for several centuries is mainly an imitation.

What was the effect on the Turks of the adoption of Islam?

Islam sprang from the genius of an Arab, the prophet Mahomet, and inspired the Arabs as it never has the Turk. It served also to bring to the Arabs a great intellectual and artistic impetus as well as power for conquest; hence we have the wonderful civilization of the Moors in Spain and the Saracens in Bagdad, the outburst of Arabic literature, and an intellectual and artistic accomplishment that gave Europe the Alhambra, algebra, chemistry, the Arabian Nights and the Koran.

Islam has no such creative inspiration for the Turks, who seemed to accept it in its sense "resigned to." If anything, it seemed to check initiative in them, to call out all their native loyalty for an alien creed, and to stifle original thought. But it may be that they would have shown little originality in any case, for the Turks have given to the world no original contribution but the fez and the minaret. Islam, like other religions that believe in the efficacy of the truth as they see it, is fanatical, that is, it is extremely zealous. The Turks are, however, not naturally fanatical, they are temperamentally tolerant, but their loyalty to their religion has forced them at times into persecution. But on the whole they have persecuted for religion's sake less than the Christians have done, as underneath every apparent religious persecution there will be found a political or racial motive. Islam has, nevertheless, given the Turks an excuse for persecution.

In one respect at least, the Turk is behind his religion, namely in his attitude toward women. Islam does not give women a very high place, but Mahomet did promise one of his wives a place in Paradise, and in the Koran he offers Paradise to all chaste and true and faithful men and women. In his day women were poets and leaders, and his favorite wife, Ayesha, was very powerful, but the

Turks to-day allow no such freedom nor power to women. This is, however, Oriental rather than Mohammedan.

A very serious result of the adoption of Islam was the organization of the Ottoman Empire as a Mohammedan state. Mahomet, unfortunately for the world, legislated for his people, thus imposing an inelastic code and laws of behavior on all Islamic peoples. Church and state in Turkey are so closely intertwined, the priests being the jurists and the Sultan the head of the church, that progress is extremely difficult and there is no room for non-Moslems under Moslem rule. Hence the special treaties, capitulations and extraterritoriality for Christians in the empire, each people of a non-Moslem religion having to be ruled by another than the Koranic code.

Closely allied to this trouble is the disuniting effect of separate religions with separate laws within one empire, keeping the population of Turkey from ever becoming homogeneous. These are some of the effects of the adoption of Islam by the Turks.

The conquering Turks turned their attention from Europe to Asia under Selim the Grim, grandson of the conqueror of Constantinople, and conceived by the Turks to be their greatest and truest Ottoman.

When he came to the throne, Turkey in Asia consisted merely of Asia Minor, or Anatolia as they call it, extending from the southern coast of the Black Sea southwest to the Mediterranean, and including most of ancient Armenia. When Selim's brief reign of nine years was over, he had added the whole of Kurdistan and Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine, Egypt and Arabia to the Ottoman domain. His successor carried the boundaries to their farthest point, southeast to the Persian Gulf, with Bagdad as his greatest prize. Selim's conquest included the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina and the control of a large part of Arabia, and with them he took over the rights of the ancient caliphate of the Mohammedan world. Thus the Sultan of Turkey became Caliph of Islam, to whom all the Moslems in the world owed a spiritual allegiance.

The limits of Asiatic Turkey as fixed by Selim and his son have remained until our own day Turkey in Asia. Turkey in Europe has dwindled and dwindled until only Adrianople and the city of the Sultans remain of its one time grandeur; but Asiatic portions of the empire remained practically as Selim left it until the World War hurled its hammer at it, cracking off great provinces and weakening the whole.

In 1914 Turkey in Asia consisted of two great peninsulas and

the continent that joins them, the western peninsula being Asia Minor, the southern, Arabia and the continent containing Armenia, Kurdistan and Mesopotamia.

The peninsula of Asia Minor is a high plateau extending from the Black Sea southwest to the Mediterranean. Arabia is a barren tableland washed by the waters of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, and consisting of a great central desert and some narrow strips of cultivated coast. The continent is a low tableland sloping to the Persian Gulf from the Taurus and Lebanon mountains and intersected by the two mighty rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates.

This vast territory contains a great variety of climate and scenery. As one writer describes it: Arabia is as large as the Sahara with a similar burning climate; Syria is as large as Italy, with its olives and vines; Mesopotamia is larger than Egypt, with its sun and wind; the Black Sea coast forms a chain of provinces as big as Bavaria, with the forest of South Germany, while extensive high Armenia has winters more severe than those of Switzerland.

Within Turkey in Asia lie most of the great cities of antiquity: Troy, Nineveh, Babylon and Palmyra, Ephesus and Antioch; Sardis, Pergamos and Ephesus; Bagdad and Damascus; Baalbeck and Nicaea; Aleppo and Tarsus; Mecca, Medina and Constantinople.

From these cities come to us our earliest inspiration and we still thrill with their memories and the heritage they have bequeathed us. The foundations of all progress were laid in Turkey in Asia, which is the source of European civilization and the cradle of the three great religions. Much of it is a land of the past—the happy hunting-ground of the archeologist—interesting mainly from its ruins. It is also, however, a land of the future, with great mineral deposits, a fine soil, and a mild, fruitful climate. But the Turk has failed to develop its possibilities and his past tyranny has created a barren waste in what should be one of the richest territories of the world.

Let us consider the three divisions of Turkey in Asia separately:

Asia Minor along the Caspian and Black Seas is the seat of the Christian Armenian people, a race of farmers and tradesmen, and the mountain home of the Moslem Kurds, a fierce warlike people who prey on the Armenians of the valleys. At one time this part of the empire included all of Armenia, but in the nineteenth century the Russians pressed down through the Caucasus passes, taking a considerable slice of the land to the east and south of the Black Sea. The Armenians have been a subject people for nine centuries, divided as to nationality, but preserving their peculiar characteristics

as tenaciously as have the Jews, seldom marrying outside of their race, and in default of a country to love, cherishing passionately their ancient church, the Gregorian. Within our generation the Armenians have been fairly evenly divided between Russia, Turkey and Persia. They have been victimized by all three of these nations, but since 1900 they have been treated worse by the Turks, and have received increasingly better consideration from Russia, until in 1914-15 those near Russia went to her aid in the war, bringing upon their fellows the most terrible massacres ever known in history—nearly the annihilation of the nation.

West of Armenia in Asia Minor along the Sea of Marmora lies the first home of the Ottoman Turks with the capital cities of Konia and Broussa. Should Turkey be reduced to a small kingdom and shorn of its alien provinces, it is here in western Asia Minor that the Turk should start afresh an Ottoman rule.

Continental Turkey consists of Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia.

Syria was a national highway between ancient Egypt and the land of the Hittites and Babylonia, over which passed many a conquering army. It is a varied land of mixed race, whose only common bonds are the Arabic language and Turkish citizenship.

Since before the Crusades and despite them, Palestine has been a Turkish province. But it belongs to the world, a land of memories and pilgrimages. In its holy city, Jerusalem, we find not only Christian pilgrims but Hebrew and Moslem as well. There are to be seen the Wailing Place of the Jews, the sacred Mosque of Omar and the place of agony of our Saviour.

But the land is of the past, killed by bad government. Has it a future? and if so, is it in the hands of the Zionists? Their plan, to return as many Jews as possible from the alien West to their early home, has received an impetus from the war, many of the Zionists seeing a better chance for them if Palestine be taken from Turkey. An English protectorate would be the choice of some of the leaders of the government.

East of the coast countries stretches Mesopotamia.

This country depends for its prosperity, almost its life, on the twin rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates. These rivers are less reliable than the Nile, and as they derive the whole volume of their water from the distant Armenian mountains, they can only fertilize their banks by artificial help. Thus the land has been rather the product of men's culture than the moulder of their destinies. Let alone it is a land of drought and floods; Noah hailed from this

district. But the ancients very early learned to irrigate this land and under the rule of Babylon and Nineveh the country was very rich and boasted a high civilization.

"O thou river who didst bring forth all things!
When the great gods dug thee out
They placed prosperity on thy banks."

But the coming of the Arabs into Mesopotamia soon after the Hegira ushered in the ruin of the land, a ruin completed by the raids of Tamerlane and sealed by the Turks. In our day the great rivers do not keep the land fat, for their waters are not controlled. The once splendid cities are ruins, the peasant who digs the soil is poor and struggling and crushed with taxes. England has her eye on Mesopotamia and one of her great engineers is even now making plans for the retrieving of this land of the twin rivers, by vast dams and engineering works. Turkey has ordered such plans since the revolution of 1908. Time will tell which country will execute them and restore Mesopotamia to prosperity.

Now let us turn to the great peninsula of Arabia of whose early relations with Turkey we have spoken.

Turkish possessions in Arabia have until recently consisted of the Province of Hedjaz, of which Mecca is the capital, and that of Yemen of which Medina is the capital, with the smaller province of El Hasa, all forming the long strip on the west coast, with a population of over one million inhabitants. On the southwest coast England owns the port of Aden and has a sphere of influence. In the center is the vast uninhabited desert, with a few oasis settlements ruled by independent sultans such as those of Oman and Nedj. The Arab of the desert is naturally a nomad, a herdsman, a rapacious raider and a great lover of liberty.

The city of Mecca on the coast was once a great trading center, deriving its strength from a mysterious shrine, the black stone called the Kaaba. Here the prophet Mahomet was born, and although he was driven from here to Medina, later he returned and used the old habit of making pilgrimages to Mecca to draw people to his faith. Every true Moslem whose health and means permit, must make a pilgrimage or Haj, to Mecca once in his life. Here is the sacred enclosure, holding 25,000 pilgrims, or Hadji, here is the only mosque in the world with seven minarets, here is the magic Kaaba. Hither flock Moslem pilgrims from all over the East: Tartars in their sheepskin coats and high caps, Egyptians bringing the holy carpet from Cairo; Turks, Algerians, Mohammedans from

India, little brown men from Bokhara in striped silk gowns, wild dervishes from Africa, Berbers and Moors. Here no non-Moslem is supposed to place his desecrating foot, although some half dozen Europeans in the course of the centuries have run the imminent risk of death to make the pilgrimage disguised as Moslems.

The city of Mecca has always been ruled by its own governor, a Grand Shereef, a pure Arab descended from Ali, one of the first four caliphs.

In Medina the prophet with his daughter Fatima and two of the first caliphs are buried. The two holy cities were centers of Islam until 629 A. D. when the Caliph of Mecca was killed and the caliphate passed to Damascus. From that time Mecca and Medina, except as places of pilgrimage, disappeared from the pages of political history not to reappear until 1916.

Gradually the caliph became degraded from the Servant of Allah to a kind of paid official with no spiritual authority. Schism took place and a separate caliph sat on the throne of North Africa. So when Sultan Selim conquered both North Africa and Arabia, he naturally took over the caliphate. It meant little to him beyond a tribute to his position as the greatest of all Moslem princes. Although he assumed the most exalted title in Islam, that title never added one jot to his power.

The political importance of the Turkish assumption of the caliphate was not realized until in the nineteenth century the Turks have coined some advantage from the doubtfully legal title. It is doubtfully legal because according to Moslem law the caliph is not such by inheritance, but by election by the great body of believers, and he must possess these requirements; he must be a descendent of the daughter of Mahomet, rule in the holy cities, possess the relics of the prophet (now in Constantinople) and be recognized by the great schools of law. The Shereef of Mecca, except that he has not ruled independently in Mecca and Medina, fulfils these requirements better than the Sultan of Turkey.

Abdul Hamid II in his long reign contrived a vast number of Pan-Islamic intrigues; that is, he zealously disseminated false ideas about the caliphate, trying to win all Moslems to a universal Mohammedan alliance. He had general discontent to build on, for some 230,000,000 Moslems in the world feel that the times are out of joint and sigh for the good old days, vaguely fancying that a restored caliphate might better them.

But even Abdul Hamid the wily could not form any real organization. The Moslems of Persia deny his right to the caliphate,

those of Arabia begrudge it, and those of Morocco claim the caliphate for their sultan. And even over the millions who do acknowledge it the sultan has not tangible power outside of Turkey. Pan-Islam depends on the old Mohammedan law which teaches that the whole world is to be subject to the Moslem community politically and spiritually, and that in order to accomplish this the faithful must do *jehad*, that is carry on a holy war at least once in two years to subdue the non-Moslems. The leadership of the jehad belongs to the caliph as supreme governor, judge and commander of all the Faithful. The heathen must be converted, but the people of the Book, namely, the Jews and Christians, may be merely subjected. A Moslem should never accept subjection to a non-Moslem power.

Unfortunately for these ideals, the progress of the world dominion has gradually brought ninty-nine percent of the Moslems of the world under Christian rule or protection. Poor old Abdul Hamid who was losing province after province to the Ghaur, could hardly hope to work out any such Pan-Islamic program. At most his propaganda could cause little resistance but could never have a conclusive influence. But one way in which Abdul Hamid made the idea count was in dealing with the British who for generations have had hanging over their heads the fear of an uprising of all the Indian Moslems if they did not support Turkey: hence this pro-Turkish policy by which Abdul Hamid benefited.

The Young Turks in 1908 wanted to abandon the medieval union of church and state and give up the caliph idea. In a modern constitutional state there is no room for a caliph and jehad, but Turkey has been too weak, the ideal was too high and she was forced into successive wars or jehads. And Germany has revived the idea for her own ends.

Germany started her Turkish policy by obtaining the concession of the Anatolian railway in 1888, which was followed by the Bagdad railroad concession. Germany's plan was to save Turkey from her other enemies (the great powers) and develop her commercially, but not to annex territory because she was too far away to defend and hold it.

When the war opened Germany saw a chance to injure England, France and Russia through their Mohammedan subjects, and did all in her power to arouse the old Moslem fanaticism that was fast dying out. The Kaiser had made two visits to the Sultan in 1889 and 1898, the latter being also a "political pilgrimage to the Holy Land." He won the friendship of Abdul Hamid, but the Moslems who consider the one who pays the visit as inferior to the

one sought, thought that his visit proved that the princes of Europe were vassals to the Sultan. Over the tomb of Saladin the Kaiser said:

"The three hundred million Mohammedans that are scattered through the world may rest assured that the German emperor will eternally be their friend."

The Young Turk revolution upset the German plans a bit, but it was not long before Enver and Talaat were as good friends to the Germans and more pliant tools than Abdul Hamid had been, and the Kaiser proceeded with his "friend-to-Islam policy." This culminated when at German instigation the Sheik-ul-Islam was forced to proclaim a jehad. By this proclamation it became the duty of all Moslems in the world to take part with life and goods in the holy war against the Entente Allies, having faith that the mercy of Allah would turn the struggle against the enemies of Islam.

This is a distinction so little cleancut that it places the faithful Moslems with infidel Germans and Bulgarians and sets them against the Moslem subjects of England and France. Of course, the Germans hoped for Moslem uprisings in India, Egypt and Algiers. As a German writer said, "Germany counted on a jehad especially in India to begin the decline of England's greatness." But the common sense of the modern Moslem has rejected such folly, and the jehad has been recognized as a "Holy War made in Germany."

In the three years of the war a number of significant changes have taken place in Turkey in Asia.

Germany has won Turkey as her ally and tool, virtually rules in Constantinople and has cleared the Bagdad corridor. But within these last weeks she has faced the unpleasant sight of an English army at the Bagdad door.

England's recent successes in Mesopotamia have wiped out the humiliation of the earlier expedition, and have given her a firm hold on the region of the twin rivers. Cyprus and Egypt, although neither is Asiatic, are two further prizes wrested from Turkey. The forces now coming north from the Suez Canal may change the ownership of Palestine and further the Zionist plans.

The Russian army, marching down the Black Sea coast, won a series of victories, taking many Armenian towns. After Erzingian, the railroads were so remote that further progress became difficult and now the Russians are advancing southward past Kermanshah towards the junction with the English.

One of the most interesting changes that has taken place in Turkey in Asia is the revolt of the Grand Shereef of Mecca. In

the summer of 1916 he proclaimed the independence of Arabia from Turkey. Troops attempted to put down the revolt, but were unsuccessful. In September the Emir of Nejd proclaimed his adherence to the newly revolted state and Medina followed the others. In the winter of 1916-17, the kingdom of Hedjaz was organized, the Red Sea littoral was captured and the King of the Hedjaz announced his intent to reorganize Arabia as a modern industrial state. Of the great peninsula of Arabia there remains only El Hasa to the Turks.

