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

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DESIDERIUS ERASMUS.

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THE ECONOMIC ASPECT OF THE WAR.¹

BY C. A. VERRIJN STUART.

THE economics of war is not an alluring topic for a political economist to discuss. His proper task is to study the efforts made for the advancement of human welfare, and to test the fitness of whatever means may serve to promote such endeavors, whereas an investigation of the economic aspect of war compels him rather to occupy himself with the destruction both of material and immaterial values that is now taking place on a much larger scale than ever before in the history of mankind. The task is all the more painful, since when I have finished my discussion I shall hardly be able to disclose a hopeful prospect for the future with any degree of certainty.

And yet what Europe is now experiencing cannot fail to interest the economist deeply, because the present monstrous struggle is above all an economic one in its origin, in the way it is conducted, and in its probable consequences. It is evident that within the narrow limits of a lecture one cannot attempt to exhaust the problem. One can only give a few examples from the abundance of details, but I hope these will be sufficient to throw light on what seems to me the paramount issue.

Before I take up the real subject in hand, I wish to make a few preliminary remarks. Whoever talks about the war in a neutral country while the conflict is still raging must of course speak with restraint, if only out of gratitude for the inestimable benefit of neutrality. I hope I shall not transgress this foremost duty. But it does not follow that it is necessary sullenly and cowardly to con-

¹A lecture delivered in Groningen before the student association "Conamur" by Dr. C. A. Verrijn Stuart, Professor of Political Economy and Statistics in the University of Groningen, Holland. Translated into English by Dr. K. D. Bülbring, of the University of Bonn.

veal one's personal opinion about the cause of the war and the way in which it is carried on. In other neutral countries (Scandinavia, Switzerland, not to mention the United States) the duty of neutrality does not appear to be thus understood, nor in the Netherlands either, for here too it is remarkable what many newspapers dare put before their readers without restraint.

But while expressing my opinion freely about this war I wish to add emphatically that it is not my intention to inquire into the responsibility for what happened during the eventful days from July 23 to August 1 of last year. We may confidently leave this problem for later historians to solve, especially since its importance can easily be overestimated. From causes soon to be more minutely explained it appears to me that the war had to come with a fatal inevitability, and that a somewhat different attitude on the part of one or another of the great powers during the sultry summer days could not possibly have been of any importance except in so far as on it may have depended the moment when the first shot was to be fired. In determining this point of time, each government, in proportion to its influence, must take into consideration only the interests of its own country, and need not for that reason be regarded by those who consider the war unavoidable as having been more or less anxious for war.

In one respect I most confidently hope that my expositions will really be neutral, and that is in suppressing my personal sympathies. This is not too difficult if we realize how sympathies originate: namely, from pity for the sufferings of those engaged in the war; from gratitude for the excellent services in the highest departments of human activity, such as science, art, technical inventions, political liberty and so forth; from race feeling and other feelings of affinity; and from admiration for unimpaired vitality, for magnanimous unity without party-spirit where interests of the native country are at stake and in face of the calm acceptance of the miseries and ravages of war. All these sentiments may be the cause of originating or strengthening sympathy. It would therefore be difficult to find any of the nations now engaged in war that could not lay claim to our sympathy for one reason or another.

Perhaps people will point to facts that might weaken such sympathies which in themselves are surely justified. But I think that in this respect extreme caution is necessary, especially for us in Holland. Professor Simons has already warned against injudicious credulity, even against believing the accusations against belligerents based on inquiries by various governments. Conflict-

ing investigations cannot be held on the same spot, and the psychology of evidence furnishes ample proofs that it is possible even for eye-witnesses to exciting facts to give virtually false evidence in perfectly good faith.² We may leave it to later inquirers to make clear as far as can be done whether one party of the belligerents is more to blame in this regard than another.

If, after all, the war has been forced upon Germany against her wish she can plead self-defense with respect to many things which might otherwise be severely condemned, for according to the law of all nations this excuse secures immunity even as regards deeds which in other circumstances are severely punished. Are we to limit self-defense to the internal law of individual states, and to supplement the undisputed maxim "Necessity knows no law," by adding the words "but must not break a treaty"?

Moreover the two empires of central Europe have so far succeeded in mainly carrying on the war on hostile ground, and to some extent close to the Dutch frontier. Therefore the inevitable misery of war (for it is impossible to carry on war humanely, because its very nature is inhuman) is charged, with inexorable partiality, to the account of only one side of the belligerents; and just because the Netherlands have been inundated with fugitives from the scene of war, they are most imperfectly informed in this regard. Is the fate of East Prussia, Galicia and Bukowina less deplorable than that of the regions on the western front? What has been the effect of the steam roller that was to move in the direction of Berlin and Vienna, as England and France hoped in the beginning of the war?

Whose heart does not ache when he reads of the misery in those countries laid waste by the war? But, however paradoxical and cruel it may sound, the wounds caused by war are only the smaller part of the affair, when once it has broken out. I regret that our great Dutch daily press, by endeavoring, particularly at the beginning, to turn the dreadful misery of the war to *literary* account, has thereby held the attention of the Dutch people so fixed on this aspect that they have had no eye for the glorious greatness of the time. This misconception must also eventually make its consequences painfully felt.

I have spoken of the war as having been brought about by

² Here I should like to draw attention to the important open letter, full of facts and details, which Mr. James O'Donnell Bennett, correspondent to the *Chicago Tribune*, addressed to Sir Arthur Conan Doyle in December, 1914. As far as I know this letter was not mentioned in the Dutch press.

economic causes. This statement will not be accepted by those who regard the struggle as directed against German (or, rather, Prussian) militarism. Now I must honestly confess that I have not succeeded in understanding this watchword for the war.

If one takes the word militarism to mean an antagonism, or at least a separation, between the military and civil parts of the population, one might suppose that it would manifest itself for instance in England, where only a small proportion of the population take part in the defense of the country of their own accord, as was also the case elsewhere in earlier days (for instance in Napoleonic times). But in countries like the France or Germany of to-day, where the national defense involves the entire nation through all its classes, because it rests on the universal personal and compulsory service of the men, militarism in this sense is simply impossible. Has not Germany manifested the astounding phenomenon that at the beginning of the war besides the millions of soldiers in her armies nearly two millions of volunteers came forward?—a much larger number than Kitchener's appeal brought together for "service abroad," and that too in a country without conscription. Nowhere is the unity between people and army so perfect as in Germany. Annihilation of militarism in this sense would mean the annihilation of the whole nation.

It may, of course, occur even in Germany that professional soldiers, commissioned and non-commissioned officers, on account of the cruel dangers of their calling, may claim certain privileges which would not readily be granted in countries where for many generations the army has had only garrison service to perform. Of course it is not generous to claim such privileges, but just as certainly is it narrow-minded to measure the worth of culture in the German nation by the attitude of a Prussian lieutenant!

And if we understand by militarism the effort of state and citizens to put above all other duties the one which ensures the highest possible power of defense, then it is not only an indispensable principle for Germany on account of her geographical position and history, but one that applies to all great powers. In one of his latest statements, the Count de Mun³ describes his English allies as moved "by noble solicitude for their national greatness." Has not England, the one really imperial power, until very recently made the open demand that her navy, the weapon on which her safety chiefly depends, should be at least superior to a possible combination of the navies of any other two powers?

³ *Bulletin des armées*, August 19, 1914.

There is in fact no power above the sovereign state. It must maintain itself by its own power if it cannot rest on the conflicting interests of other states. To rely solely on the authority of law is an idealism which must in reality bring bitter disappointment, however congenial it may be in other respects. Even in ordinary legal procedure one does not really take that risk. Doubtless most legal and other obligations are fulfilled without requiring the interference of the power of the state, but the very fact that this power exists acts far beyond its express limits, even in cases where its assistance might otherwise have to be called upon. There cannot be the least doubt that if the law-courts, the police and the army were to disappear from a state the citizens themselves would take to arms. Self-defense is the supreme instinct alike for states and individuals.

The parallel often drawn between the juridical intercourse of nations and of persons is therefore in reality a comparison of two incomparable things, because in the former case the impartial instruments of effective power are wanting. And this is true for still another reason. If the rights or interests of certain persons come into conflict with the higher rights or interests of the state there are means and laws to make the former yield, as for instance in expropriation proceedings. What analogy to such cases can one find in international law? If, for example, the higher interests of humanity demanded that France should hand over to other countries some part of her colonies which she may have conquered to a much larger extent than she is capable of developing to their best possibilities, what means would there be to carry this out?

Finally, can any one seriously believe that such a war as is now being waged can be the means of annihilating the militarism of any nation involved in it? Homoeopathy is usually applied according to the principle of minimal and not of maximal doses. However one may wish that the war may pave the way to an international intercourse based on co-operation, the consciousness of the necessity for being always ready for war has impressed itself firmly and indelibly even on those nations where it did not exist before, or only to a small extent.

From whatever side we may look at it, it is evident from this that the battle-cry "against German militarism" is but a transparent mask and means nothing else than war on Germany herself. This watchword, first originated by England, discloses clearly the real object of the war, namely, to prove whether Germany, as a strong and rapidly rising power, shall be able to maintain herself on an equal footing with England. Viewed in this light it follows clearly

that the causes of the world-conflagration are chiefly of an economic nature.

It seems to me that among these causes one can distinguish some of a general and others of a special character. First a few words about general economic causes, which are really of but little significance for the comprehension of this war, or of wars in general. These are the capitalistic system of production, and protective tariff.

Socialists who are always inclined to charge the faults and failings of human society to the account of the great *Carthago delenda* of capitalism, have not hesitated to do the same with reference to the war. Now it is worth noting that this accusation comes from a group which has shown itself extremely combative in social and national life, and whose system, if carried out by any country, would surely involve serious danger in the way of foreign complications. Just think (to mention only one instance) of the measures against the sweating system sure to be taken after the war in countries with low wage-standards. But aside from this, the enormous losses which the capitalists of all countries will have to stand as a consequence of the war and which can be avoided by only comparatively few industries can surely prove sufficiently that capital receives no advantage from war, but only from the peaceful development of economic life. That war raises the rate of interest is an incontestable fact of great importance to all those who can make newly formed capital productive. But the value of all existing sources of fixed or slightly raised income is diminished by this rise.

As to the advantage accruing to those industries engaged in producing war-materials, it may well be asked whether a state of armed peace (unarmed peace is as yet only a dream) would not serve their purposes just as well or better than a war involving all sorts of risks. Complaints are raised against the undue influence exerted on public opinion through the press by manufacturers of war materials. Are there not ways to counterbalance this? Or does any one think it is possible for any government in the present century to go to war without being certain that they have the people behind them?

It seems to me somewhat naïve to put down the four millions of German social democrats whose deputies have unanimously accepted the war-budget, as minors and blockheads misled by Krupp and his abettors, or to regard their French colleagues, to whom the same applies, as blind followers of Schneider-Creusot. In view

of the immense increase of power which any government is likely to gain in time of war, and which even in the Netherlands has been so great that a purely capitalistic institution like the stock-exchange has been obliged to surrender to the mercy of the Minister of Finance as far as its opening and closing hours, the admission or non-admission of shares and the fixing of minimum quotations are concerned, one is inclined to look upon the war as serving the interests of socialism rather than those of capitalism. Another reason for this is that the war will inevitable promote the democratization of political life in countries with compulsory service. It is not only in social-democratic circles that the antiquated Prussian system of election according to three grades of assessment is looked upon as doomed to destruction on the battle-fields in the west and east.

