

\$1.00 per Year

JULY, 1915

Price, 10 Cents

# 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.



FORTRESS OF EUROPE ON THE BOSPHORUS.

## 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, 1915

## CONTENTS:

	PAGE
<i>Frontispiece.</i> The Newton Window in Trinity College, Cambridge.	
<i>Becoming American.</i> S. N. PATTEN .....	385
<i>Responsibility for the War.</i> FRED. C. CONYBEARE .....	394
<i>A Word About the Armenians</i> (Illustrated). HESTER DONALDSON JENKINS.	404
<i>Treitschke.</i> M. JOURDAIN .....	414
<i>Another View of Treitschke.</i> PAUL CARUS .....	420
<i>Professor Cramb on Treitschke</i> (With Photographs). PAUL CARUS .....	426
<i>Bernhardi Endorsed by Professor Cramb.</i> PAUL CARUS .....	434
<i>The Newton Window in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge.</i> PHILIP E. B. JOURDAIN .....	442
<i>The Philosophy of Tamerlane.</i> MICHELANGELO BILLIA .....	444
<i>Strikes and the Public: Three Stages.</i> VICTOR S. YARROS .....	446
<i>Book Reviews and Notes</i> .....	448

# SCIENCE PROGRESS

## IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF SCIENTIFIC WORK AND THOUGHT

*Published at the beginning of JANUARY, APRIL, JULY, OCTOBER*

*Each number consists of about 192 pages, containing some twelve to fifteen papers.  
Illustrated. 5s. net. Annual Subscription, including postage, £1.*

SCIENCE PROGRESS owes its origin to an endeavor to found a scientific journal containing original papers and summaries of the present state of knowledge in all branches of science. The necessity for such a journal is to be found in the fact that, with the specialization which necessarily accompanies the modern development of scientific work and thought, it is increasingly difficult for even the professional man of science to keep in touch with the progress achieved and the trend of thought in subjects other than those in which his immediate interests lie. This difficulty is felt by teachers and students in schools and colleges, and by the general educated public interested in scientific questions. SCIENCE PROGRESS claims to have filled this want.

London: JOHN MURRAY, Albemarle St., W.





THE NEWTON WINDOW IN TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

# 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. XXIX. (No. 7)

JULY, 1915

NO. 710

---

---

Copyright by The Open Court Publishing Company, 1915

---

---

## BECOMING AMERICAN.

BY S. N. PATTEN.

### THE BRITONET AND THE ANGLOID.

OF the many questions raised by the war, none awaits an answer more urgently than this: "Who is American?" What seems at sight a commonplace fact of residence becomes on investigation a complex problem. In ancestry, obviously, none are American, whether our forbears have been on the soil one or ten generations. Our heredity, comprising all fundamental passions and appetites, is of foreign origin and will remain for ages unchanged; newcomers and old families are peers in this respect. When the excitement of war arouses us we react as did our Aryan ancestors when a hostile tribe appeared over adjacent hills. Feelings of hate and envy overshadow later experience, while venomous expletives, which in rational moods we calmly suppress, flow out in a pleasure-giving torrent. This violence, natural though it is, does not distinguish any one as American; it shows rather that we have not yet changed the crude nature that crossed the ocean with our ancestors.

To become American is a growth in social tradition coming when our feelings and actions are evoked by American events and American ideals. It is a social, not a physical, change. Some families may have been on our soil for generations and still have foreign traditions, while in others a single generation may make over their social nature. Indeed the rapidity of the social change is in proportion to the shock which the transference of environment causes. The slowest changes come in those whose civilization is like our own, while a radical change in thought and ideal brings rapid transformation.

These facts make less important than commonly judged the

differences between the recent immigration and the older stock which, perhaps, has Revolutionary ancestry. Is the latter American, and the former half or quarter American? Not at all, for the ancestry is the same in both cases. The blood of the human wolf tingles in their veins, and the savage bite is apt to come from the one as from the other. The contrast lies not in heredity, but in social tradition. The older stock has the language and ideals of its English ancestors, which have remained unchanged because our ancestors let the English think for them instead of thinking for themselves. What has our older stock contributed in literature, art, or science? Can any one point to an epoch-making book that has come new-born from our civilization? The ideals of the man who sneers at his recently arrived brother are merely an adaptation of English thought. What difference exists is not more marked than the modification the language and thought of England have undergone in Australia or South Africa. Wherever English is spoken British thought has prevailed, and we, like other English offspring, have followed in the ways of the parent. We have been servants, not masters—followers in beaten paths, not breakers of new soil. Our population is divided, not into pure Americans and half Americans, but into those who are slaves to English tradition and those whose American adjustments are partly made. On this basis to be a German-American or an Irish-American is to be more American than the older stock. It is really a proud boast for a man to say he is half-American, for that means a greater change in culture and ideals than families long in the land have undergone.

To get a clear view of our growing adjustment new words are needed. Old divisions are partisan and biased. The differences to be emphasized are those of culture, tradition and language; not those of race, religion or nationality. Let us suggest terms that present effective contrasts and then try to show their applicability. The term *Britonet* suggests the man who holds too rigidly to the English inheritance lying at the basis of our civilization. In contrast to this, the term *Angloid* indicates the composite nature of a broader culture which has foreign elements. Many of these newer incorporations are German, and hence arise the antagonisms which have been injected with so much violence into the present controversy. We should remember, however, that these differences between the new and the old were objects of controversy before the war began, and would in time have made the present factions even if no foreign stimulus had hastened the disruption of conventional thought. In every field these contrasts are apparent, and in many

fields the controversies involved were acute before the war began. We must narrow our horizon by ejecting foreign contributions, or so incorporate them into our culture that a broader civilization results.

English culture can readily be divided into two elements. At bottom it is a classical culture, modified and broadened by the English experience of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. English tradition and education is mainly Hebrew, Greek and Roman in origin. From these elements have come the ideals of the English people, while their practice and habits have been imposed by their present environment. The content of English education has been classical, not modern. Habits have changed, but not ideals. This strong combination has been broken in America by the crumbling of the classical education, Grecian art, and Puritan morality. Our education is technical and vocational, casting aside the cultural elements that have upbuilt the English character. We hold the English traditions but have lost the older interpretations of life that made them effective. Such men may properly be called Britonets without implying any disrespect for the civilization from which their ideas are derived. They are merely half-English, and have chosen the worse half.

Against the narrowing tendencies which this exclusion involves is another equally patent tendency. In place of the older classical culture comes a modern culture. To assimilate the new elements does not demand a break in our civilization. It has a continuity from our distant ancestors, and has all the emotional force associated with our history and language. Shall our culture be broadened to this new basis, or shall it be narrowed by the exclusion of foreign elements, ancient and modern? This is the controversy now acute. The one tendency gives us a pure race, a pure language, and a conventional morality; the other puts all into the melting-pot, and cheerfully accepts the purified culture resulting when the dross, the feud and the localism of to-day disappear. The American is not a race with a heredity, but a culture with a unity. Its test is its quickening power. Our test is in its assimilation.

#### DEGENERATION AND REVERSION.

To separate the American from the non-American we must be able to distinguish the normal from the abnormal. Until this is done we lack a means of deciding who is a reactionary, and who is he out of whose loins the American race is to spring. The distinction is clear. The old bonds were in religion, race and language.

Each of these was provincial; and hence the world was split up into factions on the basis of creed, speech and race. Men loved the like and hated the unlike with equal fervor; but at bottom there was more of hatred than of love in the old life because the multitude were different, while only a small group was similar in characteristic and interest. To be a reactionary is to glory in religious, language and race contrasts, and to shut out the upbuilding forces that lift humanity to higher levels. Any motive is normal when its possession is essential to survival; but it becomes regressive when newer tests of survival displace it.

The traits of the reactionary are the oldest of the race. Not yielding to the dominance of new motives, he does what his less advanced ancestors did, but which under new conditions is productive of evil. An old religion, an antiquated morality, the race ties of yesterday, and the thought modes of any language lower the tone of those chained by them. The new bonds are social, not racial; emotional, not sensory. When millions are united in one economic group, the physical traits, the creeds and language of each locality become a matter of slight significance. Therefore, to divide regions economically, a unit on lines of creed, language or race becomes a social crime. Only the new emotional responses are elevating. When this new standard of normality is formulated the old becomes degenerate.

The physical tests of this degeneration are plain. It is a local morbidness, an oversensitiveness in some part accompanied by a numbness to impression in others. If a doctor suspects a patient of nervousness he tests the malady by a blow on the knee, causing what is called a "knee jerk." Local sensitiveness is thus discovered, and some remedy is suggested. This test is but an example of all physical tests of degeneration. Some people are sensitive to fear; others to descriptions of pain; others to peculiar sounds; and still others to language or color excitation. In each case the mark of abnormality is the same. Some fear, some pain, some group of sounds, words or colors excite unwonted activity and evoke uncontrollable feelings of aversion, with the result that the normal functioning of the individual to his environment is disturbed.

An oversensitiveness to word-reactions is a better test of abnormality than perceived suffering; imagined fears are more potent than those connected with visible objects. Many a person could walk under an unsafe building with unconcern who would become intensely excited about an imagined invasion of his country. Are these explosions of primitive emotion the normal expression of



growing manhood, or are they marks of morbid reversion? If abnormal, the facts of the present war are readily classed. The strong appeals to race, class, and language interests, the sensitiveness to described suffering, show how excitable we are about particulars, and how obtuse to great issues. The papers have indulged in the descriptive horrors of the Belgium invasion until the distinction is lost between the local seen and the vast world not yet visualized. Why do we shudder when we think of the suffering in Belgium, and remain oblivious to greater woe in our own country? Why is it horrible for the Germans to kill a hundred in Belgium, when we remain indifferent to the endeavors of England to starve millions in Germany? Which is more normal, the man who, meeting a beggar on the street, gives him a dollar; or he who refuses alms, but sends a check to some charity to relieve the suffering of those he never saw? This test of perspective shows the difference between normal and abnormal emotions. The one is true emotion; the other is merely sense excitation. Normal men visualize the larger unseen groups, and refuse to sympathize with unimportant events seen and described.

Fear and hate are primitive passions, normal in animals and in the lower orders of men. They are marks of reversion when found among the civilized races. The higher emotions lead to their suppression, causing the normal man to walk abroad with no fear in his breast and no hatred in his heart. To show hatred or fear indicates the loss of some of the impulses that dominate the higher life. It is indicative, therefore, to see the fierce outpouring of fear and hate since the outbreak of the war. The German has become a nightmare to many well-meaning persons, and hatred of him has become a creed. If these violent manifestations were those of primitive men or of the underworld they might be regarded as the natural expression of the exuberant savage. But these excited individuals are for the most part the university graduate, the professor, the editor, the lawyer, the club-man, and even ex-presidents, both of college and of nation. They are men of the old stock, and not newcomers whose feelings are naturally primitive. Instead of lifting themselves into an adjustive relation, our older stock has been sinking into modes of thought normal to our distant ancestors, but subnormal to ourselves. It is becoming Britonet instead of a creator of an American civilization.

But, it will be replied, the Germans are just as forceful in their emotional expression. There is, however, a difference. The German song of hate to which so much attention has been given is not

the work of a German professor, but the writing of a private soldier. It is genuine folklore, voicing the emotion of the lower class. That a private could write a poem of this virility is a mark of advance. But the attempt of poets and professors to write a reply, or outdo the German in his song of hate, is not literature, but degeneration. The German people should be as proud of their privates who can write of hate as our race should be dismayed and chagrined at the attempted imitation by our literary spokesmen. It verges on the comical to see committees of professors formed to pass on the hymns of hate their students compose.

If our old stock with its star-gazing idealism has failed to find the road from yesterday to to-morrow, where are we to look for guidance? Some facts are plain and some conclusions clear. No distinct physical traits out of which a new race can be formed have as yet appeared. Anthropologists assert that no European race has sloughed off its earlier characteristics, though in its present environment many thousand years. Even if this be disputed of the Continental races, the English are no more a race, physically, than are the Americans. England's civilization is built from the traditions created by the British environment of the past three centuries. These traditions we have acquired, and their loss will make us American. English ideas and ideals meant progress when they arose, and are still of importance for the preservation of English institutions. But for us they are exotic growths, and their persistence implies a decay of character in all on whom they are imposed.

We often hear of the cramping influence of Puritanism, and of a desire for greater intellectual freedom. Yet Puritanism is one of the cramping influences making our Britonet environment. Our orthodoxy, our law, our literary standards, our classicisms, our conventional notions, and even our cant and hypocrisy are all Britonet importations. They are the burden we carry and the load we must throw off. The newer American stocks have an advantage in their efforts toward reconstruction because they come from regions freer from these trammels. They are moving more rapidly than we toward the desired adjustment, and from them comes much of our dynamic force, while the old stock strive to keep things immobile and static.

#### FROM MAN TO SUPERMAN.

In the melting-pot of the present there is not merely the fusing of the old, but also the creation of the new. Of this the best index

is physical change. The new types are better nourished, live more out of doors, are fond of sport and exercise. They are aggressive, vigorous, stubborn to resist and keen to act. Who has not seen this will-to-power in America, both in its good and bad forms? It is only the blinding influence of cant that keeps us from seeing that we are more German than the Germans, and have less of the old in our code than they. We cannot check the onrush of new impulses; only we refuse to talk of them. Tradition, coming from our slave forbears, holds that the lamb is a model for imitation, and that the wolf is the representative of Satan. We lip words of peace even when our aggressive spirit makes us wolfish at heart.

This new vigor is as plainly visible in women as in men. Blinded by old ideals, we fail to see the moral advance our sisters are making. We mistake their uplift of character for a reversion because the new woman does not fit into our cramped scheme of family life. Had she only to match herself with nature in the struggle for survival, her superiority over her decadent sisters would be apparent. But man is the chooser of woman; and he prefers the weak-faced Madonna to those capable in action, vigorous in thought and wistful for motherhood.

The new in man is also apparent if we seek its manifestation in deeds and not in meaningless phrases. Words are Britonet, while action is American. The professor, the editor, the idealist, grind their grist of words which make us seem but an echo of the distant past. Yet the pulse of the nation is throbbing, its action is vigorous and its morality aggressive. Some day the new in us will find its voice; the professor will respond to the call of the world; the editor will feel the pulse of the street, and the idealist will sink to his level among the nation's dependents. Happy, happy America, when his cult is gone and his tombstone is removed to enlarge our parks! The world has but the three types—the savage, the degenerate and the becoming. Normality is a mere line separating the regressive conservative from his aggressive superior. Of both the savage is the antecedent. His attitude, his passions and greed are not matters of choice, but the result of the brutal pounding of nature. They have given a wolf physique restrained by a lamb morality.

Races in the past have been wolves or lambs. The wolf has seized and devoured, leaving a desolate world. He has been father, not of the superman, but of vice and dissipation. The lamb has not fared better. He has grown fat only to serve as food for the wolf. Out of his loins the superman has not come. To-day the

breed is as helpless as at the dawn of civilization. Only as we realize this can we remove the antinomy that has prevented the evolution of man.

Our physical heredity is transmitted by a single germ-cell. Changes in it constitute the ascending line of physical growth. In contrast to this, social heredity is perpetuated by repeated impressment. If for a single generation the language, traditions and habits of thought of the race were not reimposed they would be lost. It has nothing to do with the germ-plasm by which the physical traits are perpetuated. Nor has the germ-cell any influence on the growth of our ideals or traditions. Each element undergoes change without a modification in the other, yet only as both are altered can the superman appear. The errors and the confusion of present thought lie in the wrong application of these facts. For ages the social heredity has been dominant. It has produced not merely changes in culture, but has also determined the physical conditions of survival. Progress, it was assumed, meant the elimination of the wolf from our physical nature, and the creation of a race of docile lambs who sink from liberty to dependence, and from dependence to slavery.

I do not see that the eugenists would mend matters. If physical and moral traits are bound up together, as they assume, the physical lamb and the moral saint are parts of the same evolution. The only choice is then between a saintly lamb and the satanic wolf. There is, however, another possibility that our physical and social heredity are determined by independent laws. Can we not breed a physical wolf and control him by intensifying our social environment? If this be true we can improve the race by using the two opposing methods, each with its own laws.

I shall not attempt to argue nor to predict, but to throw light on what is actually taking place. We are getting a vigorous man with an aggressive attitude out of harmony with the lamblike qualities the benevolent moralist admires. We have more vigor, will, and imagination than our ancestors had. But we have not learned to like the man of action who may tread on our toes; nor the man of imagination who, breaking social tradition, casts aside our inherited law as a mere scrap of paper. But which is to be preferred, the dangers and joys of some pictured Utopia to be won, or the well-guarded fold in which the lamb can chew his cud and sleep in peace?

The old is a Rock of Ages for the beaten and the fleeing; the new is the beacon of hope to the ongoing pilgrim. By these facts

we should judge the militant woman, the Jew, and the German. In each case aggression, will and imagination are reflected in vigorous action. They are superior in physical power to their opponents and predecessors, but as destructive of social tradition as they are effective in action. Every physical advance means the crashing of some social idol, the downfall of some cherished ideal, the disappearance of some classical doctrine. The peace of the dove and the lamb do not fare well in a world of bustling activity. Our Britonet ideals do not conserve this new vigor, nor do they guide aright the new glow of life. Ideals and standards of broader impact must be imposed before the equilibrium between our social and physical heredity is restored. We need the aggressive man; but we need still more an uplift of social standards and the corrective influence of vivid social ideals. Aggression is not bad, but it requires a fitting end to make it an uplifting force.

## RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WAR.<sup>1</sup>

BY FRED. C. CONYBEARE.

A LADY remarked to me lately that it was too terrible to think that our brave fellows should be bearing the hardships of the trenches, should be enduring wounds and death, for any but a wholly righteous cause. Our sufferings alone, she urged, prove that justice is on our side; and she shook with wrath when I suggested that by the same test the Germans could be shown to be in the right. Her attitude, which may properly be described as tribalism, was all very well as long as we had little except the lies and insincerities of our public men and press with which to combat the Germans, but now that we are putting into the field some two million good soldiers to prove that we are as brave and capable of fighting as they are, surely the time is come when rationalists anyhow can make a more serious attempt to understand the course of events than Mr. McCabe and Mr. Charles T. Gorham have done.

I admit at the outset that by invading Belgium the Germans left us no choice but to intervene. This is so, even if we allow

<sup>1</sup>This article was accompanied by the following personal letter to the editor: "Dear Dr. Carus—You and I have been good friends in the past and have worked in our respective spheres for the humanizing and enlightening of opinion in both hemispheres. I therefore invite you to publish in *The Open Court* the enclosed MS. together with this communication to yourself. It was originally sent to the *Literary Guide*, the monthly organ of the Rationalist league, for I did not see why England's case should be entirely left, in its columns, to the tender mercies of Mr. McCabe and Mr. Gorham. My use of the English White Paper however was too frank for the taste of that journal, and its editors refused to publish it.