In these war times all is fluctuating and uncertain; what Turkey may lose further and what she may regain by the war are on the lap of the gods.

If the Allies win the war Turkey will probably be partitioned, Syria going to France; Mesopotamia to England; Armenia and Constantinople to Russia; Arabia will remain independent; Palestine may become Zionist, and what is left of Turkey will work out its political salvation in Asia Minor.

If the Teutons win the war, Turkey will still lose Arabia and Egypt, but will remain nominally independent, but under German military and economic control—a hollow independence.

Should the war end in a stalemate, Turkey might preserve the *status quo ante bellum.*

ENGLISH DIPLOMACY.

BY THE EDITOR.

BRITISH diplomacy has lately assumed a new aspect, especially with regard to Turkey, and it has introduced changes whose wisdom may appear in the distant future though at present their advisability seems to be doubtful, and so we will point them out without either recommending or condemning them. We will only say that with the formation of the Entente a spirit seems to have possessed British diplomacy the result of which will be shown in the end of the present war.

England has always exercised a kind of patronage over Turkey. When "the sick man of Europe" was a moribund power England stood up for it, while Greece and afterward the Christian nations on the banks of the Danube and south of it were fighting for their independence. It was England who insisted on the necessity of keeping Constantinople in the hands of the Moslem and on Turkey's privilege of closing the Dardanelles against the Russians.

And there was a good reason for this policy. In India the followers of Mohammed not only form great masses of the population, but they are also the most active and energetic of its people. The Sultan of Turkey, however, has been and is still the recognized head of all Islam, and so it was essential for England to be friendly with the sultan. When the Turkish navy was destroyed in the battle of Navarin (October 20, 1827,) by the English, French and Russian navies, the news was by no means welcome to the diplomats of England. On the contrary it was openly called "an untoward event," because it was incidentally a help for Russia and a serious setback to Turkish power and prestige.

Russia has always been deemed the main enemy of England, and the English poet gave warning of the bear that walks like a man.

All this has been changed since England prepared for war by forming an alliance against Germany known as the "Entente." Russia has been favored as the better ally for England, and Turkey has thereby been forced into an alliance with Germany and Austria-Hungary. The main purpose of England's recent policy was to get rid of Germany as a most dangerous rival in industry and commerce, but for this purpose Russia seemed to be a more desirable ally than Turkey. Turkey could be regained afterwards, but Russia formerly feared by England as her rival in Asia, would serve her best in a struggle against Germany; and after Germany had been humiliated, England could grant Germany again an opportunity of fighting for England against Russia for which Germany would be grateful.

England had much more generous plans for Germany's good than is generally known. Several years ago when traveling in England, I read in an English paper, that England considered Germany's need of colonies and decided to give her some in South America. That was against the Monroe Doctrine and would involve Germany at least in strained relations with the United States, but that was exactly what England desired—to make a *rapprochement* between these two powers impossible. England knows what she is doing and her diplomacy has always been the same. England has a high contempt for America and American efficiency. She ranges our military power (as the London *Nation* has it) as about equal to that of Bulgaria. But her main point even now is not so much to gain the United States as an ally for herself as to alienate the United States and Germany, not only for the present but for all time to come. That is the English plan, and England is apparently succeeding.

Turkey has been driven over into the camp of the Central Powers, although the old condition of needing to keep the head of the Islam world friendly to England remains, but England is cunning enough to think of a substitute and make up for a deficiency in the array of her game. The result is that England wishes to curry favor with some one who could supplant the Islamic court of the sultan. Such a person indeed exists. He is the shereef of Mecca. The shereef of Mecca is a direct descendant of Mohammed and there has always been a kind of rivalry between him and the acknowledged head of the Moslem world in Constantinople. The Turkish sultan is recognized as the protector of Islam, but the shereef of Mecca being the head of the holy land of Islam has always been jealous of the sultan's authority and the relations between the two rulers have always been openly or secretly strained.

The common courtesies officially exchanged on definite occasions have never been sincere, and it was not difficult for English agents to stir the concealed distrust between the two into active hostility. To accomplish this was the easier since Constantinople has been affected by European culture more than the isolated Arabian land of Mecca and Medina. The Arabians in Mecca are simple folk who are more conservative than the Turks of Constantinople with their superficial touch of European culture. In Constantinople a new party has arisen. It is a modernization of Islam, and its members call themselves "Young Turks." They introduced reforms which are by no means welcome to the adherents of the prophet in Arabia and the result is that the shereef of Mecca has actually protested against the Sultan's policy by proclaiming a revolution. The situation has been carefully prepared by England and has been called a "master stroke" of English diplomacy.

A little book has been written by a well-known Dutch scholar, Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje of Leyden, in the interest of England. He views with favor the recent events in Mecca and looks upon the holy war of Islam proclaimed in Constantinople as "made in Germany."[1] Recently the same author has written another book entitled *The Revolt in Arabia* in which he says near the end (page 39 to 40):

"For the moment, a revolt in West Arabia against Turkey, under the lead of the Great Shereef and aided by England, can cause serious trouble to the Turkish government, and all the more because it is at Mecca, familiar to and cherished by the entire Mohammedan world. Such a campaign, well prepared and ably

[1] C. S. Hurgronje, *The Holy War Made in Germany.*

conducted, would be a master-stroke in opposition to the attempt made by Young Turkey under German protection to excite the medieval fanaticism of Islam against other religious sects and to use it as an incentive to strife. However that may be, those who abominate playing with the fire of religious hate, a measure to which the Young Turks, in the main non-religious, have allowed themselves to be persuaded, have no reason to regret the Arabian uprising. All that can tend toward making an end of the unworthy noisy talk of 'caliphate' and 'holy war' may be regarded as commanding respect."

The book contains in the appendix (pages 43-50) an English translation of the proclamation of the shereef of Mecca in defense of his revolt.

Take off your hat to the diplomacy of England! It has one advantage, that it is, and so far has always been, successful. Three centuries ago it beat Spain, then Holland, then Denmark, and in the middle of the nineteenth century waged the Crimean war, then the Opium war, the Boer war—none of them honorable, but all profitable. This present war belongs to the same class, and no less an author than G. Bernard Shaw in criticising with humorous sarcasm Mr. Cecil Chesterton's *Perils of Peace,* ridicules the latter for representing Britain, the innocent lamb, as attacked by the wolf Germany and blames him for unmanly and unworthy squealing. Mr. Shaw describes British diplomacy as successful nor does he see any reason for Mr. Chesterton to be ashamed of it.

I repeat: Take off your hat to English diplomacy. England plays a leading part in the world out of all proportion to her size or other accomplishments, and this is due solely to her diplomacy. The powers on the continent of Europe have always been divided, and between the two antagonistic groups she has always kept the decision in her own hands. The first mistake England made was in allowing her American colonies to withdraw from her empire, and she made a second one when she failed to have the United States divided into two confederacies, the North and the South. A third blunder, so it seems, may have been for England to allow the foundation of the German Empire. The question at present is whether an attempt to undo her third blunder was wise, and the future will show whether it would not have been preferable to have attacked the United States or Russia before wrestling with Germany. England had hoped for a speedier decision, and it is sure that she made some serious miscalculations in underrating Germany, and this one blunder may cause all her schemes to miscarry. According

to a careful German estimate Germany would not be able to carry on an "industrial war" or a blockade such as England has hurled upon her. Herr E. Possehl proved it in a speech made before the war on May 11, 1912, and according to all rules Germany ought to have been thrown to her knees long before this. This has not yet come to pass but may still happen. The German government has taken precautions against it which have been successful beyond all expectation.

On the other hand events have happened which lay beyond human calculation. The revolution in Russia is by no means a welcome incident for the English cause, although England has cleverly given a kick of contempt to the fallen Czar and at once sided with the rising republican powers that have taken charge of the affairs of the tottering government. It might have been nobler to help their ally in the critical moment, but it was more diplomatic to blame him for all mishaps and denounce him as pro-German, and England is not yet at her wits' end. She started the war by establishing the Entente and led one power after another into the fray—Italy and Rumania, but she held her greatest trump and played it last—the United States.

England's main purpose in drawing the United States into the present war lies in the distant future, and it is not difficult to point it out even now. Supposing that the part to be played by the United States against Germany will fail on the battlefield the ulterior purpose of British diplomacy may yet be attained. It is this: Germany and the United States are the main commercial rivals of England; they both must be overcome if England is to dominate the world commercially as well as politically, and the main thing to be avoided is the possibility that both should come to an understanding in resisting English supremacy. Germany and the United States have never before been at war and there was a positive danger that friendly relations between them could be built up. This could not be prevented more surely than by a war, and for this reason nothing would be more welcome to England. Wars spread the seeds of hate and such a hate is needed to prevent any friendship from developing by common interests. Nothing would be more dangerous to Great Britain and her world dominion than a German-American friendship and this is effectually undermined by a war.

England does not expect effectual assistance from the United States, but the ulterior purpose of the English diplomats in inducing the United States to enter the war is to drive a wedge between Germany and the United States, before the leading diplomats of both

should become conscious of their common interests so naturally obvious in face of the threatening British world dominion. Our contemporary American diplomats are too pro-British to see any danger that threatens from Great Britain and so we have become victims of a far-sighted English diplomacy.

English diplomats are narrow and sometimes make mistakes. They suffer for their blunders which endanger their plans in a frightful way, but their traditions are well preserved and they keep in mind their final goal, which is the building up of the British Empire and the destruction of rivals before they can become dangerous. The present war aims at nothing but the destruction of Germany before she can have a chance to build a navy strong enough to stand up against the British navy, and the war between the United States and Germany has a more ulterior purpose than American help for England in this great world war.

It is not likely that America will be of great assistance in the French trenches, although of course American troops will be used to their fullest extent in the fighting lines. The English claim that they have still five million soldiers of their own ready to go to the front, but they keep them at home and let others take the precedence in the honor of gaining laurels on the battlefield. No doubt the Americans will acquit themselves of the task as gloriously as did the French, the Australians and the Canadians, perhaps with greater readiness, some of them being convinced of the honor which they are thus allowed to gain.

History repeats itself, and it is peculiar that similar conditions involving a conflict to the end between the greatest power on land and the greatest maritime power within a certain sphere of interest has taken place before — first in Greek antiquity between Sparta and Athens and later in Roman antiquity between Rome and Carthage. We will not say that the end of these wars is always the same, but we will point out that there are many coincidences which show that under similar conditions people believe in a similar way and within certain limits the outcome too is the same. We have seen states like Athens in Greece and Carthage in northern Africa built up upon the basis of commercial conditions. The citizens grew wealthy and had the idea of unlimited dominion over the seas commanding access to other countries and colonies for themselves. When the Romans opposed Carthage's power, a Carthaginian leader is reported to have said, "What do you want to do with Carthage? You can't even wash your hands in the Mediterranean without our permission;" and it is true that Rome had to fight hard before

Scipio, sitting upon the ruins of the destroyed center of Semitic civilization, repeated the famous quotation from Homer in gloomy foreboding for his own city, Ἔσσεται ἦμαρ ὅταν ποτ' ὀλώλῃ Ἴλιος ἱρή. "There will be a day when sacred Ilium shall be no more."

The advantages of war were at first on the side of the sea powers—of Athens and of Carthage—and after the first triumphant stroke the Athenians erected a small temple to the goddess of victory, calling her Νικὴ ἄπτερος, the wingless victory, because henceforth she was to make her permanent abode in Athens, and they placed the little fane at the entrance of the Parthenon. We reproduce as our frontispiece the famous relief representing the goddess putting on her sandals.

Analogy is a dangerous basis for prophecy—even historical analogies which after all are the soundest. In one respect, however, the facts of Greek history teach a lesson that is applicable to-day. The two great Greek powers ruined each other and left to rising Rome the opportunity of becoming the leader of mankind. Two Germanic nations are now facing each other in a foolish spirit of hatred and rivalry, and if the Saxons and Teutons continue the war to the same bitter end they will leave the task of world-leadership to a third power. This would inevitably have been the United States if she had not taken part. On the other hand Russia may recover from her present derangement and the Slav may yet become the heir of the future.

If the war should finally end in favor of England it will not be due to the English armies or the prowess of their allies but first of all to the superiority of English diplomacy. If, however, England fails in her main purpose of crushing Germany, the conduct of this war though led in detail by clever diplomats would end in the first notable failure of English diplomacy, and it seems to me that the first result would be the foundation of a Centralia, a close coalition of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey. It may be possible that England will succeed in isolating this new empire and take the rest of the world for herself. But in this case it would be an essential point in our American policy not to be included in the British Empire, but to remain independent. Had we kept out of the war, not only our independence but even our financial, commercial and political predominance would have been assured. Now our fate has become very doubtful, but let us hope that our traditional American policy as guided by Washington, Franklin, Jefferson and Hamilton will come to the front again and lead us to the place that heaven seems to have reserved for our country.

WARSAW TO-DAY.[1]

BY MARION HAVILAND.

WARSAW is the principal city of the ancient kingdom of Poland and has always been a center of Polish sentiment and culture. Until recent times Poland has been a part of Russian territory. Now it is in the hands of the Germans, who have promised to reinstate it as an independent nation. Warsaw to-day presents an unusually interesting situation, which few outsiders have witnessed because of the strict German military regulations.

Last December a telegram from my teacher, Felicia Kaschowska, a Polish opera singer, asking me to assist her in teaching German music at the newly opened conservatory in Warsaw, proved sufficiently eloquent with the military authorities in Berlin, and I was granted permission to go there. I made the trip without difficulty or delay, as there is a through train from Berlin which covers the distance in about twelve hours. The greatest disappointment was that of crossing the battlefields at night. It is said that hardly anything has been changed since the day the Russians retreated and that the view from the train window is most interesting. It was impossible to see because of the darkness and the driving storm.

Warsaw has always been a gay little city, and, in spite of her trials, still gave me somewhat that impression. One saw much life in the streets everywhere—sharp contrast of color and race. Everywhere the gray of the German uniform was the strongest color note, but there was a fair sprinkling of olive with a dash of silver and red, the uniform of the Polish Legionists. On the whole, the scene did not remind one of war. On the pavements of the broader principal streets passed crowds of people, military and civilians, smartly dressed ladies and beggars. In the streets, in the snow, one saw sleighs and peasant wagons, and sometimes a drove of cattle—few motors, except those bearing German officers.

Warsaw to the eye of an American is not a large city. A stranger could visit it in a day and see most places of interest, with the exception perhaps of museums and picture galleries, of which

[1] We are indebted for the illustrations of this article to the Rev. Francis Gordon, of Chicago, editor of *Free Poland*. They give an idea of the architecture of the city in general, but do not illustrate the portions here described as affected by the war.—Ed.

there are several. In modern Warsaw there are some fine wide streets and parks and some interesting and beautiful buildings. Among the latter, two of the most conspicuous were the post-office

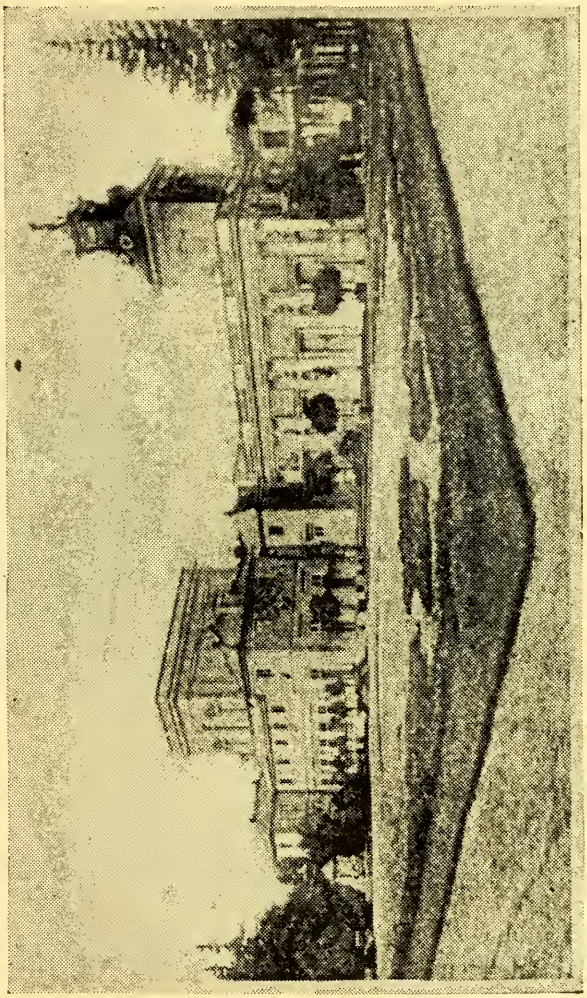
CHURCH OF THE HOLY VIRGIN.