The case is somewhat different with protective tariff. There is no doubt that its object, which is to put the foreigner at an economic disadvantage as compared to the native citizens of a country, increases the chances for friction in international intercourse. Not without reason does the motto of the Cobden Club mention "free trade, peace and good will among nations" in one breath. But I believe that we injure the good cause of free trade if we entertain exaggerated expectations about its success. Protection has its root partly in economic errors, but on the other hand also in precisely those international conflicts of interests which under certain circumstances lead to war. Among the battle-cries with which the belligerents have entered the field, there is none to my knowledge that declares war against protection. Universal free trade will not bring us everlasting peace; and it is greatly to be feared that after the termination of this war the system of protection will prove to be strengthened in a number of countries—for reasons of national psychology to begin with, but in addition on account of empty treasuries and the need for national defense. The international atmosphere will not be of such a nature all at once that the foreigner will forthwith be admitted on equal terms of trade in countries hitherto under a protective tariff. Moreover, protection is not the only method by which to draw considerable revenues from customs duties, as England can testify. But a protective tariff yields considerable profits to the exchequer, unless so high as to be prohibitive. Lastly, England will not care to run the risk again of seeing her colonial food-supplies endangered by an enemy. She will doubtless be able to promote the cultivation of cereals and fruits and the breeding of cattle in a better and less expensive way for the people

than Germany has done by its tariff, and yet I cannot think it out of the question that England may eventually introduce the German method.

Lambert, a manufacturer of Charlevoi, in a recent pamphlet, argues appealingly for a world-congress which shall introduce and safe-guard the policy of the open door in all colonies as a sure means to do away with international greed and make lasting peace possible. I wish with all my heart that this object could be attained in such a comparatively simple way. But I cannot think that it would be a matter of indifference to the Netherlands, for instance, if under such an international control of their colonial trade-policy (which has been successful for the last forty years) the Dutch East Indies should be divided between England and Japan on the basis of a perfect equality between Dutch and foreign importers.

If, as we have seen, these two general economic causes cannot be made to explain the origin of this war, it nevertheless has its roots in economic causes of another kind, though not, to be sure, exclusively. A historical event of such gigantic proportions obviously cannot be explained simply by causes of one kind. Motives of an immaterial or ideal nature have doubtless a prominent share in Serbia's effort to escape, if possible, from the domination of the Danube monarchy by the union of all Serbs in one great federation; in the wish of France to make up for the defeat of 1870 and to liberate Alsace-Lorraine from German rule; in Russia's dream of a new conquest of Constantinople for the Greek orthodox Church.

But in all of these considerations economic interests also play an important part; for Serbia the desire to share in the world's commerce without hindrance from Hungary, for which purpose, not content with the route through Montenegro, she regards a port of her own as indispensable; for Russia likewise the urgent need for a free access to the highways of traffic which would not be blocked by ice during part of the year nor lead past the forts of a naturally hostile foreign state;⁴ and for France, where even Maurice Barrès in the *Echo de Paris*⁵ must confess his disappointment at the sentiment of the population in the provinces of Alsace-Lorraine, their re-conquest is primarily of economic and strategic importance.⁶

⁴ The fact that this goal will not be reached by obtaining possession of the Dardanelles, since they but open into an inland sea both of whose entrances, Gibraltar and Port Said, England holds in easy control, will sooner or later be the cause of new wars. Russia's wishes can be satisfied only at the expense of Sweden and Norway.

⁵ See the letter of the Paris correspondent in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* of December 29, 1914.

⁶ Is it not most tragic that the French have obtained this insight only by

The conflicts of interests here alluded to between different states might, it is true, have led locally to armed encounters, though the possibility of a fresh war over the left bank of the Rhine was growing less every day; but it is my firm conviction that the world-conflagration which broke out in the beginning of August, 1914, and which has thrown the human race into the most tremendous crisis that has ever come upon it is the consequence of the economic antagonism between England and Germany and of the policy pursued by England on account of this for many years.

The remarkable increase in the population and economic life in Germany which had begun as early as the foundation of the German *Zollverein* continued after the peace of Frankfort at an incredibly rapid pace. Between 1871 and 1910 the number of inhabitants rose in Germany from 41 to 65 millions, in Great Britain from 32 to 45 millions, and in France from 36 to 40 millions. This increase of her population, finally almost at the rate of one million souls per annum, placed upon Germany the necessity of exporting either men or goods, as Caprivi once put it.

Without entirely neglecting the former, Germany has chiefly striven after the latter alternative, and has taken upon herself the immense task of conquering the world-markets for her own products. In so far as the attainment of this purpose was not hampered by the policy of protection adopted in 1879, German trade and industry vigorously supported by the government, have been surprisingly successful. Intimate touch between science and industry, unflinching diligence and energy, and a model organization—these are the forces that have promoted German trade, industry and shipping. The place in world-economics which has gradually been conceded to the German empire is not due to any lucky chance but solely to her own exertions.

The export trade rose from an average of 2,357,000,000 marks during the period from 1872 to 1875, to 8,246,000,000 marks in the period from 1909 to 1913, therefore an increase of 250 percent. In the same period the exports of Great Britain rose from about 302,000,000 to 559,000,000 pounds sterling, or 85 percent; those of

means of a new war for which billions of francs have been sacrificed? As far as Alsace is concerned this insight might have been gained in a different manner. In the *Journal de la Société de Statistique de Paris*, Huber not long ago published the figures of the German census of 1910, showing that French is the mother tongue of 3.8 percent of the inhabitants in Lower Alsace, of 8.6 percent in Upper Alsace and of 22.3 percent in Lorraine. Is it quite inconceivable that if France had guarded herself against such disappointments as this of M. Barrès much would have been different in the political development of the last twenty years?

France from about 3,781,000,000 to 6,323,000,000 francs, about 68 percent increase.

The British empire, which had held an unchallenged supremacy in industry, trade and shipping ever since the end of the eighteenth century, began to feel that a powerful, well-equipped rival had sprung up at her side. German exports to the value of 727,000,000 marks found their way to England in 1889 and 1,880,000,000 in 1913; and whereas Germany's share in the entire commerce of the world rose from 10 percent in 1886-1890, to 12.9 percent in the year 1912, England's share went down in the same time from 19.6 to 16.6 percent, and that of France from 9.5 to 9.0 percent. The moment was rapidly approaching when German exports would exceed those of England in actual amount. In 1913 the former amounted to 10,097,000,000, the latter to 10,719,000,000 marks. It is true that in the shipping line England is still *facile princeps*, but here also the figures show that the progress in Germany has been far more rapid than in England. The volume of the mercantile fleet rose from 4,000,000 to 11,000,000 registered tonnage in England in the years from 1885 to 1913, or from 100 to 275 percent; in Germany from 400,000 to 2,700,000 tons, or from 100 to 675 percent.

The movement to which these figures testify found its explanation chiefly in the tremendous rise of German industry. Here too I shall only mention a few figures from the abundance of the material. I only wish to point out that the coal production of Great Britain which in 1887 was still double that of Germany, was exceeded by the latter as early as 1912. England produced 7,700,000 tons of pig iron in 1887 and Germany 4,000,000 tons; for 1912 the figures were 9,000,000 and 17,600,000 tons respectively. The development of the steel industry is even more wonderful. In 1887 England produced 3,200,000 tons and Germany 1,200,000, to 6,600,000 and 17,300,000 tons in 1912.

The number of looms in the textile factories in Germany rose from 4,200,000 in 1875 to 11,400,000 in 1914, in Great Britain from 41,900,000 (1874) to 56,000,000, an increase of 171 and 34 percent respectively. In other industrial branches, especially in chemistry, the same proportion is to be noted.

The rapid development of German economic life naturally brought great national prosperity, and the German national capital began to exceed that of the English in absolute figures. According to a reliable estimate the figures in 1913 were 15,500,000,000 and 13,000,000,000 pounds sterling. The wealth of England is still 25

percent higher per capita than in Germany; but on the other hand we must bear in mind that Germany has invested her capital at home to a much larger extent.

From the foregoing examples which might easily be multiplied, it is evident, I think, that an economic community with a fabulous power of expansion had arisen by the side of England. There is no doubt but it was to the interest of all mankind that this flourishing development should not be stopped, for it brought forth much good fruit far beyond the borders of its own country. I need not prove in detail that this is true as far as the Netherlands are concerned. Every one who is in the least familiar with economic theories knows that if productive energy, hitherto latent or manifesting itself only imperfectly, finally comes somewhere to full development, the struggle against a deficit in the economic budget of the world (which is based on the exchange of goods and labor) is everywhere promoted. England found in Germany one of her best customers, who by buying 7.8 percent of England's export in 1913, took her place immediately after the British colonies and possessions. Short-sighted people, however, thought differently and in the rise of a new rival saw first of all losses for their own country. Instead of trying by supreme efforts in the lines of industry and commerce to maintain and extend her threatened markets, England strove to obtain her object of safeguarding her preeminence in the economic sphere by checking the possibilities of trade for her competitor. The Merchandise Marks Act of August 23, 1887, which was intended to warn the English buyer against buying German goods imported under English trademarks, had had just the opposite effect, for it then became evident that all sorts of goods, which up to that time had passed as of purely English make, had really come from Germany. In 1896 E. E. Williams published his alarming pamphlet, *Made in Germany*; and a few years later, in 1903, under the strong and suggestive leadership of Chamberlain began the activity of the tariff reformers who endeavored to bring about a closer union between the mother-country and her colonies by offering special inducements in the treatment of imports, and by handicapping foreign competitors, especially Germany.

These attempts have so far suffered defeat in England in three successive elections. But their advocates have won many adherents, for the desire to block German progress has dominated English politics in an increasing measure.

Bismarck at first opposed the plan of a firm colonial policy and found the peaceful establishment of commercial settlements suffi-

cient to secure for the empire a proper share of the trade with those parts of the earth newly opened to traffic. And later, when it became clear that colonies of her own would be, if not the only means to accomplish this purpose, at any rate very efficient ones, Germany found England and France everywhere in her way. In dividing up the still unappropriated regions of the earth, not only England but especially France has greatly enlarged her colonial territory, large as it was before. Tunis (1881), Tonquin and the Congo districts (1884), Senegal (1889-1893), Dahomey and Mauretania (1893), and Madagascar (1896) were added, not to mention smaller territories, although the stationary population of the mother-country is not sufficient to bring about a strong, spontaneous development of the new territory.⁷

In the interest of the peaceful development of the world's trade it would have been desirable if Germany could have secured for herself at that time a considerable part of this great colonial territory, which is not least important for France as a never-failing source for recruiting her army. There now remained for Germany only comparatively small pieces, which on the whole were of very little value. Kiao-chow which has been snatched from her by Japan without any direct connection with the European war, formed a very valuable exception. It was in German possession for about fifteen years, and in that short time developed into a model commercial colony. Since 1901 the volume of trade had increased elevenfold, and in the end it had almost reached that of all the other German colonies put together.

And even where Germany wanted to open up new regions to world-traffic, without any intention of making direct settlements, she experienced the powerful resistance of England and France. One need only think of the long history of the Bagdad railway.

In 1904 the Anglo-French agreement about Africa was concluded. According to its conditions England, fearing that Germany might some day gain a foothold on the other side of Gibraltar, gave her sanction to the active collaboration of France with the Sultan of Morocco in carrying out administrative, economic and military

⁷ The French colonial territory (not counting Algiers, Morocco and the Sahara) according to the latest information comprises an area of 2,800,000 geographical square miles and a population of 34,600,000 inhabitants. The corresponding German figures are 1,000,000 and 12,000,000. The rapid economic development of the German colonies, all acquired within the last thirty years, is evident from the fact that the whole volume of colonial trade had reached 464,500,000 marks in 1912, that of the much larger and older French colonial territory (not including Algiers and Morocco) 1,856,000,000 francs or 1,485,000,000 marks.

reform in that empire in return for the recognition by France of England's actual sovereignty over Egypt. In this settlement no attention was paid to the economic interests which Germany also had in Morocco. Without any question the object was to work as much as possible against the flourishing development of the German empire.