"Germany at present is resounding with hymns of hatred against England, but I hope and believe that Germans will come to see that my countrymen were as a whole averse to war until by the invasion of a weak and defenceless Belgium they were goaded into it. The fact that the German ambassador in London on August 1 was ready to give an assurance that Belgium would not be molested if we would undertake to be neutral, proves that the passage over her soil of German armies was not the unavoidable military necessity which

with Sir E. Grey that their action "was not wanton," and that "Germany feared that if she did not occupy Belgium France might do so." Mr. Lloyd George has recently assured us that for him, as for ninety-five percent of the business men of London, Belgium made the whole difference, and that nothing short of the violation of her neutrality could have inclined him or them to war. His attitude is and was my own, and I maintain that the *Times* of March 8 takes up an immoral position when it writes that "Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg is quite right" in what he says of us, that as "in the great war we did not lavish our gold from love of German or of Austrian liberty or out of sheer altruism," so in this war we have "invested it for our own safety and our own advantage"; and, the *Times* adds, as then "on the whole our commitments were rewarded by an adequate return," so they will be in this war. Yet I venture to think what turned the scale on August 3 in the House of Commons was the eloquent appeal of the late Mr. Gladstone, as Sir E. Grey repeated it. Here it is: "We have an interest in the independence of Belgium which is wider than that which we may have in the literal operation of the guarantee. It is found in the answer to the question whether, under the circumstances of the case, this country, endowed as it is with influence and power, would quietly stand by and witness the perpetration of the direst crime that ever stained the pages of history, and thus become participators in the sin." If Grey had

Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg on August 4 asserted it to be. In any case it meant that Belgium would be turned into a shambles. I hold that Sir E. Grey did wrong in binding England by his secret engagements (unknown even to the English cabinet and probably to the king) to take part against Germany in a war over an issue which did not concern us. He erred in making any defensive and offensive secret alliance with France, until the latter power should have composed her quarrel with Germany. Still the fact remains, duly attested by our own and even by the French diplomatic books, that he and his secret policy would have been cast aside by our cabinet, parliament and nation, had not the German General Staff with cynical disregard of justice and international law actually played into his and Sazonof's hands. Had that Staff known a little more of human nature, they would have foreseen that their aggression on Belgium, premeditated and planned for years, was the one thing that would light a flame among us, and alienate the sympathies both of America and Italy. They deliberately provoked us to war, as, I consider, Sazonof provoked the poor Kaiser; and I fear there is nothing for us now but to fight it out. May I suggest that you should print in your journal the passages which I have marked in the current number of the *Candid Quarterly*. This is a journal edited by Mr. Thos. Gibson Bowles, and it may be said to represent the "Young Tory" party. I believe that its stern condemnation of Sir E. Grey's policy is well merited, though I do not see eye to eye with the editor in many matters, and, particularly, in the essentially aggressive designs of the present Kaiser against England.—I am yours sincerely, FRED. C. CONYBEARE, M.A., F.B.A., Honorary Fellow Univ. Coll. Oxford, Hon. Dr. Theol. Giessen, Hon. LL.D. St. Andrews."

dangled this war before our Parliament as an "investment," he would have found few to support him.

Now my object here is to point out that we should not now be at war, and that Europe would probably not be at war with herself if Sir E. Grey had taken up this ethical standpoint from the first and stuck to it.

The war originated in a quarrel between Austria and Servia. In such a war were we under any obligation, moral or material, to join? As to the moral obligation, Grey declared on July 20 that for us or any other power to "be dragged into a war by Servia would be detestable" (White Paper 1). We assured Austria that "if in the course of the present grave crisis our point of view should sometimes differ from hers, this would arise not from want of sympathy with the many just complaints which Austria-Hungary had against Servia," etc. (White Paper 62). On July 29 (*ibid.* 91) Grey told the Austrian ambassador in London that he "did not wish to discuss the merits of the question between Austria and Servia."

Were we then under material obligations to go to war over Servia?

On this point Sir G. Buchanan, our ambassador at St. Petersburg, was emphatic. On July 24 he was urged by Sazonof and the French ambassador there, "to proclaim our solidarity with Russia and France." "They continued to press me," he writes (White Paper 6), "for a declaration of complete solidarity of His Majesty's government with French and Russian governments."

He reports his answer thus: "Personally I saw no reason to expect any declaration of solidarity from His Majesty's government that would entail an unconditional engagement on their part to support Russia and France by force of arms. Direct British interests in Servia were *nil*, and a war on behalf of that country would never be sanctioned by British public opinion."

It is certain that if Grey had remained true to this twofold standpoint, that neither duty nor interests called upon us to intervene, France would not have stirred, for she relied upon our aid, and she would have held back her ally Russia. The fire in the heather might have been thus stamped out from the beginning, and never have become a vast conflagration consuming the whole of Europe.

It may be said: "Oh, but we could not allow Germany once more to humiliate Russia." But Austria gave assurances from the first that she only wished to chastise Servia and not touch her in-



tegrity or sovereign rights (White Paper 18, 57, 62, 64, 72, 75, 79, 137, etc.). There was therefore not involved any particular humiliation of Russia, which in 1876, 1878, 1897, had in special conventions thrice assigned Servia to the Austrian sphere of influence in the Balkans, reserving Bulgaria as her own sphere. The Austrians had a better quarrel with Servia than we ever had with the Boers, and Russia less excuse for throwing her aegis over Servia than Germany would have had in 1900 for throwing hers over the Transvaal. But in view of Sir E. Grey's repeated disclaimers of all interest in the rights and wrongs of Servia it is superfluous to press this point. He not less emphatically denied that France had any cause to interfere in a Servian squabble. For example, on July 31 (*ibid.* 116) he writes to Sir F. Bertie, our ambassador at Paris, that "in this case France is being drawn into a dispute which is not hers."

That being so, why did he not warn France from the first that if she, merely as Russia's ally, chose to go to war with Germany, she would do so at her own risk? Why did he not point out that, as it was not *her* dispute, the Germans could not be accused of an *unprovoked* attack on her if they defended themselves in a war into which she might follow Russia? It is useless to urge that France was bound by her treaty with Russia. That was her look-out, and she did not allege her treaty but her *interests* as a reason for accepting war with Germany. Is any one so *naïf* as to suppose that Russia would go out of her way to aid France in similar circumstances? Would Russia ever intervene *vi et armis* to save England from any humiliation whatever?

Russia from the first resolved to take up the quarrel of Servia and assert a protectorate over her as against Austria, and on July 25 mobilized her southern armies against Austria—this, although Germany categorically warned her that she would protect her ally. Austria declared war on Servia on July 28 and on July 29 proceeded to bombard Belgrade. Then at last Grey yielded to Sazonof's appeal that he should declare our "complete solidarity" with France and Russia, and he warned Germany that if France went to war we must intervene on her side and could not stand aside (White Paper 89, 102, 111, 116, 119).

Till now Germany, while insisting that Austria intended only to chastise Servia and not impair her sovereign rights or appropriate any of her territory, had been intransigent in her attitude. *Ex post facto* she had approved of Austria's note to Servia, and toward Russia she assumed an air of "you can take it or leave it."

She hoped to bluff her as in 1909. At the same time she was ready to fight Russia and France, if they wanted to fight her. Sazonof and the two Cambons<sup>2</sup> on their side equally intended to fight her if they could get possession of the weak man with the strong fleet, Sir E. Grey. Both sides took Grey's warning of July 29 very seriously. It was in effect an ultimatum to Germany and an assurance of support to Russia; and an impartial witness, the Belgian minister at St. Petersburg, the Baron de l'Escaille, wrote on the evening of July 30 to his government at Brussels that on that day people there were "firmly convinced, nay they had a positive assurance to the effect, that England would support France. This assurance of support was of enormous importance, and had contributed not a little to encourage the war party." And he adds: "Although on the day before there were such divergencies of opinion in the Czar's council of ministers that the ukase ordering mobilization was delayed, a change of scene subsequently took place, the war party gained the upper hand, and to-day (July 30) at four o'clock the order for mobilization was published. The army, which is conscious of its strength, is full of enthusiasm and reposes great hopes on the progress it has achieved since the Japanese war. The navy is so far from having realized its program of reconstruction and reorganization that one cannot count upon it. And this is just the reason why so much importance is attached to the assurance of support given by England."<sup>3</sup>

But just in proportion as Sir Edward Grey's warning raised the hopes of Sazonof, it depressed those of Germany, who instantly set herself to conciliate Russia and buy off England. Thus she sent her Ambassador, Count Pourtalés, at 2 a. m. on the morning of July 30, to Sazonof. He "completely broke down," so we read (White Paper 97), "on seeing that war was inevitable. He appealed to M. Sazonof to make some suggestion which he could telegraph to the German government as a last hope."

It was now Sazonof's turn to bluff Germany, and he dictated a

<sup>2</sup> French ambassadors in Berlin and London.

<sup>3</sup> The first paragraphs of this dispatch are equally interesting with those which I cite:

"M. le Ministre. Yesterday [July 29] and the day before have been passed in expectation of the events which were bound to follow upon the declaration of war by Austria on Servia.

"Most contradictory news has been in circulation, without it being possible to distinguish truth from falsehood, about the Imperial Government's intentions. What is certain is that Germany has endeavored, no less here than in Vienna, to find any means whatever, to avoid a general conflict; but she has been confronted, on one side, with the obstinate determination of the Vienna Cabinet not to yield an inch, and, on the other, with the distrust felt by the

formula to Portalés by which Austria was "to recognize that her conflict with Servia had assumed the character of a question of European interest and declare herself ready to eliminate from her ultimatum (to Servia) points which violate the principle of sovereignty of Servia." This done, "Russia engaged to stop all military preparations."

The Austrian demand which violated Servian sovereignty was that an Austrian assessor should sit on the Servian court of enquiry into the assassination of the Archduke. He was not to have judicial or executive powers, but only to see that the enquiry was not a mock one. At Hodeida recently the Italians similarly demanded of Turkey that their consul should sit on the Turkish court of enquiry, and the demand was instantly granted.

The Germans spent July 30 in urging Austria to consider Sazonof's terms. Austria had broken off negotiations with St. Petersburg, and accordingly Bethmann-Hollweg in a note addressed to her that day used these words: "We cannot expect Austria-Hungary to negotiate with Servia, with which she is in a state of war. The refusal, however, to exchange views with St. Petersburg would be a grave mistake. We are indeed ready to fulfil our duty. As an ally we must, however, refuse to be drawn into a world conflagration through Austria-Hungary not respecting our advice." And the German ambassador was told to address this warning to Berchtold, the Austrian chancellor, "with all emphasis and great seriousness."<sup>4</sup>

Petersburg Cabinet of Austria's assurances that her only idea is to punish Servia, and not possess herself of that country.

"M. Sazonof has declared that it is impossible for Russia not to hold herself ready and not to mobilize, that however these preparations were not directed against Germany. This morning an official communication to the journals announces that 'the reservists have been called to arms in a certain number of provinces.' Knowing the reserve usually practised in official Russian communications, it is easy to infer that the mobilization is general. The German ambassador has declared to-day that he has exhausted the endeavors for peace which since Saturday he has unremittingly pursued, and that he is now left without any hope. I have been told that the English embassy has expressed itself in the same manner. Great Britain has as a last resort proposed arbitration. M. Sazonof has replied: 'We ourselves proposed it to Austria-Hungary and she refused it.' To the proposal for a conference Germany replied by proposing an understanding between the Cabinets. One may well ask oneself if it is not the case that all parties want war and are only trying to delay its declaration a little while in order to gain time. England began by giving out that she did not intend to be drawn into a conflict. Sir George Buchanan openly said so. To-day at Petersburg people are firmly convinced etc."

<sup>4</sup> Mr. M. P. Price in his work *The Diplomatic History of the War* shows that this telegram is genuine, although it has been impugned. Yet Mr. Gorham quotes with approval Mr. Jas. M. Beck's denial that the Kaiser ever "gave the world the text of any advice he gave the Austrian officials."

Emperor Franz Joseph—the *enfant terrible* of the whole episode—had Sazonof's note (modified in certain ways by Grey, White Paper 120) laid before him by Berchtold on the morning of July 31. The old man's habit is to transact important affairs of state at 5 a. m. He so far yielded that Sazonof at once informed Grey through his agent in London, De Etter, of his satisfaction at the fact (White Paper 133) that "the Austro-Hungarian ambassador had declared the readiness of his government to discuss the substance of the Austrian ultimatum to Servia." Sazonof adds that "it is desirable that the discussions should take place in London with the participation of the great powers." He also "hopes that the British government will assume the direction of these discussions. The whole of Europe would be thankful to them." The extent to which Austria would have yielded to Russian demands would of course have depended on the course of these "discussions," which unhappily never took place.

One would have thought that Sazonof in this moment of diplomatic triumph might have been pleased to yield to the appeal which the German emperor had been making to him for two days to stay his military preparations against himself. For some reason or another Grey would not second this appeal; he was too much afraid of Sazonof ever to offer him advice, and even as early as July 24 had made the "stiff" tone of the note to Servia an excuse for refusing "to exercise any moderating influence on Russia" (White Paper 10), and our ambassador at Vienna was told from the first (White Paper 26) to support the policy of Sazonof. The latter now chose the moment of his triumph to complete his mobilization against Germany. This was early on the morning of July 31. As early as July 26 the Germans had warned Russia that if she mobilized they must do so too; and, they added, "mobilization means war." Russia paid no heed, with the result that at midnight on July 31 the Kaiser, seized with panic, gave her 12 hours to demobilize, and getting no answer, declared war late on August 1, on which day he also began to mobilize in his turn. I do not seek to palliate the guilt of the Kaiser in thus rushing into war, but I do aver that Sazonof had done all he could to provoke the poor man to declare war, and might have declared war himself if the Kaiser had not been in such a hurry.

The English Cabinet was still averse to war,<sup>5</sup> and, in spite of

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Lloyd George recently made the following statement: "This I know is true—after the guarantee given that the German fleet would not attack the coast of France or annex any French territory, I would not have been

Grey's secret undertakings to France, was willing to be neutral if Germany would give, like France, an assurance not to violate Belgium's neutrality. They accordingly sent Grey on August 1 "to make proposals [to the German ambassador] for England's neutrality even in the event of Germany being at war with France as well as with Russia." The ambassador immediately offered the required assurance on condition that Grey would make a definite statement with regard to our neutrality. Grey however refused "to be neutral on that condition alone." The ambassador then "pressed him to formulate conditions" on which we would be neutral. He even offered that the integrity both of France and of her colonies might be respected, in case France was beaten. Grey might also have asked and obtained the condition that the German fleet should keep itself in the North Sea. But Grey wanted to keep his hands free and refused to be neutral on any conditions; and the next morning (August 2) he did not even deem it worth his while to inform our Cabinet of the German overtures of the day before, though a majority thereof would certainly have embraced them. The Germans now made up their minds that we were really going to join France against them; and, thinking that they might as well be hung for a sheep as a lamb, went through Belgium. That issue swallowed up all our earlier negotiations, and we had to go to war. The only way to have kept out of it would have been to close with the offers made by Germany on August 1.<sup>6</sup> But Grey resolved not to do that, and the Cabinet never heard of them in time.

It cannot be denied that on the morning of July 31 Russia had obtained all she had asked for. On July 27 (White Paper 55) Sazonof told our ambassador that all he wanted was that Serbia's "territorial integrity must be guaranteed and her rights as a sovereign state respected," and by the 31st not only were these terms conceded by Austria, but Germany had offered to see that they

a party to a declaration of war had Belgium not been invaded; and I can say the same thing for most, if not all, of my colleagues. If Germany had been wise, she would not have set foot on Belgian soil; the Liberal Government, then, would not have intervened."

<sup>6</sup> A war of Germany and Austria with France and Russia was likely to result in the emergence of many unforeseen issues and contingencies which made it unwise of England beforehand to tie herself down unconditionally to permanent neutrality. For example the war might have spread to Dutch, Danish and Swedish soil, even America might have been drawn in as well as Italy and Turkey. Nevertheless, since we had no army with which to repel a German advance through Belgium, I regret that Grey did not accept Lychnowski's overtures. We should have saved her from the excesses of German *Schrecklichkeit*.

were carried out when the punitive expedition was ended. But neither side trusted the other.

Grey's dispatches prove that his policy was to join in the war if it became general, and especially if France elected to go in. This he intended to do, Belgium or no Belgium. I believe it was an unwise policy. The Servian bone was foul and rotten, and stunk in his nostrils as long as only one big dog was growling over it, but as soon as the other big dogs began to snarl, it suddenly acquired for him an almost sacramental importance.

Germany, if we may believe the Italian Foreign Minister, San Juliano (White Paper 80), was all along "really anxious for good relations with ourselves;" and Sir E. Goschen at Berlin, in conversation with the German chancellor on August 4, remarked that it "was part of the tragedy" that the two nations should "fall apart just at the moment when the relations between them had been more friendly and cordial than they had been for years." One may well ask, if this was so, why Sir E. Grey did not accept the German overtures for peace three days earlier or at least give our very pacifist Cabinet a chance to accept them. But he evidently agreed with his friend M. Paul Cambon, the French ambassador in London (White Paper 119, July 31), that "in 1870 we had made a great mistake in allowing an enormous increase of German strength, and we should now be repeating the mistake," if we did not attack Germany when we could. This is the moral standpoint which prevails in a thieves' kitchen. We made it, unwillingly and by accident, our own.

How the future historian will view this war we hardly can say, but I suspect he will blame Russia and Germany about equally. He will recognize that our House of Commons went to war to rescue the weak and oppressed, and that, except for the violation of Belgium, we would either not have gone to war at all, or have done so with little enthusiasm. He will recognize that the Germans honestly believed they were fighting a defensive war, which was to rid them of the double incubus of Russia and France holding their loaded revolvers at them on two frontiers. France will be rightly credited with a passion for *revanche*; the Russian peasant with his blind traditional loyalty for his "Little Father" the Czar. Finally the historian will conclude that any one of the five combatants with a little good-will could have prevented the war at the outset of the crisis and at any subsequent phase of it up to August 1; and he will blame all alike for the bloody popular convulsions, the plague and famine, the uprising of the East against the West, of the

yellow races against the white, the wasting feuds between race and race, the war between classes, the overthrow of faith in humanity, the destruction of all schemes of social amelioration, the general bankruptcy of states and individuals, the revival of superstition, the decay of literature and art, and countless other evils which will follow in its train all over Europe.

## A WORD ABOUT THE ARMENIANS.

BY HESTER DONALDSON JENKINS.

AS Armenian immigrants are coming to this country in larger and larger numbers—many of them having acquired an interest in the United States through American missionaries and schools in Turkey, and all attracted by the freedom and opportunity of our land—a brief consideration of some of the characteristics of these new citizens of ours is pertinent.

Of all the dwellers in cosmopolitan Constantinople and Asia Minor, perhaps the most thoroughly Oriental are the Armenians. Their appearance is definitely eastern; swarthy, heavy-haired, black-eyed, with acquiline features, they look more Oriental than Turk, Slav or Greek. In general type they come closer to the Jew than any other people, sharing with them the strongly marked features, prominent nose and near-set eyes, as well as some gestures that we think of as characteristically Jewish. The type is so pronounced that to those who are akin to them they seem often very handsome, while to westerners they seem rather too foreign looking. Of course the type is not always preserved; white skins, even an occasional rosy cheek may be seen, and there is a small number of blue-eyed and fair-haired Armenians.

The resemblance to the Jews does not stop with physical features, for the fate of the two peoples has been sufficiently similar to bring out common traits. Like the Jew the Armenian has been oppressed and persecuted, and has developed a strength of nationality, a love for his own people and a persistence of type rarely seen elsewhere. Like the Jew he has learned to bend, not break, before the oppressor and to succeed by artifice when opposed by force. How else has he survived? Like the Jew he has developed strong business instincts, and like him he has a talent for languages, a power of concentration and unusual artistic gifts.

These resemblances have made many scholars question whether



the two races are not akin, whether the Armenian may not be descended from the lost ten tribes of Israel, but the philological basis for such a hypothesis is lacking. The Armenian language, say scholars, is Aryan and not Semitic. It is a rich language but harsh and guttural. Its alphabet is unique, consisting of thirty-six letters, most of them looking like capital U's, with added quirks, standing right side up or upside down or on their sides.