In the foreground is a typical Russian sleigh-cab, such as is used by every one in going to and from all kinds of functions—especially this winter when no automobiles were available.—M. H.

and Russian church. The post-office, a large, light-colored stone building, covering nearly an American city block, had been started by the Russians and has been finished and opened by the Germans

since the occupation. The Russian church is a typical modern Byzantine structure and occupies a prominent place in one of the large squares.

The Russian church has been the subject of much controversy because the Germans have taken the copper from the domes. The



THE WILLANOV PALACE NEAR WARSAW.
Built by Sobieski in 1678-1694 and containing many memorials of Polish kings.

building is one which was built and used by the Russians for the exclusive use of those who worshiped in the Russian faith. Many think it not unfair of the Germans to have appropriated the several hundred pounds of copper, which is, of course, of great value to them now. The church is in no way damaged, and the German

authorities have offered it to the City of Warsaw to be used as the people desire. The new tin roofs were partly on and the church was soon to have been dedicated to the use of Roman Catholic services when I left.

The Hotel Bristol is another building of interest, because it was described in the American newspapers as having been completely destroyed by the Germans during the siege. People say that the wall at the back is very full of bullets, but a passer-by detects no further marks of damage.

An interesting building near the river front is an old castle formerly inhabited by a Polish ruler. It is a relic of the kingdom of Poland of centuries ago. It bears the seal of old Warsaw over

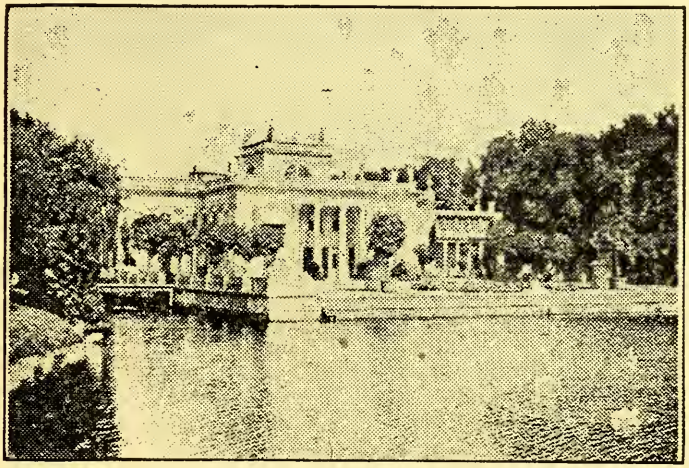
GENERAL VIEW OF WARSAW.
From the eastern Bank of the Vistula.

the doorway, a silver mermaid on a crimson field. She holds a shield in her left hand, and with her right brandishes a sword above her head. What must have corresponded in former times to the castle garden was used by the Cossacks at the time of the German invasion as practice ground for the cavalry. One may still see the hurdles standing in the mud of the much trampled ground. Near the castle is a bridge crossing the Vistula, which was blown up by the Russians and mended by their conquering foes. The old part of the original bridge may still be seen at both ends, joined skilfully to the new modern German structure in the center. Tramcars and other traffic now go over the bridge as usual.

In this part of the city may be seen some few other reminders

of the siege. There are some iron railings bordering a park front along the river, and they are torn with bullet holes. Here there are some steps leading down to the river, which flows swiftly along the quiet shore now. On both sides of the steps the railing is badly damaged and the ugly jagged bits of iron speak to the imagination. The scene was still and gray and cold the day I visited there with a German officer who acted as guide. "Just here," he said, pointing to the bank near the railing, "the Germans fired their last shot at the retreating Russians over the river. Plenty of our men fell here," he said; "these steps must have been wet with German blood."

Following the road on the other side of the river one comes to Prage, a suburb of Warsaw, where there are two railroad

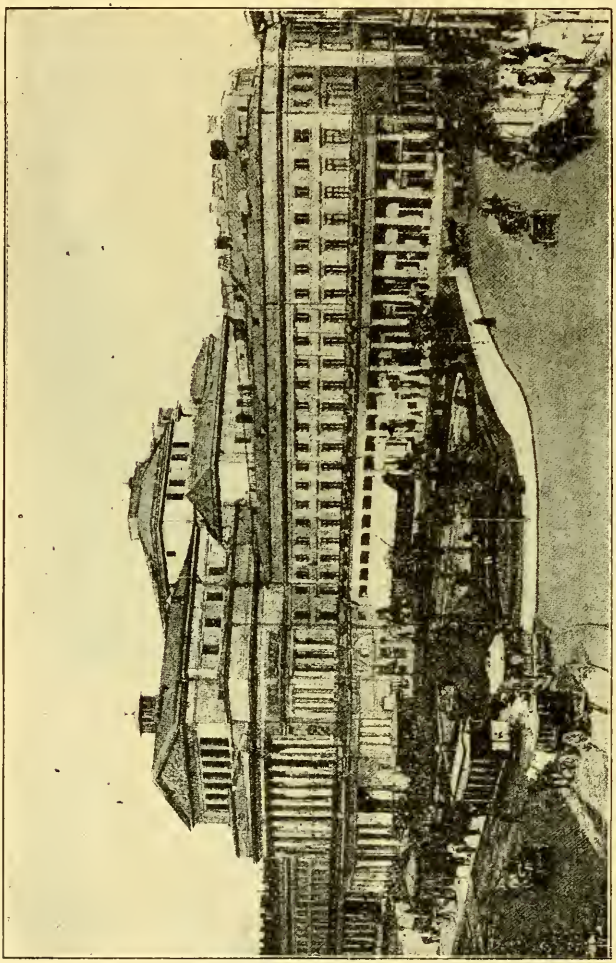


THE PALACE IN LAZIENKI PARK.

stations, completely destroyed by the Russians before they left. There is a socket of a clock in the tower of one, a few charred signs directing one to Moscow and Petersburg in front of the other. The Germans were beginning to clear away the wreckage and had long ago repaired the rails.

There are several theaters in Warsaw and they were well filled last winter. The opera too, it was said, had not been so crowded in many years. Because of the new national spirit, only the Polish language is heard on the stage. In spite of this, a great number of German soldiers and officers were always to be seen in every audience. There were good concerts given throughout the city, and many places of amusement, such as movie shows, vaudeville, etc., were well filled.

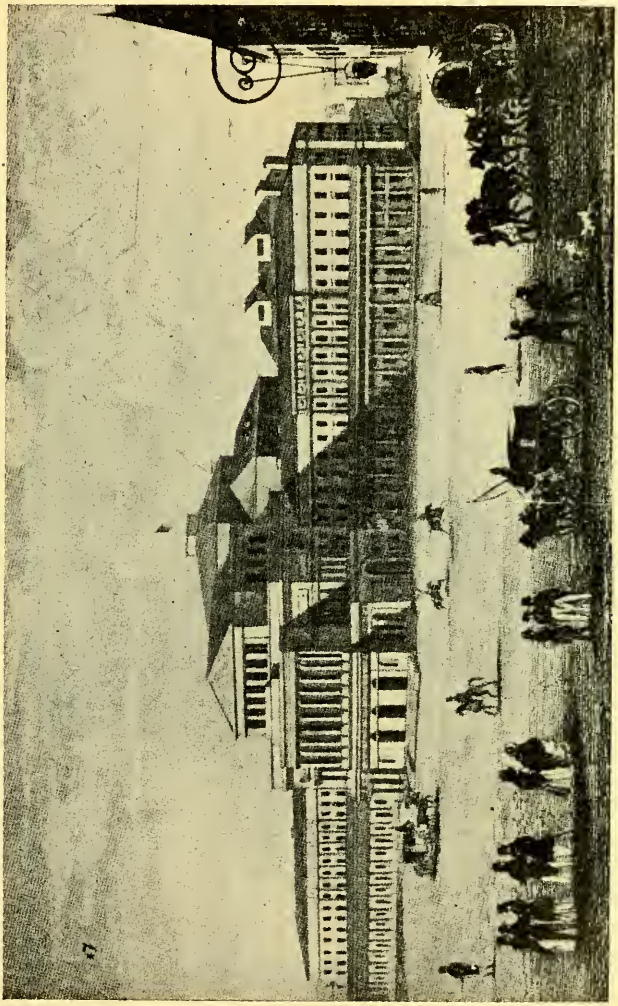
Food conditions in Warsaw were still very good for those who could pay. Indeed, to a late sojourner in Berlin, where the diet was so limited, Warsaw seemed an epicurean heaven. All the staple articles of diet were on sale, including the luxuries of sugar and butter, eggs and white bread. To my amazement whipped



THE GRAND THEATER OF WARSAW.
Many famous singers have sung here from Patti to Geraldine Farrar. There was opera here every night during the season this winter, when Wagner was sung in Polish for the first time, Felicia Kaschowska taking leading parts.—M. H.

cream and fancy cakes were still served at the patisseries. Meat and poultry could be bought everywhere. One heard expressions of hope, however, that the Germans would soon regulate the food supply and control the shopkeepers' exorbitant prices. Even generous people hesitate before paying fifty and thirty-five cents a loaf

for white and black bread. Butter was a dollar a pound and sugar almost as high. It was rumored that in spite of the quantity of food displayed in the shop windows there would surely be a shortage in the spring. Two meatless days a week, therefore, had



THE GRAND THEATER IN 1830.
From an old print.

just been adopted when I left. Other reforms had been planned but not yet carried out. The shops, though for the most part small, still displayed many tempting wares. Unlike Berlin, soap could be bought without police cards. Clothing and leather goods, though unrestricted, were very expensive.

At the restaurants one might have favorite dishes even prepared in the French fashion. The famous Café Ours kept fairly late hours with every table taken, and the English restaurant too was most popular. For those who could pay Warsaw offered many attractions and did not seem at all uncomfortable as a place of residence.

The private entertainments are numerous and the people most hospitable. The Poles like to think of Warsaw as a little Paris and pride themselves on a knowledge of the French language and customs. Polish homes show an influence of French taste, but they have an added charm that is Polish, possibly Russian. Small open fireplaces make the drawing-rooms seem more cozy than those at Berlin. Flowers and plants are used profusely for decoration, in

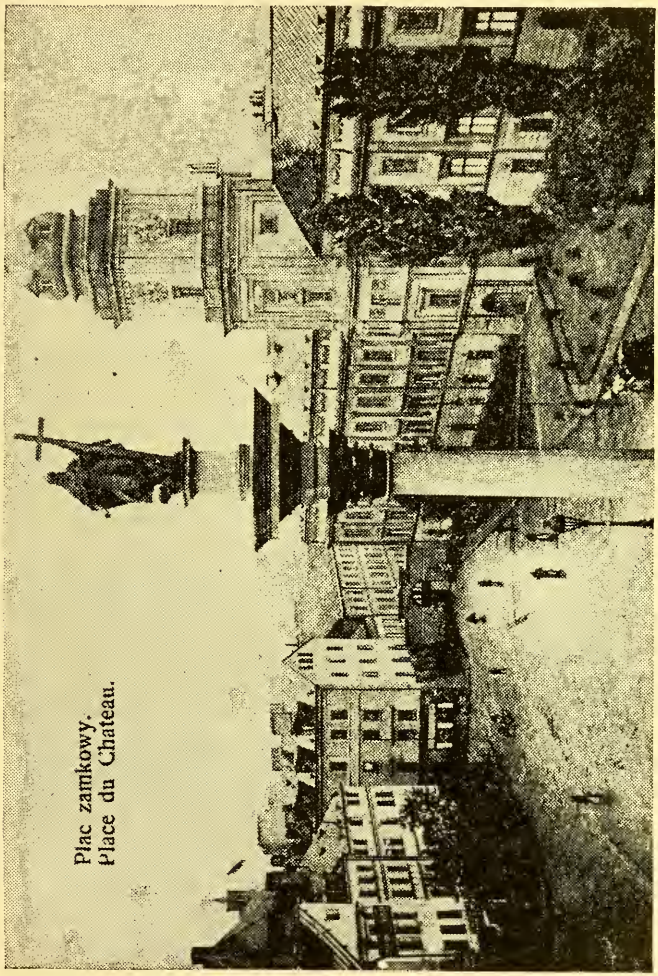
THE OLD MARKET PLACE.

spite of appalling war prices. There are not so many parties given as before the war and no balls, but there are some very delightful private musicales, dinners, luncheons and teas.

Distinguished guests frequently attend some of the social functions, and sometimes amusing incidents occur because of different nationalities and languages.

One afternoon we were drinking tea at the home of Madame X, an American married to a Polish nobleman. Among her guests was a Spanish priest who was the only representative of his nation in Warsaw, a German baroness on her way to nurse at the front near Russia, a young German lieutenant, who had accompanied the baroness, and myself. The Spanish priest did not understand Ger-

man or English so we spoke in French part of the time for his benefit. The young lieutenant only spoke German, though understanding some English. The Baroness spoke all three languages equally well, but particularly enjoyed speaking English, as she had spent some time in Canada and the United States. She had a



SIGISMUND PLACE AND THE ROYAL PALACE.

winning personality and looked particularly charming in her simple nurse's costume. Every one had interesting tales to tell and each lapsed at times into speaking the language which came most natural. The poor priest finally became quite bewildered with so many sounds. He got the idea that the young German lieutenant was the husband of the baroness, addressed him repeatedly as Monsieur le

Baron and asked about his family and estates. The young lieutenant struggled to understand the priest's French, but failed to grasp the point of his remarks. The baroness herself finally overheard them and laughing heartily told us the joke in English. The poor priest, not knowing his mistake, no doubt left with a sense of importance, thinking he had conversed with an influential nobleman.

The question of the Jewish people in society must be given place in any discussion of life in Warsaw. Polish aristocracy is still deeply prejudiced against the race, but no community, especially in such times, can quite dispense with the wealth and services of that brilliant people. A large part of the population in Warsaw is Jewish and much of the commercial, intellectual and civic interests are controlled by them. In society there is a definite line drawn. Only those Jewish families that are Christianized, preferably those of several generations standing, are now received by the élite, and they are usually spoken of as Israelites by the Christians among themselves. The Christianized Jews among themselves usually make the most criticism against the Jewish race. Most of them staunchly deny Jewish origin and consider themselves quite apart from the customs and tradition of their forefathers, even though bearing the features and characteristics of the upholders of Jewish faith.

The Jews in their turn exclude Christians from their social festivities and print their own newspapers and have text-books for the Jewish schools in Hebrew. The poorer classes live in a quarter by themselves, possess their own market and little shops, which the crafty Christian readily visits in search of bargains.

The hope of a new kingdom of Poland has put life and energy into the hearts of the people and given birth to a new national spirit. There are skeptics of course who doubt the benefit of a new order, and many of the older generation who were happy and prosperous under the Russian rule have little interest in the new movement, but to the majority the thought of Poland reinstated is a matter of great importance and joy. As a result of the enthusiasm Polish poetry, Polish music and Polish art are rapidly being revived.

It is only with an effort that the people begin to realize the full significance of a national spirit, because the Polish language and customs have been suppressed by Russia for many years. Under the Russian rule schooling was not compulsory so that the percentage of illiteracy is very great. Few cab drivers can read a written address and many servants and peasants can neither read nor write. This is more or less of a shock to one accustomed to

conditions in Germany or the United States. In the old part of Warsaw and the Jewish quarter the shops have painted signs on the outside quaintly depicting the articles on sale within. There is almost no lettering used, which goes to prove that people not long ago were evidently not expected to be able to read.

CHURCH OF THE SISTERS OF THE VISITATION.

The Polish language is now being taught for the first time in all the schools. This work was started by the Germans after the invasion. There was much difficulty at first in securing teachers, school-books and school supplies. Little boys refused to attend

school founded by the Germans because they believed it was a ruse to have them enlisted to fight before Verdun. Their parents seemed to be convinced of this absurd idea too, but the schools now are established and well attended.

In Warsaw the sentiment of the people as regards the Germans is divided. The young people, especially the young men called Legionists (Poles who have volunteered to serve the German cause), are friendly. One of them, a young Polish poet, told me he sincerely hoped Poland would have a German king. He thought in that way the Polish people might be taught habits of order and good management. His opinion was shared by many, especially those who had received their education in Germany. On the other hand, there are still men in Warsaw who have done service in the Russian army. Many of them are Jews. They hate the Germans and all that is German. People who hold property in Russia naturally prefer Russian rule.