But Germany's spontaneous vitality was stronger than the pressure that hampered her from outside; and when she began to complete her immense continental military power (which has come so conspicuously to the fore in the last months) by building a navy with which to protect her fast growing trade and her shipping interests, a navy of which England could not assert that it had aggressive intentions on account of its moderate size,⁸ Germany began to be systematically hemmed in on all sides and began also both openly and secretly to offer resistance.

Germany has never been imperialistic like England in the sense of striving after an extension of her frontiers and the formation of a world-empire. She desired no increase of territory within Europe, and she knew very well that she could not make any conquests outside of Europe against the will of England. But England cannot permit a rival of equal rank in trade or shipping on the continent, and especially not if that rival happen to possess colonial ambitions. This is evident from English history throughout its entire extent. First, in the sixteenth century, England broke Spain's power by the help of Holland. Then, when Holland had become the first commercial power in Europe there followed the Navigation Act, and from 1652 to 1674 there were three wars between Holland and England which drove Holland forever into the background. After this, the supremacy of the French was curtailed and finally after a series of wars England acquired it for herself on the field of Waterloo.

Now Germany's turn has come, and eventually England may have to settle with Russia, should she emerge victorious from the present struggle. Naturally England would have preferred to obtain her object, to prevent the development of Germany, without war. For this purpose she made use of two kinds of currents hostile to Germany. A glance at the map is sufficient to show that Germany cannot give up Austria-Hungary, the only ally on whom she can count with certainty, and whose twelve millions of German inhabitants make up the largest of her various groups of people. To keep

⁸ Von Tirpitz as well as Von Jagow agreed to Churchill's suggestion that the ratio of battle-ships should be 16:10.

the Danube-Monarchy a strong power, to make sure of her friendship and loyalty, and to support her foreign policy as far as possible: these are really vital interests for Germany. Now, since the Balkan policies of Austria-Hungary and Russia necessarily diverge, the German alliance with Austria was incompatible with fostering closer relations between Germany and the empire of the Czar. Even Bismarck could not be insensible to the logic of that fact; and while he was still chancellor he saw the first French loan of millions of francs on their way to Russia.

It was inevitable that the Russian policy in the Balkans, though directed in the first instance against Austria-Hungary, should react on Russian feeling against Germany,—especially since Russia nursed an old grudge against Germany because the latter nation had failed to consider Russian interests sufficiently at the Berlin congress in 1879. Soon afterward Russia conceived the idea of coming into closer touch with France, who might perhaps be prevailed upon to give up her great riches, which Russia urgently needed for the development of her immense resources, in return for the promise of assistance when she should be ready to take revenge on Germany for the losses of 1870. In 1888 the first Russian loan was arranged with France, and it was soon followed by other and larger ones, so that the amount of Russian bonds in French possession has risen to twenty milliards of francs. As early as 1894 this financial alliance had developed into a political defensive alliance.

England tried to get into connection with both these powers and succeeded first with France. For a moment Fashoda (1898) threatened to bring once more into serious conflict the two countries that had so often contended against each other; but France yielded, and soon after the accession of Edward VII in 1901, the negotiations led to the desired Entente, as became evident to every one in 1904 from the Morocco treaty which put an end to the last differences. In spite of the Doggerbank incident with the Russian Armada (1904) in which England showed remarkable forbearance, the Anglo-Russian treaty concerning Persia (1907) was concluded, though not without opposition from the press, e. g., *The Economist* realized perfectly well whither this policy must eventually lead. In that treaty, Persia,⁹ though with a certain respect for its integrity, was divided into three portions, of which the largest northerly one was recognized as belonging to the Russian sphere of influence, the

⁹ Readers may remember the courageous pamphlet which W. Morgan Schuster published in 1912 under the title *The Strangling of Persia*. It was fully discussed in the Dutch press at the time.

southern part fell to the share of England, while the middle one was to serve as a neutral buffer-zone between the two others. This agreement paved the way to the Entente with Russia, concluded during the visit of Edward VII at Reval in 1908. Lastly the Balkan alliance lately formed under the lead of Russia was bound to neutralize the influence of Austria-Hungary in the Balkans and to weaken the prestige of that empire, and, indirectly, of Germany as well.

Thus Germany was driven into a dangerous position which, like overpressure on the safety-valve of a steam-engine, could not but lead to an explosion. A state with such strong natural power of expansion in the economic sphere cannot be pushed back indefinitely without fighting.

Certainly Germany has been a sincerely peace-loving nation throughout the reign of William II. The government knew very well that in order to reap the fruits of her tremendous economic efforts the country required peace and tranquillity first of all, and so they acted accordingly.

But of course the empire had to maintain her place as a great power with all the authority to which she could lay claim. And the blunt honesty—not always as tactful as it might be—of her sometimes gruff behavior and harsh words, could easily create the impression that Germany was not averse to war. Thus in his famous speech at the city hall of Vienna in 1908, the emperor referred to the Niebelung faith of Germany in coming to her ally's aid in shining armor and guarding her from danger, at the time when Russia was threatening to make a *casus belli* out of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, although this was but the natural outcome of thirty years of valuable civilizing labor whose success is clear to every one who will compare the present condition of these regions with that of Servia, also born at the Berlin congress. Another instance occurred in 1911, when the French method of putting in practice the policy of the open door—established in the Algeciras Treaty, but further restricted between France and Germany in 1909—led to the Agadir incident and the more exact agreement of November 1911. But when in 1913 Austria-Hungary momentarily endangered the peace of Europe by desiring a revision of the peace of Bukharest, Germany frustrated her plan by sending the emperor's well-known telegram to King Karol, although in so doing she imperiled her friendly relations with her ally.

Germany has been ready for war, if you like, for the last forty-

four years, though we must not forget that only one third of the *Wehrbeitrag* (1913) had been paid when the war broke out. This contribution amounted in full to a milliard marks and was meant to cover the expenses of Austria-Hungary's loss of strength through recent events in the Balkans. The second third, according to section 51 of the act, was due by February 15, 1915, and the third by February 15, 1916. Therefore, Germany certainly was not quite as prepared as she ought to have been for the emergency of a possible war on one or more frontiers; but no more were the other powers. However, to be ready for war and to be eager for war are two very different things. Had Germany really been eager for war, how is it that she let slip the favorable opportunity furnished by the Fashoda incident, or the Russian revolution after the war with Japan, during which, moreover, she even protected Russia's western frontier against Austria? Indeed, Germany's fundamental love of peace cannot be doubted, and the same feeling certainly existed also in other quarters. But since England with the co-operation of France and Russia had so intensified even politically the antagonism of economic interests, a settlement by arms was bound to follow sooner or later, though later historians may possibly show that even in July of 1914 there might have been some chance of postponing it for a little while longer.¹⁰ And as soon as the murder at Serajavo had brought the central powers of Europe into a conflict with Russia and with France, her unfortunate ally, it was only a logical conclusion of English policy,¹¹ directed by Sir Edward Grey himself since December 17, 1905, that on August 1 he should refuse (as shown by the English Blue Book, No. 123) to inform Prince Lichnowsky of the conditions under which England would remain neutral, or to make a promise of neutrality in case Belgium's neutrality should be respected and the integrity of France and her colonies guaranteed. This at once brands as untenable the claim that England went to war for the sake of Belgium, which has suffered so severely and was so feebly defended by her allies. It has been asserted that Sir Edward Grey refused the expected an-

¹⁰ Of course there can be no question that Germany could have avoided the war at that time had she wished to do so *at any price!* For this end, it is true,—as simple-minded people believed—all that would have been necessary would be to have declared in Vienna that now with Russia threatening to interfere by force if the Serbian ultimatum were not withdrawn, Germany's assistance must not be relied upon, and that perhaps the possibility of an armed action together with Russia might even be expected!!

¹¹ A conclusion for which three members of the English cabinet, Morley (the biographer of Cobden and Gladstone, "honest John" as he is called in England), Trevelyan (the biographer of Bright) and Burns, the former leader of the labor party, refused to take the responsibility.

swer because he knew that the German ambassador did not at the time speak on behalf of his government but in his own name. This way of putting it seems to me psychologically unsound. On the contrary Sir Edward Grey might easily have made a promise of neutrality containing whatever conditions he thought necessary, while reserving for himself the privilege of taking any final decision which might prove necessary or desirable in case the ambassador should be denied by his government.

Thus the conflict between the two nations is based upon the deeply rooted antagonism between their interests. It has, moreover, been proved by a remarkable letter written on July 30, 1914, by M. de L'Escaille, the Belgian ambassador at St. Petersburg, to his government, but intercepted and published by Germany without its genuineness being ever denied, that the assurance Russia had received that England would side with France, was considered decisive and did much to increase the influence of the war party in Russia. If these things are duly considered, I think we may say that it is the quarrel between Germany and England that was at the very root of the conflict which has since assumed such great dimensions. From the agreement made in London that no separate peace should be concluded, it is evident that England has taken the political lead in this war. For her the issue is the unabated maintenance of her supremacy and the further extension of her colonial empire; for Germany the issue is therefore above all, to break the English spell in order to gain recognition on equal terms with England as a great power in world politics and to put an end to England's uncontested lordship of the seas.

Can we then believe that it is in the interest of the small states, particularly those with large colonial possessions, for the German empire to be vanquished and all counterpoise against British domination to be thereby annihilated for the near future? Can we believe that the United States is a match for England and her eastern ally? On the other hand no one can imagine such a complete victory of the central powers that England would lose her place as a great power. And we may suppose that Germany has come to realize sufficiently well how valuable in facilitating the defense of her own frontiers is a circle of really independent neutral small states.

In my opinion the manner in which the war is being conducted is in perfect harmony with the view of the root of the quarrel here presented. While England has left the fighting for the most part to her allies for the present, she has set herself the task of exhausting the economic power of Germany. From the very begin-

ning of the war, she proceeded in various ways to carry out this purpose: by cutting the German cable; by forbidding her subjects under severe penalty to carry on any business with the Germans or to pay them any money; by enforcing prize courts, although we may be sure that England herself will be the first to abolish the custom if she loses her supremacy at sea; by hampering commerce in various ways with utter disregard for the rights of non-combatants and neutral nations; by extending the list of contraband goods far beyond the limits acknowledged by international law. To my mind it is such measures as these which have caused many sincerely neutral persons in Scandinavia, Holland and elsewhere to sigh, "If only the building of the German navy had progressed at a quicker rate and on a larger scale!" The *London Economist* did not go too far when it complained in its issue of January 16, 1915, that the international law of naval warfare could be called nothing but a "rag."

Moreover, England has taken a number of measures with the intention of winning for herself that share in the world's commerce which Germany loses, and if possible even more, and to banish Germans from English business life in so far as they had gained a footing in it. I will only mention here the release of English employers from their contracts toward German employees; the cancelling, for the duration of the war, of patent rights acquired by Germans in England; and an officially organized system of instruction about trademarks and packings in which the Germans had been so successful in the markets of the world.