The Armenians boast a "golden age" of literature when for a brief cycle of fifty years a millenium ago their writers burst into poetry and song, translated the Bible into Armenian, and left a



ARMENIAN GROUP AT CONSTANTINOPLE COLLEGE.\*

precious heritage of literature to their descendants. This literature is still studied in all the Armenian schools, and the church services are conducted in the language of this period. There is to-day a revival of Armenian literature, modeled in part on their revered classics and in part on French and English modern writings. The Armenian has a sense of style, a flow of language that often makes for oratory and fine writing.

Armenian names illustrate the sound of the language somewhat, such names as Kēghanoush, Heygouhee, Aghavni. As among

\* Armenians have no distinctive national costume. The young women in these illustrations are representatives of Armenia in Constantinople College where Miss Jenkins was a teacher for some years.

all Christian folk, scriptural names are common, such as Mariam (Mary), Hagup (Jacob) and Bogos (Paul); there is also a tendency to use French names such as Madelaine and Eugénie, but the most characteristic names are those definitely Armenian, such as Armen, Krikor and Muggerditch for men, and Armenouhee, Nouvart, Astrig and Mannig for women. The use of the family name is just coming into vogue. Hitherto a man has been known as the son of his father; thus Bogos is Bogos Meenasian, *ian* meaning "son of," and his son in turn becomes Hagop Bogossian. But the tendency to keep one's grandfather's name and thus establish a



ROUMELIE HISSAR (FORTRESS OF EUROPE) ON THE BOSPHORUS.\*

family name is growing in favor. Often the family name is a Turkish root with the vernacular suffix, which is also the case with Greek and Slavic subjects of Turkey. Thus *Boyadjee* means "painter" or "boot-black" in Turkish, and one finds among the Christians of Turkey the Armenian form of Boyadjian, the Bulgarian Boyadjieff, and the Greek Boyadjoglou, all meaning "the son of the painter." Shishmanian, or "son of the fat man," Shandanjian or "son of the man from Damascus," and even the rather comic name of Shishkebabian, "the son of the fat mutton-chop," are all to be found among Armenian names.

\* The towers were built by Mahomet II. Constantinople College is a few miles south of this fortress.

Although most of the Armenians have lived for centuries among the Turks and many have been brought up in the Turkish rather than the Armenian language, they very seldom speak Turkish without a strong Armenian accent amounting to a mispronunciation. It is merely one of the ways in which they have preserved their national individuality. They learn many languages early, in cultured homes generally speaking French and Turkish as easily as their own tongue, and now they are eagerly taking up English for its commercial as well as for its literary value.

The Armenians boast a church which is the oldest in Christendom, having been founded by Gregory the Illuminator some years before Constantine established the church in Byzantium. The mummied hand of Gregory is still laid on the head of each bishop at his consecration, thus carrying on the most perfect apostolic succession in the world. The church services and music are naturally very primitive.

The center of the Gregorian church is at Etchmiadzin, in the Caucasus mountains, where are the sacred cathedral, the relics, and the head of the church, the Catholicos. Corresponding to archbishops in the Western church are the patriarchs in each great political state. The patriarch of Constantinople is the political and national head of the Armenians and their representative at the Porte. Thus his position is largely a political one, and it is uncommon, although not unknown, for him to be a man of religious character. He must be diplomatic and able rather than spiritual. The danger in so old a church and one so connected with politics is that it shall be spiritually dead. But the influence of Protestantism through its missionaries has been not so much to take out a body of Protestants from the national church, as to infuse a new life into this old body and awaken the Gregorian church, which is changing rapidly to a live and thoughtful institution.

The Armenians had once a kingdom among the mountains and table lands of Asia Minor, where they fought bitterly but vainly against the conquering Byzantines. Nine centuries ago they lost their independence to the Greeks despite the heroic struggles of their kings and their great national hero, Vartan. As the Byzantine conquerors were in their turn conquered, the Armenians passed under the yoke of Turkey and of Russia. In this last century when there have been so many national reversals in southern Europe; when with the aid of northern powers Greece, Roumania and the Slavic states have broken away from Turkey; when even the small body of mountaineers in Albania have been given their own govern-



ARMENIAN STUDENTS IN COSTUME FOR A "PAGEANT OF THE NATIONS."

ment, there has been little thought of establishing the Armenians as an independent power. They have revolutionaries, have had their own societies, and have joined in the Young Turk movement; they have called pitifully on Europe, especially England, to free them from oppression, but they and their sympathizers have laid no real plans for self-government.

None of the powers have any interest in reviving an independent Armenia, for it would mean simply making a gift of it to Russia, who already has a large Armenian population. Poor bewildered Albania was erected not for the benefit of her wild peas-



ARMENIAN STUDENTS IN CHEMICAL LABORATORY.

antry but for the convenience of the Triple Alliance and the discomfiture of Servia. There is no such reason for making Armenia independent.

A good many Armenians in eastern Turkey, enraged against Turkish misrule, have in these last weeks joined the Russian army. This seems short-sighted, for Turkish government is far less efficient, and hence less deadly than Russian. For centuries the Gregorian church has been maintained in complete security in Turkey, but when Russia took the Caucasus and rich Elchmiadzin fell into

her hands, she promptly looted it of its greatest treasures and suppressed much of its activity. An American missionary visiting the desecrated sanctuary ten years ago asked one of the priests:

"Don't you wish you were still under Turkey?"

"Yes," was the reply, "for Turkey lopped off our branches but Russia digs us up by the roots."

But within the last decade Russia has changed her policy and has allowed the Armenians within her borders such liberty that they have prospered greatly and now find Russian rule preferable to Turkish.

There is little if any racial antagonism between the Armenians and the Turks; had religion and politics never come in to antagonize them, they could live together in essential harmony. For centuries the Armenians were excellent citizens of Turkey and served as officials, often of the highest rank. But as Europe took up the question of reform and attempted to protect the "Rayahs," or Christian subjects of the Porte, the Turkish government grew resentful, and for political considerations and to show her independence of Europe, wreaked vengeance on the helpless Armenians. The frequent massacres of Armenians have not been the outcome of natural antipathy, nor often of religious fanaticism, but usually have been purely political, sometimes brought on by zealous Armenian revolutionaries themselves in their desire to call the attention of Europe to their wrongs.

Let us illustrate this point by the massacres of 1909. Abdul Hamid had stirred up a counter-revolution against the Young Turks. It was failing and his power was lost. In a mood such as inspired Samson to pull down the temple in his fall, he decided to discredit Young Turkey with the world by a series of massacres of the Christian population of many a district. In most cases the governors refused to execute his orders and in the case of Constantinople the army of the Young Turks arrived in time to stop it; but as all know, in Celicia the orders were executed and thousands of Armenians went like sheep to the slaughter.

The Rayahs of Turkey were peculiarly helpless to resist attack, for they were not allowed to bear arms, and instead of the military service paid to the state by all Moslems they were called on for a monetary tax called *haradj*. Thus their warlike qualities were suppressed for centuries. But with the changes brought about by the beneficent revolution of 1908, the Rayahs were put on the same footing as the Moslems and were expected to enter the army. Although this appealed to the Armenian's sense of fairness it did

not in many cases please the individual who was drafted, and complaint, evasion and emigration have followed the effort to make the untrained Armenian fight for Turkey.

The Armenian is generally deeply attached to his homeland. He has not been allowed to feel that Turkey was his country in any real sense. More than one Armenian has told how patriotic songs of other countries made him grieve, because he could not say "my country" of any state. But they say it of the district where they live, being passionately attached to the village or stretch of country in which their families have grown up, and often after coming to America they are desperately homesick for the sunshine of Turkey.

When the revolution of 1908 seemed truly a national uprising not merely of Moslems but also of Christians and Jews, when the Armenians thought they had helped to put down the Hamidian tyranny and to found a new constitutional state which was theirs as well as the Turks', their joy was touching. One of the most affecting sights I have ever seen, I witnessed on the glorious day of the opening of the first parliament in Turkey, when through the gaily decorated streets of Constantinople moved a body of Armenian men carrying banners and singing a song that one of them had composed called *Vatanum* or "My Fatherland." As one looked on the solemnly joyful faces of the singers and realized that now for the first time in nine centuries they felt that they had a fatherland, one was deeply moved.

The revolution did not bring them all they hoped, although changes in their lot have been made for the better, and now many of these people are rejoicing in the probable break-up of the Ottoman empire. But the ruin of Turkey would not bring them independence, it would simply transfer them to another and heavier yoke. I feel that the best opportunity for the Armenian would come if the Turks, possibly confined to Asia Minor, should evolve an equitable government under which their Oriental subjects, Moslem and Christian, can live happily. And I still hope that Turkey will learn her lessons in government, and that the powers will leave her a kingdom where both Turks and Armenians may pursue their natural Oriental development. I think that the Armenians are happier and more at home in the East than in America.

There has been a considerable immigration of Armenians to the United States of recent years, although during the European war it has entirely stopped. Just how many Armenians have come to our land is impossible to learn, for in all immigration statistics the

Armenians are counted as subjects of Russia or Turkey. To one who knows the persistence of their racial characteristics in the Orient, it is surprising to see how they lose themselves in this country. As a little instance of their lack of insistence on their nationality, consider the names of their four restaurants in New York City, "The Constantinople," "The Cairo," "The Bosphorus," and "The Balkan," all of them Oriental, but none specifically Armenian names.

Their numbers in New York City have been variously estimated by themselves at from five to twenty thousand, but the latter number includes residents in Hoboken, Yonkers, Jersey City and other adjoining towns. There are also a good number of Armenians in Chicago, in Boston and its neighborhood, and in California. Very few go to the South.

The majority of the immigrants are single men, some of whom send home for good Armenian wives when they have become prosperous, and some of whom marry here. But a fairly large number of families come with their husbands and fathers to this country. By far the larger part of these Armenians belong to the national Gregorian church. They have two churches in the vicinity of New York City, one on Twenty-Seventh street which has just been purchased by Armenians and the other in West Hoboken, which has long been owned by them. The Protestant Armenians, although they are a much smaller number, are a more prosperous community because they devote more time and more money to their churches than do the Gregorians.

Most of the Armenian immigrants are peasants, either used to field work, or, when they are skilled laborers, being carpenters, cabinet-makers, brass or iron workers, tinsmiths, shoemakers, blacksmiths, weavers and silk workers. Hundreds of them are employed in the silk-mills of New Jersey. The Armenians who come from the Oriental cities are prepared to be clerks, bookkeepers, house men, waiters, butlers, tailors, jewelers and rug repairers. There are a few rich Armenian firms dealing in rugs and curios in New York and other great American cities.

When the Armenian immigrant arrives at Ellis Island, he is met by some member of the Armenian Colonial Association, who sees that he gets safely into the city, then furnishes him with temporary quarters, and as soon as may be finds him employment or sends him to some western farm. This society is entirely philanthropic, conducting a labor bureau, classes in English and lectures in American and United States history, hygiene and other useful subjects. Its object is to help the Armenian immigrant and develop



him into a good American citizen. The lectures they offer on Tuesday evenings and Sunday afternoons have an average attendance of five hundred. There are also a choral society and an orchestra within this friendly Colonial Association.

On Lexington Avenue there are several blocks where one may see the unique Armenian letters in many a window, showing that this is an Armenian locality. At number 69 there is a club called "S. D. H. Armenian Club." It has pleasant quarters where its members may read, write and smoke, and a membership of one hundred persons of both sexes. Another club of which the membership is largely Armenian is the Constantinople College Alumnae Association, where with Americans, English, an occasional Bulgarian, Greek, or Turk, are found some fifty Armenian women who have been students of the American College for Girls in Constantinople. Several papers are published in Armenian in Chicago, Boston, and Fresno, California, and one in New York City called *The Gotchnag*.

As I said before, I feel that the Armenians are so Oriental that they are as a rule happier to remain in the Orient, but if they come to us, we may find them good citizens, thrifty, industrious, eager to learn our customs and ideals, and willing to adapt themselves to our religious institutions.

## TREITSCHKE.

BY M. JOURDAIN.

“Thinking calms men of other nations, it inflames the Germans.”—*Madame de Staël*.

GOBINEAU characterizes Greek history as “the most elaborate of fictions of the most artistic of peoples,” and though German history cannot be described in these terms, there is in it such an element of propaganda that its influence upon the German spirit is of considerable interest. Of German historians the greatest influence was Heinrich von Treitschke—a name before the autumn of 1914 known only to a small body of historians in England and America. Before 1914 only one of his works, *What We Demand from France*, was translated into English; in the last months of 1914 and the early months of 1915 there is a rapid succession of appreciations and translations. In the first hurry his name was not always correctly spelled even in the serious periodicals, but the journalists have now taken their note from specialists, and Treitschke is now treated according to his deserts.

Treitschke—“our great national historian,” as he was usually called in Germany—was only one of a large group, Sybel, Droysen, Giesebrecht, Dahlmann, Hausser and others, who spent their learning and lives, as one of them says, “to express and justify the love and belief in the Fatherland.” His prominence in this group is my reason for drawing attention to two characteristics of his work which seem to have aroused little adverse criticism in his own country, namely, an exaggerated national bias and certain defects in his equipment as an historian,<sup>1</sup> notwithstanding his qualities of

<sup>1</sup> Heinrich von Treitschke was born at Dresden in 1834. His career as teacher began at Leipsic in 1859. In 1866, at the outbreak of war, his sympathies with Prussia were so strong that he went to Berlin and became a Prussian subject. In 1874 he was made professor at Berlin. On Sybel's death he succeeded him as editor of the *Historische Zeitschrift*. He supported the

extreme diligence and scrupulous care in the use of authorities which are conceded by historians. He is significant not so much from his historical work, but as the trumpet and interpreter of the Prussian spirit, the man who far more than any other single character in German political life was responsible for the anti-English feeling which broke into a sudden blaze during the Boer war.<sup>2</sup> Probably no German professor ever drew such audiences to his lecture-hall in Berlin. As a lecturer he appealed to his hearers by his enthusiasm and his gift of fiery speech, and a theologian applied to him the words of St. John's Gospel: "Never man spake like this man."<sup>3</sup> People felt reminded of what other nations had related of the impression a Bernard of Clairvaux, an Abelard, an Arnold of Brescia, a John Huss had produced upon their contemporaries; "all his hearers realized that these lectures acted like iron baths."<sup>4</sup> Never since the days when Germany was under the heel of Napoleon, and Fichte sent his messages of hope and patriotic ardor through the nation, had a German professor made the heart of the people throb to his utterances as it throbbed for twenty years to the words of Treitschke.<sup>5</sup>

The subjects of his lectures were invariably historical and political; when speaking of the past he never forgot the present; what he said of Cromwell, Gustavus Adolphus and Napoleon always had its reference to present-day England, Germany and France. He combined for the young people politics with philosophy and religion, says a biographer.<sup>6</sup>

Other countries have partisan historians and school text-books in which their history is seen in a becoming light. In Germany the partisan history has been long established. Just as the slovenly housemaid sweeps dust and fluff out of sight under the carpet, so

government in its attempts to subdue by repressive legislation socialists, Poles and Catholics. His "History of Germany in the Nineteenth Century," of which the first volume was published in 1879, was not completed at the time of his death in 1896. The five volumes only carry the history of Germany to the year 1847. The work is described by J. W. Headlam in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (art. "Treitschke") as "discursive and badly arranged," and the same writer adds that "notwithstanding the extreme spirit of partisanship and some faults of taste it will remain a remarkable monument of literary ability." Treitschke also wrote his *Politik*, two series of *Deutsche Kämpfe*, and *Bilder aus der deutschen Geschichte*, political essays and literary portraits.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. Cramb, *Germany and England*, London, 1914.

<sup>3</sup> *Treitschke, his Life and Works* (translated into English for the first time), London, 1914, p. 39.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111.

<sup>5</sup> *The Times*, Educational Supplement, Tuesday, September 1, 1914.

<sup>6</sup> *Treitschke, his Life and Works*, p. 41.

the German historians contrived to hide and gloss over in their works the ugly side of Germany's records, or when the evidence was written too large in history, to extol it; while the dust-heaps of other nations were ruthlessly stirred up. Hegel's philosophy of history culminates in the choice the world-spirit makes of Germany as its resting-place and claims that the German spirit is the spirit of the new world. David Friedrich Strauss, the author of the *Leben Jesu*, declared that Prussia never made any but holy wars, and that the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 was "a work of public salubrity accomplished by Germany, France being rotten to the marrow." Treitschke went so far as to say that "pure and impartial history could never suit a proud and warlike nation," and that he was a thousand times more patriot than professor.<sup>7</sup> We have now before us the result of a proud and warlike nation fed upon history which is not pure and impartial, and of Germans who are a thousand times more patriots than professors.

The history of Germany was accordingly written in the spirit of propaganda; its historians became its apologists. Professor Delbrück openly "blessed" the falsified Ems telegram, and Sybel condoned Frederick the Great's complicity in the second partition of Poland, because Prussia "thereby gained a very considerable territory," though he admits it to have been a wrong and a "violation of law in the most literal sense of the word." Ranke refused to condemn any of Frederick the Great's aggressions, while he is ready to cast his stone at France, saying: "It is peculiar to France from century to century to break through the circle of legality."

Treitschke is in line with his fellow historians and his passionate worship of Prussia and equally passionate antipathy to the actual and potential enemies of Germany constantly warp his judgment. France is disposed of by calling her Sodom and Babylon, England is the "hypocrite who, with a Bible in one hand and an opium pipe in the other, scatters over the universe the benefits of civilization." The thought of the conquered provinces of Alsace-Lorraine inspired him with the thought that "the rule of Frenchmen over a German stock was at all times a vicious thing; to-day it is a crime against the intelligence which directs human history, a subjection of free men to half-civilized barbarians." "The nation is our enemy," he writes, in 1870, "and we must draw her teeth." His hatred of England reached a height and persistence of rancor which, as Professor Cramb mildly suggests, was "in so great a man arresting, if not unique"; and the Professor heard him on an

<sup>7</sup> *Treitschke, his Life and Works*, p. 43.

evening in 1895, pouring out in a company of friends "all the vitriol of his scorn, antipathy and hate for England and for the English, enduring no word of comment or contradiction."<sup>8</sup> As Treitschke himself said "one only understands what one loves," his method stands self-condemned.

The leading motive of his lectures was that Germans were the chosen people,—the second time that supernatural guidance through shifting and devious ways has been claimed by an unpopular nation. To this view that to the chosen people all things must be permitted is due his saying: "The Cameroons? (on Germany's acquisition of that colony) What are we to do with this sand-box? Let us take Holland; then we shall have colonies." It will be remembered that the discreet Ranke once advised Bismarck to annex Switzerland. The theory that history should be written by patriots, that "true passion sees clearer than all the cold-blooded sophists, and only the historian writing from a party standpoint introduces us to the life of the parties and really guides us," is clearly a mischievous and provincial one, and led to Treitschke writing history for Germans, not for foreigners. "Foreign critics do not like my books? That is natural. I write for Germans, not foreigners," he once answered with impatient contempt when a friend pointed out to him the injury he did his chances of a European reputation such as Ranke's or Mommsen's. But apart from his Prussian bias, which was severely criticized in 1885 by Baumgarten in a pamphlet which contends that the great history of Germany ought to be read as "truth and fiction,"<sup>9</sup> there are some curious deficiencies in his equipment as a historian.