Society people are not altogether friendly to the Germans. Many hostesses of the older generation like to tell of the good days when the Russians were in Warsaw. At such houses one rarely meets German officers, and the German language is barred even for singing. French and even English is spoken everywhere, but little German, except in the shops where one usually pays extra for the privilege. Some of the younger, more daring Polish hostesses now invite the most distinguished German officers stationed at Warsaw to their homes, but not always without incurring criticism from their neighbors.

The Legionists, tall, well-built, good-looking young men, one sees everywhere. Many of them have been educated in Germany and have great sympathy for German thought. I met one that had been at the German front, but there were many who had never been called out.

The Polish lower-class people are childlike, easy going, slovenly and lovable, but difficult to train in efficiency.

The day after the publication of President Wilson's peace proposition several hundred Polish students assembled in front of the American consulate. There was a band and delegates offered a message of thanks to our President. The band played the Polish national hymn, while the students and many passers-by stood in the zero weather with bared heads and sang and cheered Poland and America. Hundreds of people sent their visiting cards to the American consul with touching words of gratitude to President Wilson for his thought of Poland.

In spite of apparent good conditions in the city of Warsaw there is much misery among the poor. For the first time Polish citizens have had permission to organize charity work in the cities, and the women in Warsaw have accomplished wonders in that

THE CARMELITE CHURCH.

respect. I visited many of the soup-kitchens and day nurseries and other charitable institutions. The problem of caring for the city poor, as well as the hordes who have drifted in from the ruined farming country is, of course, very great. Hundreds are quite destitute, with no means to buy the expensive food, and without

work, clothing or even shelter. I talked with one lady who had herself started, and even partly furnished, three day nurseries. In one of them, arranged for very little children, I saw a boy of eight lying in one of the little cribs. They had found him wandering about the street, where he had been for several days in the freezing cold, without food and wearing scarcely any clothing. He said his father had been taken to work away from Poland and had left him in the care of an old woman. She herself had no work or money, and the little boy was one day taken out and lost. He is an example of one of the scores of little drifting war-orphans to be taken care of. I saw hundreds of school-children getting their mid-day steaming soup and slice of bread. Many of the institutions distributed condensed milk, furnished by the Rockefeller Relief Fund. All that was given seemed pitifully little to offer those pale-cheeked, wide-eyed children, so patiently expectant of their right to live and be well fed.

Beseler is the name of the German governor at Warsaw. He is an elderly and courtly gentleman, tall and very robust, with white hair and moustache (the latter was quite icy the freezing day we met him out reviewing the troops). He gallantly kissed my hand and said some polite words to me in English. He is well liked everywhere, but does not care for nor go about much in society.

The Germans were not very tactful when they put the German colors and flag on the new passports which they gave to their Polish subjects. However, it was a matter of slight importance, and treated by the Poles as more or less of a joke. I saw no evidence of cruelty on the part of the Germans in Warsaw. The Polish people themselves said the city was far cleaner and more orderly than before the Germans took possession. Polish relief workers and German experts are laboring side by side in behalf of the health of the people. The words "Employment Bureau" I saw often written in German.

ON CIVIL AUTHORITY.[1]

BY MARTIN LUTHER.

AN ADMONITION TO ABSTAIN FROM INSURRECTION.

Perceiving that the oppressed common people of Germany were inclined to take his demand for liberty as a promise of relief for their temporal wrongs, at which he was no wise

[1] Translated and edited by W. H. Carruth.

aiming, Luther issued early in the year 1522 an "Admonition to all Christians to Abstain from Insurrection and Rebellion," from which certain paragraphs of general import are here given. From all that follows it may be derived that Luther attempted to be a consistent non-resistant, meaning thereby abstinence from violence, but not from disobedience to commands which attempted to throttle Christian liberty. This, however, is to him wholly a spiritual matter and cannot be throttled by force. Hence all physical force is to be tolerated by the true Christian. Moreover, Luther perceived that all appeals to force by those who professed to be seeking true Gospel liberty were involving this cause with other interests and alienating the powers that be, thus making the propaganda of his cause more difficult. Both from principle and from policy Luther was a conservative in civil affairs. This explains his seeming indifference and inhospitality to the cause of physical, civil right and liberty.—W. H. C.

BY the grace of God the blessed light of Christian truth, hitherto suppressed by the pope and his followers, has risen again in these years, whereby their many harmful and shameful seductions, their many misdeeds and tyranny have been made so evident and thus frustrated, that it looks as though insurrections might come and priests, monks, bishops and the whole clerical estate be slain or expelled, unless they undertake a serious and considerable reform. For the common man, moved and aggrieved by his injuries suffered in property, body and soul, has been tried too far and burdened by them most faithlessly beyond all limits and can and will no longer endure it and has good reason to lay on with flails and clubs, as the teamster threatens....

Now as I have said, since I am certain that the papacy and the clerical estate will not be overthrown by human hand or insurrection, but that his wickedness is so dreadful that no punishment will suffice for it save the wrath of God alone without intermediary, I have not been able to persuade myself to check those who threaten with fist and flail, knowing well that they will accomplish nothing, and that, while some may be assailed, there will be no general rebellion.

But although the fist may not strike in, and there is no need for me to repress it, I must instruct the heart a little. To begin with, I shall leave aside for the present civil authority and the nobility,

which should lay hold from the obligation of their regular power, each prince and lord in his own land. For what is done by regular authority is not to be regarded as insurrection. [Evidently Luther has in mind only the possible upsetting of ecclesiastical order.].... But the spirit of the common man is to be pacified and he is to be told that he should abstain from desires and speech which lead to rebellion, and do nothing without command of the authorities or the initiative of the powers that be. He should be persuaded to this course by the following considerations:

First, that nothing will come of it and that they are mere vain words and thoughts, whatever is said and thought on the subject. For, as you have heard, God proposes to be the avenger here, for they do not deserve such a light punishment [as civil violence]....

Second, although it were possible that a rebellion might really take place and God punish them thus mercifully, this manner is no use and never brings the improvement that one seeks. For insurrection has no sense and usually hits the innocent more than the guilty. Therefore no rebellion is right, however just its cause, and always more harm than help comes of it, according to the saying, "It goes from bad to worse." To this end are "the civil power and the sword instituted, to punish evil doers and protect the well disposed, that rebellion may be prevented," as St. Paul says (Romans xiii. 4 and 1 Peter ii. 13-14). But when Mr. Omnes rebels he can neither reach nor hold any such distinction of good and bad, but falls upon the multitude as they come, and terrible wrong is sure to result.

Therefore keep an eye on the government. So long as it does not lay on and direct, hold thee still in hand, mouth and heart and take no part. But if thou canst persuade the government to lay hold and direct, that thou mayest do. If it will not, then thou too shouldst not will. But if thou go ahead, then art thou in the wrong and even worse than the other side. I hold and shall always hold with the party against which rebellion is raised, however wrong its cause, and against the party that rebels, however right its cause, because rebellion cannot proceed without the shedding of innocent blood.

Third, rebellion is forbidden by God, saying through Moses, Execute the right in righteousness; and again, Vengeance is mine, I will repay; and besides we have the saying, He who strikes back is in the wrong; and again, No one can be his own judge. No, rebellion is nothing but judging and avenging oneself. God cannot abide this; hence it is impossible that rebellion should do otherwise

than make the matter worse, because it is against God and God is not with it.

Fourth, in this cause rebellion is certainly an especial instigation of the Devil. [That is, the Devil wants to avoid the charges laid against the papacy by turning counter charges of rebellion against the reformers.]

But if thou askest, What shall we do if the government will take no steps? Shall we endure it longer and increase their arrogance? I answer, thou shalt do none of these. But three things thou shalt do: First, acknowledge thy sin, which God's severe justice has plagued with this anti-Christian condition.... Second, Thou shalt pray in all humility against the papal rule.... Third, let thy mouth be a mouth of the spirit of Christ, of which St. Paul says, "The Lord Jesus will slay him with the mouth of his spirit."

* * *

Recently I published a book to the Christian nobility, showing them what their Christian office and work is; but how they followed it is evident enough. Therefore I must now do my best and write what they should leave and not do. And I expect they will follow this just as they followed that, by remaining princes and nevermore Christians. For God Almighty has made our princes mad, so that they think they may do and command to their subjects whatsoever they will. And the subjects are also astray in thinking that they are bound to obey in this line and so utterly that they, the princes, have now begun to order people to surrender books and to believe and hold whatever they direct, thus presuming to sit in God's throne and to rule conscience and belief and to take the Holy Ghost to school in accordance with their own mad wits. And yet they claim that we must not tell them the truth, but should continue to call them "My gracious Lord."

They write and send forth pamphlets alleging that the emperor thus directs and they wish of course to be obedient Christian princes; just as if they were really in earnest and we could not see the rogue behind their ears. For we should quickly see, if the emperor should take from them a castle or a city or do some other wrong, how cunningly they would show reason for resisting the emperor and not being obedient. But where the game is to skin the poor man and wreak their whims against God's word, it must forsooth be called obedience to imperial command. Of old such people were called knaves, but now we must call them obedient Christian princes. And yet they will allow no one a hearing or defence, however earn-

estly he offers it; whereas this would be intolerable if the emperor or anybody else dealt so with them. Such are the princes who dominate the empire in German lands, and hence it must stand so well in all our principalities as we now see!

Now because the wrath of such fools tends toward the destruction of Christian faith and the denial of the divine word and the blasphemy of God's majesty, I can and will no longer stand idly by, but must resist my ungracious lords and masters, at least in words. And since I did not fear their idol, the pope, who threatened to take from me my soul and the hope of heaven, I must show that I do not fear his scurf and water-blisters, which threaten to take my life and my foothold on earth. God grant that they have cause to be angry till their gray coats rot, and help us that we perish not for fear of their threats. AMEN.

CIVIL AUTHORITY IS A DIVINE INSTITUTION.

In the first place we must find a good basis for the civil sword and law, so that no one may doubt that it is in the world by the will and institution of God. Now the passages which support it are these: Romans xiii: "Let every soul be in subjection to power and authority; for there is no power save from God. And the powers that be are ordained of God. Therefore he that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God, and whoever resisteth will receive to himself condemnation." And again 1 Peter ii: "Be subject to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the king, as supreme, or to the governors, as being sent by him for the punishment of evil-doers and for the commendation of the good."

Moreover this same right of the sword has been from the beginning of the world. For when Cain slew his brother Abel, he was so afraid that he would be slain in turn that God laid an especial prohibition thereon and suspended the use of the sword on his account, forbidding any one to kill him; which fear he would not have had unless he had seen and heard from Adam that murderers were to be slain.

Furthermore God established and confirmed it again in express words after the flood, Genesis ix: "Whosoever sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." Which must not be understood as a plague or punishment by God upon the murderers, since many murderers remain alive through atonement or favor and die not by the sword; but it applies to the right of the sword: that a murderer deserves death and that he may lawfully be slain by the sword. Now though the law be interfered with and the sword be

slow, so that the murderer may die a natural death, yet this does not make the Scripture false when it says: "Whosoever sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed," for it is the fault of men that this law, ordained of God, is not executed, just as other divine commands are violated.

> [Here Luther cites further Exodus xxi, and the reply of John the Baptist to the soldiers. And in apparent contradiction to these passages the non-resistance utterances of Jesus, Paul and Peter. These and other passages are difficult, as seeming to say that New Testament Christians should have no civil sword.]

Wherefore sophists say that Christ thereby abolished the law of Moses, making of these New Testament commands counsels for the righteous and accordingly divide Christian doctrine and the Christian state into two portions: one they call that of the righteous and assign Christ's counsels thereto; the other the unrighteous, or imperfect, to which they assign the commandments of Moses. And this they do from pure wickedness and evil will without any reason in Scripture, not seeing that Christ in the very same place applies all his teaching so strictly that he will not allow one jot to be removed, and condemns to hell those who do not love their enemies.

Therefore we must reply to the contrary, that Christ's words are meant for everybody, whether righteous or unrighteous; for righteousness and unrighteousness are not a matter of works and do not form separate classes among Christians, but they are a matter of heart and faith and love, so that whoever believes and loves most is most perfect, be he outwardly man or woman, prince or peasant, monk or layman; for love and faith make no sects nor outward distinction.

Thirdly, we must here divide the children of Adam and all men into two parts, the first belonging to the kingdom of God, the other to the kingdom of this world. Those who belong to the kingdom of God are all true believers in and under Christ; for Christ is the king and lord in the kingdom of God, as witness the second Psalm and all Scripture; for indeed to that end did he come, to begin the kingdom of God and to establish it in the world....

Lo now, these people need no civil sword nor law. And if all the world were genuine Christians, i. e., true believers, then no prince, king, lord, sword nor law were necessary nor useful in the world. For why should they have it? They have the Holy Ghost in their hearts, who instructs them and guides them so that they

do wrong to no one, love everybody, gladly and willingly suffer wrong from everybody, even death. Where there is nothing but doing right and sufferance of wrong there is no need of quarrel, contention, court, judge, punishment, law nor sword. Therefore it is impossible that the civil sword should find need of doing justice among Christians, since they do of their own accord much more than any law or doctrine demands.

Askest thou then, Why has God given so many laws to all men, and why does Christ teach so much in the Gospel that should be done? To be brief Paul says, the law is given on account of unrighteousness, i. e., that those who are not Christians may be kept outwardly from evil deeds, as we shall hear later. Now since no man is a Christian or righteous by nature, but all are sinners and wicked, God prevents them by the law from doing outward works of wickedness according to their will....

Fourthly, to the kingdom of this world, or under the law, belong all who are not Christians; for since few believe and the fewest act in Christian wise, resisting no evil, yea doing no evil themselves, God has established for them outside the kingdom of God and the Christian estate another government and subjected them to the sword, so that though they would like to they cannot do mischief, and that if they do it at least they cannot do it without fear nor with peace and success. Just as we shut a wild and raging animal in chains and bands so that it cannot tear and bite after its fashion, although it would like to, while a tame and gentle animal does not need this but is harmless without chains and bands.

Now if any one proposed to rule the world according to the Gospel and to suspend all civil law and authority, alleging that they were all baptized and Christians, among whom the Gospel will have no law and authority, nor is it needed—my dear man, guess what he would be doing! He would be breaking the chains and the bands from wild animals, so that they might tear and bite everybody and at the same time allege that they were fine, tame, gentle animals. But I should have the evidence in my wounds. So the wicked would misuse Gospel freedom under the Christian name, pursue their knavery and claim to be Christians and be subject to no law nor sword; as even now some do in their foolish rage.

To such people you must say, Indeed it is true that Christians on their account are subject to no law nor sword, nor need to be, but look to it first that you have a world full of real Christians before you try to rule it in Christian Gospel fashion. This you will never be able to do, for the world and the great mass is and

will always be un-Christian, although they be all baptized and bear the Christian name. But Christians, as the saying is, live far apart. Therefore it is not possible that Christian government be made universal in all the world, or even in a single country or any great mass of people. For there are always many more wicked than righteous. Therefore to propose to rule a whole land or the world by the Gospel, is just as if a shepherd should put together in one stable wolves, lions, eagles, and sheep, and permit them to mix freely with one another, saying, "Feed and be good and peaceful together; the stable is open, there is pasture enough; you have no need to fear dogs nor clubs." The sheep indeed would keep the peace and graze and be ruled in peace; but they would not live long nor would any one animal hold its own against the others.

Hence we must discriminate carefully between these two kinds of government and let both remain: the one that makes righteous, and the other that secures outward peace and checks evil deeds. Neither is adequate in the world without the other, for without Christ's spiritual government no one can become righteous in the sight of God, that is, by any civil government. And Christ's rule does not apply to all men, but Christians are ever very few in the midst of un-Christians. And where the civil rule and law alone prevail, there is nothing but hypocrisy, even though the commands were the commands of God. For without the Holy Ghost in his heart no one can become really righteous, let him do ever so fine works. But when the spiritual rule alone prevails over land and people, there the bridle is slipped from wickedness and free play given to all knavery, for the vulgar world cannot accept or understand it.

Fifthly, you may say here, If then Christians do not need the civil sword and law, why does Paul say (Romans xiii) to all Christians: "Let all souls be in subjection to power and authority"? Answer: I have just said that Christians among themselves and with and for themselves need no law or sword, for it is of no use or need to them. But because a real Christian on earth does not live to himself, but to his neighbor, serving him, therefore from his nature and spirit he does what he does not need but which his neighbor needs and has use for. Now since the sword is a great and necessary help to all the world to maintain peace, punish sin, and restrain the wicked, therefore he submits most willingly to the rule of the sword, pays taxes, honors authorities, serves, helps and does all he can that will advance authority and keep it going in honor and respect, despite the fact that he does not need this on his own account but

is considering what is useful and good for others, as Paul in Romans xiii. teaches.