It is not my task to pass judgment on this conduct nor to answer the question whether England will not soon realize that by her own actions she has thus cut off her nose to spite her face and has damaged very important English interests. Will the policy of a British life insurance company meet with the same confidence abroad after the war as heretofore, when it becomes evident that payments due from it to citizens of a hostile country are now kept back? Heretofore a "bill on London" bearing reliable endorsements was worth its face value in gold in international trade, because it was known that the amount would be paid down in gold when due. Will not this mode of exchange, which has been so popular that London has been until now the first clearing-house of the world, have lost some of its attraction after the war, for the reason that England now refuses to meet its bills of exchange if subjects of a hostile country have had a share in the transaction upon which the claim is based?

We might continue to ask questions of this sort: but it is worth noting that now after half a year of war its chief object, the exhaustion of Germany, does not begin to be even dimly in sight. This seems to me to be a new and striking proof of the enormous development of economic life in that country. Formerly it was often thought that a modern war could not possibly last long, especially one involving five great powers and four smaller ones. I have never shared this view, though we cannot easily imagine a war of the magnitude of the present one lasting for thirty years or even for seven. In my article in the September issue of the Dutch *Ekonomist*, I have termed the possible duration of the war rather a question of national psychology than of national economy. And this is still my opinion, in which I have been confirmed by later experience, unless the new phase of the war, started a few days ago in the Irish sea, whereby Germany has turned against its originator a plan of war first adopted by England, should seriously threaten or entirely cut off the imports to England. In this case the war might rapidly come to an end for economic reasons.¹²

As a matter of fact there is not the slightest danger of starving out Germany. For a time, to be sure, there will be a change in her methods of food-supply. It is certainly true that Germany gets about half of her wheat from abroad and barley in still larger proportion. But these facts are met by some others: first, by the fact that the per capita consumption of wheat and rye in Germany is about fifty percent higher than in England, whereas the consumption of meat is about the same in both countries. This is due to the fact that large quantities of rye are used for cattle-feeding in Germany. If necessary the quantity of grain available for bread could be increased by butchering cattle from time to time and smoking the meat, and this would also increase the supply of meat for consumption. Moreover, Germany is the chief sugar-importing country of Europe; and now that England, the largest buyer of German sugar, refuses it, the domestic consumption of this excellent food can increase in Germany, and inferior qualities (molasses) can be used for cattle-feeding. Lastly one must consider that huge quantities of barley are regularly used in breweries. If necessary the quantities of grain available for other purposes can also be increased by restricting the production of beer.¹³

¹² In this connection it is food for thought that at the mere announcement of a German submarine war against merchant vessels the British admiralty, without regard to neutral interests, thought it necessary to advise shipping companies to continue their sailings—but under a false flag!

¹³ This restriction has since been ordered.

Certainly no one can deny that the war puts tremendously heavy burdens and gigantic losses on the central powers of Europe as well. In my article in the *Ekonomist*, mentioned above, I ventured to find the economic significance of the war in the fact that it is a sudden, forced shifting of a very large part of the productive energy of the countries involved in it in the direction of a production of ideal possessions for which the struggle is being fought,—a production which, as long as mankind knows no other means of obtaining the object of the war, is only possible at the sacrifice of the cost of production of a very special kind and of tremendous amount. The expenses, as far as they can be covered by money, are borne in the first place by that portion of the income of the people which the nation is able and willing to spare for this purpose for some time. This portion is very large in England and in France, but certainly no less in Germany, where the whole nation is firmly convinced that it is engaged in a war of self-defense forced upon it from outside, in which its position as a great power is at stake. The average income of the German people, according to Dr. Helfferich, has risen from 445 marks per capita in 1896 to 642 marks in 1913. There can be no doubt that it is now greatly reduced by the war, but even a large portion of the revenue of 1896 will be available for the state should necessity demand it. Suppose that the difference between these two figures can be sacrificed temporarily in the service of the fatherland, this would make about 14,000,000-000 marks, an amount naturally increased by the value of the requisitions in the newly occupied territories, in so far as these are paid only provisionally by vouchers that do not need to be redeemed until after the war. Moreover in all countries the war is carried on by all sorts of credit, by drafts on the future, which will press heavily on the economic life of the nation after the conclusion of peace, whatever the issue of the war may be. Germany is well prepared to liquidate this credit. The Reichsbank has a far larger reserve of gold than the Bank of England (108,000,000 as against 69,000,000 pounds sterling at the close of January, 1915).¹⁴ I think there is no doubt that Germany will be able to carry on the war (the immediate costs of which are estimated at about 7,000,000,000 marks a quarter), at least for one year without there being any question of exhaustion.

If exhaustion should come at some future day, will Germany

¹⁴ Even taking into account the gold-reserve of the private banks in England and the amount still in circulation in Germany, the balance is very probably in favor of Germany. However, Germany's allies are much weaker in this respect than are England's.

be the only country to feel it? Will not France and Russia fall victims to it, where rich industrial districts have been occupied by the enemy for months past?¹⁵ Especially in Russia is an early exhaustion more probable than in Germany. During the winter Russia is entirely cut off from the outer world, including her allies. Railway communication via the north of Sweden (now closed for the transportation of war material) and via Vladivostock are quite insufficient for the needs of this great empire, and transportation by way of Archangel is available only in the warmer season and has also but a very limited capacity. The economic preparation for the war was much more incomplete in Russia. Her isolation from the world's intercourse is of advantage to Russia in so far as she can now apply her harvests (unsatisfactory in 1914) entirely to her own purposes, whereas in normal times they were used for the most part to pay the interest on the foreign debts of the nation. But England, that up to this time had not been one of the creditors of the Czar's empire, placed 12,000,000 pounds sterling at its disposal as early as December, 1914, for the payment of the Russian January coupons. Nor should it be forgotten that the internal conditions of Russia are never safe. She is the only country where the social democrats have not voted the war loans desired. It was therefore a wise precaution to prohibit alcoholic drinks at the beginning of the war, a measure that has apparently been well carried out. But this prohibition cost the empire a revenue estimated at 936,000,000 rubles for 1914.

No doubt—though England has been warned from an authoritative quarter not to expect an early exhaustion of Germany's financial resources—the expenses of the war are immense. The estimates of the direct and indirect costs to all the belligerent countries together (including the losses in trade and industry) vary from 30,000,000,000 (Wolf) to 51,000,000,000 guilders (Guyot)¹⁶ per half year [\$12,000,000,000 to \$20,400,000,000]. These are figures of whose gigantic size we shall perhaps get the clearest idea

¹⁵ A remarkable view (a symptom too that the comparative distribution of the advantages and drawbacks of the war was no longer left to Count Witte) is contained in a letter from the French correspondent of the English *Economist* in the issue of January 26, 1915. Some figures he gives concerning the great reduction in the yield of French taxes and in the volume of French trade in 1914 go, in his opinion, to prove "how enviable is the position of Great Britain in comparison to that of France. . . . All over France," he complains, "the workers are gone, and in many departments every kind of commercial and industrial activity is at an end, while the transport service is seriously disorganized. Moreover Germany was one of France's best customers."

¹⁶ His estimate includes the capitalized value of the human lives lost.

if I place beside them the fact that the costs of the whole European railway system including all construction-work—tunnels, viaducts, bridges—and stations, amounted to 66,000,000,000 guilders at the end of 1912 [\$26,400,000,000]. And the end is not yet in sight.

This world-war, whatever its end may be, will certainly press heavily on economic life for years. The mere fact that the payment of its expenses is for the most part put off till after the close of the war must lead to this result, as I have just said. I for my part cannot believe in a rapid recovery of the world's economics immediately after such tremendous breaches have been made in the male population of the most efficient periods of life, and in the available capital which has suffered from the destruction of buildings, railways, fields, horses, etc., and from the one-sided and gigantic increase in the consumption of war-materials of every kind.

It might be different if war materials did not have to be replaced. But is there the very remotest prospect of this? Certainly we Dutch people are better situated in this respect than the nations engaged in the war, if we can continue to prevent the spread of the world-conflagration to our territory; but we too are hard hit by the fact that a large part of our best customers abroad will be immensely impaired in their buying powers. I must confess that what of all the consequences of the war disquiets me most is the reaction it will, in my opinion, have on the size and distribution of the national resources for some years after peace has been concluded. Hard times, socially and economically, are before us.

For the rest, I do not propose to enlarge now on the consequences of the war. Reflections on this topic necessarily bear a very speculative character as nothing whatever can be said with certainty about the duration of the war or the circumstances under which it will end. There are well meaning patriots who even now dream and write of a European federation, founded on the principle of nationality, that shall emerge as a welcome result of this conflict. If the realization of such an idea should come to pass the most far-reaching economic consequences would be bound to ensue. But the attainment of this ideal presupposes the dissolution of Russia and Austria-Hungary (since both states are conglomerates of many nationalities), entailing complete exclusion of Austria-Hungary from access to the sea, and important changes in the boundaries of these countries, and of the Balkan States, Italy, Germany, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Denmark. Its realization demands single-hearted collaboration in the service of the higher interests of civilization on the part of those nations at present separated by abysses

of hatred which can only be bridged after the strenuous exertion of the best efforts of all countries for many long years. This ideal is so far removed from all reality that I forego the task of pointing out the enormous practical difficulties with which it would be confronted at the outset.

Let me say only this in conclusion. Could the peace that is bound to come some day be one not of negative character only (non-war), but—as in 1866—a substantial and positive one—a peace which from the nature of the conditions imposed and accepted would pave the way to a better understanding between at least some of the belligerents; a peace which would not constitute an immediate new danger to European safety by reducing Germany to the boundaries she had before 1870 or even narrower ones; a peace, finally, which by abolishing prize courts and establishing a balance of power at sea so urgently needed by the smaller states as well would contain in it the germ of a limitation of armaments which would only then be possible—then the night of terror that humanity is at present living through would prove, though after a wearisome period of transition, to be the herald of a morn full of promise.

IN REPLY TO MR. CHARLES T. GORHAM.

BY JOHANNES MATTERN.

MR. Chas. T. Gorham has seen fit to write a "few lines in reply to Mr. Johannes Mattern's article in *The Open Court* for December." In his "few lines," as they appeared in the April number of *The Open Court*, he has proved that he does not deserve the serious attention which I gave to his original article of September last and, what is more regrettable yet, that he is not capable of appreciating my rather too friendly criticism of his untenable assertions concerning the attitude of the Belgian civilians and their treatment by the Germans. I shall therefore in this instance proceed against his "few lines" without the former restraint. I shall, so to speak, don the mittens instead of kid gloves.