Though his great diligence in research is well known, a carelessness in his use of oral information, surprising in the scientific historian, caused some difficulties. "Impressions of travels through all the valleys of Germany, poetry, newspaper extracts, conversation and humorous stories of friends were always at his command, and these combined with . . . information verbally received enabled him to shape his work. Considering his system of gathering information it was inevitable that occasionally he was provided with unauthentic news, for as soon as conversation arose on a subject useful to him his pocket-book appeared, and he asked to have the story put down. All sorts of protests against his anecdotes were

<sup>8</sup> J. A. Cramb, *Germany and England*, p. 92. Speaking of England Treitschke said: "In this universe of ours the thing that is wholly rotten, wholly a sham, may endure for a time, but cannot endure forever." He frequently rings the changes on the "nation of shop-keepers."

<sup>9</sup> *Treitschke, his Life and Works*, p. 42.

raised after each publication. It is notorious how circumstantially he subsequently had to explain or contradict the story of the silver spoon of Prince Wrede, the red order of the Eagle of Privy Councillor Schmalz and many other things; and much more frequently still he promised correction in the subsequent edition to those who had lodged complaints."<sup>10</sup>

A further defect of Treitschke's is connected with the claim that the Germans are the chosen people,—a claim for the divine guidance of Germany. His audience gathered in his lecture-hall to hear the "story of the manner in which God or the world-spirit, through shifting and devious paths, had led Germany and the Germans to their present exalted station under Prussia and the Hohenzollern."<sup>11</sup> That a small state, "necessarily materialistic," should be successful is "ludicrous";<sup>12</sup> that a great state, such as England or Russia, should be predominant in Europe is a "ghastly prospect, immoral and appalling."<sup>13</sup> It is essential that there should be but one chosen people at a time. A citation from the New Testament seems to him conclusive as to the morality of war: "It is precisely political idealism that demands wars, while materialism condemns them. What a perversion of morality to wish to eliminate heroism from humanity! . . . All references to Christianity in this case are superfluous and perverse. The Bible says explicitly that the powers that be shall bear the sword, and it also says: 'Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends.' Those who declaim this nonsense of a perpetual peace do not understand the Aryan peoples." It would be difficult to pack a greater amount of disingenuousness in a smaller compass.

Sometimes the confusion of thought reaches to absurd heights. In discussing the question of women voting Treitschke says in effect: Either female suffrage benefits the married man or it does not; both results are wrong! "In the exercise of the right [of voting] by women there are only two alternatives possible. Either the wife, or it may be the daughter, votes as the husband and father, and thereby an unwarranted privilege is granted to the married man; or wife and daughter are good-for-nothings; then they vote against the man and thus the state carries its dispute in frivolous fashion right into the peace of the home."<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *Treitschke, his Life and Works*, pp. 74-75.

<sup>11</sup> Cramb, *Germany and England*, p. 89.

<sup>12</sup> *Selections from Treitschke's Lectures on Politics*, trans. A. L. Gowans, 1914, p. 18.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>14</sup> *Selections from Treitschke's Lectures on Politics*, p. 57.

It may be objected that these criticisms are directed at unimportant details of Treitschke's equipment, and that it is no more worth while pointing them out to-day than Carlyle's apologetics for violence, his exaggerated worship of success. But while Carlyle's influence in England is dead, Treitschke's in Germany is still living and active; and the German press and professors to-day show the worst and most dangerous qualities—the naive national egoism and carelessness of the rights of other states, uncritical acceptance of doubtful evidence—of the man who saw in history an arsenal from which to draw weapons of offense to pursue his political aims, and whose ideals and passionate rhetoric have so deeply tinged German thought. That thinking cools the heads of other nations but inflames the Germans is as true to-day as when Madame de Stael first set this phrase in her work on Germany.

## ANOTHER VIEW OF TREITSCHKE.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE present number of *The Open Court* contains an article on Treitschke which is written from the British standpoint and presents a distorted picture of the man. The editor has accepted the article not because he endorses the judgment of the author but because he does not want to suppress opinions contrary to his own. He does not wish, however, to begin a controversy on the subject, because he has not made a specialty of history and still less of German history as written by Professor Heinrich von Treitschke; but feels it his duty to point out some flaws in the statements of Miss M. Jourdain.

Treitschke was a man of conviction, and his conviction is that Prussia is the state which best realizes the humanitarian ideal. Prussia therefore, according to Treitschke, is the best-fitted instrument of God—of the world-spirit, of the principle of progress—to bring about the union of Germany and be the leader of the Teutonic nation so that the German people may assume the place they deserve to hold in the history of the world. This conviction was deeply rooted in Treitschke's soul, not on account of any inherited prejudice in favor of Prussia, but in spite of contrary traditions which he naturally acquired from his surroundings, his education and inheritance, and we must honor his independence of thought, whether we agree with him or not.

Treitschke was a native of Saxony, the son of a high Saxon officer, a lieutenant-general in the Saxon army. He came from a state whose citizens at this time hated Prussia most intensely. He saw the reason for Prussia's greatness; he admired the strength of her policy, her unflinching sense of duty, her love of justice even toward enemies and the tradition of her rulers in whom the spirit of Frederick the Great was still kept alive. In 1866 war broke out between Prussia and Austria, and his native country



Saxony allied herself with Austria; but he felt so intensely for Prussia that he became naturalized as a Prussian.

History was not merely a theoretical study to Treitschke; it was the teacher of mankind, and from the past he learned the meaning of the present. He became an interpreter of the significance of the present and like a prophet he was bent on deciphering the future. He was not merely a professor of history, he was a prophet; and in his study of historical facts he pointed out the dangers of the future, preaching in his lessons the duties of the present generation.

Treitschke was a patriotic Prussian and can be said to be a representative German historian only in his own interpretation of Prussia's rôle in the history of Germany. We must bear in mind that Germany was not established as an empire until 1871, when Treitschke was thirty-six years old, and at that time each German state had its own local conception of history, most of them being anti-Prussian. Treitschke's view was justified by Prussia's success and so other historical conceptions fell gradually into oblivion.

Treitschke was very active in German politics. He did not belong to a reactionary party, to the Junkers or any conservative group representing German Tories; he was a member of the National Liberal party and was elected into the Reichstag for Kreuznach-Simmern in 1871 where he kept his seat until 1883. If he emphasized his partisanship, he did it because he had chosen his party after a scrupulous inquiry into the situation. His adherence to his political program was a matter of conscience with him, and that is the reason why he was forceful in his demonstrations and convincing in his arguments.

Treitschke was a historian, and he was better able than others to decipher the handwriting on the wall. He had studied not only the history of Germany but was also familiar with France and England. Noting the expanse of Germany's industry and commerce, he foresaw that Germany would soon become a rival of Great Britain and prophesied the impending war. His voice of warning, however, was not heeded, and he by no means attained that fame in Germany with which he has been credited in England. There was no hatred of England in Germany at his time, but in England his writings found an echo and made him better known than he could ever have been at home. In him the word has once more been fulfilled that a prophet is not without honor save in his own country.

It is needless to say that there are millions and millions of

Germans who never heard of Treitschke nor of Bernhardi until these writers were boomed by the English press as the men who had made the war. But such is the efficiency of the English press that a distorted view of them is now spread over the whole English-speaking world and it is all but impossible to correct it. Treitschke is known to be the most painstaking historian with regard to the authorities on which his statements are based. At the same time he was a good writer and his descriptions are full of fascinating detail. He was not only a theoretical thinker, but also an earnest man with a practical bent of mind. To him the use of a study of history was its application to present politics, so he took part in the upbuilding of the German empire, and the duties of practical life were to him more important than academic work among his books. Now we must learn from English sources that he did not care for truth, but for the sake of his partisan standpoint was ready to distort the truth as a matter of principle.

It is hard (even for the young generation of Germany) to understand how difficult it must have been in the middle of the nineteenth century for a young Saxon nobleman to embrace the cause of Prussia solely because he had gained the conviction that the enemy of his country was in the right. I feel sure that this same man would have gone to England and have become a British subject of his Majesty Edward VII if he had become convinced that the policy of the Triple Entente was wise and righteous. He did not approve of the British policy of a world empire for he knew that world empire means war with every nation capable of becoming a rival. He is now represented as an advocate of German world dominion while in fact he has denounced the very idea of it as false and dangerous.

It has become fashionable to condemn Treitschke's views on the state as the *ne plus ultra* of barbarism, and the less people who are anti-German know of him the more positive they are in their condemnation. But the explanations of his philosophy current in modern English literature slightly distort his views, whereby they succeed in representing him as a man who absolutely disregards *right* in favor of his idea of the nature of the state as *night*.

Treitschke describes the origin of the state in his *Lectures on Politics*, §1, as follows:

"The state is the people legally united as an independent power. By 'people' we understand, briefly, a plural number of families permanently living together. When this is recognized it follows that the state dates from the very beginning and is necessary; that

it has existed as long as history and is as essential to humanity as language."

"It further follows from the nature of the state as sovereign power that it cannot recognize an arbiter above itself. . . . Since it is impossible to picture to oneself a higher judge above states, which are sovereign by their nature, the condition of war cannot be imagined away out of the world."

"... This truth remains: the essence of the state consists in this, that it can suffer no higher power above itself. How proud and truly worthy of a state was Gustavus Adolphus's declaration when he said: 'I recognize no one above me but God and the sword of the victor.'"

Treitschke recognizes the necessity of war among sovereign states under definite conditions: "Among the civilized peoples war remains the form of lawsuit by which the claims of states are enforced" by the victor. Concerning war Treitschke says:

"From the natural horror men have for the shedding of blood, from the size and quality of modern armies, it necessarily follows that wars must become fewer and shorter, for it is impossible to see how the burdens of a great war can be borne for any prolonged period under present conditions in the world. But it is a fallacy to infer from that that they could ever cease altogether. They cannot and should not cease, so long as the state is sovereign and confronts other sovereign states."

While war is abhorrent to Treitschke, he sees some good in it. He appreciates its good effects in history thus:

"War is also an element that unites nations, not one that only separates them; it does not only bring nations together as enemies; they also learn through it to know and respect one another in their particular idiosyncrasies."

War is a cure for many social ills. As Treitschke says: "War is the only remedy for ailing nations."

War teaches a wholesome lesson to the people in times when a nation is sicklied over with individualism, the belief in the sovereignty of the individual, the insignificance of every single man in contrast to the greatness of the state: "The moment the state calls: 'Myself and my existence are now at stake!' social self-seeking must fall back and every party hate be silent. The individual must forget his own ego and feel himself a member of the whole; he must recognize what a nothing his life is in comparison with the general welfare. In that very point lies the loftiness of war, that the small man disappears entirely before the great thought of the

state; the sacrifice of fellow countrymen for one another is nowhere so splendidly exhibited as in war. In such days the chaff is separated from the wheat."

This quotation alone suffices to prove that Treitschke is not an admirer or follower of Nietzsche.

Treitschke believes in the institution of compulsory military service as it exists in Prussia and regards a people's army like that of Prussia as "a school for the peculiarly manly virtues of the people, which so easily become lost in an age of profit and enjoyment."

He says on the same subject: "You must realize clearly how these new formations of the army affect the waging of war. On the whole the tendency of the system is a peaceful one. A whole nation in arms is dragged out of its social employments into a frivolous war with much more difficulty than a conscript army. Wars become fewer and shorter, but at the same time also bloodier. The desire to get home again will give a strong impulse forwards."

"Carlyle prophesied that the Prussian idea of universal liability of service would make the round of the world. Since in 1866 and 1870 the Prussian army-organization stood its trial so brilliantly, almost all the other great states of the continent have tried to imitate it."

While Treitschke has always been represented as neglecting the nature of right, he regards the state as an intrinsically moral institution. He says: "A power that treads all right underfoot must in the end itself perish." He criticizes Machiavelli for not recognizing right in politics, but he recognizes Machiavelli's significance in the history of politics as follows:

"It will ever remain Machiavelli's glory that he set the state upon its own feet and freed it in its morality from the church; and also, above all, that he declared clearly for the first time: 'The state is power.' But he does not get rid of the idea that morality is altogether ecclesiastical, and, while he drags the state away from the church, he drags it away from the moral law altogether."

"Machiavelli has entirely failed to see how this doctrine of mere power is self-contradictory even from his own standpoint. . . ."

Against Machiavelli's theory he insists that "even the state is everywhere subjected to the laws of its moral nature, which it may not infringe with impunity."

Treitschke does not believe in the ideal of an international world peace. He says: "All the pipe-of-peace-smokers in the world will not bring matters so far that the political powers will at

any time be of one mind, and if they are not the sword alone can decide between them."

While Treitschke recognizes that statesmen ought to be smart, that they ought to possess the wisdom of serpents, he believes that real statesmanship must follow the truth. He says:

"Of course journalistic phrase-mongers talk of great statesmen as of a disreputable class of men, as if lying was inseparable from diplomacy. The very opposite is the truth. The really great statesmen have always been distinguished by an immense openness. Frederick the Great declared before every one of his wars with the greatest precision what it was he wished to attain."

Treitschke has been accused of having taught the Germans to aim for world dominion, but nothing is farther from the truth than that. We must remember that the medieval notion of empire was that of a universal dominion. As the pope was to be the spiritual head of mankind—really of Christendom for Christianity would be the universal religion—so the emperor should be its secular head. This notion of a world dominion of the emperor, who at the same time happened to be king of Germany, is severely criticized by Treitschke.

Treitschke condemns the very idea of a world-state as impossible in itself, because every state, every nation organized as a civilized society, should remain sovereign. He says: "The idea of a world-state is odious; the ideal of one state containing all mankind is no ideal at all."

Hence the man who is commonly accused of having induced Germany to aspire for world dominion points out his conception of Germany's future thus:

"The ideal towards which we strive is an ordered company of nations, which lays down limitations of sovereignty in the way of voluntary treaties without doing away with that sovereignty."

I do not regard Treitschke either as infallible or as a saint; his theories are not flawless. Though of Slavic descent, he believes in the German race to such a degree as to preach anti-Semitism, and he is quite reactionary in opposing woman suffrage on the ground that it is not proper for woman to take a share in politics. But though we may differ from him on many points, no one who knows him can doubt his honesty or the earnestness of his conviction. There is one point which I would insist on and it is this: If we criticize a man let us not condemn him for opinions which he never held nor for tendencies which he never possessed.

## PROFESSOR CRAMB ON TREITSCHKE.

BY THE EDITOR.

TREITSCHKE is mostly condemned by English people on the basis of Professor J. A. Cramb's authority; but while Professor Cramb characterizes this German historian as outspokenly anti-English, he has the highest regard for him and apparently holds to him the relation of disciple to master. He speaks of him in terms of great respect and even admiration. He refers for instance on page 86<sup>1</sup> to Treitschke's "deep Teutonic moral nature," and on page 82 he says: "Treitschke's History is characterized by punctilious research and by reliance on original documents and original documents only."

Treitschke has often been made out to be a disciple of Nietzsche. This is impossible not only because Nietzsche was much younger than Treitschke, and Treitschke might *vice versa* have been the master and teacher of Nietzsche, but the two characters were too unlike to agree. Treitschke naturally looked upon Nietzsche as a crude immature pretender who had no depth and was not worth serious consideration. Professor Cramb makes these brief comments on Treitschke's view of Nietzsche:

"Against the creator of Zarathustra Treitschke was bitterly and irreconcilably prejudiced from the very beginning of the former's career, when Treitschke wrote of him to Overbeck as "that run fellow Nietzsche." He even quarreled with Overbeck because of the latter's sympathy with his young colleague at Basle. His roughness to Nietzsche in 1872 is not worse than Stein's roughness to Goethe, and arose from similar causes. Treitschke divines in the author of *Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen* "the good European" of later works; and therefore the bad Prussian, the bad German.

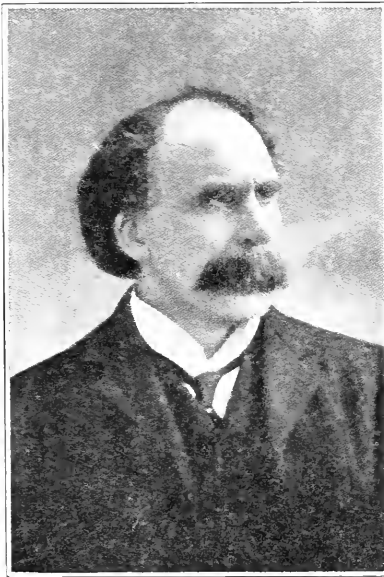
We must bear in mind that Treitschke was a professor of

<sup>1</sup> All the quotations in this and the following article are taken from Professor Cramb's posthumous book, *Germany and England*, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1914.

high standing and even fame, while Nietzsche was regarded in university circles as a popular philosophaster, a pseudo-philosopher. People have long realized that he was a popular author appealing only to the unschooled masses but not to scholars, and even to-day he is not recognized among professional thinkers.

Because Treitschke is so strangely misrepresented in all English papers as well as in pro-British American literature, we will quote from Professor Cramb what he has to say on the German historian.

“Like many notable Germans of the nineteenth century, above



J. A. CRAMB.



H. G. VON TREITSCHKE.

all that German who is now beginning to arrest the attention even of Englishmen—for as a rule it takes at least half a century for any true German thought to cross the North Sea!—like Friedrich Nietzsche, and perhaps like Ranke himself, Heinrich von Treitschke was Slavonic in origin. His ancestors were Czechs who migrated from Bohemia during the turmoils of the Thirty Years' War and, seeking refuge from the Jesuit plague, found security under the Protestant electors of Saxony. During the eighteenth century they gradually rose in the favor of the ruling house. Under the last elector of Saxony a Treitschke became a privy councillor. He sent his sons into the army, secured for them in 1821 the syllable *von*, and

before his death had the joy and satisfaction of seeing one of them commandant of the fortress of Königstein, which still rises in gray and impressive solitude on its tall rock above the Elbe. This was Eduard von Treitschke, the historian's father.

"Treitschke was born at Dresden in September, 1834, one of the darkest and most disconsolate periods in modern German history. The old ideals were sinking; the new had not yet arisen. The despotism of Metternich lay like a dead hand upon Austria and the South; the princes clung to their privileges; Frederick William III still reigned in Prussia. Schelling died that year, sunk in obscurantism; Arndt was a professor at Bonn; Tieck had ceased to write; Wilhelm von Humboldt still lived in honorable retirement at Schloss Tegel; but Goethe had died two years before, and, a year earlier than Goethe, Hegel and Niebuhr had both passed away; Stein had died some months after Niebuhr in solitude and estrangement from his times, seeing not only Germany but Europe itself rushing upon the abyss. Schleiermacher preached for the last time in 1834. The heroes of the War of Liberation were long dead, or lived, an embarrassment and a reproach, amid a generation which, apathic and indifferent, half wished to forget their heroism. Scharnhorst had died of his wounds at Prague (1813), in the very hour of Germany's glory; Blücher, in 1819; Yorck in 1830; and Gneisenau (just when entering upon the Polish campaign), a Field-marshal at last, had died in 1831, like Hegel, of cholera, then raging throughout Europe. Who was there left to represent the past splendors? And in the deep night there was not a star to hint the coming dawn. Such was the world into which Treitschke was born.<sup>2</sup>

"In his childhood everything seemed to mark him out as a Saxon, as destined, that is to say, to follow a career in that country. Treitschke, however, early discovered something that alienated him from the career contemplated for him by his father. His mother, who was of pure German origin, was a reader of Willibald Alexis, above all of those tales the scenes of which were placed in the heroic times of Frederick the Great; and when Treitschke's own tastes began to form they led him as instinctively to the Wars of Liberation as Rousseau's tastes had led him to Plutarch, or Mirabeau's to Livy or the Rome of the Gracchi and of Sulla. He took to the study of history; and he discovered in that study the conduct of Saxony in the past, the conduct of the Saxon dynasty

<sup>2</sup> Treitschke himself has described this period in the third volume of his *Deutsche Geschichte*.