So you see in the words of Christ, that he teaches that Christians among themselves should have no civil sword nor law. But he does not forbid that one should serve and be subject to those who have the civil sword and rule. But rather, just because you do not need nor have them, you should serve those who have not risen so high as you and do still need them. Though you do not need to have your enemy punished, your frail neighbor needs it, and you should help him that he may have peace and his enemy be restrained, which cannot be unless power and authority are feared and respected. Christ does not say: Thou shalt not serve or be subject to civil power, but: Thou shalt not resist evil, as if he meant: Conduct thyself so that thou endure everything, so that thou have no need of government to help and serve and be useful to thee, but on the other hand so that thou mayest help and serve and be useful to it. I would have thee higher and indeed too noble to need it, but it shall need thee.

Now if you ask whether a Christian may also wield the civil sword and punish the wicked, since the words of Christ are so hard and clear: "Resist not evil," that the sophists have been compelled to shift it into a counsel (instead of a command), I answer: You have now heard two points: one, that there can be no sword among Christians, wherefore you cannot wield it over and among Christians, since they do not need it; therefore you must out with the question as to the other portion, who are not Christians, whether you may use it among them. There is the other point, that you are bound to serve the sword and to support it with all your power, body and goods, honor and soul, for it is an office which you do not need and yet is useful and necessary to the whole world and to your neighbor. Therefore, when you see that there is a lack of executioners, sheriffs, judges, lords and princes, and you feel yourself fit, you ought to offer yourself for this service and solicit it, in order that the necessary power may not be despised and impotent or even perish; for the world can and will not go without it.

My reasoning: In this case you would be going about entirely in the service and works of others, which would be serving not yourself or your goods and honor, but only your neighbor and others, and you would not do it with the purpose of avenging yourself or returning evil for evil; but for the good of your neighbor and for the maintenance of shelter and peace for others. For as to yourself you stay by the Gospel and conduct yourself according

to the word of Christ, willingly receiving the stroke on the cheek in return, or letting go your cloak and your mantle, if only you and your affairs are involved.

And so it is fairly consistent, that you satisfy at the same time the kingdom of God and that of the World, outwardly and inwardly, at the same time suffering evil and wrong and yet punishing evil and wrong; at once resisting and not resisting evil. For with the one course you are considering yourself and your own, in the other your neighbor and his welfare. For yourself and your own you hold to the Gospel and suffer wrong like a genuine Christian on your own account; for your neighbor and his interests you follow the law of love and tolerate no wrong to him, which is not forbidden, or rather is commanded by the Gospel in another place.

In this spirit the sword has been wielded by all saints from the beginning of the world, by Adam and all his descendants.... But if any one should allege that the Old Testament is superseded and no longer valid, wherefore such examples could no longer be commended to Christians, I answer that it is not so; for St. Paul says (1 Cor. x): "They did all eat the same spiritual meat and drink the same spiritual drink from the rock which is Christ, as did we." That is, they had the same spirit and faith in Christ that we have and were Christians as much as we. Therefore, in whatsoever they did right, therein all Christians do right, from the beginning of the world to its end, for time and outward circumstance make no difference among Christians. Moreover it is not true that the Old Testament is superseded so that we may not hold by it, or would do wrong if we followed it throughout, as Jerome and many others have stumblingly taught; but it is superseded in the sense that one is free to observe it or to pass it over, and that it is no longer necessary to follow it at the peril of one's soul as it was of old.

> [This Luther then confirms by the cases of John the Baptist, who bade the soldiers be content with their pay, of Peter who approved of the centurion Cornelius, of Philip, who baptized the eunuch of Ethiopia, and of Paul, who baptized the captain Paul Sergius of Cyprus, continuing:]

Moreover, there is beyond this the clear and strong saying of Paul, Rom. xiii, "The powers that be are ordained of God; and the power beareth not the sword in vain, but is the servant of God toward thee, avenger against the wrong-doer."

Therefore thou shouldst esteem the sword, or power, just as one does marriage, or agriculture, or any other vocation, which

are also ordained of God. Now just as a man can serve God in the married state, in agriculture or in a trade, for the benefit of his neighbor, and must serve his neighbor if need be, so in power also he can serve God, and ought to serve in this way if the need of his neighbor requires it, for those who punish the evil and shield the good are God's servants and workmen. But it is also free to omit, if it is not necessary, just as marrying and tilling the soil are voluntary, where there is no necessity.

But if thou sayest: Why then did not Christ and the apostles wield it? my answer is: Tell me, why did not Christ take a wife? Or why was he not a shoemaker or a tailor? If an occupation or an office were to be condemned because Christ did not occupy it, where would be all offices and occupations except that of preacher, the only one that he pursued? Christ pursued his own office and occupation, but he did not thereby condemn any other. It was not fitting for him to wield the sword, for he was to hold the only office whereby his kingdom is ruled and is really of service to his kingdom....

Now from all this it appears what the true understanding is of Christ's words (Matt. v), "Resist not evil," etc.; namely that a Christian must be so constituted that he will suffer all evil and injustice, will not avenge himself, nor defend himself in court, but that he will have absolutely no need of civil power and law for himself. But for others he may and should seek vengeance, justice, protection and aid, and contribute thereto by any means in his power. Likewise power should seek and instigate, aid and defend him of itself or at the suggestion of others without any complaint on his part. If it does not do this, he must let himself be skinned and abused, and resist not evil, as Christ's words say....

And here thou wilt ask, whether bailiffs, hangmen, jurists, advocates and all that sort of officials can be Christians, and can be saved? I answer, if power and the sword are tools of God, as has just been shown, then everything must be a service of God that is needed by power to wield the sword. It must be that he who catches the wicked, accuses them, throttles and slays them, is shielding, excusing, justifying and saving the good. Therefore when they do it with a purpose, not to seek their own in it, but only to administer law and power and to help restrain the wicked, it is without spiritual peril for them and they may employ it as any one else pursues another trade and make their living by it. For as has been said, love of one's neighbor does not regard its own and does not

consider how great or how small, but how necessary and useful the works may be for one's neighbor or for the community.

And now we come to the chief heading of this sermon. For after we have taught that there must be civil authority on earth, and how one can administer it Christianly and unto salvation, we must now teach how long its arm is and how far its hand can reach, lest it reach too far and lay hold on God's realm and rule. And this is very necessary to know, for unbearable and terrible damage arises if too much reach is given it, while it is not without damage if it be too much restricted. Here it punishes too much, and there too little, although it is more tolerable that it err on the latter side and punish too little than to err on the other side and punish too much, since it is always better to let a knave live than to take the life of a good man, inasmuch as the world has and must have knaves a plenty, but of good men few.

In the first place we must note that the two portions of the children of Adam, one of which is in the kingdom of God under Christ, but the other in the kingdom of this world and under the civil authority, have two different sets of law; for every kingdom must have its laws and statutes, and without laws no realm nor rule can exist, as daily experience sufficiently shows. The civil government has laws which apply no further than to the body and property and to whatever is outward on earth. For over the soul God can and will have no one rule but himself. Therefore when the civil power presumes to give laws to the soul it is interfering with the government of God and only seducing and ruining souls. This we propose to make so clear that it can be grasped, so that our noblemen, the princes and bishops, may see what fools they are when they try to force people by their laws and commands to believe thus and so....

> [At some length Luther here develops the thought that it is impossible and absurd to try to direct the thoughts and the beliefs of men; that these are matters between the soul and its creator.]

Accordingly, if thy prince or civil lord commands thee to adhere to the pope, or to believe thus and so, or directs thee to put away certain books, thus shalt thou say: "It is not meet for Lucifer to sit beside God; dear sir, I am bound to obey thee with body and goods; command me according to the measure of thy authority on earth, and I will obey. But if thou command me to believe, or to put away certain books, I will not obey; for in this thou art a

tyrant and reachest too high, commanding wherein thou hast neither right nor power, etc." If then he take thy property therefor and punish thy disobedience, blessed art thou, and thank God that thou art worthy to suffer for the sake of the divine word. Let him rage, the fool! for he will find his judge. For I say to thee, if thou contradict him not and give way, so that he may deprive thee of thy faith or of the books, thou hast of truth denied God.

To give an instance of this: In Meissen, Bavaria, and in the Mark and other places, the tyrants have published a decree that people shall deliver their New Testaments to the officials here and there. In this matter their subjects should act thus: Not a leaf, not a word should they deliver, on peril of their salvation. For whoever does it is surrendering Christ to Herod's hands; for they are acting like murderers of Christ, like Herod. But this much they must tolerate: that the officials run through their houses and take away by force either books or other property. They must not resist violence, but suffer it. But they must not endorse it, nor be instrumental to it, nor follow or obey it, not by a footstep nor the movement of a finger. For such tyrants act as civil princes must,—they are worldly princes. And the world is God's enemy; therefore they must do what is against God and pleasing to the world, that they may not lose standing but remain wordly princes. Therefore do not wonder if they rage and ramp against the Gospel; they must live up to their name and title.

Know thou that from the beginning of the world a wise prince has been a rare bird, and still rarer a pious prince. They are usually the greatest fools or the worst knaves on earth. Therefore we must always be prepared for the worst from them and expect little good, especially in divine matters concerning the salvation of the soul. For they are God's jailers and hangmen and his divine wrath uses them to punish the wicked and keep outward peace. Our God is a great lord, and therefore he must have such noble, highborn, rich hangmen and jailers, and he intends that they shall have wealth, honor and respect in full measure from every one....

But if again thou say: "Civil authority does not indeed compel any one to believe, but only prevents by outward means misleading people with false doctrine. How else could we restrain heretics?" I answer: That is for the bishops to do; that is their office and not that of princes. For heresy can never be prevented by force, but it takes another device. This is another contest and dispute than with the sword. Here God's word must fight for us. If that does not suffice, the end will not be attained by civil authority, not

though it fill the world with blood. Heresy is a matter of the spirit and cannot be cut with steel nor burned by fire, nor drowned in water....

Moreover, there is no greater support for belief or heresy than when it is attacked without God's word and by mere force. For one certainly feels that such force has no just case and is acting counter to right, because it is acting without God's word and knows not how to help itself save by force, as unreasoning beasts do. For even in worldly affairs one cannot use force unless wrong has first been overcome by right. Then how much more impossible is it to deal with these high spiritual matters by force and without right and God's word?

See then what cunning shrewd noblemen are these! They wish to drive out heresy, and yet resort only to means whereby they strengthen the adversary, justifying the heresy and laying themselves under suspicion. Dear man, wouldst thou expel heresy thou must learn the knack of rooting it out of the heart first of all and turning the heart away from it. This thou wilt never attain by force, but wilt only strengthen it. And how will it profit thee to strengthen heresy in the heart and only weaken it outwardly on the tongue, forcing it to lie? But God's word illumines the heart and therewith all heresies and errors fall away.

But shouldst thou say: "Then if there is to be no civil sword among Christians, how shall they be governed outwardly? Why, there must remain authorities among Christians," I reply: Among Christians there shall and can be no authority, but each is subject to the other, as Paul says (Rom. xii), Let each regard the other as his superior. There is no chief among Christians but Christ alone. And what authority can there be when they are all equal and have the same right, power, property, and honor, and none desires to be the other's superior, but every one wishes to be subject to the other? Where there are such people it would be impossible to set up any authority, even if they tried, since the nature of the case will not permit having chiefs if no one will or can be chief. But if the people are not such, they are not genuine Christians.

What then are priests and bishops? I answer: Their activity is not authority or power, but only an office and a service, for they are no higher nor better than other Christians. Therefore they must not put laws and commandments upon others without their will and consent, but their rule is nothing but executing the will of God, in guiding Christians and overcoming heretics.....Now those who have not faith are not Christians and do not belong in

Christ's kingdom, but in the kingdom of this world, where they must be checked and ruled by the sword and outward government.

It would seem to be time now to show how a prince shall conduct himself in this matter, for the sake of those who would like to be Christian lords and princes and reach eternal life, who are indeed very few.... Now those who wish to be Christian princes must lay aside the thought that they are to rule and use force. For all life that is lived and sought for its own good and profit is accursed. Cursed are all works that are not done in love. And they are done in love when they are aimed with the whole heart at the use, honor, and welfare of others, and not at one's own pleasure, profit, honor, and comfort.

Therefore I will not discuss here worldly interests and laws, for this would lead too far and there are law books more than plenty. Although, if a prince is not wiser than his lawyers and does not have deeper understanding than is in his law books, he will surely rule after the saying in Proverbs xxviii: "A prince who lacks wisdom will unjustly oppress many."....For however good and proper laws are, they are all subject to one limitation, that they cannot make head against necessity. Hence a prince must have the law firm in his hand in the form of the sword, and measure with his own reason when and where the law is to be administered with severity or to be mitigated, so that reason may always dominate the law and be the supreme law and master of all law. Just as a house-father, while fixing definite time and quantity of food and labor for servants and children, must keep such regulations within his control so that he may alter or suspend it if a case arises in which the servant is ill, imprisoned, detained, deceived or interfered with in any other way, and not exercise the same severity toward the sick as toward the well. I say this that it may not be considered enough and a commendable course to follow the written law, the lawyers' law; something more is needed.

Solomon despaired of all law, even such as Moses had given him at God's command, and of all his princes and counsellors, and turned to God himself and prayed him for a wise heart wherewith to rule his people. A prince should follow this example and act in the fear of the Lord, depending neither on dead books nor live heads but holding to God alone, filling his ears with appeals for right understanding beyond that of any books and masters as to how to rule his subjects wisely. Accordingly I have no law to prescribe to a prince, but wish to instruct his heart so that it shall be so disposed and inclined in all laws, counsels, sentences and dis-

putes that God will certainly help him settle them well and after God's heart.

First of all, he must consider his subjects and set his heart aright. This he will do if he sets his whole mind upon being useful and serviceable to them. And let him not think thus: "Land and people are mine; I will do as I please"; but rather thus: "I belong to the land and the people; I ought to do what is useful and good for them; I should not seek how I may hold my head high and rule, but how they may be secured in a good peace and protected." And he should take an example of Christ and say: "Behold, Christ, the highest prince, came and served me instead of seeking to gain power, property and honor by me; he considered only my need and did all he could that I might win power, property and honor in and through him. Thus will I do: not seek my own interests in my subjects, but theirs, and will serve them through my office, shield them, hear their complaints and defend them and so rule them that they and not I shall have use and benefit from it."....

Secondly, the prince must keep an eye on the great jackanapes, his counselors, and govern himself toward them so that he despise none, but trust none so as to leave all to him; for God can endure neither of these courses. He once spoke through an ass, therefore no man is to be despised. On the other hand, he cast down from heaven the highest angel. Therefore no man is to be depended on, be he ever so shrewd, bold or great; but one should hear every one and wait to see through which one God will speak and work. For this is the greatest mischief in lords and courts, when a prince gives his mind in charge to the great jackanapes and flatterers and neglects to look after things himself. Especially since it concerns not merely one man when a prince errs and is foolish, but land and people have to pay for his folly.

And guard most against those who say, "Oh, Gracious Lord, doesn't Your Grace trust me more than this? Who will serve Your Grace?" For such a one is certainly not single-minded, but wishes to be lord in the land and to make a puppet of thee.....

And sayest thou, If one is to trust no one, how is one to rule land and people? I answer: Rule and risk it; but trust another and depend on him, that shalt thou not, save on God alone. Thou must indeed confide the offices to people and take the risk, but trust them no further than people who are liable to err, and thou must watch and not sleep; just as a teamster trusts his horses and wagon that he drives, not letting them go as they will, but holding reins and whip over them and never sleeping.

Thirdly, the prince must take care to deal justly with evil-doers. Here he must be very prudent and wise, lest his punishment be their ruin. And here again I know no better example than David: He had a captain named Joab, who did two wicked deeds and slew treacherously two loyal captains whereby he deserved death doubly; yet he did not slay him during his own lifetime but left it to his son Solomon, doubtless because he himself could not do it without great damage and uproar. So a prince must punish the wicked not as it were picking up a spoon and stepping on a platter, on account of one skull putting land and people into danger and filling a land with widows and orphans.