In his article of September, 1915, Mr. Gorham made the unqualified assertion that "before the entry of the Germans into Belgium orders had been given in every town, village and district of that country that all arms were to be delivered up to the authorities," that "the evidence shows that these orders were faithfully complied with," that "the fact of the official order to deliver up arms and the compliance therewith show that no forcible resistance by non-combatants was sanctioned or contemplated," and that "the evidence proves that none took place." He even called the German claim that the burning of houses and the killing of civilians had been retributive for the franc-tireur warfare of the Belgians "base and cowardly lies by which they [the Germans] have sought to excuse. . . . that. . . . deliberate, cold-blooded cruelty, unprovoked by the individuals against whom it is manifested." However, when in the December number of *The Open Court* I proved by the sworn testimony as found in about 80 depositions of German soldiers and officers; by the testimony of U. S. Lieutenant-Colonel Emerson, to whom the Belgians of Louvain themselves admitted the folly of their wholesale attack on the unsuspecting Germans; by the testi-

mony of the anti-German correspondent of the New York *World*, Alexander Powell who, in his book *Fighting in Flanders*, describes the attack of a furious mob in Ghent upon two German soldiers who were saved from the *Belgian bullet* only by the prompt interference of Powell and the U. S. Consul; by the testimony of a number of Belgian newspapers writing of "the wave of heroism" that "animates the souls" of the "youths and grown men" whom "one meets on the roads," armed as they are "with old muskets. . . . shotguns. . . . revolvers," describing how the "citizens, like madmen, shot at the invaders from the roofs and windows of their houses" and how "even women took part in the shooting"—when I thus from German, neutral and Belgian sources proved beyond a shadow of a doubt that the Belgian civilians did *not* "faithfully comply with the orders to deliver up arms," that *instead*, they were well supplied with them and that they *have made* ample use of their muskets, shotguns, revolvers—I had of course swept Mr. Gorham completely off his feet. For, not with one word does he now repeat his former assertions, but, reversing the premises, he now, with bold face, exclaims that "the inhabitants of an invaded country have a natural right to resist by every means in their power," that "this right has been more or less clearly recognized by all civilized nations," and that "no nation has recognized it so explicitly as Germany." And to prove his new point he goes back to the Prussian *Landsturm* law of 1813. According to Gorham, "article 1 of this law, which—as he claims—has never been repealed, runs thus: 'every citizen is required to oppose the invader with *all the arms* at his disposal, and to prejudice him *by all available means*,' and article 39 says: 'The *Landsturm* will not wear uniforms, in order that it may not be recognizable.'

Mr. Gorham's quotations of articles 1 and 39 are substantially correct, but his statement, that they have never been repealed is *substantially* false. Does Mr. Gorham himself actually believe, and does he think that he can make his American readers believe, that the Prussian *Landsturm* was called out in 1914, in accordance with the "unrepealed" *Landsturm* law of 1813 to resist the late Russian invasion of Eastern Prussia, that this *Landsturm* in 1914 fought the Russians *without uniforms*, that "every citizen" of Prussia was "required to" and did "oppose" the Russians in Eastern Prussia with *all the arms* at his disposal," and did "prejudice" them "*by all available means*"? Hardly!

For the benefit of those who care to have the facts and nothing but the facts I shall state here what Mr. Gorham must know and no

doubt does know, namely, that a year after the creation of the *Landsturm*, Prussia, through the law of September 13, 1814, made the *Landsturm* an integral part of its military system, subjecting to it all *men* 17 to 50 years old not already included in the standing army and the *Landwehr*; that by the law of November 9, 1867, the age limit was reduced from 50 to 42 years for the North German Federation; that the law of February 12, 1875, applied the *Landsturm* regulations for the entire German empire; that the same law of 1875 has given the *Landsturm* a military organization with the intention of placing it within the sphere of international law; that according to the same law the *Landsturm* be called only in case the country is threatened by foreign invasion and that it [the *Landsturm*] *must* bear *insignia* (*Abzeichen*) recognizable by the enemy (see *Militär-Lexikon* of J. Castner, Leipsic, 1882).

This law of 1875 reserves and acknowledges a right essentially the same as that formulated in article 2 of the Hague Convention of 1899 and 1907 to the effect that "the population of a territory which has not been occupied, who, on the enemy's approach, spontaneously take up arms to resist the invading troops without having time to organize themselves in accordance with article 1, shall be regarded as belligerents if they respect the laws and customs of war."

Mr. Gorham who first denied any resistance of Belgian civilians now seems intent on justifying such resistance by this article, which, however, he does not quote nor mention. Only on this supposition can he ask the question, "Who says it was unlawful for the Belgians to defend their homes and families?" And yet, when he adds that "it was no violation of mutually understood rights, but... (if it occurred) a violation of an unwritten military usage which has not even the sanction of German military law," one must doubt if he thought or even knew of article 2 of the Hague convention of 1899 and 1907.

In order to answer his question why it "was unlawful for the Belgians to defend their homes and families" one need point out only two reasons: (1) article 2, as quoted above, specifically stipulates that such resistance by civilians is justified only in regions *not* occupied by the enemy and that attacks by Belgian civilians on German troops have taken place in localities where occupation by the Germans had been accomplished days before, as for instance in Louvain; (2) the findings presented by the Belgian Royal Commission to President Wilson at Washington, September 16, 1914, contains the following passage: "From the beginning of the invasion

of its territory by German troops, the Belgian government had posted each and every day, in all the towns, and the papers have each day repeatedly printed, instructions warning the non-combatant civilians not to offer any resistance to the troops and soldiers invading the country." This assertion stamps as "against the law," that is, as "unlawful," the resistance of the Belgian civilians even where it took place in unoccupied regions, i. e., while occupation was in progress.

These "unlawful" attacks of Belgian civilians *during* and *after* the occupation of their territory the Germans have—as I conceded in December, and as I concede again to-day—answered and stopped by means of "relentless" retribution. Mr. Gorham takes exception to the word "relentless." He thinks the retribution should have been merely "just." Does Mr. Gorham expect the German regiments storming a village in which the citizenry, lawfully or unlawfully, offers resistance to cease storming at once and courteously go from house to house asking which one of the members of the household did shoot or desires to shoot at them, so that they may shoot back at those and no others? Does Mr. Gorham expect that in a case where, as at Louvain, a treacherous assault by the civilians was launched *after* occupation against the unsuspecting Germans, the soldiers so attacked would ceremoniously arrest the culprits and in the meantime let the rest of their troops stand at attention to give a sure aim to other civilians looking for what they may kill? No, Mr. Gorham! The Germans had their first experience with this kind of franc-tireur warfare in 1870 and 71, and this experience has taught them to be prepared to meet its repetition in Belgium and elsewhere. It can be met only by "relentlessly" shooting and bayonetting every one who offers resistance in any form and by burning the barns, houses and churches from which such resistance is offered. If such "relentless" retribution is cruelty, if its consequences are the atrocities of which the Germans have been accused and which, according to Gorham, the German conception of warfare involves and excuses—then, I think, Germany's apologists can well afford to let their client plead guilty. But when unsworn, unnamed, would-be witnesses under high pressure of inquisitorial commissions charge the Germans with transfixing little girls, with cutting off the heads, hands and feet of little children, with mutilating pregnant women, with violating *en masse* mothers, grandmothers and great-grandmothers, girls, grown and little, and that with the consent and under the leadership of officers, when there can be found human beings stupid enough to believe any and every one of these

unspeakably shameful allegations, then it is high time that the thinking part of the world pass judgment on these infernal concoctions produced either by an insanity born of hatred or by hatred born of insanity. And the thinking world has indeed passed its judgment. It regards these official and unofficial reports of the allied atrocity mongers as a well-calculated, miserable swindle and even the "saving remnant" of England openly and frankly confess that this judgment is correct. In my article of December last I quoted for instance Macdonald's and Toulmin's statements to that effect, but Mr. Gorham "discreetly passes them over in silence." In fact, none less than the inquisitorial Bryce commission itself seems to concede that it does not care to vouch for the truth of the allegations nor for the so-called evidence to support them. What else could be the construction to be placed upon the fact that the Bryce commission submits its findings not as a report of evidence regarding outrages *committed*, but as "a report upon the evidence which has been submitted to them regarding outrages alleged to have been committed by the German troops. . . ." Still, Mr. Gorham admits that he attaches "to this [unsworn, nameless] Bryce report a credence" which he "should not give to pro-German assertions" and, while doing so, is of such a "peculiar frame of mind" that he "fails to understand why Mr. Mattern should accept German evidence [in form of affidavits of soldiers and officers under oath and with record of name and rank] against Belgians, while rejecting Belgian evidence [of the character as found in the Bryce report] against the Germans"! Mr. Gorham: *Habcas tibi!*

Reversing the premises and muddling the issue are the two ignominious tricks usually resorted to by would-be logicians when driven into a tight corner. Having convicted Mr. Gorham of the former I shall now proceed to prove him guilty of the other. Mr. Gorham writes: "Mr. Mattern considers that a quotation from *The New Statesman* (dating prior to the publication of the Bryce report) in which a general scepticism as to atrocity stories is recommended 'disposes of the myth' of certain incidents detailed in the report." Now the facts are these: In my article of December I had quoted *two* passages from the same article of *The New Statesman* of January 30, 1915. The one passage contained a general warning against atrocity stories, the other ridiculed and denied point blank the existence of the "Belgian child *sans* hand and *sans* feet," that had been shipped in "train-loads to Paris and in boat-loads to London." Referring to and citing the latter quotation denying the existence of the "Belgian child *sans* hands and *sans* feet" I claimed

then, and again claim now, that "thus *The New Statesman*, more effectively than a thousand sworn denials could have done, disposes of the myth of the 'Belgian child *sans* hands and *sans* feet,' and that thus "likewise, it disposes just as effectfully of the baby-killing related in document *a 33*" and of similar incidents, as for instance the bayonetting and lancing of little girls as related by Mr. Gorham and in Le Queux's *German Atrocities*. However, Mr. Gorham, while holding to and criticising the second part of my statement, substitutes for my reference to the second passage of the quotation from *The New Statesman* the citation from the first passage containing the general warning against atrocity stories. By means of this manipulation he does indeed produce a version to which I would not care to attach my name. I shall let the reader judge of Gorham's motive for this as well as the former sample of literary acrobatics!

Mr. Gorham further quotes a passage from *The New Statesman* of January 8, 1916, in which this English journal seems to recant its warning against atrocity stories of a year ago. Strange to say though, even here in the passage from the issue of January 8, 1916, *The New Statesman* is cautious enough to give as authority for its apparent change of front *not* the Bryce report, but "the greater part of the English press"!

Mr. Gorham refers to the "Kaiser's exhortations to 'frightfulness,'" to the "order of General Stenger"; he claims that "the innumerable demands of German publicists for relentless punishment of all who dare to resist Germany, cannot be supposed to have had no effect upon the German armies." His reference to the "Kaiser's exhortations to 'frightfulness'" must be repudiated until he brings trustworthy authorities for them, that is, authorities other than the *London Times*, the *Saturday Review*, the *Literary Guide*, and their kind. The much talked-of order of General Stenger as "quoted" (?) by Bédier in his *Les crimes allemands* is nothing but a conjecture, and the fact that Bédier has attached to it the names of its supposed signatories constitutes Bédier's undertaking as an act of falsification of documentary evidence. Even Bédier himself admits that "no doubt" he "cannot produce the autograph of General Stenger" and—so he naively adds—"it is not for me to communicate the names of the German prisoners who gave the evidence"! The same old story! Allegation without the names of the supposed witnesses, à la Bryce report or *vice versa*! In fact, in the fourth or even third edition of his brochure Bédier is forced to admit that he himself

“construed” this order of General Stenger and that its form as given “may be possibly incomplete or altered”!¹

Gorham’s reference to the “innumerable demands of German publicists for relentless punishment of all who dare to resist Germany” and his claim that these demands “cannot be supposed to have had no effect upon the German armies” are again assertions unsupported by sources and evidence. Interesting in this connection should be even to Mr. Gorham what his own countrymen think of “relentless” warfare when England does the warring. The *German Information Service*, a daily news bulletin formerly issued by M. B. Claussen of New York for the dissemination of reliable news, quotes in the issue of May 6, 1915 the following items from the British trades union organ *The Labour Leader*:

“In an interview in 1910 to his friend, the late Mr. W. T. Stead, Lord Fisher, the first sea lord, declared: ‘The humanizing of war! If I am in command when war breaks out I shall issue as my orders: The essence of war is violence. Moderation in war is imbecility. Hit first, hit hard and hit everywhere.’

“It was not a German who wrote, ‘The worst of all errors in war is a mistaken spirit of benevolence.’ It was an equally well known British military writer, Major Stewart Murray.