—perhaps the stupidest royal house in Europe. He discovered the part played by Saxony at Leipsic, and the yet more despicable part played at Waterloo; and all that was German as distinct from all that was particularist in that history took possession of his imagination.

“While he was still a boy his great heroes were not the heroes of Saxony; they were all Prussians. Just as in the eighteenth century the men of the French Revolution found their inspiration in the heroes of Plutarch, Caius Marius and Sulla and Brutus, so Treitschke found his inspiration in the Prussian heroes *à la* Plutarch, in those magnificent figures which fill and adorn the pages of Prussian history between 1809 and 1813. His heroes are Gneisenau, Blücher’s aide-de-camp, he who really controlled Blücher’s actions in all matters of diplomacy; and Scharnhorst, of whom he has left one of the most powerful sketches that German literature possesses. Again, his hero is Stein, or the philosopher Fichte, or Moritz Arndt the poet, the son of a serf, author of the famous song, ‘Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?’ And there is significance as well as authenticity in the anecdote which depicts him as a boy of fifteen reading aloud in the presence of Beust, one of Metternich’s most repulsive satellites, an essay in the dithyrambic manner rejoicing in the downfall of the princes and exalting German unity, a unity which is to be accomplished ‘by a race into whose blood has passed in their youth the free and bracing winds of the Baltic strand.’

“It is while he is a boy also that there overtakes him a disaster which tries the steel and stoicism in him. He has described it for us in a volume of verses published in 1856—the coming upon him of a fever, his slow recovery, and, at last, his astonishment at the persistent sorrow on his mother’s face, despite his recovery. He describes his being taken out into the garden on an early summer’s day, lying on a bench in the sun, seeing the bright skies for the first time after what seemed months and years. And then a strange thing happens. A singular feeling comes over him of a vast and unnatural silence. He sees the mounting lark; he hears no song. It is a silent universe. Terrified, the child rushes back into the house, and there he discovers the cause of the persistent sorrow on his mother’s face. He is nearly stone deaf, incurably and for ever.

“His description of the fight within himself back to courage, stoicism, and acceptance of life is a very remarkable passage in the poem; and in this passage something of Treitschke’s temperament throughout life is revealed. ‘There are men who are

doomed to pass their lives on broken wings,' he wrote later of Heinrich von Kleist, 'because some malevolent chance has excluded them from that sphere in which alone they could accomplish the highest that is in them to do.' To him in his youth that 'highest' seemed his missed career of action and war. For it is certain that Treitschke, compelled to be a writer of books, would, but for this disaster, have been a soldier.

"His course of study was the usual course of a young German of the time. Perhaps the greatest moment in it was when he came to the University of Bonn in 1851. There, amid the romance of the scenery, the mountains, the distant view of the spires of Köln—Balthazar, Gaspar, and Melchior, the three kings—the river, the castle from which Roland had started, he knew the happiest period of a university life. 'He who is not a poet in Heidelberg or Bonn,' he writes, 'is dead to poetry.'

"The intellectual activities of the place rapidly absorbed him. The aged poet, Moritz Arndt, was still teaching history; and one can imagine the thrill—indeed he himself has helped us to imagine it—with which the young Treitschke, with his enthusiasm for the heroes of the War of Liberation, first looked upon those high and noble features. Each successive phase of that heroic action Arndt had witnessed; his own songs had been part of the action; he had been the companion and confidant of the great minister Von Stein. Even more powerful was the influence of another of the Bonn professors—Friedrich Christoph Dahlmann, the historian of Denmark. He too, like Arndt, had played his part in the War of Liberation, and at four-and-twenty he had walked across Germany with the poet of Arminius,<sup>3</sup> determined to fight in the ranks of Austria, since Prussia was still too timid or too weak to strike at the tyrant. In the young student Arndt kindled memories and sentiments; but Dahlmann was at once an inspiration as a lecturer and in private a friendly adviser.

"Next perhaps to the influence of Arndt and Dahlmann upon him was the influence of the Rhine. It is hard for us in England to understand what the Rhine really means to a German, the enthusiasm which he feels for that river. Treitschke himself says of it, for instance, when he has to leave Bonn: 'To-morrow I shall see the Rhine for the last time. The memory of that noble river'—and this is not in a poem, observe, but simply in a letter to a friend—'the memory of that noble river will keep my heart pure and save

<sup>3</sup> Heinrich von Kleist, author of *Die Hermannsschlacht*.

me from sad or evil thoughts throughout all the days of my life.' Try to imagine anyone saying that of the Thames!

"When Treitschke becomes a teacher himself and a professor at Freiburg these are the influences governing his teaching. His own career as a teacher began at Leipsic in 1859, and he inaugurated it in a striking enough manner by his treatise on 'The State.' This treatise might be described as an abstract justification of monarchy, just as Rousseau's famous essay might with fairness be described as an abstract justification of democracy. Like every sincere attempt in the field of abstract politics it is full of inconsistencies and contradictions; but it reveals the central tendencies of the author's mind. The friend of Bismark, the apologist of the Hohenzollern and the eager admirer of Prussian bureaucracy already announces himself. The essence of the state, he argues, is power; but it is a moral power, and in virtue of this moral nature the authority of the state over the individual is supreme and without appeal.

"Four years later, at Freiburg, he gave for the first time the lectures which developed afterwards into the two volumes entitled *Die Politik*. But the stress of the period speedily tears Treitschke from abstract speculation upon the state to living politics and to the study of the actions of men in the concrete. Bismark's struggle with the Prussian parliament is at its height. The safety and prestige of the Prussian monarchy is not yet assured. The dispute about the duchies is at hand, and behind it rises the war of 1864, and behind the war of 1864 and the Convention of Gastein loom the war of 1866, and Königrätz, and the creation of the North-German Confederation; then the insulting half-maniacal jealousy of France, and the war of 1870.

"Treitschke had originally been destined for the army, and it is as a soldier of soldiers that we see him in each phase of those momentous nine years. 'Lay on my coffin a sword,' the dying Heine wrote in 1856. But the war in which Treitschke fought was less vague than that dim war for the freedom of humanity in which Heine imagined himself a fighter. Treitschke was an enthusiast for freedom, as his essays on Milton and Byron as well as scores of passages in his other writings attest; but he plunged into the struggle to assert the Prussian ascendancy over Germany with all the ardour with which, in an earlier age, Fichte and Dahmann had plunged into the War of Liberation. At Freiburg, Kiel, and finally at Heidelberg, his own enthusiasm communicated itself to hundreds of students who heard him, and ultimately to thousands.

“His appearance at this period was striking: a tall, rather slim figure, marked nobility of feature and bearing, dark eyes and masses of thick dark hair. He was sparing in gesture, abrupt and effective, more chary of pure rhetoric than Droysen, more regardful of fact than Häusser. His voice was harsh, the Saxon accent unmistakable, and he had often to pause for a word. He seldom mixed with his audience after his lectures; his deafness made this difficult, for, to a man of his sensitiveness, an ear-trumpet in general company was abhorrent. But this was no real drawback; it rather invested the speaker and his impassioned utterances with a touch of prophetic remoteness.

“‘Is Treitschke an orator at all?’ and English admirer of his writings once asked a member of the Reichstag. ‘In the sense in which Mr. Gladstone was an orator,’ was the reply, ‘certainly not. In the Reichstag he is always listened to with respect; he never kindles enthusiasm; and yet, if the art of the rhetor is to compel men to action, how many greater orators are there in modern Germany, or, for that matter, in modern France or England, than simply Heinrich von Treitschke? . . . And see, yonder he comes.’

“The excitement, the momentary pallor on the speaker’s face, proved to the Englishman more powerfully than words the dominion which intellect united to moral greatness exercises over other men. He pointed to a solitary figure walking with a stick slowly down the shady path of the splendid street Unter den Linden. He walked as the deaf always walk, glancing rapidly from side to side. It was impossible to resist the melancholy of penetrating strength in the dark and luminous eyes, eyes of a type which one seldom meets in England, full of meditative depth and integrity, trust-winning. Once, where the crowd was less, he raised a soft grey felt wide-awake hat, for the day was hot, and the noble forehead was for a second visible. Involuntarily the Englishman raised his own hat with an instinct of reverence. That was in the summer of 1892.

“The years in which Treitschke wrote his greatest book are also the years of his greatest fame as a lecturer. Probably no German professor, not Fichte, not Schlosser, not Droysen, has ever commanded such audiences. His lecture-hall in Berlin did actually suggest a concourse such as, in the Middle Ages, met to hear an Abelard, or, in the Renaissance time, thronged around Giordano Bruno or Pico della Mirandola.

“And it was a true message, a ‘gospel,’ which they came to hear, a gospel which the commonest could understand, which the

most cultured could not disdain. His subject, of course, was history, or it was politics; but through all the mazes of historical narrative, carefully documented, fact on fact torn from hours in the Berlin archives, and amid all the mazes of political speculation, close and stern reasoning, sometimes repellent by its accumulation of apparently redundant matter and irrelevant illustration—amid all this a man's soul was wrestling almost visibly to bring home to his hearers his own burning conviction of the greatness of Germany, her past, her present, and the unfathomable vistas which open out before her in the future.

“That is Treitschke's central theme. It is the informing thought of each of his distinctive books or collections of writings—the five volumes of his *History*, the two volumes of his *Politik*, his two series of *Deutsche Kämpfe*, his *Bilder aus der deutschen Geschichte*, his political essays and literary portraits, above all, his magnificent full-length portraits of Dahlmann and of the poet Heinrich von Kleist.

“Treitschke has no philosophy of history in the sense in which Hegel or Buckle or Cousin has a philosophy of history. He has come too late into the world for that. But in a wider sense, like every true German historian, he *has* a philosophy of history. There is nothing in which German historians more completely differ from English historians than in this respect. No German historian is ever satisfied that he has the right to teach history until he has acquired for himself by individual vision, or adopted from another, whether Kant or Hegel or Lotze or Nietzsche, some general view, some theory of the working of God in history. To him history is a drama in which God is the supreme actor.”

BERNHARDI ENDORSED BY PROFESSOR  
CRAMB.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE late J. A. Cramb, professor of modern history in Queen's College, London, is a prophet of England who has called the attention of his countrymen to the German danger, explaining to them in vivid terms the messages of both Treitschke and Bernhardi to the German people. He is commonly referred to as the man who points out the "barbarism" of Germany, her militarism, her aspirations to world-power and the dangers which all this implies to Great Britain. And this is true, but it is a mistake to think that in so doing Professor Cramb belittles Germany, censures her militarism or ridicules her *Kultur*. He has no word of depreciation for Germany; on the contrary his attitude proves that he admires the Germans and wishes that his countrymen were, or in the present crisis would become, like them.

Senator Joseph H. Choate, who has written an introduction to the American edition, is apparently anti-German, but it would be wrong to ascribe the same tendency to the author himself. The fiery red protecting cover of this edition bears the announcement "Bernhardi answered" above the title of the book. The red color attracted my eye and I wanted to see what Professor Cramb had to say in answer to Bernhardi, but I found he practically endorses the German general in every important respect. He only insists on disproving the German idea of English degeneracy, English inefficiency, English haughtiness, English intolerance. The tone of the book is full of respect for Germany and for the old pagan view of the Germanic religion, the "religion of valor," the duty of offering one's life for the service of the fatherland, of standing up for right in battle, and of fighting the good fight, if need be, to the bitter end. The reader can feel in his lines Professor Cramb's regret at English narrowness, English unfairness and even the English

diplomacy which makes mercenaries or allies wage the wars of Great Britain. He still believes a revival of England possible, and appeals to the pride of the English, to their sense of honor, to their patriotism, that they may be strong and quit themselves like men in the struggle that is sure to come; and whatever the result, whether victory or defeat, that they, no less than the Germans, may be worthy to belong to the race of Odin's children.

Professor Cramb is well acquainted with Germany, German institutions, German literature and the German people, and he wants England to become better acquainted with Germany and refers not without irony to English ignorance on this special point. One passage of Professor Cramb will illustrate his regret that the English should give little heed to a subject which he deems very important. He says:

"If Germany is our enemy of enemies, if the twentieth century is to witness such a conflict for empire as that of England against France in the eighteenth century, or against Spain in the sixteenth, what is more important than that we should understand the spiritual as well as the material resources of that enemy, than that we should seek to discover the hidden foundations of its strength and probe the most secret motives of its actions, the characterizing traits of its policy, the deep convictions which mould the history of the nation? For with nations as with individuals, it is character that counts; he that wills greatly conquers greatly.

"If, on the other hand, Germany is to be England's friend, perhaps even her ally, if blood indeed be thicker than water, then perfect mutual understanding, the earnest scrutiny of our separate aspirations as they emerge from our separate pasts, can only strengthen that friendship and render that alliance more enduring. For there is no surer basis of friendship, whether between individuals or nations, than the sympathy that is born of knowledge and the knowledge that, in turn, is produced by sympathy.

"Yet how far from that knowledge and how indifferent to its attainment are the majority of Englishmen in these times! Germany has one of the greatest and most profound schools of poetry—yet how many Englishmen have the secret of its high places or access to its templed wonders? Since the decline of Alexandria there has been no such group of daring thinkers as those of Germany in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; yet to most English men and women the 'Critique of Pure Reason' and the larger version of Hegel's 'Logic' are sealed as the 'Enneads' of Plotinus.

“Merely as an unexampled opportunity for the study of the soul of a people why should England neglect this literature? Why in 1913 should the following characteristic incident be even possible?

“A few weeks ago the head master of one of our public schools exhumed a letter of the late Mr. Gladstone, in which that eminent politician cast a slur upon the whole of German literature, denouncing the author of ‘Faust’ and of ‘Iphigenie’ as an immoral writer in whose works we find virtue banished and self-indulgence reigning. Yet Goethe is, perhaps, the most serene artist in words since Sophocles, and amongst the children of men not one has striven with a loftier purpose to divine, even though darkly, the bond of the Many and the One, and thus to justify the ways of God to man and of man to God. That in the welter of literary opinions, published and unpublished, of the late Mr. Gladstone, such a verdict on Goethe and on German literature should exist is not astonishing. The astonishing thing is that in the second decade of the twentieth century an Englishman should have been found who, having exhumed such a verdict, did not from very shame instantly cover it again in complete oblivion. Instead of this, he incontinently published it in the *Times*, not once only, but in two different issues. The publication of this letter is discreditable at once to the critic, to the exhumed, to the press and to the nation.

“I have neither the wish nor the hope that every Englishman should become a master of the German language and a learned student of the philosophy or the poetry of Germany, its history or its politics. My ambition is more modest. It is the hope that during the next few decades there may gradually arise here in England a wall, as it were, of cultured opinion, which should make the blunt enunciation of such judgments by a prominent politician all but impossible by the ridicule to which they would at once expose him, and their ratification by the head master of one of our public schools absolutely unthinkable.”

He adds further down:

“And the average Englishman, thus denied by his ignorance of the language all access to this deeper knowledge—to what sources of information does he trust? We know them well. There is, for instance, the Radical member of Parliament who, liberated from the cares of state, spends three weeks in Berlin, consorts with members of the Reichstag, and finds each and all of them thoroughly well-disposed towards peace with all men and with England in particular. What scaremongers are these, he asks indignantly, who talk of German ambitions or a German invasion? Then there is the



geographer and traveler who spends a somewhat longer period in the towns and villages of Brandenburg and West and East Prussia, and returns aghast at the intensity of hate which he found—at what he describes as ‘the all but insane desire for war with England’ which animates every class of society. There is, again, the statistician who enumerates the mileage of German railways and German canals, of Berlin streets and Berlin drains; or, again, the English officer of a type not yet obsolete, who, preparing for the Intelligence Department of the War Office, spends three months in Germany and finds in it ‘a nation of damned professors.’”

Professor Cramb recognizes the vigor innate in Germany, especially in Prussia, and quotes Frederick the Great, who, in the midst of danger, writes these lines:

“Pour moi, menacé du naufrage,  
Je dois, en affrontant l’orage,  
Penser, vivre et mourir en roi.”

Having surveyed the history of Germany, the heroism of the Teutons since the days of Alaric, he concludes:

“And now, under the Hohenzollern, what is the future? Bernhardt, at least, is explicit: ‘For us there are two alternatives and no third—world-dominion or ruin, *Welcltmacht*<sup>1</sup> oder *Niedergang*.’ It is the interpretation of Treitschke’s maxim, *Selbst ist der Mann*.”

Professor Cramb continues:

“When, turning to England, I consider the apathy or the stolid indifference of the nation—when, for instance, I consider the deliberate and hostile silence or loud calumnies which for the past seven years have accompanied Lord Roberts’s crusade; and when over against this apathy I survey in this month of February, 1913, the energy, the single, devoted purposefulness throbbing everywhere throughout Germany, her forward-ranging effort, her inner life, her army, her fleet, I seem to hear again the thunder of the footsteps of a great host. . . . It is the war-bands of Alaric!”

Having listened to an inspiring speech of Lord Salisbury, in which was explained the growth of Germany from the building of the Kiel canal, he says that the first conflict between England and Germany arose when the latter began building battleships in spite of British protests. He adds in a footnote on page 41:

“And in that conflict England has suffered her first defeat, her first moral defeat. She has had to withdraw her fleet from the

<sup>1</sup> *Welcltmacht* means world power and cannot properly be translated by world dominion; the latter would be in German *Weltherrschaft*. *Welcltmacht* means a power whose influence extends over the whole world.

Mediterranean. That sea was once ours—an English lake. It is no longer ours. Our power is concentrated, watching our dearest friends, those Germans who have no intention whatever of coming near England!”

Lord Salisbury’s speech made a deep impression on Professor Cramb. He says:

“As I walked from the meeting, the twilight falling across the park, the words of another orator came back to me—the exhortation addressed by Demosthenes to Athens, words which, spoken in Athens’s darkest hour, bear a strange resemblance to those spoken by Lord Salisbury in this, the last of his great speeches. ‘Yet, O Athenians,’ said the Greek, ‘yet is there time! And there is one manner in which you can recover your greatness, or, dying, fall worthy of your past at Marathon and Salamis. Yet, O Athenians, you have it in your power; and the manner of it is this. Cease to hire your armies. Go yourselves, every man of you, and stand in the ranks; and either a victory beyond all victories in its glory awaits you, or, falling, you shall fall greatly and worthy of your past!’”

This would mean militarism and would necessitate England’s adopting the German institution of universal compulsory service in the army. Perhaps that will be England’s fate in the future, although England claims that it is not fighting Germany but militarism. Professor Cramb no doubt would have England imitate Germany. He says:

“Rouse yourselves from your lethargy! Cease to hire your soldiers! Arm and stand in the ranks yourselves—as Englishmen should! And thus, dying you shall die greatly, or, victorious, yours shall be such a victory as nothing in England’s past can exceed or rival.”

We are constantly told that England stands for peace while Germany would establish an era of war. Let us hear what Professor Cramb has to say:

“Until about five hundred years ago England can hardly be said to have fought as a nation. Her wars till then represent rather the heroism of dynasties and of individual groups of men than the heroism of the nation as such. But towards the middle of the fourteenth century there began a series of really national wars in England—the wars against France, with their great battles of Crecy and Agincourt, and the great disaster, the hour when with Talbot at Castillon an empire sank. Then there is the war against Spain in the sixteenth century, and in the seventeenth the wars against

Holland and the France of Louis XIV, which continue into the eighteenth century and find their natural termination only in the wars against Napoleon. In the nineteenth century there is a long series of wars in all parts of the world—in the Crimea, in India and Afghanistan, in China, in New Zealand, in Egypt, in western and in southern Africa; so that it might be said without exaggeration that through all these years scarcely a sun set which did not look upon some Englishman's face dead in battle—dead for England!