Therefore he should not follow the councillors and fire-eaters who stir him up and egg him on to begin war, saying, "Ah ha! shall we endure such words and wrong?" It is a very poor Christian who will risk the whole land for the sake of a single castle.

In brief, one must apply here the proverb, He who cannot wink at some things cannot rule. Be this, then, the prince's rule: Where he cannot punish wrong without doing a greater wrong, he should let his rights go, no matter how clear they may be, for he should not consider the harm done himself, but the injury to others which they must incur by his attempt to punish. For how have so many women and children deserved to become widows and orphans in order that thou avenge thyself upon a vain mouth or a wicked hand that has done thee harm?

Askest thou: Shall then a prince never make war, nor his subjects follow him to battle? I reply that this is a far-reaching question. but to treat it most briefly in Christian fashion I say that no prince should make war against his chief, as emperor or king or any other feudal superior, but let whoever robs rob. For we must not resist the authorities by violence, but only by appeal to the truth. If they heed it, good; if not, thou art justified and sufferest wrong for God's sake.

But if the adversary is thine equal, or inferior, or a foreign potentate, then first shalt thou offer him right and peace, as Moses teaches the children of Israel. If he will not accept, then consider thy best good and defend thee force against force, as Moses lays it all down precisely in Deuteronomy xii. And here too thou must not consider thy personal interest and how thou mayest remain lord, but thy subjects to whom thou owest aid and protection, that all may be done in love. For since thine entire land is in danger, thou must risk the appeal to God's aid, lest all be destroyed. And even though thou canst not avoid making some widows and orphans,

yet must thou try to keep everything from going to ruin, leaving nothing but widows and orphans.

And in this subjects are bound to follow and risk life and property. For in such a case one must risk his goods and himself for the sake of the other. And in such a war it is Christian and a work of love to slay the enemy with good heart, rob, burn, and do every sort of damage, until he is overcome after the fashion of war; excepting that one must keep from sin, not violate women and girls, and when the enemy is beaten give mercy and peace to those that surrender and humble themselves, so that, in this case, all in all, one may apply the saying: God helps the strongest.

And what if a prince is in the wrong? Are his people bound to follow him? I answer, No, for it is not proper for any one to act contrary to the right; rather one must obey God, who wishes the right more than men. And what if the subjects do not know whether the prince is right or not? I answer, Since they do not know and cannot find out by any possible diligence, they may obey without peril to their souls. For in such a case we must apply the law of Moses, Exodus xxi, where he directs that one who has slain a man in ignorance and unintentionally shall be acquitted by the court by flight to a place of refuge.

Fourthly, which should have been Firstly, for what has been said above, a prince should act toward his God as a Christian, that is, subject himself to him with his whole trust, praying for wisdom to rule well as did Solomon.

So we will leave the subject here with this summary, that a prince should divide himself in four quarters: the first to God with hearty trust and earnest prayer; the second to his subjects with love and Christian service; the third to his counselors and mighty men with shrewd reason and frank common sense; the fourth to the evil-doers with discreet earnestness and severity. Thus his office will be right outwardly and inwardly and will please God and men. But he must weigh the grief and the envy that go with it; such a program will soon be burdened with its cross.

THE PROFESSORS' WAR.

BY ONE OF THEM.

THIS is no time, as a number of patriots have observed, for arguments. I shall not argue; I shall not even tell any one. I shall, however, put my cards on the table, though they be but four in number. I start from four assumptions:

First, that this war without hate was not willed or wanted by the majority, the masses, of America, who would have preferred to stay out of the European conflict; and that it was willed and wanted by a minority, probably not larger than a million or two, made up of financiers, gentlemen of leisure, lawyers, journalists, college professors, publicists—in short, of the more prosperous and more schooled.

Second, that Germany's submarine campaign was the occasion rather than the cause, and never would have put us into war had not the sentiment of articulate America been vehemently pro-Ally; and that, indeed, on the issue of the submarines alone, the Germans have as good a case against us as we against them, since the American government actively discriminated against the Central Powers, condoning the illegal and indefensible "blockade" to starve them, while insisting on the privilege of shipping unlimited munitions and supplies and food to their enemies.

Third, that there is much that is clean and fine and generous in the motives that prompted the minority in America to insist on war, and not a great deal that is sinister and sordid, and that this minority holds a sincere conviction that the defeat of Germany is necessary for the best interests of civilization, peace and democracy.

Fourth, that nevertheless the interpretation this educated and well-to-do minority has put on the European struggle is naive and sentimental, resting chiefly on the belief that Germans and their rulers are radically different, wickeder and more dangerous than the rest of the white race, a notion sufficiently childish, and also resting on the equally childish notion that if the Germans are humbled and crippled, a lasting world peace, guaranteed by a league of honor, can be forthwith established.

II.

The reader should not take these assumptions too seriously. I do not, myself. I am perfectly well aware that they are only my opinions, and that I may easily be mistaken. I will go so far as to say my views may possibly be foolish. This gives me, I think, an advantage over the intellectuals who have been paging war these two years. For example Messrs. Putnam, Roosevelt, Eliot, Ladd, Thayer, Beck—gentlemen of that stamp cannot conceive, even theoretically, that their views may be foolish. That could be urged as a good reason, in itself, for questioning their good sense.

It is my misfortune to spend most of my time among the edu-

cated classes. A long association with college professors and authors has given me a very high respect for the opinions of store clerks, farm hands, bootblacks, teamsters, bricklayers and boilermakers. Persons of the latter sort have humility and a desire to find the truth. Consequently they sometimes find it.

The educated man and woman, on the other hand, are seldom humble intellectually. They strive to vindicate their opinions. They have the power of rationalizing and elaborating a prejudice. And they often end by sinking their prejudices too deep for reconsideration. No one, obviously, can know a great deal about more than one or two specialized subjects, and furthermore no one in the world has won the right to be dogmatic about human institutions and human nature. And right there the intellectuals are most dogmatic.

Again and again I have seen learned men whose competence in one field or another commands my respect sophisticate themselves into ignoring the most elementary facts about the world war. I have heard them urge us to go to the rescue of the Anglo-Allies against out-numbered and hard-pressed foes, on the ground that the German "hordes" were likely to inundate the earth. I have heard them argue that the British Empire, after all, is nothing but a coalition of self-governing daughter states, disregarding the five million square miles governed directly and exclusively from London. I have heard them condone the whole war with a phrase, and speak of America's entry into this titanic butchery as though it were a light expedition.

Common folk, apparently, hold life's values in truer perspective than cultured people. They do not make blinders of their opinions. When they think of war they think of the thing itself; of the trenches, and of death on the wire. Laboring people are always, partially at least, pacifists. They see that some things are worth fighting for; but that these things do not include colonies, trade, national egotism, the virile virtues, big talk, and inherited hates. They see that no dispute in the world is worth the lives of seven million men, the toll of the war to the present.

Many persons think they know what is wrong with the world, among the number, Gilbert Chesterton. I suspect that the real root of many of our troubles is the monumental lack of levity on this planet. The world is morbidly serious. As soon as men anywhere come into positions of power they grow very solemn. They stand about in uniforms or frock coats, chests slightly expanded, and receive visitors with great dignity. Politicians are sometimes hu-

man, statesmen almost never. Their pleasure consists in having their own way.

All over the world it is the peasants who wear gay costumes and dance in the market places and walk along the streets holding hands. They want a good time and they have earned it with their sweat. But certain solemn asses at the top will never let them alone. Periodically men in power march millions away to slay one another, for issues they themselves cannot clearly define. And if the millions are not made to die young, they are made good. In America our legislators are mainly engaged in squeezing the joy out of life. It would be a glorious experiment if sometime, somewhere, leaders and rulers would arise who would say to the people: "Go ahead, and within the limits of liberty, enjoy yourselves. We shall not interfere." It has still to be tried.

III.

President Wilson, it is to be feared, looks on the world, and on himself, very solemnly. He is unquestionably a man of great ability and high ideals. But recently he appears in danger of losing his sense of humor and his tolerance. He has once or twice professed himself "astonished" that any one should disagree with him. He would undoubtedly consider that a person who differed with him over an important national policy must be unpatriotic and un-American—at least that, and possibly malignant and stupid in the bargain. He has forgotten, for the moment, that there is one right the American people cannot delegate, the right to do their own thinking.

Mr. Wilson has been indulging in some professor-talk. For instance, he said:

"We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling toward them but one of sympathy and friendship."

This must sound odd to the German people, whom we are going to kill and maim, despite all lines we draw between them and their rulers. But who cares what these deluded Germans think? We know.

Speaking of the draft, Mr. Wilson remarked:

"It is in no sense a conscription of the unwilling; it is rather a selection from a nation which has volunteered in mass."

That must sound rather odd to any one who stops to reflect that neither the war itself nor conscription was submitted to a referendum of the people, and that furthermore the conscription

bill, as passed, does not exempt conscientious objectors, other than Quakers, and a handful more.

President Wilson has never been quite frank with us about his reasons for wanting war with the Central Powers. The real reason seems to me to have been this: that he found his policy of peace incompatible with his policy of acquiescence in British overlordship of the seas. When the two came, inevitably, into conflict, he had to make his choice. During the days that followed the German resumption of submarine warfare, Mr. Wilson patently suffered from a "balked disposition." His method of escape was to ask war in the ultimate interests of peace. Yet even in his mind there must linger a doubt that the entrance of another neutral into the European conflict will surely secure the boon that all mankind desires. An avowed object is not an accomplished object.

A number of people are inclined to be bitter toward Mr. Wilson, alleging that he secured his reelection on the boast, self-urged, that he had kept us out of war. I think they do the President an injustice. He did not intrigue for war. He did not lead the war sentiment in America. He merely, at the end, concurred in the opinion and took up the cries of his class. The war mania had to fight its way into the White House.

To find the war sentiment in full bloom we must look to other and more bellicose men than President Wilson. Just at present he is doing creditably as a maker of slogans. He tells us we must pour out all our blood and all our treasure if need be, until our end is achieved. What end? There can be no mistake about that: until the world is made safe for democracy: that is, (it should be added) for our kind of democracy, not the Russian kind.

Joseph Choate, at the age of eighty-five, spoke at the luncheon in New York, May 10, given in honor of the French Commissioners. It was his last effort. Three days later he succumbed. About to die, he salutes us:

"Why am I so glad we entered this war? Why, we were spoiling for the lack of a fight; we were absolutely rotting with riches, steeped to the lips in luxury, abandoned to sports, without one thought of the terrible struggles that were being endured by the British, the French and all the other Allies, in fighting our battle. That is what we have been doing for this last two years, and I for one thank God that we are ready to join them, and the sooner we get our men over to stand by their side the better."

"Rotting with riches." Is not that putting it a bit strong, considering that the food budget of the average American family has

increased 74 % in the last two years, that there is right now intense suffering among the poor, and that there were food riots on the East Side of New York last winter? Possibly Mr. Choate was not in a position to see these matters clearly. And what curious twist is it in human nature that makes old men counsel war? In all countries they do it. It must be akin to the deep callousness that tempts men of power, in any form of government, to vent their ill-temper in other men's blood, enforce their wills through other men's agonies.

But let us be fair to Mr. Choate. He spoke for a caste, and for the caste he spoke honestly. On the well-to-do the enthusiasm of war often acts like a tonic. L. T. Hobhouse wrote, in 1904, "In days of prosperity Jeshurun waxes fat, the war passions are readily excited, the appeal to justice or humanity is heard with impatience and stifled by counter appeals to the civilizing mission of a great nation."

That observation sounds shrewd to-day. The book from which it comes is *Democracy and Reaction*; and although the book was published ten years before the Armageddon began, I respectfully submit that a reading of it would enlighten some of the Americans who are so cock-sure they know what this war is about.

IV.

It is hard to explain the collapse of the American mind before the challenge of the world tragedy. Yet the fact is clear. Our intellectuals have reverted to the simplest possible psychological explanation; the whole hellish thing is due to Prussian ambition, Prussian militarism. They have followed the lead of our Colonials, a mental Foreign Legion self-recruited in our midst. They have paid more attention to the conduct of the war than its deeper causes, and they have been gulled by atrocity tales like any old quidnunc. They have put their energy into elaborating a moral indictment of Germany, an easy enough task, but fruitless for wisdom. However pretentious their premises, they have ended with the same conclusions as the man in Oxford Road. And all this, as I say, is hard to explain.

If our intellectuals were ignorant of the economic and historical background of the war, if they did not see that it had been preceded by a long series of cruel and thievish aggressions in the Balkans, in Persia, in Turkey, in Morocco, in the Congo, all over Africa, aggressions participated in by all Europe, but leaving the powers of Europe at swords' points, if they did not know that this

war was the logical outcome of that reaction—the crest of which had been passed before 1914—against the humanitarian ideas of the mid-nineteenth century, a reaction that brutalized the thought of Europe, if they did not understand that Germany, being more philosophical, wove for *Realpolitik* an evil doctrine of state irresponsibility, whereas England, France and Russia, being better politicians, put *Realpolitik* into successful practice, if they did not know that for several decades there has been no European policy, no civilized policy, toward the smaller nations and the weaker races, but only a collective scramble to assert national dominion and material force—if they were oblivious to all this, at least they might have realized that the issues were somewhat too complex to be judged off-hand, and they could have listened to hear if the voice of truth was anywhere raised. They did not need to follow the snap judgment of a provincial press. A sound interpretation of the war was furnished them ready-made by European intellectuals. The truth has been told by such men, to mention a few, as Lowes Dickinson, Georg Brandes, E. D. Morel, Bertrand Russell, Francis Delaisi, H. N. Brailsford, Francis Neilson. These writers have pointed out that the guilt of this war is too heavily interlaced with the whole European system of imperialistic plunder to allow any but a casuistic division of responsibility, and that no nation has the right to indict another nation when by its own greed, duplicity and blood-lust it has helped sting that other nation into fury. But our American thinkers turned their backs. They were too busy and too happy among their prejudices.

How far astray their catch-phrases, militarism, autocracy, Prussianism, have led American leaders of opinion is shown by the confusion into which the Russian Revolution has thrown them. The program, "no annexations and no indemnities" evidently pushes democracy and idealism too far. From the doctrinaire point of view, of course, the new Russia is a better ally in a war for democracy than the old oppressive Russia of the autocracy, but a new Russia liberal enough to insist on a peace without victory collides alarmingly with the will to conquer.

The only road along which a better European order can be reached is a revision of the temper and purposes of the major European powers. Russia has made the revision. She has purged herself by the drastic physic of revolution. For the moment she is a democracy, and a real democracy; in her the masses really rule. She may outgrow this. Give her time, say ten or twenty years, and she may become a republic like England and France, pluto-

cratically controlled. But for the moment she speaks with the voice of common humanity.

And Russia has announced that she does not propose to be hoodwinked. She understands that the dethroned autocracy talked the same phrases that are talked now by the Western Powers. She does not forget that these Western Powers gave that autocracy enormous loans. She does not propose to repudiate her national honor, but she declares, quite unequivocally, that she is done with cant. In May, the newspaper organ of the workmen's and soldiers' delegates, after quoting two English newspapers to the effect that the declaration of the Provisional Government and the pronouncements of the revolutionary leaders show that the Russian peace formula coincides with the Anglo-French war aims, said:

"You are deceiving yourselves, gentlemen, or rather, you are vainly striving to delude your fellow countrymen concerning the real policy of the Russian revolution. The revolution will not sacrifice a single soldier to help you repair the 'historical injustices' committed against you. What about the historic injustices committed by yourselves, and your violent oppression of Ireland, India, Egypt and the innumerable peoples inhabiting all the continents of the world? If you are so anxious for justice that you are prepared in its name to send millions of people to the grave, then, gentlemen, begin with yourselves."—New York *Tribune*, May 30, 1917.

Here speaks a new and harsh diplomacy. I do not profess to know if it expresses the policy Russia will pursue. But certainly it promises more for the ultimate peace of the world than the expressions of implacable hatreds we are hearing from other belligerent camps.

VI.

I wish, in conclusion, to offer a little advice. I would not give advice to the officials in Washington, because they would consider it an impertinence; and they have intimated that they do not care to receive advice, even on the question of the terms of peace. I wish rather to advise those persons, few or many, to whom this war has brought mental distress and resentment.