“It was not a German who wrote: ‘The proper strategy consists in the first place of inflicting as terrible blows as possible upon the enemy’s army and then in causing the inhabitants so much suffering that they must long for peace and force their government to demand it.’ It was a well-known British military critic, Dr. Miller Maguire.”

In my concluding sentence I had paraphrased a “wise” word attributed to Anatole France and I had expressed the hope that the Germans “may [as Anatole France says] succeed in murdering—or as I would [and did] express it—in abolishing war.” This Mr. Gorham thinks “illustrates” my “mentality” inasmuch as it is “an implication that extreme severity in war is the speediest method of abolishing war.” I consider it hardly worth while to haggle with a Mr. Gorham over a mere case of interpretation. Assuming that his interpretation of my expression of hope were correct I could point to the afore quoted Lord Fisher, Major Stewart Murray and Dr. Miller Maguire as illustrious company. And the same “mentality” which Mr. Gorham purposes to see in my statement

¹ L’ordre du jour du général Stenger, donné ci-avant (page 29), fut communiqué oralement par divers officiers dans les diverses unités de la brigade, et par conséquent la forme sous laquelle nous l’avons recueilli peut être soit incomplète, soit altérée.” (Note additionnelle, p. 39. 7e tirage.)

would certainly be revealed in Mr. A. Maurice Low's dictum found in the March, 1915, number of the *National Review*. "The business of a nation," so Low wrote, "is to crush its enemy, and no distinction can be made. The innocent have to suffer, but that is inevitable. War is hell."

Mr. Gorham asks, "what were the Germans doing in Belgium at all?" and he charges that "Mr. Mattern looks with equanimity upon their insolent and treacherous invasion of a weak state whose integrity they were pledged to defend." My reply is that in charging me as he does Mr. Gorham betrays a considerable amount of insolence himself. How does he know how I look at the invasion of Belgium if, as he can easily verify, I did not express myself one way or the other on this subject? That I did not do so then and that I shall not do so now is due to the one reason that I must refuse to answer such a question in a mere sentence of two and that in order to treat this issue adequately and exhaustively I would have had to transgress the scope of the former article and that of this final reckoning with Mr. Gorham. However I take great pleasure in calling Mr. Gorham's attention to a book on this subject, just published by two of his countrymen, C. P. Sanger, of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister at Law, and H. T. J. Norton, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. This book is entitled: *England's Guarantee to Belgium and Luxemburg*, and in it the authors come to the only possible conclusion that "from all the evidence it is clear that in the past [that is, previous to 1914, namely in 1870 and 1887] the British government has not considered that the treaty of 1839 imposed a binding obligation to go to war with any power which infringed the neutrality of Belgium." In this same book are quoted an article by one "Diplomaticus," which appeared in the *Standard* of July 4, 1887 and a leader of the *Standard* of the same date, commenting on the subject broached by its correspondent. Both agreed that in 1887 Britain should not go to war if during the expected Franco-German war either party invaded Belgium. Both agreed that England threatened intervention in 1870 only because in 1870 such threat was cheap inasmuch as there was absolutely no danger of either France or Prussia crossing into or marching through Belgium. The *Standard* for instance wrote: "On the declaration of war by France against Prussia in 1870, Earl Granville, as we all know, with more promptness and decision than he usually displayed, sought to secure respect for Belgian territory by notifying that should either combatant ignore the neutrality secured to it by public treaty England would side actively with the other combatant. It

may be said, why cannot the same course be pursued once more, in the event of a similar condition of affairs coming into play? The answer is that a similar condition of affairs no longer exists. . . . Neither combatant was much tempted to do so [to violate Belgian soil in 1870]; and thus the engagement assumed by England—a very proper one at the time—was not very serious or onerous, and saved appearances rather than created responsibility. Now [in 1887] the position is entirely changed. If England, with a view to securing respect for Belgian territory, were to bind itself, as in 1870, to throw its weight into the balance against either France or Germany, should either France or Germany violate Belgian ground, we might, and probably should, find ourselves involved in a war of giants on our own account. We think that ‘Diplomaticus’ understands the English people when he hints his suspicions that such a result would be utterly alien alike to their wishes and to their interests. For, over and above the fact that, as we have seen, the temptation to violate Belgian territory by either side is much greater [in 1887] than it was in 1870, the relations of England with the European powers have necessarily and naturally undergone considerable modification during that period. We concur with our correspondent [Diplomaticus] in the opinion he expresses that for England and Germany to quarrel, it matters not upon what subject, would be [in 1887] highly injurious to the interests of both. . . . Would the violation of Belgian territory, whether by Germany or France, be such an injury to our honor and such a blow to our interests? It might be so in certain circumstances, and it would assuredly be so if it involved a permanent violation of the independence of Belgium. But as ‘Diplomaticus’ ingeniously suggests, there is all the difference in the world between the momentary use of a ‘right of way,’ even if the use of the right of way be, in a sense, wrongful, and the appropriation of the ground covered by the right of way. . . .”

Diplomaticus, as the *Standard* says, “speaks with high authority,” and the *Standard* itself was the organ of the conservative party then in power in England.

Now I ask Mr. Gorham, and for that matter all the Gorhams in England and America, how could Germany’s demand for the right of way and her forcing of the way through Belgium in 1914 be “insolent and treacherous,” if in 1887 the British government through the mouth of its organ, the *Standard*, admitted that the demand for a temporary right of way and the forcing of the way through Belgium would not have constituted a violation of the

treaty of guarantee of 1839 and when, as Sanger and Norton concede, "it is true that in 1887 Great Britain would not have considered it obligatory to try to prevent Germany from sending troops through Belgium?" How could it be so, unless Great Britain in 1887 was ready and willing to approve of as legitimate what it now pleases her to decry as "insolent and treacherous"?

In answer to Mr. Gorham's question how I "explain away the evidence of the German diaries, photographs of which are given?" I again plead that a critical examination of this kind of "evidence" would make up a pamphlet in itself. In a letter to the editor of *The Open Court*, accompanying the manuscript of the article of December last I expressed the hope that I soon would be able to give my attention to the "German war diaries." I have since carefully studied Bédier's *German Atrocities from German Evidence* (*Les crimes allemands. . .*) and I have had occasion to read Dr. Max Kuttner's and Karl Larsen's annihilating expositions of Bédier's tendentious mistranslations, omissions, additions, changes of punctuation and the like. Of Bédier's *opus* there can be but one opinion: it is absolutely worthless as evidence. I shall cite one case of many.

Bédier reproduces what purports to be part of the diary of private Z. . . whoever that be, and he translates as follows (given here in B. Harrison's English translation):

"Last night, a man of the *Landwehr*, a man of thirty-five, and a married man, tried to rape the daughter [in the supposed German original: *die noch junge Tochter*; in Bédier's French translation: *fillette* = little girl, instead of *jeune fille* = young girl or daughter] of a man in whose house he had been quartered, she was a child [here Harrison follows Bédier's tendentious mistranslation]; and as the father tried to interpose he kept the point of his bayonet on the man's breast."

Here ends Harrison's English translation because Bédier's French translation of the supposed German text ends here too. However, the photographic reproduction of the supposed section of the diary continues thus: "*Hält man so etwas für möglich? Doch der sieht der gerechten Strafe entgegen.*" "Is such a thing possible? But he is facing his just punishment." Why did Bédier suppress these two sentences? Because they prove beyond a doubt that the act charged against this soldier was condemned by the writer of the diary and was punished by the German military authorities. Of Bédier's *German Crimes from German Evidence* I have said in the *Baltimore Evening Sun* of June 8, 1915, that it defeats its own purpose, that

is, the purpose for which the French professor has sent it into the world. These diaries, mutilated and distorted as they have been, in order to prove that German savagery is approved of and systematized by the military authorities, tend to show the contrary of what they are supposed to establish. They prove, if anything, that the German soldier is quick to reprove, and the German authorities are unrelenting in punishing wrong where it is done or even attempted, as in the case cited. And this is the least one can say of the diaries reproduced in the Bryce report.

Before leaving this subject however I assure Mr. Gorham that a study of Professor Larsen's and Dr. Kuttner's treatment of Bédier's diaries, and especially Kuttner's highly interesting collection from French diaries *in the original*, not in *distorted* translation, will, if he can read French, deprive him of any desire to ever mention diaries again! Other critics of Bédier's *opusculum* are Dr. Paul Wernle, professor of church history at the University of Basel, Switzerland, and Dr. Nils Elis Wadstein, professor of modern European linguistics at the University of Göteborg, Sweden. The latter's exposition of Bédier's *Tendenzschrift* has just appeared in Chicago in the language of the "United States" and will thus serve to disillusion the few "Gorhams" in this country, who, hypnotized by Bédier's name, have heretofore accepted his *German Crimes* in good faith. Still another instructive work in this respect, covering, as it does, a much wider ground, is Dr. Ernst Müller-Meinigen's *Der Weltkrieg 1914-15 und der Zusammenbruch des Völkerrechts. Eine Abwehr- und Anklageschrift gegen die Kriegsführung des Dreiverbandes* (Berlin, Georg Reimer, 1915), which has recently been issued in an English translation under the title: *Who Are the Huns? The Law of Nations and its Breakers...* translated by R. L. Orchelle, Berlin, Georg Reimer (sold at Stechert & Co., New York).

Having consumed much space already I must ignore whatever other items Mr. Gorham's few lines of reply may contain, even at the risk of again being accused of "discreetly passing them over in silence."

In conclusion I move that Mr. Gorham descant on the Baralong "victory." He may—be it suggested—take his cue from the pious bishop of London, who salved the consciences of the "King Stephen's" captain and crew!

Gorham! O si tacuisses, philosophus fuisses!

SYMPOSIUM ON ERASMUS.

COLLECTED FROM SEVERAL SOURCES.

MARCH 1, 1916, was the four-hundredth anniversary of the publication of the first edition of the New Testament in Greek prepared by Desiderius Erasmus, the "most versatile and most ingenious humanist" and citizen of the world. In the March issue of *The Open Court* we celebrated this anniversary by publishing as frontispiece a reproduction of Holbein's most famous portrait of Erasmus, and the same number contained also an article by Dr. Bernhard Pick on "The Four-Hundredth Anniversary of the Publication of the First Greek New Testament" and one by Mr. C. K. Ogden, of Cambridge, England, on "Desiderius Erasmus and his Significance for the Reformation." There are other phases of interest connected with this earliest of the moderns, a few of which we here group under one general heading.

THE "ENCOMIUM MORIAE" AND HOLBEIN.

Erasmus was born in Rotterdam in 1466 (some authorities state 1465) and came to Basel in 1513 in order to get into touch with the printer Froben. Next to Koberger of Nuremberg and Amerbach of Basel Froben was regarded as the most zealous and inspired disciple of Gutenberg's art. He was the publisher of the *Adagia* (Maxims) of Erasmus, as well as of his edition of the Greek New Testament. The learned scholar was well received by Froben, and during the following year used to come regularly to Basel from his home at Louvain. Later he took up his permanent residence in Basel.

In 1514 Froben published the *Encomium Moriae*, Erasmus's biting and jesting Latin satire with its punning title on the name of his friend, Sir Thomas More. The preface states that this book was written during Erasmus's journeys on horseback and was done to beguile the weariness of the way. A copy of the first

edition containing Holbein's famous pictorial commentary is now preserved in the Basel Gallery. The original drawings were little sketches done with pen on the broad margins of the book, opposite the paragraphs of the text to which they referred.