“Now for what have these wars been fought? Can one detect underneath them any governing idea, controlling them from first to last? I answer at once: There is such an idea, and that idea is the idea of empire. All England's wars for the past five hundred years have been fought for empire. . . . And what was the stake for which England fought in all her battles against Bonaparte? The stake was world-empire; and Napoleon knew it well. France's opportunity was now, or her world-empire was lost for ever. Bonaparte fought for that, and fought for it titanically and superbly; and dying there in Sainte-Hélène there died with him a world-hope.”

Professor Cramb traces the same aspiration in the history of Germany since the foundation of the Holy Roman empire by the Frankish King Charlemagne. The historian Treitschke calls attention to the failure of this ideal of world dominion and in evidence of it quotes the sarcastic verse from Goethe's *Faust*:

“Das liebe heil'ge röm'sche Reich,  
Wer hält's nur noch zusammen?”

Apparently Professor Cramb does not cherish the ideal of the pacifists, but looks upon it as a kind of sickness which is apt to poison the life of weak or decaying nations. He says:

“Upon a young and virile nation, a rising military state, daily growing in power, pacificism can never exert much influence for evil; there is no possibility of such a nation being seriously turned from heroism. But to an old nation in which certain forces of decay *seem*, at least, already to be manifesting themselves, might not such a theory, if too ardently adopted, be fraught with very terrible danger, with very real and disastrous consequences?”

“In regard to Germany we are confronted by certain circumstances that indisputably merit our consideration here in England. There is, for instance, the annual appearance in Germany of very nearly seven hundred books dealing with war as a science. This points, at once, to an extreme preoccupation in that nation with the

idea of war. I doubt whether twenty books a year on the art of war appear in this country, and whether their circulation, when they do appear, is much more than twenty! . . .

"A nation's military efficiency is the exact coefficient of a nation's idealism. That is Treitschke's solution of the matter. His answer to all our talk about the limitation of armaments is: Germany shall increase to the utmost of her power, irrespective of any proposals made to her by England or by Russia, or by any other state upon this earth. And I confess it is a magnificent and a manly answer, an answer worthy of a man whose spirit of sincerity, of regard for the reality of things, is as great as Carlyle's.

"The teaching of Treitschke's disciple, General von Bernhardi, is the same. War to him is a duty. Nothing is more terrible than the government of the strong by the weak, and war is the power by which the strong assert their dominion over the weak. War sets the balance right. And the younger poets of Germany breathe the same spirit—Liliencron, for instance, who represents most fitly that aspect of modern German literature. That spirit of war and glory which informs his battle-sketches of the war of 1870—I can sum it up for you. It is in the verses of Goethe's Euphorion:

"Träumt ihr den Friedenstag?  
Träume, wer träumen mag!  
Krieg ist das Lösungswort!  
Sieg! und so klingt es fort."<sup>2</sup>

"That is the spirit in which war is regarded in contemporary Germany."

England has become accustomed to wage her wars through allies, but Professor Cramb does not approve of that theory. He says:

"In this country we seem to be gradually acquiring the dangerous habit of mind of trusting to alliances rather than to our own strength. A great nation trusts to itself mainly; only secondarily to alliances, however intimate. For deep in the heart of every nation lie ancient, strong resentments, resentments that at a moment of crisis may flare up into ancient strifes.

"War has often revealed antagonisms between powers apparently friendly, and sympathies between powers apparently hostile. We speak much, for instance, of the Triple Entente; but of how

<sup>2</sup>"Dream ye of peaceful sway?  
Dream on, who dream it may.  
War still is empire's word!  
Peace? By the victor's sword!"

long standing is our amity with France, and upon what foundations does it rest? Waterloo is not yet a century old, and Fashoda is but yesterday; and some half a century ago, between these two terms, the ignoble terror of a French invasion created the absurd volunteer system which a not less ignoble terror of Germany has recently transformed into the still more absurd territorial force.

“And Russia? At the present hour Germany seems in a state of dull hostility towards Russia, England in a state of very dull friendship with the same power. England, with her ancient dreams, her ancient traditions and ideals of the higher freedom, the larger justice, summons the aid of Russia to help her to govern, or mis-govern, Persia! How can we hope that such an alliance, so unnaturally framed, will last? Does it not contain within itself the very seeds of its own destruction? And along the northern shore of the Persian Gulf or on the Afghan frontier we have with our own hands laid a mine which might at any moment shatter the fabric to pieces. He who cannot take within his range a prostrate France and the alliance of Russia and Germany against England is not a student of politics, whatever else he may be.”

Professor Cramb believes in the principle which he repeatedly quotes from Demosthenes, and addresses his countrymen thus:

“England must take upon herself the fulfilment of her destiny, depending upon herself alone for the realization of a destiny that is *her* destiny.”

Professor Cramb is an Englishman and he appeals to his countrymen to be heroes and not (as he so often regretfully suggests) hypocrites. He has sat at the feet of Treitschke and Bernhardi; he believes in the religion of valor and ends his book with these words:

“And if the dire event of a war with Germany—if it *is* a dire event—should ever occur, there shall be seen upon this earth of ours a conflict which, beyond all others, will recall that description of the great Greek wars:

“‘Heroes in battle with heroes,  
And above them the wrathful gods.’

“And one can imagine the ancient, mighty deity of all the Teutonic kindred, throned above the clouds, looking serenely down upon that conflict, upon his favorite children, the English and the Germans, locked in a death-struggle, smiling upon the heroism of that struggle, the heroism of the children of Odin the War-god!”

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### THE NEWTON WINDOW IN THE LIBRARY OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

BY PHILIP E. B. JOURDAIN.

At the south end of the library of Trinity College, Cambridge (England), is a stained glass window which, though its effect is not unpleasing, is a curious mass of anachronism. "To bring in," says the late Dr. Sinker,<sup>1</sup> "the two most famous sons of Trinity, we have here Newton presented to George III by a female figure apparently representing Fame, while Bacon sits by as though recording the fact. This window, which is from a design by Cipriani, was set up in 1774-5." It seems that the window was made by Peckett of York from a design by Cipriani which is preserved in the library. It cost £500 and was paid for out of a legacy from Dr. Robert Smith, Master of the College, who died in 1768.

Newton died in 1727; George III was born in 1738 and ascended the throne in 1760. Francis Bacon died in 1626, while Newton was born in 1646. So the meeting could not refer to this earthly life, whilst the appearance of George III in an exalted position in any other life is hard to explain. It must be due to the strange anachronisms of which this window is either an effect or a cause that Rosenberger<sup>2</sup> has described Bacon as a "friend" of Newton's. Of course in a vaguely rhetorical sense the spirits of great men may, like ordinary friends, have a great deal in common. But not so very long ago woe betide him who should suggest that Newton's soul was not whiter and his character sweeter than either George's or Bacon's. Indeed Newton is one of those few men of science who are held up as an example to children, and he is so orthodox that inns are named after him. But there were some points—notably those concerned with his treatment of Leibniz—that needed to be thoroughly investigated. It was not idle curiosity nor any merely base wish to expose the weak points in the character of a great man which prompted this investigation. It was the burning need to get at the truth about great scientific discoveries and also the more human but no less praiseworthy need to prevent others being unjustly known to future generations as having lived on a stolen reputation. Every man is entitled to be as mean, in money or in other ways, as envious, as selfish or as treacherous as he likes, providing only that these qualities do not interfere with the spread of knowledge or the happiness of other people. But this is of course an empty permission. It is probably impossible that there could be any circumstances in which weakness of character would not have harmful effects. And we know only too well that Newton was mean. With money he was, it is true,

<sup>1</sup> Robert Sinker, *The Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*. Cambridge, 1891, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Isaac Newton und seine physikalischen Principien*. Leipsic, 1895, p. 303.

sometimes carelessly generous. But he was careless at first about keeping his rights to the discovery of the fluxional calculus and then showed real eagerness in asserting those rights, in imputing low motives to Leibniz and in trying to prejudice his own and future generations against him. Leibniz frankly told Newton all about his discovery, and Newton tried by underhand means to take from Leibniz the most precious thing he had. Quite apart from this Newton repeatedly kept knowledge from the world simply because he disliked controversy.

A little volume of three of De Morgan's *Essays on the Life and Work of Newton*, with very many notes by myself, has just been published by the Open Court Publishing Company. Augustus De Morgan's biographical sketch entitled "Newton" appeared in *The Cabinet Portrait Gallery of British Worthies* in 1846 and is the first essay printed in this volume. It was, after Baily's *Life of Flamsteed* of 1835, the first English work in which the weak side of Newton's character was made known. Justice to Leibniz, to Flamsteed, even to Whiston, called for this exposure; and the belief that it was necessary did not lower the biographer's estimate of Newton's scientific greatness and of the simplicity and purity of his moral character. Francis Baily's discovery of the correspondence between the Rev. John Flamsteed, the first Astronomer Royal, and Abraham Sharp, as well as between Newton, Halley and Flamsteed, on the publication of Flamsteed's catalogue of stars, had thrown a new light on the character of Newton. It appeared that the practical astronomer had been treated ungenerously by Newton who failed to observe the conditions of publication agreed to by all parties; and afterwards, when remonstrated with, omitted the name of Flamsteed in places where it has formerly stood in the earlier editions of the *Principia*.

It was not only mathematical discovery and controversy that De Morgan treated in the just, broad-minded, and high-minded way that is characteristic of him. He disclaimed any particular interest in those religious beliefs of Newton which he discussed so thoroughly; still he seems to have felt more interest in the question, from its own nature, than he was himself aware of. He said, "Whatever Newton's opinions were, they were the result of a love of truth and of a cautious and deliberate search after it." That Newton was a firm believer in Christianity as a revelation from God is very certain, but whether he held the opinions of the majority of Christians on the points which distinguish Trinitarians from Arians, Socinians, and Humanitarians, is the question of controversy.

The second of De Morgan's essays printed in this volume concerns the great controversy about the invention of the fluxional or infinitesimal calculus, in which Newton and Leibniz were the principals. The essay printed is from the *Companion to the Almanac* of 1852 and is now extremely rare. It is of great interest and importance both on account of the fairness and vigor which De Morgan always showed in the defence of Leibniz against the imputations of Newton and the Royal Society and because it first introduced the English public to Gerhardt's important discovery of Leibniz's manuscripts showing his gradual discovery of the calculus in 1673-1677. This essay also contains a summary of much of De Morgan's historical work on the controversy. Where it seems advisable, notes have been added to the second essay giving an account of De Morgan's and others' work on the subject.

To this second essay I have added an appendix the chief aim of which is to give the sources at which may be found the original manuscripts written by Newton and Leibniz when they were discovering their respective calculuses. This has not been done hitherto and it is all the more necessary that it should be done as modern authors, such as Moritz Cantor in his monumental *Vorlesungen über Geschichte der Mathematik*, neglect the fact that any early manuscripts of Newton's on fluxions are extant or that some have been published—by Rigaud, for example—and some still remain unpublished.

In 1855 appeared Sir David Brewster's *Memoirs of the Life, Writings and Discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton*, and De Morgan, in a critique of this work in the *North British Review*, showed clearly that Sir David had fallen into hero-worship. Here the faults of Newton are pointed out with an unwavering finger and the merits of Leibniz are recognized and his character defended against Brewster more at length than in De Morgan's biography of Newton. This review is printed as the third of De Morgan's essays on Newton. I have added two appendices to this third essay: the first is part of a biography of Leibniz which De Morgan wrote and which illustrates a laudatory reference to that great man in the third essay; the second is an extract from a later work of De Morgan's and deals with Newton's character and the relation to it of the Royal Society down to De Morgan's own times.

Numerous notes of either a bibliographical, explanatory or critical nature have been added to all the essays but all that is not De Morgan's is put in square brackets. Such notes have become necessary and it is hoped that the present ones will reply to all the calls of necessity and will make the book both useful and complete. Very little has to be criticized in De Morgan's history or conclusions. Like everything he wrote, these essays of his are marked by scrupulous care, sanity of judgment and wide reading; and one hardly knows which to admire most—the breadth or the height of his mind.

The frontispiece of De Morgan's *Essays* is from an engraving by E. Scriven of Vanderbank's portrait of Newton in the possession of the Royal Society of London. An engraving from this picture accompanied the original of De Morgan's biographical sketch; but the present frontispiece is from a much finer engraving prefixed to the biography of Newton in the first volume of *The Gallery of Portraits: with Memoirs*, of 1833.

---

#### THE PHILOSOPHY OF TAMERLANE.

We have received from Prof. Michelangelo Billia of Pisa (formerly of Milan) a pamphlet entitled *Le ceneri di Lovaino e la filosofia di Tamerlano* ("The Ashes of Louvain and Tamerlane's Philosophy"). It gives the text of a lecture delivered several times by Professor Billia in Milan and elsewhere. The spirit of the whole is characterized by the concluding pages which read in English translation as follows:

"Some barbarian has dared to compare Goethe to Dante, but what a gulf between them! Marguerite is a caricature of Beatrice, or rather an abortion. "Poor little German university professor" is the term Rosmini applied to Mephistopheles. The redemption of Faust comes finally in the very last part (added as an afterthought) in the Lutheran fashion without either works or faith. Although in the conception of Goethe Faust is supposed to be a German university professor he is nothing but an imbecile old man, a puppet in



the hands of the Evil One, and then finally (I might almost say in spite of himself) he is saved only because the patched-up work must needs end well—a spatial redemption, so to speak, crude and external. Faust is not transformed; he goes up to heaven because the good angels simply must bring redemption to that poor Devil's devil. But the real devil is Goethe himself, the embodiment of German egotism and immorality. As he sacrificed "the restraint of art" in forced allusions and in sounds and words as hard and thankless as the *Spzereie* in the song of the women at the sepulcher, so he sacrifices morality to the preconceived idea that the facts of history are justified provided only that they serve to enhance the greatness of man, that is to say, of the German; and in this he anticipates Hegel and follows Spinoza. Baucis and Philemon, the two little old people around whom tradition has thrown a halo, are burned alive in order to clear away the forest—and plant the Krupp factory in its place.

"Compare this philosophy of history from the *Frankfurter Zeitung* with the first and second cantos of the *Inferno* and the thirtieth and thirty-first cantos of the *Purgatorio*, and then tell me what German art and religion are!

"The German by his own conduct puts himself beyond the pale of humanity in wishing to impose on mankind his blighting domination, whence it necessarily follows, as with the usurer, that he becomes subject by his very nature, since he has annihilated within himself the finer human elements.

"Who, if not the Prussian, has kept the Christians of the Orient in fetters beneath the Ottoman ax? Thus would he bring about German industry and expansion! Who is it that has kept the highway of nations in the Hellespont closed for so many years and has obstructed all the avenues of trade and commerce? Who has even made science—which is everywhere universal and human—a harness of commercial domination in Europe by invading university chairs and the book market and scorning every sort of human worth which was not German? And this is almost worse than political oppression and the fury of war for it is the vice of the whole people; it is the fixed national purpose; it is the height of corruption by which the whole nation is indeed dehumanized in its loftiest nature, the spiritual. And when we were shuddering at the latest massacres in Armenia and at the other excesses of the Young Turks and felt that such infamy ought not to be expected in our day, even from the Turks, we committed a grave error in overlooking the explanation of this in the fact that the Turkish hordes received their instructions from Prussian officials.

"Belgium, then, has deserved well of the human race, of civilization itself, for by sacrificing herself for her sworn word she has delayed and to some extent frustrated the murderous attack of the enemy of the human race. Blessed are all the arms that are resisting and punishing him; blessed are the arms of commissioned men in the regular armies that are opposing the invader and mowing him down; blessed are the arms of the people who will maintain the fixed purpose of laying him low in the ground he now so insolently treads or will tread; blessed are those who are sparing blood and refraining for the present, while preparing to vindicate Italian rights and to dictate peace, a peace which may also be of the greatest benefit to the enemy himself, for when his degenerate pride has been humiliated it will direct him to that regeneration and that grace by which a nature once human may be restored and transformed. May that day come; but for the present, in order

to defend ourselves, in order to put an end to oppressions, in order to maintain our existence, it is highly desirable, it is necessary, it is right, that we disregard the shock to our feelings and fix our attention on the apparent and indeed profound paradox that the German is not a human being; and this is not alone due to his murderous arms, but also to the philosophy of Tamerlane which for a century academic lackeys have been distilling in the service of the king of Prussia."

---

### STRIKES AND THE PUBLIC: THREE STAGES.

The great and short-lived Chicago strike in the field of intramural transportation came unexpectedly, in spite of weeks of talk and futile negotiations. It came unexpectedly and as a shock, not because the people of the United States have not suffered from tie-ups of elevated and street railroads; not because the paralysis, the losses, the hardships and inconveniences caused by such industrial conflicts have not been endured many times, but because the average man had somehow formed the flattering and comforting idea that such things belonged to a closed era, and that in our own more enlightened day they were practically impossible. Would either of the direct parties—the employees and the representatives of the capital invested in the public utilities—dare to defy or even ignore the great "third party," the innocent public? Have we not had a moral awakening in this country? Have we not had industrial investigations without number, commissions, new legislation, arbitration machinery, tremendous campaigns of education with reference to the wastes and the criminal folly of labor wars, and the duty of prompt and earnest resort to conciliation and arbitration? Why, then, neither capital nor labor, at least in the field of public utilities, would venture to offend the moral sentiment and the common sense of the great public. Needless and causeless strikes must therefore be regarded as impossible!

The Chicago strike of over 14,000 motormen and conductors caught the city and the public mentally unprepared; for the strike talk had not been taken seriously. When the order to walk out was issued few outsiders actually knew what the trouble was about. The cheerful assumption that everything would end happily after more or less strategic jockeying and bargaining, had rendered study and inquiry of the question altogether unnecessary.

But the ugly and unpleasant fact shattered the public illusions. Here was a great and needless strike; here was deliberate disregard of the rights and interests of the great public; here was confusion worse confounded. Aldermen, members of the state legislature, official arbitrators, utility commissioners, editors, civic reformers, were severally willing and anxious to help, but the calling of the strike found them bewildered and impotent. They had to work in the dark.

Is there any lesson in the episode? There is. The developments of the short and sharp Chicago strike, when properly analyzed and interpreted, attested very considerable advance in social and public sentiment. The strike was unfortunate—but it had new features, features that had not characterized former strikes. The attitude of the public was changed; the comments of the average man as he ran—or walked—or pathetically tried to get into a jammed "jitney bus"—were different from the old, conventional comment.

The strikers and the managers of the utilities, even while ignoring the public in their warlike actions, tacitly recognized in their proclamations and explanations and disclaimers that the old order had given place to a new one. They accepted arbitration after 48 hours because of this change. These significant signs and symptoms presage a series of important practical readjustments and changes.

There are thoughtful observers of social-economic phenomena who, if they should write a history of "Strikes and Public Rights," would divide the evolutionary process in the premises into three distinct stages, somewhat as follows:

First Stage: No distinction between strikes or lockouts in the field of public utilities and similar disorders in other fields of industry. The right to strike and to lockout generally admitted. The public does not assert its interests at all; rather believes in the "freedom" to strike and dismiss without consulting any outside interest. The powerful corporations "have nothing to arbitrate" when strikes occur. The organized strikers ask arbitration and occasionally get it as a favor. The public mildly approves of arbitration and conciliation, but admires the manager who stands up for "his right to do as he pleases," especially when he claims to champion the "free laborer" and his "right to work."