A large number of dissatisfied persons are not expressing themselves openly these days, but in the utterances of those who do speak out, I detect a note of bitterness, of intolerance, of anger, that reminds one of our advanced jingoes. Undoubtedly the shrillness of these protests is due in part to their authors' feeling of

impotence, and to their conviction that, had the issue of war been submitted to popular decision, we should still be at peace. There they have a genuine grievance. It is extraordinarily difficult, in America, to secure an authoritative expression of the popular will on any question. The decision to resort to war and the decision to resort to conscription, for examples, are not reached through a referendum to the people. Congress does not have the power, in a crisis, to force a general election, as does the Parliament of Great Britain. A presidential election in America presents a jumble of issues, political, economic, and personal. Almost never, in this republic, do the people have the opportunity to debate and decide a definite issue. One of the reforms that will come up for consideration after the war is some change in our democratic machinery that will ensure that the major policies of our democracy are wanted by a majority, at least, of our citizens.

The present war was declared, however, in entire accord with our present constitutional methods. It is the present policy of America, and it imposes on all of us the duty of backing up that policy. So long as that policy is in force it commands our loyalty. I know that such language rasps the nerves of those who are weary of patriotic cant. But I submit that in the present situation the spiritual unity of America is at stake, too precious a thing to be lightly shattered. The men who have willed this war are, speaking generally, high-minded and sincere, holding the same ideals and principles that we all hold. The differences of opinion that the war has disclosed are probably irreconcilable, for they are after all differences of opinion, not of purpose. Many Americans abhor this war, holding it futile to accomplish the ends for which it is ostensibly fought. But the critics of present American policy should at least be as generous as are some Germans. Leopold von Wiese recently said in Berlin: "We Germans should realize that Americans often really believe in what they proclaim in high-sounding language.... It is a mistake to disbelieve the honesty of intention of the majority of cultured Yankees to bring about a world peace. They mean what they say, however small their competence may be."

There are persons in the opposition who evidently are persuaded of their infallibility, in quite the same degree as the war party. But from such intolerance, wherever manifested, the world will never arrive at sanity. With America fighting for a program of international idealism, I do not see how any American can refrain from helping in the prosecution of that fight, in any way that he conscientiously can. I put in the weasel-word "conscientiously,"

because I approved of the provision in the conscription law that exempted from the business of actual killing, members of certain religious sects, and I should have liked the law better had it exempted all conscientious objectors. Our leaders are right, it seems to me, when they urge the obligation to push the war with full vigor, that America and her purposes may be saved from defeat. That obligation does not nullify the right of any citizen to insist that the high objects with which we entered the war shall not be perverted or lost from sight.

The second consideration I would urge upon the disaffected element in America is this: that in this country the popular always in the end prevails. If the war drags out for two years more, no power in America can prevent the war from being the dominant issue in the next Congressional elections. In what form the issue will be presented no one can predict, for the face of world politics may be greatly altered by then. But the war and its aims will be voted on, just as our Civil War was voted on. That the war party is not unaware that it must vindicate itself before the people is indicated by the nervousness displayed over the utterances of pacifists, and the hysterical efforts of some newspapers to attribute all criticism of the war to pro-German sources.

If a political struggle is inevitable, it ought, obviously, to be conducted with as little rancor as possible. American tradition calls for open discussion and quiet acceptance of results. Any lingering indifference to the war will disappear—when the casuality lists begin to come in. Before two years have gone by the struggle may have been won by arms, or it may have been won by statesmanship, through a negotiated peace. But whatever happens the American will to peace and the American will to justice will persist, and it will choose courageously the best means to encompass its ends.

THE NEW SOUL OF INDIA.

BY BASANTA KOOMAR ROY.

AMERICA, through a chain of causes, has come to know of the present-day unrest in India only in connection with the bomb and the Bengalee Babu, the conspiracy cases at home and abroad, and the execution of young Indian patriots for the crime of patriotism. And it is not out of season for the Americans to know something of the underlying forces that are remaking that ancient land.

and that the political unrest there is but a part of a greater unrest which embraces almost every department of human activity. Our arts and sciences, our society and religion, our literature and outlook on life are undergoing a tremendous change. A new soul of India is being born. And in this renascence the new literary movement is the most potent factor. Even the absorbing political problem of India owes much of its depth and virility to the poets and writers. It is a spiritual as well as an intellectual movement. The Motherland is sacred to us. We are taught from our early childhood: "*Janani Janmabhumircha swargadapi gariashi,*" i. e., "The Mother and the Motherland are higher than heaven itself." This naturally leads to morbid nationalism, but the new nationalism of India stands for something higher, nobler and purer. It seeks to unfold the soul of India for the strengthening of the dilapidating rocks of human liberty and the enrichment of human civilization.

Bande Matarani is the slogan of New India. It means "Hail Motherland!" And the soul-stirring song that bears the name is the leading national anthem of India. The best translation of this song is by an anonymous poet, and it runs as follows:

"Mother, hail!
Thou with sweet springs flowing,
Thou fair fruits bestowing,
Cool with zephyrs blowing,
Green with corn-crops growing,
Mother, hail!

"Thou of the shivering-joyous moon-blanched night,
Thou with fair groups of flowering tree-clumps bright,
Sweetly smiling
Speech-beguiling,
Pouring bliss and blessing;
Mother, hail!

"Though now three hundred million voices through thy mouth
sonorous shout,
Though twice three hundred million hands hold thy prowess out
Yet with all this power now,
Mother, wherefore powerless thou?
Holder thou of myriad might,
I salute thee, saviour bright,
Thou who dost all foes afright,
Mother, hail!

"Thou sole creed and wisdom art,
Thou our very mind and heart,
And the life-breath in our bodies.
Thou as strength in arms of men,

Thou as faith in hearts dost reign,
And the form from fane to fane
Thine, O Goddess!

"Lotus-throned one, rivalless,
Radiant in thy spotlessness
Thou whose fruits and waters bless,
Mother, hail!

"Hail, thou verdant, unbeguiling,
Hail, o decked one, sweetly smiling,
Ever bearing,
Ever rearing,
Mother, hail!"

This song was written by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhya about fifty years ago and it appears in a Bengali novel entitled Ananda Math (The Abbey of Bliss). When in his youth Rabindranath Tagore was being assailed on all sides for his voluptuous love lyrics, it was this great genius, the greatest of all Bengali novelists, who encouraged him and held him up before the public as the coming man in the literary world of Bengal. To-day Tagore is one of the greatest literary geniuses of the world, and has done a great deal for this new birth of India.

Indeed the songs of Bankim Chandra Chattopadhya, Hem Chandra Bandopadhya, Nabin Chandra Sen, Rabindranath Tagore and many others ploughed the national ground for the political workers to sow their seeds of patriotism in. And no poet in India has written a more exquisite group of patriotic poems than the ones that are written and composed by Rabindranath Tagore. A few insufficiently-informed American critics have called Tagore effeminate. But the trouble lies in the fact that it needs a little imagination to appreciate the virility of the subtle suggestions in Tagore's patriotic and other poems. Here we translate one which is rather plain-spoken:

"To thee, my Motherland, I dedicate my body; for thee I consecrate my life; for thee my eyes will weep and in thy praise my muse will sing.

"Though my arms are helpless and powerless, still they will do the deeds that can only serve thy cause; and though my sword is rusty with disgrace, still it shall sever thy chains of bondage, sweet mother of mine.

"Goddess, I know that the little blood I have in my veins cannot be of much service to thee; yet, be assured that I can shed every drop of it to wash away one iota of thy disgrace and to assuage thy sorrows.

"Mother dear, I know that my flute is not powerful in the least; and yet I shall deem myself fortunate if at its call even one lonely soul is awakened from its lethargic sleep."

Rabindranath is not the only one in his family that has written stiring, patriotic poems to inspire the young and the old. The "Namo Hindusthan" of his niece Sarala Devi Chowdhurani is one of the most powerful of our national songs. Rabindranath's elder brother, Jyotirindranath Tagore, has been a propagandist for Indian nationalism from his early youth. He has written several splendid national songs, but the most popular one—the one that is quite often sung in mammoth procession in the streets of our cities, towns and villages may be translated as follows:

"March on, march on, ye children of the Motherland, for she calls, she calls!

"The Motherland calls, she calls! So march on, march on, ye children of the Motherland, and serve your country with heroic prowess and manly pride. Who else but a true son can unselfishly wipe away the tears from the eyes of the Mother?

"Awake, arise! And sing ye in a chorus in praise of the Motherland, and say in unison: 'Mother, we sacrifice ourselves at thy feet.'

"Let your aims and ambitions be the same; inspire yourselves with new ideals and ever sing in newer tunes; mind not the flattery or the frown of the public, and hesitate not to dedicate yourself to the good, the permanent and the just.

"Unfurl, unfurl, ye children of the Motherland! Yes, unfurl the flag of unity between the contending creeds and parties and follow the same path in harmony, to crown our cause with success."

The majority of the women of India, like millions of men all over the world, are too busy with their family problems to give any thought to the vital problems of humanity in general and the nation in particular. So the women of India need awakening, as do the men, and it is being done by purdah mass meetings where special songs are sung and lectures delivered mostly by men—from outside the curtains. These meetings are generally opened by the following song of Dwarakanath Gangopadhya. Even beggars sing this song nowadays as they beg from door to door. Translated it reads:

"Awake, arise, ye women of India! Unless you arise Mother India can never rise. So awake, dear sisters, awake, and be wives of heroes and give birth to heroic children.

"When you nurse them with the milk of your breast, pray tell them of the deeds of valor of our heroes of old, so that their pulses may quicken and their hearts may throb with legitimate pride.

"Unless you, the women of India, take this sacred vow, Mother India can never rise again. So awake, arise, ye women of India! Unless you rise, Mother India can never rise."

And listen how an awakened Hindu woman sings, Kamini Roy, one of our best poetesses and patriots. Such is the tune and the message of her song that multitudes are moved to tears when it is properly sung. In translation it reads:

"Come, come, my countrymen, and listen to the tale of my sweet dream and the words of my hope. The tears still linger in my eyes and yet the pain of my heart has disappeared.

"The night was dark and quiet, and I was floating on my tears. A mystic charm overpowered me, and I do not know when I fell fast asleep here for a while.

"I slept and dreamt—and I heard sacred hymns being solemnly sung on the banks of the Ganges and the Indus; and I heard the same on the banks of the Krishna and the Nurmada, the Kavery and the Godavery.

"And I saw the children of the Motherland march with a divine glow in their faces. They looked powerful in unity and dignified in knowledge, and they marched as our heroic forefathers were wont to march in the heydey of our beloved Motherland.

"'In the homes I saw the women fill baskets with fruits and flowers to welcome the victors; the heroic children were clapping their hands crimson; the maidens were weaving garlands for ovational sacraments and singing songs of victory in rapturous joy."

DEMOCRACY FOR OURSELVES.

BY ALICE EDGERTON.

TO permit the intellectual classes to talk gallantly about the war and abstract democracy is like leaving the farmers to cultivate red geraniums. There is no use now in talking about the war. Whether or not it is a war for democracy is as unimportant as the question who started it. It is a war; and we all contend—or did contend before we had a war of our own—that war should end as quickly and recur as seldom as possible. But with all our loose talk and high fervor, we are working ourselves into a desire to fight to the bitterest end. Furthermore, it is a war in the name of democracy, and we have neither the institution nor the spirit of democracy. But now that democracy is the fashion, we may be able to give the word some meaning, to prepare the soil for the growth of democracy after the war.

Some of us should be denied the luxury of large talk about the patriotism and glory and sacrifice of war and be assigned to the tough task of reminding the United States that war is black. We

might well conscript a squad of humanitarians to talk the world out of war. They might not like it; it is far easier to talk war than means of bringing war to an end. But as Mr. Wilson remarked, "the nation.... needs each man not in the field that will most pleasure him, but in the endeavor that will best serve the common good." A sense of the failure and defeat that cause the noblest war, and the sorrow that comes with it, might encourage the formulation of a basis of peace with the least possible fighting. We should be pamphleteered and postered with such realities as that fostered international prejudice and costly restrictions upon trade beget hostility; and that a "predisposition to war....inheres in nationalism." Devices for ending wars and a desire for the ending of war are feasible, if we devote to them the time and publicity that we have devoted to the making of war. War, to be sure, is picturesque, it appeals to an instinct; but the peace task, though subtle and difficult, is not impossible. Unremitting insinuation of the peace idea, which is the international idea, into the mind of the group must produce its effect.

The same thing is true of democracy. If we choose to have democratic ideas and institutions, we can have them. But unless our intellects apply themselves to talking us into democracy, we shall be in sorry plight when our democratic bluff is called. Tomlinson himself was better prepared to come to judgment. We have said in the old days that the people—in Europe—did not want the war. "This war," said Mr. Wilson in 1916, "was brought about by rulers, not by peoples, and I thank God there is no man in America who has authority to bring on a war without the consent of the people." Perhaps in this country the people did want the war; many persons on both sides of the fence think they did not, but we do not know. But we do know that the war was not "brought about" by them; for when our turn came a referendum to the people was decried as a demand which "grazed the edge of treason." "We have seen," says the *New Republic* (April 14, 1917), "a democratic nation forced into war, in spite of the manifest indifference or reluctance of the majority of its population....If the several important professional and social groups" (they who have been able to "impose their will upon a reluctant or indifferent majority") "could have voted separately on the question of war and peace, the list of college professors would probably have yielded the largest majority in favor of war, except that contained in the Social Register." In a democracy the people determine their course and the broad outlines of its administration. But we have neither the vehicle

for direct expression of the popular will nor faith in the popular will.

We have said that we were a free people, free from the secret diplomacy, the autocracy, the little compulsions of the old world. "It has been our pride," said the *New York World* editorially in 1916, "that....our government has never been compelled either to resort to a conscription of its citizens or employment of foreign mercenaries....It is an hereditary and therefore honored tradition of the Anglo-Saxon race that exemption from extorted military service is one of the peculiar privileges of freemen." Now we are calling conscription democratic and jailing anti-conscriptionists, on the principle which we have denounced as Prussion: that democracy is "rather equality of sacrifice than self-government." The Attorney-General has asked us to do each his bit of spying in connection with the registration; we are living under the secrecies and censorships and compulsions of European autocracies. Now that the Czar is out of the running, no European ruler has power more imperial than the President's power to take this man and leave that. We used to decry a German tendency to absorb every decision of government; now with us the mark of the good citizen is unquestioning acceptance of every act of the administration. In time of stress, we say, democracy is slow and inefficient; the efficient and undemocratic Germans would take New York and annihilate New England in twenty-four hours if we were democratic and inefficient. This talk may satisfy us to-day; everybody knows that Massachusetts would like nothing so much as child labor laws if it were not for South Carolina—that we should all abide by the Golden Rule if it were not for the competition of the wicked. But when the war is over, we shall have no presentable excuse for our undemocratic ways, and battalions of political scientists should be preparing constitutional provisions that will make impossible hereafter the nullification of popular government.

Congress as an institution we have always vaunted as the palladium of representative government. But in practice we elect it, laugh at it, and forget about it. Academically we have criticized it, but we have done little either to tear it down or to build it up. In its lumbering way Congress can be used to carry through the plans of the few men in control, men frankly distrustful of democracy in the concrete. But its committee system blocks legislation and conceals responsibility. Small traffic in private interest clogs the calendars. The candor of roll calls is avoided: Congress goes in the dark its rather dull way, and when stress comes, power goes

out of it, and its duty, like ours, is to support the administration. We know, too, that many other things are undemocratic: the courts, the electoral system and the suffrage, the irresponsibility of administrative officers, the constitution, and the organization of industry. The first patriotic pleasure of the intellectuals might well be to re-mould these institutions into instruments of democracy.

But first we need to be headlined into thinking about these matters. We have applied an outer coat of democracy in this country; at heart we hardly know the feel of the thing. But democratic feeling can be developed, in time, just as war feeling has been developed. The process is slower, more delicate, but its technical instruments are the same: art, drama, school, pulpit, press. By the constant subtle processes of social control, the group will feel anything it chooses to feel. So far we have not chosen to have our youth breathe in democracy. Freedom of speech, specially curtailed just now, we have in small measure at the best of times. Tolerance, an active respect for the thought of other people, is a part of so few of us, and so little a part of us, that it vanishes in time of strain. Give us a war and every one heaps contumely upon the pacifist, while the pacifist bitterly doubts the sincerity and intelligence of those who desire war.

Still harder to ascertain, and still more important to democracy is the willingness to be as inefficient as need be. Families, industries and nations probably look tidier and get along faster if one good manager runs them. To people who like to see the rows straight, the buttons on, and no tag ends, democracy is likely to prove irritating. We need to be willing to be patient through mistake and hesitation, and find our satisfaction in the slow growth of intelligence and individuality. We need to get the feeling that self-government is more important than accomplishment and supremacy.