All that is known of the history of this volume is that it may have belonged at one time to Erasmus himself, or to the printer who used to employ young artists to make drawings, title-pages and other suitable embellishments for books: Among these young struggling artists of that time was Hans Holbein. It is supposed that a copy of the book was lying on the printer's table and fell



ERASMUS WRITING THE
"ADAGIA."



SEARCHING THE SCRIPTURES
Looking for the key of knowledge
and grinding out truth for
others to swallow.

into the hands of Holbein while he was waiting for orders from the printer. Finding the book very amusing, he sketched his comments in pictures as he read the text.

It is thought that the printer showed the drawings to Erasmus who was greatly pleased with the illustrations for in them the meaning of his text finds a fitting artistic echo. It is supposed that he gave the order to Holbein to finish the entire book, and that it finally fell into the hands of the theologian and schoolmaster, Oswald Molitor or Myconius, from whom it found its way into the gallery at Basel where it is now kept.

This history of the book is based on the facts that Molitor's ownership is proved by an inscription on the title-page, and that the earlier ownership of Erasmus is established by a second inscription on the second title-page. These inscriptions prove that the marginal illustrations were completed in ten days and that Erasmus derived much entertainment from them.

The book contains annotations in Molitor's handwriting, and from one of them it is learned that the illustrations were done in 1515. The questions as to the original ownership of the volume and who gave the permission to Holbein to make the illustrations is fully discussed in Hes, *Ambrosius Holbein*, pages 83-94. The



THE SYMBOL OF THE HOLY
GHOST.

It is the dove and not the eagle.



FOLLY IN CAP AND BELLS.

Addressing her praises to the fools
among men.

drawings have been subjected to a searching examination and comparison, and Dr. Hes points out that it is impossible to accept all of them as the work of Hans Holbein. He is inclined to think that the illustrations may have been begun by Holbein in an idle moment in a copy of the book found lying in the printer's office, and that other young artists may have added their sketches until several drawings had been made. The work may then have been shown to Erasmus by Froben and together they may have encouraged Holbein to finish the drawings, which are eighty-two in number. Those which we here reproduce are among those generally recognized to be by Holbein's own hand.

Holbein's originals were copied a number of times, both during his life and afterwards. Some of them verge on the flippant. One of them, representing "the brutish man," shows a young man drinking wine from a bottle and making love to a young woman; and while this drawing is harmless enough in itself, it was the direct occasion of undeserved slander.

It happened that on one of the drawings Holbein has inscribed Erasmus's name, and Erasmus objected because he did not want to be included among the foolish of mankind. To revenge himself on the artist for doing this, Erasmus wrote Holbein's name on the



THE SOVEREIGN.

Said to be King Maximilian.



ALMS-GIVING.

The over-religious man is always foolish in the distribution of charity.

drawing illustrating the young man drinking the wine and flirting with the girl. Poor Holbein never quite recovered from the consequence of this practical joke.

The spiritual affinity between the humanist of mature years and the youthful illustrator eventually developed into a permanent friendship. Erasmus took a personal interest in the lad, let him paint his portrait, and later recommended the restless painter to his friends Peter Aegidius in Antwerp and Thomas More in England. This was in 1526. Holbein's native country had no suitable commission for him, but through Erasmus he made his fortune in England. He portrayed his patron a number of times,

for Erasmus was fond of having pictures of himself made for his friends. In 1524 the latter sent two portraits to England and a third to France—all three by Holbein. Besides these Holbein made the drawing for a woodcut which shows Erasmus in full figure *in Gehäus*, that is, in a rich Renaissance frame. The small circular portrait which we reproduce as our frontispiece was probably painted in 1530, and belongs to the Amerbach collection. It has



THE DEVIL AND ST. BERNARD.
The Devil promises that by repeating
daily seven verses from the Psalms
Heaven may be won.



THE COURTIER PRACTISED
IN DISSEMBLING.

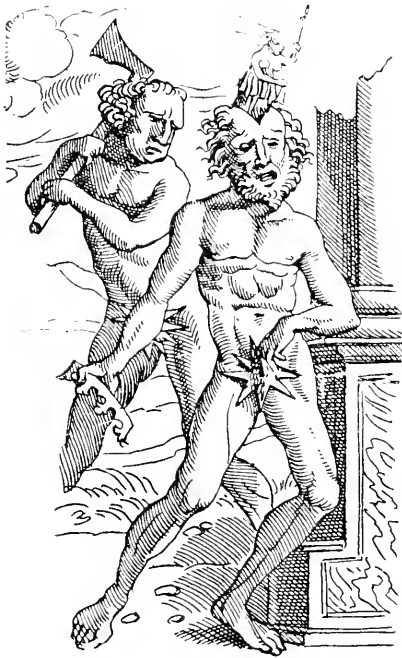
"To feign the fool when fit occasions rise,
Argues the being more completely
wise."—*Horace*.

always been a favorite subject for copyists. Our reproduction is from E. A. Seemann's series, *Die Galerien Europas*.

LUTHER ON ERASMUS.

Erasmus was before all else a scholar, and was not a man of deep religious feeling. Though in the main well disposed toward the Reformation, he was skeptical and cautious. Ardor and impetuosity such as Luther and Hutten evinced were repugnant to him. He was a clear thinker, skilful satirist, and accomplished author, and yet, though standing very high intellectually, he was indecisive in matters of business. The theologians said that he laid the egg that Luther hatched. Theoretically he went farther than

Luther, but only theoretically, so that consequently his position was somewhat ambiguous. To him the Reformation was as unsatisfactory as the traditions of the orthodox church. He thought for a while that he could gain the friendship and alliance of the reformers, but they were vigorously opposed to anything that was not devout Christianity, and so his attempts at coming to an understanding with Luther naturally and necessarily failed. Erasmus's work is of immense value to New Testament scholars. A man like



THE BIRTH OF WISDOM.

"When Jove went big of Pallas in his brain, he was forced to use the midwifery of Vulcan's axe to ease him of his teeming burden."—*Erasmus*.



KING SOLOMON.

"Folly is joy to him that is destitute of wisdom."—*Proverbs* xv. 21.

Melanchthon was capable of appreciating it, but otherwise Erasmus was regarded as an enemy to the movement and even an infidel. The situation will be best characterized by a few extracts from Luther's *Table Talk*, which we here reprint from Hazlitt's translation.

"Erasmus of Rotterdam is the vilest miscreant that ever disgraced the earth. He made several attempts to draw me into his snares, and I should have been in danger, but that God lent me

special aid. In 1525, he sent one of his doctors, with 200 Hungarian ducats, as a present to my wife; but I refused to accept them, and enjoined my wife to meddle not in these matters. He is a very Caiphas.

"Qui Satanam non odit, amet tua carmina Erasme,
Atque idem jungat furias et mulgeat orcum.

"Erasmus is very pitiful with his prefaces, though he tries to smooth them over: he appears to see no difference between Jesus Christ our Saviour, and the wise pagan legislator Solon. He sneers



THE FOOL AND THE WISE
MAN.

Fools speak the truth; while the wise man, as Euripides observes, carries a double tongue—the one to speak what may be said, the other what ought to be said.—*Erasmus.*



THE ASTRONOMER.

"A judicial astrologer pretending to keep correspondence with the stars ... a presumptuous imposture, yet some, to be sure, will be so great fools as to believe them."—*Erasmus.*

at St. Paul and St. John; and ventures to say that the Epistle to the Romans, whatever it might have been at a former period, is not applicable to the present state of things. Shame upon thee, accursed wretch! 'Tis a mere Momus, making his mows and mocks at everything and everybody, at God and man, at Papist and Protestant, but all the while using such shuffling and double-meaning terms, that no one can lay hold of him to any effectual purpose. Whenever I pray, I pray for a curse upon Erasmus. . . .

“Erasmus was poisoned at Rome and at Venice with epicurean doctrines. He extols the Arians more highly than the Papists; he ventured to say that Christ is named God but once in St. John, where Thomas says: ‘My Lord and my God.’ His chief doctrine is, we must carry ourselves according to the time, or, as the proverb goes, hang the cloak according to the wind; he only looked to himself, to have good and easy days, and so died like an epicurean, without any one comfort of God.

“This do I leave behind me as my will and testament, where-



CREDULOUS PROSELYTE PRAYING TO ST. CHRISTOPHER.

He invokes protection from danger and misfortunes while journeying.



THE TURK AND HIS GOD.

Like the Christian the Turk worships his own image.

unto I make you witnesses. I hold Erasmus of Rotterdam to be Christ's most bitter enemy. In his catechism, of all his writings that which I can least endure, he teaches nothing decided. Not one word says: Do this, or, do not this; he only therein throws error and despair into youthful consciences. He wrote a book against me, called *Hyperaspites*, wherein he proposed to defend his work on free-will, against which I wrote my *De servo Arbitrio*, which has never yet been confuted, nor will it ever be by Erasmus, for I am certain that what I wrote on the matter is the unchangeable truth

of God: If God live in heaven, Erasmus will one day know and feel what he has done.

"Erasmus is the enemy to true religion, the open adversary of Christ, the complete and faithful picture and image of Epicurus and of Lucian."

Luther appears in these comments in all his narrowness, but it would be a great mistake if we judged Luther from the modern standpoint of breadth. It was because of his very narrowness that Luther was great. If he had not been possessed of that narrow-minded courage he would probably not have taken the stand he did before the Diet of Worms, and would not have been a fit man for his work in history. There he stood and faced very probable death



FOLLY TALKING TO HER
PUPPET.



PENELOPE AT HER LOOM.

on the faggots—the fate which had befallen John Huss. Would he have done the same if he had been as broad-minded as Eras mus? Scarcely. The man needed at the time was Luther with all his childlike faith, who called Copernicus a fool for trying to upset the whole *scientia astronomiae*, and who himself was of a mentality that could see the Devil with horns and hoofs bodily before him.

QUERELA PACIS.¹

"If in courts of judicature the judge will not admit of suits which are frivolous and vexatious; if he will not admit of all sorts

¹ Extract from a rare English translation of Erasmus's "Complaint of Peace" in which Peace speaks, *propria persona*.

of evidence, especially that which arises from a personal pique and resentment, how happens it that in a business of far more consequence to human nature even than courts of judicature, in an affair the most odious and abominable, such as the promoting discord among human creatures and whole neighboring nations, causes the most frivolous and vexatious are freely admitted as competent and valid? Let the lovers of discord and the promoters of bloodshed between nations divided only by a name and a channel rather reflect



THE SOLDIERS OF CHRIST.

The one-armed cap-a-pie, the other with syllogism and arguments; both fighting for tithes and power over the people.



ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST.

Or the Good Shepherd and the Lamb of God.

that this world, the whole of the planet called earth, is the common country of all who live and breathe upon it, if the title of one's country is allowed to be a sufficient reason for unity among fellow countrymen; and let them also remember that all men, however distinguished by political or accidental causes, are sprung from the same parents, if consanguinity and affinity are allowed to be available to concord and peace. If the church also is a subdivision of this one great universal family, a family of itself consisting of all

who belong to that church, and if the being of the same family necessarily connects all the members in a common interest and a common regard for each other, then the opposers must be ingenious in their malice if they can deny that all who are of the same church, the grand catholic church of all Christendom, must also have a common interest, a common regard for each other, and therefore be united in love.

“In private life you bear with some things in a brother-in-law



FORTUNE, THE EMPRESS OF
THE WORLD.

“To wise men she is always stingy and sparing of her gifts, but is profusely liberal and lavish to fools.”—*Erasmus*.



ATLAS SUPPORTING THE
WORLD.