Second Stage: Distinction drawn between public utilities and private industry. The interests of the public asserted more or less vigorously. Conciliation and arbitration in favor, but the stronger labor unions have lost their former enthusiasm for it. Sometimes the men even reject arbitration, having found it unsatisfactory because the average arbitral body "splits the difference" and adheres to no definite set of principles. The great public sees no virtue or beauty in "the right to strike" or the correlative right to discharge, and takes utilitarian views. Does not really see why it should suffer, lose money and run other serious risks, private and municipal, simply because industrial disputants lack common sense or regard for the common welfare.

We are living and moving to-day in this second stage, but we are slowly passing into the third one. The public is becoming conscious of the fact that its rights and interests *are* paramount and ought to be frankly and deliberately treated as such. It is also beginning to realize that its interests will not be properly and sufficiently respected by industrial belligerents if it does not itself take steps to insure such protection and does not establish the appropriate machinery. Appeals in the name of the innocent public are better, of course, than silence and indifference, or than open, bold declaration that the public has no rights entitled to consideration when belligerents choose "to fight it out" or to starve one another out. Still, appeals and protests, the more intelligent representatives of the public now see, are too often ineffective. The public must think out and work out ways and means of preventing strikes and lockouts, at least in the sphere of public utilities. It must set up efficient and adequate machinery for investigation, conciliation and arbitration. It must find a way of reaching and enforcing an impartial award, and of preventing any suspension of service pending investigation and arbitration. It must assert its interests in all charters and franchises that are granted in its name to corporations or labor organizations. It must not rely on the good will and benevolence of the other parties, but must itself, through legislation and fit, expert, "non-political" administration, adapt means to the end in view—the

prevention of industrial warfare where such warfare is unjustifiable and needless.

Now, there are differences of opinion as to the kind and amount of machinery that will have to be set up. Some will advocate public ownership and operation of utilities. Others will insist on semi-compulsory or compulsory arbitration, on trying better regulation and control first. But few will defend the policy of aimless drifting, of unpreparedness, of suffering great, disastrous strikes to happen first and of casting about wildly and hysterically for "ways out" afterward.

In the short-lived Chicago strike, to repeat, we have some rather vague evidence of considerable moral and theoretical advance, but the method, the machinery was not there, the public interest had no assured championship or protection. Both sides made serious mistakes and blunders. Both sides rendered lip service to the public interest without actually yielding to it and recognizing its primacy. Even if they had wished to yield, the public had no authoritative agent and representative to take control of the situation, and avert the break and the tie-up.

These lessons of the strike should and will be taken to heart. If they are, the encouraging moral advance we have made in the last several years will be embodied in concrete and practical measures—in potent safeguards and preventives.

VICTOR S. YARROS.

HULL HOUSE, CHICAGO.

---

#### BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

HISTORY OF GERMAN CIVILIZATION. By *Ernst Richard, Ph.D.* New York: Macmillan, 1913. Pp. 531. Price \$2.00 net.

Dr. Richard, lecturer on the history of German civilization at Columbia University, here gives a general survey of Teutonic culture from the dawn of history down to the present day. It is a clear and comprehensive sketch, laying down the historical development in its successive phases from pre-Roman ages through the time of Roman influence, the rise of German cities, the first great efflorescence before the time of the Reformation, and at the age of Luther and its complete breakdown during the war of 30 years, during which Germany was reduced from a population of 17,000,000 to 4,000,000. After the peace of Westphalia the French influence began. Science and industry began to rise and the German spirit is incarnated in Frederick the Great, king of Prussia. The age of Frederick the Great brings on Germany's greatest literary development in Lessing, Herder, Kant, Schiller and Goethe. The fifth book is devoted to the nineteenth century, portraying the misfortunes that came through Napoleon I, and the slow regeneration of Germany culminating in the restoration of the German empire in 1871, and ends with a general description of the reign of William II before the present war. The volume is written with spirit and is based on a thorough knowledge of the historical facts in question. If there is a criticism to be made, it seems that the author should have indicated more precisely the historical sources which he has utilized for his interpretation of history.

# The Open Court Series of Classics of Science and Philosophy, No. 2

*(Just Published)*

SELECTIONS FROM THE SCOTTISH PHILOSOPHY OF COMMON SENSE. Edited with an Introduction by *G. A. Johnston, M.A.*, University of Glasgow.

Pp. 268, Cloth, Price \$1.25.

The historical significance of the Philosophy of Common Sense is considerable.

For half a century the Philosophy of Common Sense was the dominant philosophy in American universities; and it is to the Scottish President of an American College (James McCosh of Princeton) that we owe the most comprehensive study of it.

In England and Germany it has never been much appreciated, but in France it exercised a great influence through Victor Cousin (1792-1867) who made it the greatest power in French philosophy of the period. In recent years, in France, there has been a recrudescence of interest in the Scottish philosophy through the writings of Professor T. T. Laurie who attempted, in several able works, a critical reconstruction of the traditional Scottish Natural Realism.

The Scottish Philosophy of Common Sense originated as a protest against the sceptical conclusions of Hume, and the hypotheses found in Locke and Descartes. Thomas Reid was the first man to see clearly the genesis of Hume's scepticism, and in this little volume he gives an admirable account of his investigations of the principles upon which this sceptical system was built.

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY  
CHICAGO AND LONDON

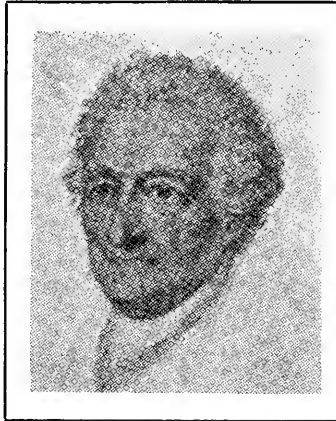
*Just Published*

# GOETHE

With Special Reference to His Philosophy

By DR. PAUL CARUS

Pp. 357; Illustrations 185; Cloth, Gilt Top, \$3.00 Net



Goethe in His Last Year, 1832

**T**HIS book is a sympathetic study of one of the most notable men in the world's history. The author delineates to us Goethe, the man, the poet, the thinker, and Goethe the man is almost a more attractive figure than the poet or the thinker. He was sanely human; liberal but not an infidel; religious but not dogmatic or addicted to church partisanship; he worshiped God in Nature, so that we may call him either a pantheist or a monist. He was positive in his inmost nature and so opposed the destructiveness of all negativism.

A positive attitude was so characteristic of Goethe that he denounced the methods of so-called higher criticism as applied to Homer, as well as to the New Testament. His satire on Barth, the New Testament higher critic of his day, and many of his philosophical poems are here translated for the first time.

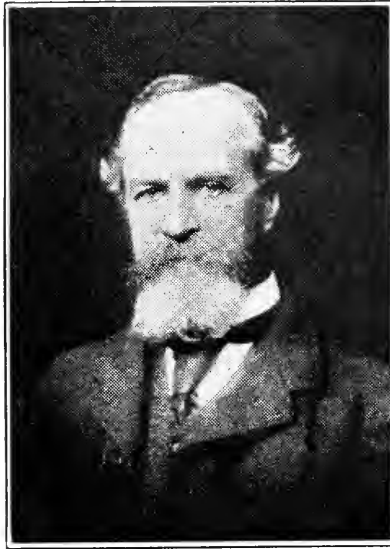
Goethe's relations with women have often been criticized and rarely understood. His friendship with Friederike is described in this book and judged with fairness. The facts are stated, not in a partisan spirit, but purely from the historical standpoint.

Among the large number of books on the interpretation and appreciation of the ethics and philosophy of Goethe's writings, this one contains the best statement of its undercurrent of philosophic thought.

**The Open Court Publishing Company**  
**CHICAGO**

# A Photogravure Portrait of William James

Has Been Added to the Open Court Philosophical and Psychological  
Portrait Series



William James

Size 11x14, printed on Japan paper, price \$1.00

William James, b. 1842; d., 1910. Instructor at Harvard 1872-1907. Principal works, PRINCIPLES OF PSYCHOLOGY; PSYCHOLOGY—BRIEFER COURSE; THE WILL TO BELIEVE AND OTHER ESSAYS IN POPULAR PHILOSOPHY; PRAGMATISM; THE VARIETIES OF RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE; THE MEANING OF TRUTH; A PLURALISTIC UNIVERSE.

William James of Harvard will always remain one of the most brilliant lights in the history of American philosophy. A tribute rather than an introduction seems the proper beginning of any note describing the work and the personality of so widely read—criticised—applauded—condemned—endorsed, and universally popular an educator and writer.

While his most important and valuable contributions to the literature of psychology were his textbooks in psychology, it was his book entitled PRAGMATISM that gained for him the great, but in the opinion of some critics, the rather doubtful honor of being a popular philosopher. The class of reader that wants a get-wise-quick philosophy hailed James' PRAGMATISM as the genuine American system; one that puts a cash value on an ideal. The time-and-place truth of PRAGMATISM offered them an easy solution of duty. They accepted without question the truth that could be put on or off according to the mood or circumstance with much the same lack of a personal responsibility toward the eternal truth that a man feels when he changes his straw hat in September.

It was James' witty style that gained the applause of the crowd, the criticism of the serious and the misunderstanding of many who really took him at his word instead of looking beneath the surface and finding the real basis of his principles of PRAGMATISM.

We can do no better than refer the reader to a book entitled TRUTH ON TRIAL by Dr. Paul Carus, in which James' dislike for the rigorous scientific method in philosophy is clearly criticised.

Dr. Paul Carus, one of Prof. James' several critics, blames the author of PRAGMATISM for making the personal equation of a thinker, which is really a defect, the most prominent and valuable part of philosophy. His estimate of Professor James' attitude appears from the following quotation:

"Whatever errors pragmatism may be guilty of, Professor James was a man of great vigor and ingenuity. Though Professor James made serious blunders and was sometimes unfair to his antagonists, though he misconstrued the philosophies of the past, though he lacked clearness of thought, the first requisite for a philosopher, his writings possess a charm that is unrivaled. He may have been wrong in all his contentions, but he was never dull."

*Send for catalog of portraits of famous mathematicians and philosophers.*

## THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY

122 So. Michigan Ave.

CHICAGO, ILL.

# THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

## NEW AND RECENT BOOKS

**University of Chicago Sermons.** By Members of the University Faculties.

This book contains eighteen sermons delivered by as many leading men from the faculties of the University of Chicago. In each sermon appears the best thought of a well-known scholar on a particular phase of religious life. The contributors include not only representatives of the biblical and theological departments of the University, but also members of the departments of education, sociology, and philosophy. A combination of modern scholarship and pulpit power that makes a volume of religious inspiration for both minister and layman.

xii+348 pages, 12mo, cloth; \$1.50, postage extra (weight 1 lb. 6 oz.)

**Religious Education in the Family.** (Constructive Studies, Ethical Group.) By Henry F. Cope, General Secretary of the Religious Education Association.

The author deals with the real meaning of religious education in and through the home and its significance to society. He interprets past customs and recommends many new and definite practices for the direction of the child's religious ideals and activities. To the sane discussion of family worship, church-going, the Bible in the home, and Sunday occupations, the author adds illuminating chapters on the family table, stories and reading, week-day activities, the school, moral crises, and other vital topics. A book especially valuable for parents' associations and classes, and all individuals and organizations interested in child welfare and the promotion of a Christian type of home.

xii+296 pages, 12mo, cloth; \$1.25, postage extra (weight 1 lb. 5 oz.)

**The City Institute for Religious Teachers.** (Principles and Methods of Religious Education.) By Walter Scott Athearn, Professor of Religious Education in Drake University.

A city institute is the result of the application of the common-sense business principle of combination of effort and resources to the problem of training Sunday school teachers. It unites Christian people in the support of the work of religious education as they are united in the work of upholding the common schools. The author of this book, Professor Athearn, of Drake University, has ably demonstrated the practicability of the institute plan in the city of Des Moines, Iowa, where more than thirty churches have for several years combined their forces in a teacher-training institute. A book that shows Sunday school workers a unique yet thoroughly tested plan for gaining efficiency in teaching.

xiv+152 pages, 16mo, cloth; 75 cents, postage extra (weight 12 oz.)

**The Evolution of Sex in Plants.** (The University of Chicago Science Series.)

By John Merle Coulter, Head of the Department of Botany in the University of Chicago.

In this first volume of the new "University of Chicago Science Series" Professor Coulter, the editor of the *Botanical Gazette* and the author of numerous volumes on botanical science, has given a presentation of the results of research showing that all reproduction is the same in its essential features and all methods of reproduction are natural responses to the varying conditions encountered by plants in their life histories. Sex reproduction, the author says, is simply one kind of response, the sex feature not being essential to reproduction, but securing something in connection with the process. Various phases of the subject discussed include the evolution of sex organs, the alternation of generations, the differentiation of sexual individuals, and parthenogenesis. The last chapter, which offers a theory of sex, serves both as a summary and a working hypothesis.

viii+140 pages, small 12mo, cloth; \$1.00, postage extra (weight 14 oz.)

# THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS



# THE HIBBERT JOURNAL

A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF RELIGION,  
THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY

---

---

## A CREED

*"We stand for three positive truths: that the Goal of thought is One; that thought, striving to reach the Goal, must forever move; that in the conflict of opinion the movement is furthered by which the many approach the One."*

"These three principles, which are obviously co-ordinate, express the spirit of The Hibbert Journal as a 'Review of Religion, Theology and Philosophy.'"—*Extract from Editorial published in Vol. I, No. I.*

---

---

## Contents for April, 1915

LIFE AND MATTER AT WAR . By Professor Henri Bergson.

THE TYRANNY OF MERE THINGS. By Professor L. P. Jacks.

PROBLEMS OF CONFLICT. By Evelyn Underhill.

TWO STUDIES OF GERMAN "KULTUR." By Professor Percy Gardner.

ON THE MEANING OF THE WAR. By Count Hermann Keyserling.

GOTHIC RUIN AND RECONSTRUCTION. By Maude Egerton King.

"SHALL WE SERVE GOD FOR NOUGHT?" Treitschke and Hegel.

By E. F. Carritt.

GERMAN SOCIALIST THEORY AND WAR. By M. W. Robieson.

CARLYLE'S GERMANS. By J. M. Sloan.

MIND AND MATTER: A HYLOZOISTIC VIEW.

By Fleet-Surgeon C. Marsh Beadnell, R. N.

THE METHOD OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE. By Rev. Laird Wingate Snell.

TEACHING WHICH BECOMES PRACTICE. Two World-wide Movements  
among Young People.

I. THE CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR MOVEMENT. By Rev. Francis E. Clark, D.D., LL.D.  
President of the World's Christian Endeavor Union.

II. THE BOY SCOUTS. By Capt. Cecil Price.

DISCUSSIONS.

Ask to see a copy!!

---

---

Says *The Universalist Leader*: "If one desires a synopsis of the condition of the human mind in the midst of all the cross currents and eddies and conflicting tendencies of contemporary religious thought, here it is, served with scholarship, literary ability, and perfect good temper."

---

---

75 cents per copy

Yearly subscription, \$2.50

SHERMAN, FRENCH & COMPANY, Publishers

6 BEACON STREET

BOSTON, MASS.

# The American Mathematical Monthly

Is the Only Journal of Collegiate Grade in  
The Mathematical Field in this Country

*This means that its mathematical contributions can be read and understood by those who have not specialized in mathematics beyond the Calculus.*

The Historical Papers, which are numerous and of high grade, are based upon original research.

The Questions and Discussions, which are timely and interesting, cover a wide variety of topics.

The Book Reviews embrace the entire field of collegiate and secondary mathematics.

The Curriculum Content in the collegiate field is carefully considered. Good papers in this line have appeared and are now in type awaiting their turn.

The Notes and News cover a wide range of interest and information both in this country and in foreign countries.

The Problems and Solutions hold the attention and activity of a large number of persons who are lovers of mathematics for its own sake.

There are other journals suited to the secondary field, and there are still others of technical scientific character in the University field; but the MONTHLY is the only journal of collegiate grade in America suited to the needs of the non-specialist in mathematics.

*Send for circular showing the articles published in the last two volumes.*

Sample copies and all information may be obtained from the

**MANAGING EDITOR, H. E. SLAUGHT**

5548 Kenwood Ave.

Chicago, Ill.

# NEW AND FORTHCOMING BOOKS

**The Weather and Climate of Chicago.** (Bulletin No, 4, Geographic Society of Chicago.) By *Henry J. Cox*, Professor of Meteorology, United States Weather Bureau, and *John H. Armington*, Local Forecaster, United States Weather Bureau.

This book, of general interest because of its character and authority, will naturally be of peculiar interest to residents of Chicago and the Middle West. Its importance is indicated by the fact that it is issued under the auspices of the Geographic Society of Chicago, and has been prepared by two of the best known weather experts in the country. It includes discussions of a great variety of subjects such as temperature, precipitation, atmospheric moisture, cloudiness and sunshine, wind direction and velocity, barometric pressure, and storm tracks; and among the interesting appendices to the book are one on the weather of holidays and another containing journal entries relative to the great Chicago Fire of 1871. The volume contains also a remarkable series of tables with reference to temperature, precipitation, atmospheric moisture, and atmospheric pressure—one hundred and forty-seven in all, with more than one hundred figures and plates.

396 pages, 8vo, cloth; \$3.00, postage extra (weight 3 pounds 1 oz.).

## THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO SCIENCE SERIES

These volumes are now in preparation:

**The Evolution of Sex in Plants.** By *John Merle Coulter*, Head of the Department of Botany in the University of Chicago.

**The Origin of the Earth.** By *Thomas C. Chamberlin*, Head of the Department of Geology in the University of Chicago.

**The Isolation and Measurement of the Electron.** By *Robert A. Millikan*, Professor of Physics in the University of Chicago.

## THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS CHICAGO ILLINOIS

### AGENTS

THE BAKER & TAYLOR CO.  
THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS  
KARL W. HIERSEMANN  
THE MARUZEN-KABUSHIKI-KAISHA

NEW YORK  
LONDON and EDINBURGH  
LEIPZIG  
TOKYO, OSAKA, and KYOTO



**CHARGE OF THE SCOTS GREYS AT WATERLOO**

Wellington, at the supreme moment, hurled this famous regiment of Scotch cavalry at the wavering French lines and forever ended Napoleon's dream of universal empire. The original of this celebrated picture was purchased by Queen Victoria. Reproduced in Ridpath's History, it illustrates only one event of thousands, vividly recounted in the world famous publication.

# Ridpath's History of the World

Dr. John Clark Ridpath devoted twenty years of his life to writing this great work. His exhaustive research and profound learning have given us a history of the world, complete and graphic — absorbing and authoritative, which holds you spellbound with the rapt interest of a stirring tale.

**A Quarter Million Sets Sold.** Never before has any set of books had so great a sale. More sets of Ridpath's History have been sold in America than of the Encyclopaedia Britannica and Century Dictionary combined. Can you imagine a greater testimonial for any set of books?

**A Liberal Education** for busy people who seek a concise yet comprehensive knowledge of the world's events. History as Ridpath has written it, is the essence of all learning. Make Ridpath's History the nucleus of a growing library, a fountain of culture and knowledge in your home. It will educate the children to enjoy good literature and fix in their minds the high example of noble men.