MISCELLANEOUS.

W. E. GRIFFIS ON WANG YANG MING.

Professor Frederick G. Henke of Allegheny College has translated *The Philosophy of Wang Yang-ming,* published by the Open Court Publishing Company. The teaching of this ancient Chinese sage is important as it represents a practical philosophy of idealism in some respects resembling Kant, and it has exercised a wholesome influence not only in China, but also in Japan and on the Asiatic world in general. It was an ardent follower of this philosophy who sent the first Japanese students to America in 1868.

The value of Mr. Henke's work may be better appreciated by the general reader from the following tribute sent to him by no less an authority than the

celebrated William Elliot Griffis, who has done so much to interpret the far East to the West. His letter to Mr. Henke reads as follows:

"You will pardon a stranger, I trust, for addressing you, but I feel I must thank you most heartily for presenting to the world so admirable a book as that of the life, letters and philosophy of Wang Yang-Ming. When in educational service of the Japanese—feudal and imperial, 1870-74—I found that the Oyomei (so we there pronounce it) philosophy was the very bread of life to the thinking men, and, more than armies, navies or the clash with alien ideas and forces, it had *prepared* the Japanese for openmindedness and national re-creation. While you can never expect adequate reward for your labors, in the form of money, I trust that the consciousness of having helped grandly to build the bridge that shall yet unite the Orient and the Occident, will cheer you. In my self-conclave, I salute you as 'Pontifex'; and would that the future (*exitus acta probat*) would add 'Maximus.'

"I shall do all I can to make your book known, and earnestly hope your life, in this fruitful direction, as well as in personal happiness, may be prolonged."

The letter was signed "In the 50th year of acquaintance with the Japanese."

It goes without saying that the Occidental student will be interested to familiarize himself with so marked a personality as that of Wang-Yang-Ming, and Professor Henke's translation will prove of value to all students of philosophical thought.

THE POLISH UNIVERSITY AT WARSAW.

One of the earliest acts of the German invaders of Poland was the re-establishment of the Polish university at Warsaw, on November 15, 1915, and the man who presided over the ceremony was the German General von Beseler, the conqueror of Antwerp and Novo-Georgiewsk, who, in the name of Emperor William II, declared it formally opened. From one of the weekly letters of Dr. Adolf Deissmann of the University of Berlin we quote the following passage relating to this solemn occasion which fulfils a desire long cherished by the Polish people:

"There existed in Warsaw a so-called university under Russian control, and according to Russian ideas with students in uniform. These were selected according to the discretion of a board which restricted the various confessions and favored the Greek Catholic element in a Roman Catholic country. Freedom of speech was unknown at this university. Polish professors were rarely seen and typical Russians filled the chairs. The language used was Russian. The so-called students were under stringent control, and among themselves dared only converse in the tongue of the 'holy empire.' Their homes were continually subject to search by the police, and the least suspicion of their being politically objectionable entailed exile to Siberia or else imprisonment in the Citadel of Warsaw. The teachers of the new university lecture in Polish. The institution is happy in having academic liberty as the Germans understand it and as it is practised at German universities. Its professors are leaders in Polish art, literature and science. With the students no exceptions are made as to faith or birth."

CORRECTION.

In Mr. Whitzel's article "Regarding Christian Origins" in the July *Open Court,* page 389, line 1, "interpretation" should read "interpolation."

The Complaint of Peace

Translated from the
Querela Pacis (A. D. 1521) of Erasmus

Cloth, $1.00. Pp. 80

This translation of the *Querela Pacis* of Erasmus is reprinted from a rare old English version. It is probably the 1802 reprint of the translation made by T. Paynell but published anonymously.

The publishers (Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago and London) are indebted to Mr. C. K. Ogden, editor of the Cambridge Magazine, for calling their attention to this quaint and timely publication.

The Open Court Publishing Company
122 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago

THE BELIEF IN GOD AND IMMORTALITY

A Psychological, Anthropological
and Statistical Study

By

JAMES H. LEUBA

Professor of Psychology and Pedagogy
in Bryn Mawr College

Author of "A Psychological Study of Religion;
its Origin, Function and Future."

Facts, not speculations, are the basis of this book. It seems scarcely necessary to mention that the author is an authoritative psychologist, familiar with recent anthropological literature and philosophical discussions on these topics.

Cloth, 8vo, $2.00 net

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY
122 S. MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO ILLINOIS

The War from International Viewpoints

In Time of War We Must Prepare for Peace

JUSTICE IN WAR TIME. By **Bertrand Russell.**

Cloth, $1.00; paper, 50c.

"No good cause is served by the suppression of truth," and from his "prohibited area" England's foremost scientific philosopher reveals international conditions of the decade preceding the war that are substantiated by facts from documents since made public. These are essays for every thinking American.

ABOVE THE BATTLE. By **Romain Rolland,** author of "Jean Christophe."

Cloth, $1.00.

The complete collection of the essays and letters of the great internationalist since the outbreak of the war. With his lucidity and common sense, his preoccupation with the fundamental things in life, Rolland recognizes that "cooperation, not war, is the destiny of nations." With his breadth of view he helps his comrades protect the frontiers of France by protecting also its good sense.

Romain Rolland was awarded the Nobel prize for literature for 1915.

GERMANY AND BELGIUM. By **Dr. J. H. Labberton.** Translated by W. E. Leonard.

Cloth, $1.00.

This consideration of Belgian neutrality and German responsibility is especially interesting by virtue of Holland's analogous position. It is the view of a man "on the ground" and as representative of a phase of Dutch reaction to present events is a valuable contribution to our knowledge.

GERMANY MISJUDGED. By **Roland Hugins** of Cornell University.

Cloth, $1.00.

An appeal to international good will on behalf of what is coming after the war.

CARLYLE AND THE WAR. By **Marshall Kelly.**

Cloth, $1.00.

Carlyle, the greatest man of the nineteenth century, knew Germany, its character and history, better than any other Briton has ever done. This is an attempt by a countryman and disciple to find in the present war a fulfilment of many of Carlyle's prophecies regarding democracy and aristocracy.

ENGLAND'S WORLD EMPIRE. By **Alfred Hoyt Granger.**

Cloth, $1.50.

"A book that should be in every library."—Elihu Root.

Mr. Granger's book is a clear and succinct survey of English diplomatic history from the days of Elizabeth to the outbreak of the war, with a consideration of present conditions and where we stand. "Read history," wrote Napoleon to his little son.

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY

122 S. MICHIGAN AVENUE

CHICAGO ILLINOIS

Books on Interesting Subjects of the Present Day

CRIMES OF CHARITY. By **Konrad Bercovici.** Cloth, $1.50.

A book that approaches the problem of organized charity from a totally new angle. Former attacks on organized charity have criticized it merely as a futile palliative, or have attacked it on the score of graft or expenses wasted in red tape; Mr. Bercovici shows it as an actual oppression and persecution of the poor, having directly disastrous results upon their individual lives.

THE PARLIAMENT OF MAN. By **Maximilian A. Mügge.** Cloth, $1.50.

Summarizes and balances the various arguments for and against war as a means of settling disputes between nations, and puts forth a practical scheme for adoption by all nations in common, which would ensure the permanent peace of the world.

THE ORIGIN AND MEANING OF CHRISTIANITY. By **Gilbert T. Sadler.** Cloth, $1.25.

The author's aim is (1) to trace the origin of Christianity to the religious experiences of the early Christians rather than to an historical Jesus, and (2) to set forth the value of the Christian religion in the thought and life of to-day.

REFLECTIONS ON VIOLENCE. By **Georges Sorel.** Translated from the French by T. E. Hulme. Cloth, $2.25.

As the classic of syndicalism, this book has become the center round which a struggle has focussed. It introduces a philosopher of European reputation, an original thinker who has exercised a great influence on the Continent not only among politicians, but among philosophers, historians, and economists.

THE SPIRIT OF MODERN GERMAN LITERATURE. By **Ludwig Lewisohn.** Cloth, $1.00.

An essay in esthetic and philosophical criticism founded upon an intensive study of the recent German fiction, poetry and speculative works. Those whose interest extends beyond a mere reading of the text are advised to consult the suggestive commentary and chronological lists at the back of the book.

THE MODERN DRAMA. By **Ludwig Lewisohn.** Cloth, $1.50.

The volume includes a series of study lists, the completest critical bibliography of the modern drama yet published in any language, and an index. The teacher, the student, the critic and the lover of the modern drama will find this volume indispensable in gaining a solid and critical mastery of the subject.

THE POET OF GALILEE. By **William Ellery Leonard.** Cloth, $1.00.

A literary study of the authentic fragments of the discourses and sayings of Jesus as imbedded in the Synoptic Gospels; a psychological analysis and reconstruction of the imposing personality and genius of the great Galilean rather than an abstract exegesis of his theology or ethics.

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY

122 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE, CHICAGO

CHICAGO ILLINOIS

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

THE EMDEN. By Kapitänleutnant von Mücke. German and English. 223 pp. Cloth, $1.25.

"There is nothing more sensationally adventurous in fiction than the voyage in the rotten little schooner dodging hostile ships. If anyone ever deserved the iron cross it was Von Mücke, and he got it. It would be a churlish enemy who would not do honor to such heroism as was displayed."—*Chicago Tribune.*

HOW DIPLOMATS MAKE WAR. By Francis Neilson. Cloth, $1.50.

"As to one of the chief positions of the volume, no Americans will have any quarrel with the writer of this book. It is that no treaties, forms of international alliance, or agreements with other nations ought to be entered into until they have been submitted to the representatives of the people in Parliament."—*The Nation.*

MISINFORMING A NATION. By Willard Huntington Wright. Cloth, $1.25.

A declaration of intellectual independence for those who aspire to an American culture.

THE IRISH NATIONALITY. By Mrs. J. R. Green. Cloth, 60c.

An account, as glowing as it is learned, of the genius and mission of the Irish people, from the earliest times to the present day. The Irish in America will want to read this book.

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY
122 S. MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO ILLINOIS

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 Works of William Oughtred

By FLORIAN CAJORI

Price $1.00

William Oughtred (1574(?)-1660), though by profession a clergyman, was one of the world's great teachers of mathematics and should still be honored as the inventor of that indispensable mechanical instrument, the slide-rule.

His earliest and best-known book was his *Clavis Mathematicae*. Though in its first edition of 1631 it was a booklet of only 88 small pages, yet it contained in very condensed form the essentials of arithmetic and algebra as known at that time. As compared with other contemporary works on algebra, Oughtred's is distinguished for the amount of symbolism used, particularly in the treatment of geometric problems.

Oughtred introduced an interesting, and at the same time new, feature of an abbreviated multiplication and an abbreviated division of decimal fractions. On this point he took a position far in advance of his time.

A word should be said on Oughtred's definition of + and —. He recognizes their double function in algebra by saying (*Clavis*, 1631, p. 2): "*Signum additionis, sive affirmationis, est + plus*" and "*Signum subductionis, sive negationis est — minus.*" They are symbols which indicate the quality of numbers in some instances and operations of addition or subtraction in other instances. In the 1694 edition of the Clavis, thitry-four years after the death of Oughtred, these symbols are defined as signifying operations only, but are actually used to signify the quality of numbers as well. In this respect the 1694 edition marks a recrudescence.

The Open Court Publishing Company
122 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago

The Philosophy of Wang Yang-Ming

By

Frederick Goodrich Henke, Ph. D.

Introduction by Professor James H. Tufts, Univ. of Chicago

The Philosophy of Wang Yang-Ming is an important book for readers interested in philosophy and in Chinese thought. Here we have a prominent Chinese thinker represented in an English translation of his works, including a life of the author and an appreciation of his theories. This instance will introduce us to the mode of thought of Chinese philosophers, and will prove interesting not only to sinologists, but also to specialists in philosophy, and to historians of human thought, who naturally will compare the development of philosophical thought in the West with similar tendencies in the East.

Wang Yang-Ming was an idealist of the monistic type. For him mind covered the entire gamut of existence; he thought that nothing existed independent and apart from mind. This seems to be very theoretical, but our author represents a most practical philosophy, for he believes that there can be no real knowledge without action. In many respects he reminds one of Kant. He believes that the individual has within himself the spring of knowledge, and should constantly carry into practice the things that his intuitive knowledge of good gives him opportunity to do.

Cloth, 512 pp. Price $2.50

The Open Court Publishing Company

122 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE

CHICAGO

EGYPTIAN AESTHETICS

By Rene Francis Price, Cloth $2.00

The author of Egyptian Aesthetics gives his chief attention to Egyptian life of today. He is a "master of style" and the reader actually lives through the emotions which the author is able to stir up by his descriptions of the spell which Egypt evokes. It is both a descriptive and an actual trip through Egypt and while it is principally concerned with pictures of present day life, there is enough archaeological and historical information to give the book permanent value.

Just now with Egypt one of the centers of interest in the great world tragedy this book will bring us closer to the Land of Pyramids and help us better to understand the causes which make Egypt and Turkey the logical battleground of the world.

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

George Boole's Collected Logical Works

In two volumes, of which the second, containing the LAWS OF THOUGHT, is ready. Pages, xvi, 448. Cloth, $3.50 net per vol. The second volume contains a reprint of the LAWS OF THOUGHT of 1854, unaltered except that misprints are of course corrected. Both volumes are provided with indexes, and the page-numbers of the original publications are throughout inserted in square brackets and heavy type at the proper places.

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY
122 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO

The Venus of Milo

An Archaeological Study of the Goddess of Womanhood

By PAUL CARUS

Cloth, Pp. 182 **Price, $1.00**

Beautifully Illustrated

PRESS NOTES

"THE VENUS OF MILO is one of those remarkable examples of Dr. Carus' research that have been so satisfying and welcome in the past. It is lavishly illustrated and adds greatly to our admiration of all coming from the same author."—*Scottish American.*

"Dr. Carus' volume is not only learned but extremely useful. The contents are well arranged and within the 180 pages may be found in convenient form a vast amount of valuable information."—*Baltimore News.*

"A successful example of the popularization of scholarship."

"Most plausible theory yet offered."—*New York Tribune.*

"It is a thorough and fascinating monograph on a subject that interests every educated man."—*New York Sun.*

The Open Court Publishing Company

122 South Michigan Avenue

Chicago, Ill.

A MODERN JOB

AN ESSAY ON THE PROBLEM OF EVIL

By **ETIENNE GIRAN.** Translated by **FRED. ROTHWELL**

With a portrait of the author and an introduction by Archdeacon Lilley. 92 pages. Cloth, 75c.

A brilliant and successful attempt to bring into modern times and surroundings the life-drama of the patriarch of old. This little volume is a welcome indication of the direction in which the human mind is turning nowadays for the solution of the deepest problems, pain and evil. It is a powerful appeal to the love that lives and that creates all beauty and happiness we know. The positions taken by Job's three friends are clearly stated, and each position is defended by a convinced advocate. Into a comparatively small compass is packed a great store of arguments, increasing in cogency as they proceed, and the result is a marvel of compressed reasoning for and against the main standpoint.

The book is alive, and the ideas propounded seem actually to have become incarnate in Eliphaz, Bildad and Zophar. The author gives these ideas a voice, which speaks in words of utmost sincerity and passionate feeling. The reader is irresistibly attracted by the strong and noble eloquence of a thinker whose simple style and intense loyalty to truth should prove a rare stimulus to lofty endeavor and devoted purpose in these troublous times.

The Open Court Publishing Company

122 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago

The Contingency of the Laws of Nature

By *Emile Boutroux* of the French Academy. Translated by *Fred. Rothwell.* With a portrait of the author. Pages, x, 195. Cloth, $1.50.

The two leading ideas of this work are, first, that philosophy should not confine itself to recombing eternally the concepts handed down by our forerunners, but rather should come into direct contact with the realities of nature and science; and, secondly, that philosophical systems, whether idealistic, materialistic or dualistic, regard the laws of nature as necessary, and consequently, as destructive of the true life and freedom.

A natural law is not a first principle, it is a result; and life, feeling and liberty are realities whereof the comparatively rigid forms grasped by science are the ever inadequate manifestations. Men can act on nature because nature is neither brute force nor lifeless thought. The laws of nature, if necessary, would typify the rigidity and immobility of death. Being contingent, they give more dignity to life, a greater incentive to rise in the scale of being.

The Open Court Publishing Company

122 South Michigan Avenue, 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