**At Low Price and Easy Terms.** No matter what your circumstances may be you can secure this great work. Less than 10c a day for a few months will make you the owner of Ridpath's History. This is your opportunity and the terms are made to suit your income.

**If You Act Quickly** we will make you an exceptional offer. This will be made known to you only in a direct letter as we employ no agents. Our low price does not permit the payment of an agent's commission. Sign and send **FREE COUPON** which we print for your convenience at the bottom of this advertisement. It costs you nothing to investigate our great offer.

**Absolutely Free,** our 46-page Booklet of sample pages, maps, race chart, etc., if you send coupon now. This is without any obligation to you to buy.

**Send Coupon Now** Act at once before this opportunity has passed.



**FOLD HERE, TEAR OUT, SIGN AND MAIL** 6-15  
**FREE COUPON**

MR. H. E. SEWER, President  
Western Newspaper Association  
140 So. Dearborn St., CHICAGO, ILL.

DEAR SIR:— Please send me FREE Booklet describing Ridpath's History of the World, list of fifty test questions, sample pages, race chart map, photogravures of Napoleon, Caesar, Shakespeare, diagram of Panama Canal, and write me full particulars of your **Special Bargain Offer** to the readers of The Open Court.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

# K'UNG FU TZE

*A Dramatic Poem*

By PAUL CARUS

Pp. 72

**Boards, Price 50c**

In this presentation of the life and teachings of Confucius, we see the Chinese religio-ethico world-conception drawn from the ideals and teachings of the man who has molded and still molds the history of China.

**The Open Court Publishing Co.**  
CHICAGO

## A Graded Guide to Supplementary Reading

An illustrated descriptive list of the best approved supplementary reading books for children's libraries. In all respects the best guide to children's library books published.

Sent to District Superintendents, Teachers and others interested free on request.

**THE BAKER & TAYLOR CO.**  
WHOLESALE DEALERS IN THE BOOKS OF ALL PUBLISHERS

New York City

33-37 E. 17th St., Union Square North

# Publications of the American Mathematical Society

TRANSACTIONS OF THE AMERICAN MATHEMATICAL SOCIETY. The Transactions is devoted to research in pure and applied mathematics and is the official organ of the Society for the publication of important original papers. Published quarterly. Subscription price for the annual volume, \$5.00.

BULLETIN OF THE AMERICAN MATHEMATICAL SOCIETY. Devoted largely to critical reviews of mathematical books, the Bulletin also contains reports of the meetings of the Society and of other mathematical bodies, short original papers, reports on progress in the science, lists of new publications, and notes on current events in the mathematical world. Published monthly, except August and September. Subscription price for the annual volume, \$5.00.

THE EVANSTON COLLOQUIUM LECTURES. Delivered at the Chicago Congress of Mathematics, 1893, by FELIX KLEIN. Republished by the Society, 1911. Price, 75 cents.

THE BOSTON COLLOQUIUM LECTURES. Delivered before the Society, Boston, 1903, by H. S. WHITE, F. S. WOODS, and E. B. VAN VLECK. Price, \$2.00.

THE NEW HAVEN MATHEMATICAL COLLOQUIUM. 1906. By E. H. MOORE, E. J. WILCZYNSKI, and MAX MASON. \$3.00.

THE PRINCETON COLLOQUIUM LECTURES. 1909. By G. A. BLISS and EDWARD KASNER. \$1.50.

THE MADISON COLLOQUIUM LECTURES. 1913. By L. E. DICKSON and W. F. OSGOOD. \$2.00

Circulars sent on request. Address all orders to

## American Mathematical Society

501 West 116th Street,

New York City

The American Mathematical Society was organized in 1894 and includes among its 700 members nearly all the mathematicians of the United States. The annual dues are \$5.00; admission fee, \$5.00. Members receive the Bulletin without further charge, and are entitled to a reduced price on the other publications of the Society. Meetings are held ten times a year in New York, Chicago, and other cities. The Society has a library of over 5000 volumes.

# Psychological Review Publications

EDITED BY

HOWARD C. WARREN, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY (*Index*)  
JOHN B. WATSON, JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY (*Review*)  
JAMES R. ANGELL, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO (*Monographs*)  
SHEPHERD I. FRANZ, GOVT. HOSP. FOR INSANE (*Bulletin*)

WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF

MANY DISTINGUISHED PSYCHOLOGISTS

## The Psychological Review

containing original contributions only, appears bimonthly, on the first of January, March, May, July, September, and November, the six numbers comprising a volume of about 480 pages.

## The Psychological Bulletin

containing critical reviews, notices of books and articles, psychological news and notes, university notices, and announcements, appears the fifteenth of each month, the annual volume comprising about 480 pages. Special issues of the BULLETIN consist of general reviews of recent work in some department of psychology.

## The Psychological Index

is a compendious bibliography of books, monographs, and articles upon psychological and cognate topics that have appeared during the year. The INDEX is issued in April or May, and may be subscribed for in connection with The REVIEW and BULLETIN, or purchased separately.

*Annual Subscription to Review and Bulletin, \$5.00 (Canada, \$5.15, Postal Union, \$5.30); Review, Bulletin, and Index, \$5.85 (Canada, \$6.00, Postal Union, \$6.15); Bulletin, Alone, \$2.75 (Canada, \$2.85, Postal Union, \$2.95).*

*Current Numbers of the Review, 50c.; of the Bulletin, 25c. (Special issues, 40c.); of the Index, \$1.*

## The Psychological Monographs

consist of longer researches or treatises or collections of laboratory studies which it is important to publish promptly and as units. The PHILOSOPHICAL MONOGRAPHS form a separate series, containing treatises more philosophical in character. The MONOGRAPHS appear at irregular intervals and are gathered into volumes of about 500 pages, with a uniform subscription price of \$4.00. (Postal Union \$4.30.) Each series may be subscribed for separately.

The price of single numbers varies according to their size. Eighteen volumes of the PSYCHOLOGICAL MONOGRAPHS have been issued, and the first volume of the PHILOSOPHICAL MONOGRAPHS is in progress.

## Library of Genetic Science and Philosophy

A series of bound books issued as accepted for publication. The price varies according to the size of the volume. Two volumes of the Library have already appeared.

Subscriptions, orders, and business communications may be sent direct to the

# Psychological Review Company

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

# Psychoanalytic Review

*Edited by*

DRS. WM. A. WHITE and SMITH ELY JELLIFFE

---

---

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL founded in 1913 devoted to the understanding of human conduct, with especial reference to the problems of psychopathology. Human motives, especially in their unconscious manifestations, will receive special attention as they appear in the normal as well as abnormal fields.

*Price, \$5.00 Per Volume*

---

---

## CONTENTS Vol. II, No. 2, April, 1915

### ORIGINAL ARTICLES

Contributions to the Psychopathology of Everyday Life: Their Relation to Abnormal Mental Phenomena. ROBERT STEWART MILLER

The Integrative Functions of the Nervous System Applied to Some Reactions in Human Behavior and their Attending Psychic Functions.

EDWARD J. KEMPF

A Manic-Depressive Episode Presenting a Frank Wish-Realization Construction. RALPH REED

Psychoanalytic Parallels. WILLIAM A. WHITE

Technique of Psychoanalysis. SMITH ELY JELLIFFE

### CRITICAL DIGEST

Some Freudian Contributions to the Paranoia Problem. CHARLES R. PAYNE

### TRANSLATION

Wishfulfillment and Symbolism in Fairy Tales. FRANZ RIKLIN

### ABSTRACTS. Book Reviews.

Vol. 2 began with 1915. Circular of contents of Vol. 1 on application.

---

---

*Orders received at any time at*

**Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Co.**

64 West 56th Street, New York

# Archives of Psychology

**A** SERIES of original contributions to experimental and statistical psychology. Each research is separately published. The subscription price is \$5.00 a volume, containing between 600 and 700 pages. Recent numbers are the following:

**A Statistical Study of Eminent Women.**

Cora S. Castle. 80c; cloth, \$1.05.

**The Mental Capacity of the American Negro.**

M. J. Mayo. 60c; cloth, 85c.

**Experimental Studies in Judgment.** H. L.

Hollingsworth. \$1.25; cloth, \$1.50.

**The Psychological Researches of J. McK.**

**Cattell.** A Review by his Pupils. \$1.00; cloth, \$1.25.

**Fatigue and Its Effects Upon Control.** I. E.

Ash. 60c; cloth, 85c.

---

Address

**Archives of Psychology**

Substation 84

NEW YORK CITY



# THE YALE REVIEW

THE NEW AMERICAN QUARTERLY

EDITED BY WILBUR L. CROSS

Are you reading too much about the war? Can you profitably confine your reading more closely to that which is significant?

If so, the discussions of the European situation in *The Yale Review* merit your special interest. With them, in the July issue, are nine other articles of permanent literary and scientific interest, and 15 authoritative book reviews with a wide range of subject, from biography and international policy to art, history and literature.

## CONTENTS OF THE JULY NUMBER

**The Fate of the Dardanelles**, by Sir Edwin Pears, chief English authority upon the Near East and recently a prisoner in Constantinople; *Germany and the Prussian Propaganda*, by Wilbur C. Abbott, Professor of History at Yale; *Russia and her Emperor*, by the late Curtis Guild, Ex-Ambassador to Russia; **Rights of the United States as a Neutral**, by Charles Cheney Hyde, Professor of International Law in Northwestern University; *Mechanistic Science and Metaphysical Romance*, an article on the origin of life, by Jacques Loeb, Head of the Department of Biology in the Rockefeller Institute; *Home Rule for American Cities*, by Henry H. Curran of the Board of Aldermen of New York City; *The National Need of Spanish*, by F. B. Luquiens, Professor of Spanish at Yale; *With a French Ambulance*, by Howard Copland; *The Question of Justice*, by John Crowe Ransom; *Plato as a Novelist*, by Vida D. Scudder; *The Literary Uses of Experience*, by Elisabeth Woodbridge; *poems* by Amy Lowell, Henry A. Beers and Louis Untermeyer, and the *book reviews*.

### ----- SPECIAL OFFER COUPON -----

Enclosed is \$2.50 in payment of my order for THE YALE REVIEW for the year beginning with the October 1915 number and including free of charge the July number described above.

This order is directed to

THE YALE REVIEW, NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

By \_\_\_\_\_ Address \_\_\_\_\_

## BADGER'S PRESENT DAY PROBLEMS SERIES

- THE NEXT GENERATION \$1.50 net  
*By* FREDERICK A. RHODES, M.D.  
 A practical and intelligent work on Eugenics, considered from all standpoints, by the chairman of the Moral Efficiency Commission of Pittsburgh.
- GOD AND WAR \$.75 net  
*By* DANIEL ROY FREEMAN  
 Presents the havoc war works upon man as an economic, social, ethical, cosmopolitan and religious creature.
- CITY LIFE AND ITS AMELIORATION \$1.00 net  
*By* GEORGE SHARP  
 A discussion of the limitations of life in the city, with suggestions toward the amelioration of its harsh conditions.
- THE PRESENT DAY PROBLEM OF CRIME \$1.00 net  
*By* ALBERT H. CURRIER  
 An illuminating work on the prison problem.
- THE GIRL THAT DISAPPEARS: THE REAL FACTS OF THE WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC \$1.00 net  
*By* GEN. THEODORE A. BINGHAM  
 "Should be sent broadcast throughout the country, carrying its terrible warning into every town and hamlet."  
 —*The Survey.*
- THE CRIMSON FIST (*The Problem of War*) \$1.00 net  
*By* O. H. NELAND
- THE WHITE SLAVES OF LONDON \$1.00 net  
*By* W. N. WILLIS
- THE ULTIMATE SOLUTION OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO PROBLEM \$1.50 net  
*By* EDWARD EGGLESTON

### SOCIALISM

- THE A B C OF SOCIALISM Paper, \$.25 net. Cloth, \$.50 net  
*By the Editors of the "New England Socialist"*  
 A most comprehensive study of the Socialist doctrine. The book contains a list of new answers to old objections against Socialism.
- LETTERS FROM PRISON Paper, \$.25 net. Cloth, \$.50 net  
*By* BOUCK WHITE, *Pastor of the Church of the Social Revolution.*  
 A wonderful series of revolutionary doctrines. The pictures of prison life will rank among the finest contributions to the realistic literature of the world.
- ALICE AND THE STORK Paper, \$.25 net. Cloth, \$.50 net.  
*By* HENRY T. SCHNITTKIND  
 A fairy-tale for workingmen's children.
- SONGS OF LABOR \$.75 net  
*By* MORRIS ROSENFELD, *translated by Rose Pastor Stokes and Helena Frank, with frontispiece.*

### THE LITTLE BIOGRAPHIES

- The object of "The Little Biographies" is to present in compact attractive and popular form a brief biography that may in a way serve as an introduction to the man and his work  
 Each \$.50 net
- S. WEIR MITCHELL WALT WHITMAN  
*By* BEVERLEY R. TUCKER *By* ROLAND D. SAWYER

*Any of these books will be sent postpaid on receipt of price.*

**RICHARD G. BADGER, PUBLISHER, BOSTON**

# The Journal of Philosophy

## Psychology and Scientific Methods

---

There is no similar journal in the field of scientific philosophy. It is issued fortnightly and permits the quick publication of short contributions, prompt reviews, and timely discussions. The contents of recent issues include the following:

Psychological Doctrine and Philosophical Teaching. JOHN DEWEY.

Time and Pure Activity. WALTER B. PITKIN.

The Function and Scope of Social Philosophy. HARRY ALLEN OVERSTREET.

History versus Value. MORRIS R. COHEN.

The Pulse of Life. EDGAR A. SINGER, JR.

The Vice of Modern Philosophy. W. H. SHELDON.

Philosophic Sanction of Ambition. GEORGE SANTAYANA.

Natural Rights and the Theory of the Political Institution. GEORGE H. MEAD.

The Principle of International Ethics. A. C. ARMSTRONG.

---

Forthcoming numbers will contain important articles by Professors J. T. Shotwell, Roy Wood Sellars, George H. Sabine, H. B. Alexander, Theodore de Laguna, John Dewey, H. A. Overstreet, James H. Leuba, and Edwin B. Holt.

---

# The Journal of Philosophy

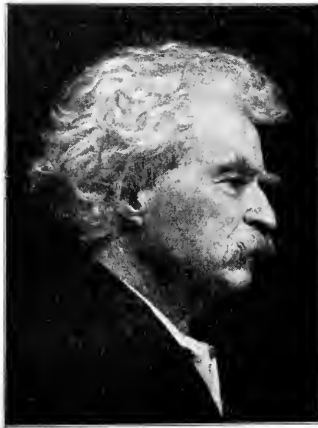
## Psychology and Scientific Methods

Substation 84, New York City

---

\$3.00 per annum (26 numbers)

15 cents per copy



# Have You Adopted Him?

*A Recent Purchaser writes:*

815 Crescent St., L. I. City 3-6-'15

Mark Twain came to-day and I have decided to adopt him and make him one of the family—library family. So you need not call for him.

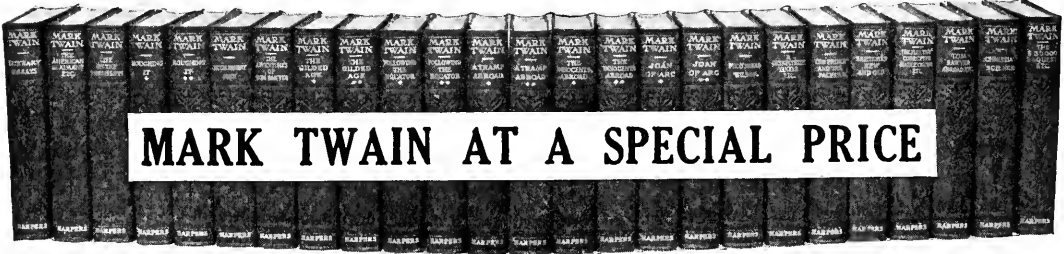
(Signed) Elizabeth Curtiss.

## *The Reason: He is "Your Mark Twain"*

Every one who has a set of MARK TWAIN'S WORKS

the moment you have him in your library—he is "Your Mark Twain" the instant you read one of his books. No wonder then it is the ambition of every American to own a uniform set of his writings. Through his books he is your friend—the best of friends—the most versatile of friends. He is the greatest humorist of all time, the great boy's writer, the interesting traveler, the master of description, the great essayist, and the foremost American writer.

would not, under any circumstances, part with any of the books. He is immediately taken into the household and made an honored and cherished member of it. Is there another writer of this or all time, who is so eagerly "adopted" by the family without a dissenting voice raised against him by the family council? What other author has such a universal appeal? Mark Twain, truly, is the one writer whose works appeal to father, mother, son, and daughter—no matter what age.



**MARK TWAIN AT A SPECIAL PRICE**

### *This Offer is to be Withdrawn. Do Not Delay.*

We offer the Author's National Edition in twenty-five volumes at \$1.00 per volume and only \$2.00 monthly. Mark Twain made a personal sacrifice, by accepting a smaller royalty, to bring about this edition. We endeavored to produce the best set of books possible at this price.

### *Take Mark Twain into Your Household and Adopt Him*

He will prove a true friend and clever entertainer. Let us send the entire set to you in THE HARPER WAY: express charges prepaid. Examine them, and if during ten days you do not like them send them back to us "collect."

*His are the writings that ring true—*

his funny books will make you laugh uproariously; and yet in others you will marvel at his pathos, or again philosophize with him.

If you have read all his books, then you know the transcendent genius of Mark Twain—the philosopher, the humorist, the dreamer, the reformer—the greatest American of his time.

*Just Give Us Your Name*

and address on the coupon, and the books will be sent for you to judge. HARPER'S MAGAZINE or THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW is included for one year at no additional cost. You owe it to yourself to investigate our special offer which will be withdrawn when the supply of the present edition is exhausted.

**HARPER & BROTHERS, Franklin Square, New York**

Send me in THE HARPER WAY, carriage free, a set of MARK TWAIN'S WORKS, twenty-five volumes, cloth, and enter my name for one year to HARPER'S MAGAZINE. I may retain the set for ten days, and at the expiration of that time, if I do not care for the books, I will return them at your expense, and you will cancel the subscription to the MAGAZINE. If I keep the books, I will remit \$2.00 a month until the full price of the books and the MAGAZINE, \$25.00, has been paid. O.C.

Signature .....

Send books to .....

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW may be substituted for HARPER'S MAGAZINE.

Harper & Brothers (Est. 1817) New York.  
**MARK TWAIN; A Biography.** By ALBERT BIGELOW PAINE. Illus. 3 vols., \$6.00 net; Gift Tops, \$7.00 net; ¼ Calif. \$14.50 net; ¼ Morocco, \$15.50 net.

**A Portfolio describing our Standard Sets will be sent upon request**

# Journal of Animal Behavior

Published bi-monthly. Subscription \$3.00  
per annual volume.

Complete set (five volumes) \$15.00  
postpaid.

Address orders and inquiries to

## JOURNAL OF ANIMAL BEHAVIOR

Emerson Hall

Cambridge, Mass.

---

# Behavior Monographs

Published irregularly. Subscription \$3.00  
per volume of approximately 450 pages.

Address orders and inquiries to

## BEHAVIOR MONOGRAPHS

Emerson Hall

Cambridge, Mass.

# Problems of Science

By FEDERIGO ENRIQUES

Translated by Katharine Royce with an introduction by Josiah Royce

Pp. 392, Cloth, Price \$2.50

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

---

## Press Notices

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

---

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

---

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

---

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

---

Order through your dealer  
ON EXAMINATION

---

## The Open Court Publishing Co.

CHICAGO—LONDON