“Supporting the Catholic church with the props and pillars of proposition and syllogisms no less effectually than Atlas carries the world on his shoulders.”—*Erasmus*.

which you bear with only because he is a brother-in-law; and will you bear with nothing in him who by the tie of the same religion is also a brother? You pardon many little offenses on account of nearness of kindred, and will you pardon nothing on account of an affinity founded in religion? Yet there is no doubt but that the closest possible tie among all the Christian brotherhood is confraternity in Christ.

“Why are you always fixing your attention upon the sore place

where the insult of injury received from a fellow-creature festers and rankles? If you seek peace and ensue it, as you ought to do, you will rather say to yourself: "He hurt me in this instance, it is true; but in other instances he has aften served or gratified me, and in this one he was perhaps incited to momentary wrong by passion, mistake, or by another's impulse.' As in the poet Homer the persons who seek to effect a reconciliation between Agamemnon and Achilles



THE SPIRITUAL PRINCE OF ROME.

The Pope does not imitate the humble life of Christ, but "gets himself elected by bribery and holds his seat by pistol, poison, force and violence."—*Erasmus*.

throw all the blame of their quarrel on the Goddess Ate, so in real life offenses that cannot be excused consistently with strict veracity should good-naturedly be imputed to ill-fortune, or, if you please, to a man's evil genius; that the resentment may be transferred from men to those imaginary beings who can bear the load, however great, without the slightest inconvenience.

"Why should men show more sagacity in creating misery than

in securing and increasing the comforts of life? Why should they be more quick-sighted in finding evil than good? All men of sense weigh, consider, and use great circumspection before they enter upon any private business of momentous consequence. And yet they throw themselves headlong into war with their eyes shut, notwithstanding war is that kind of evil which when once admitted cannot be excluded again at will, but usually from a little one becomes a very great one, from a single one multiplies into a complication.



THE CARDINAL.

Some apostolic retainers surpass the magnificence of secular princes.

from an unbloody contest changes to carnage, and at last rises to a storm which does not overwhelm merely one or two, and those the chief instigators to the mischief, but all the unoffending people also, confounding the innocent with the guilty.

“If the poor people of the very lowest order are too thoughtless to consider these things, it can be no excuse for the king and the nobles, whose indispensable duty it is to consider them well; and it is the particular business of the clergy to enforce these pacific

opinions with every argument which ingenuity and learning can derive from reason and religion; to enforce them, I say, and inculcate them on the minds of both the great, vulgar, and the small; 'instantly, in season, and out of season'; whether they 'will bear, or whether they will forbear.' Something will at last stick, if it is incessantly applied; and therefore let the pulpits and conversation of the clergy teach the bland doctrines of peace and love everywhere and always.

"Mortal man! (for so I address thee, even on a throne) dost thou exult at hearing the rumor of an ensuing war? Check thy joy



MEDAL OF ERASMUS IN 1519, WITH HIS *MEMENTO MORI* DEVICE

Obverse.—Bust of Erasmus in profile to left. In the field: ER. ROT. ("Erasmus of Rotterdam"). Legend: IMAGO . AD . VIVA. EFFIGIE . EXPRESSA . THN . KPEITTO . TA . ΣΤΥΓΓΑΜΜΑΤΑ . ΔΕΙΞΕΙ ("His image modelled to the living features. His writings will represent it better"). Below the bust is the date 1519.

Reverse.—A man's head to left on a cubical boundary stone inscribed, TERMINVS. In the field: CONCEDO NVLLI ("I yield to none"). Legend: ΟΡΑ . ΤΕΛΟΣ . ΜΑΚΡΟΤ . ΒΙΟΥ . ΜΟΡΣ . VLTIMA LINEA RERVM ("Keep in view the end of a long life. Death is the final goal of all").

a moment and examine accurately the nature and consequences of peace and the nature and consequences of war; what blessings follow in the train of peace and what curses march in the rear of war; and then form a true and solid judgment, whether it can ever be expedient to exchange peace for war. If it is a goodly and beautiful sight to behold a country flourishing in the highest prosperity—its cities well built; its lands well cultivated; the best of laws well executed; arts, sciences, and learning, those honorable employments of the human mind, encouraged; men's morals virtuous and honest—then may it please your Majesty to lay your

hand on your heart and let your conscience whisper to you, 'All this happiness I must disturb or destroy if I engage in this meditated war.' On the other hand, if you ever beheld the ruin of cities, villages burnt, churches battered down, fields laid desolate, and if the sight could wring a tear of pity from thine eye, then, Sire, remember that these are the blasted fruits of accursed war! If you think it a great inconvenience to be obliged to admit an inundation of hired soldiers into your realms, to feed and clothe them at the expense of your subjects, to be very submissive to them, meanly to court their favor in order to keep them in good humor, well affected and loyal; and, after all, to trust (which is unavoidable in these circumstances) your own person and your safety to the discretion of such a rabble; recollect, that such is the condition of a state of warfare, and that these evils, great as they are, become necessary when you have made yourself their slave in order to enslave or destroy an imaginary enemy.

"If you detest robbery and pillage remember these are among the duties of war, and that to learn how to commit them adroitly is a part of military discipline. Do you shudder at the idea of murder? You cannot require to be told that to commit it with dispatch and by wholesale constitutes the celebrated art of war. If murder were not learned by this art, how could a man who would shudder to kill one individual, even when provoked, go in cold blood and cut the throats of many for a little paltry pay, and under no better authority than a commission from a mortal as weak, wicked and wretched as himself, who does not perhaps know even his person and would not care if both his body and soul were annihilated? If there cannot be a greater misfortune to the commonwealth than a general neglect and disobedience of the laws, let it be considered as a certain truth that the voice of law, divine or human, is never heard amid the clangor of arms and the din of battle. If you deem debauchery, rapes, incest, and crimes of still greater turpitude than these, foul disgraces to human nature, depend upon it that war leads to all of them in their most aggravated atrocity. If impiety, or a total neglect of religion, is the source of all villainy, be assured that religion is always overwhelmed in the storms of war. If you think that the very worst possible condition of society is when the worst of men possess the greatest share of power, you may take it as an infallible observation that the wickedest, most unprincipled, and most unfeeling wretches bear the greatest sway in a state of war, and that such as would come to the gallows in time of peace are men of prime use and energy in the operations of a siege or a

battle. For who can lead the troops through secret ways more skilfully than an experienced robber who has spent an apprenticeship to the art among thieves? Who will pull down a house, or rob a church, more dexterously than one who has been trained to burglary and sacrilege? Who will plunge his bayonet into the enemy's heart, or rip up his bowels with more facility of execution than a practised assassin, or thorough-paced cut-throat by profession? Who is better qualified to set fire to a village, or a city, or a ship, than a notorious incendiary? Who will brave the hardships and perils of the sea better than a pirate long used to rob, sink, and destroy merchant vessels inoffensively traversing the great waters? In short, if you would form an adequate idea of the villany of war, only observe by whom it is carried into actual execution.

“If nothing can be a more desirable object to a pious king than the safety and welfare of those who are committed to his charge, then, consistently with this object, war must of necessity be held in the greatest conceivable abhorrence. If it is the happiness of a king to govern the happy he cannot but delight in peace. If a good king wishes for nothing so much as to have his people good like himself, he must detest war as the foul sink of sin as well as misery. If he has sense and liberality enough to consider his subjects' riches the best and truest opulence he can himself possess, then let him shun war by all possible means; because, though it should turn out ever so fortunate, it certainly diminishes everybody's property, and expends that which was earned by honest, honorable and useful employments, on certain savage butchers of the human race. Let him also consider again and again that every man is apt to flatter himself that his own cause is a good one; that every man is pleased with his own schemes and purposes; and that every measure appears to a man agitated with passion the most equitable, though it is the most unjust, the most imprudent and the most fallacious in the issue. But suppose the cause the justest in the world, the event the most prosperous, yet take into the account all the damages of war of every kind and degree, and weigh them in the balance with all the advantages of victory, and you will find the most brilliant success not worth the trouble. Seldom can a conquest be gained without the effusion of blood. Therefore, in the midst of the rejoicings, illuminations, acclamations, and all the tumult of joy excited by knaves among fools, it must occur to a king with a feeling heart that he has embued hands, hitherto unspotted, in the pollution of the human gore. Add to this circumstance, distressing to every humane heart, the injury done to the morals of the people and the

general good order and discipline of the state, and you will find this a loss which neither money, nor territory, nor glory, can compensate. You have exhausted your treasury, you have fleeced your people, you have loaded peaceable good subjects with unnecessary burdens, you have encouraged all the wicked unprincipled adventurers in acts of rapine and violence: and, after all, even when the war is put an end to, the bad consequences of the war still remain, not to be removed by the most splendid victory. The taste for science, arts, and letters, languishes a long while. Trade and commerce continue shackled and impeded. Though you should be able to block up the enemy, yet in doing it you in fact block up yourself and your own people; for neither you nor they dare enter the neighboring nation, which before the war was open to egress and regress; while peace, by opening a universal intercourse among mankind, renders in some measure all the neighboring dynasties one common country.

“Consider what mighty matters you have done by thus boldly rushing into war. Your own hereditary dominions can scarcely be called your own. The possession is rendered insecure, being constantly exposed to hostile invasion. In order to demolish a poor little town how much artillery, how much camp-equipage and all other military apparatus, do you find requisite? You must build a sort of temporary town in order to overthrow a real one; and for less money than the whole business of destruction costs you, you might build another town by the side of that you are going to level in the dust, where human beings might enjoy, if you would let them, the comfort of that life which God has been pleased to bestow in peace and plenty. In order to prevent the enemy from going out of the gates of his own town, you are obliged to sleep for months out of yours in a tent of the open air, and continue in a state of transportation and exile from your own home. You might build new walls for less than it costs to batter down the old ones with your cannon-balls and all the expensive contrivances formed for the hellish purposes of marring and demolishing the works of human industry.

In this cursory computation of your expense (for that I am chiefly considering, and the gain that accrues from victory) I do not reckon the vast sums that stick to the fingers of commissioners, contractors, generals, admirals and captains, which is certainly a great part of the whole. If you could bring all these articles into a fair and honest calculation, I will painfully suffer myself to be everywhere driven from you mortals as I am, unless it should appear that

you might have purchased peace, without a drop of blood, at a tenth part of the expenditure. But you think it would be mean and humiliating, inconsistent with your own and your nation's honor, to put up with the slightest injury. Now I can assure you that there is no stronger proof of a poor spirit, a narrow, cowardly and unkingly heart, than revenge; especially as a king does not risk his own person in taking it, but employs the money of the people and the courage of the poor. You think it inconsistent with your august majesty, and that it would be departing from your royal dignity, to recede one inch from your strict right in favor of a neighboring king, though related to you by consanguinity or marriage and perhaps one who has formerly rendered you beneficial services. Poor strutting mortal! How much more effectually do you let down your august majesty and royal dignity when you are obliged to sacrifice with oblations of gold to foreign and barbarous mercenaries, to the lowest dregs, the most profligate wretches on the face of the earth; when, with the most abject adulation, and in the meanest form of a petitioner, you send ambassadors or commissioners to the vilest and most mischievous nations around, to ask them to receive your subsidies; trusting your august majesty's life, and the property and political existence of your people, to the good faith of allies who appear to have no regard to the most sacred engagements and are no less inclined to violate justice than humanity."

MISCELLANEOUS.

RICHARD DEDEKIND.

Julius Wilhelm Richard Dedekind died on February 12, 1916, at the advanced age of eighty-three, at his home in Brunswick, Germany. He had won international renown for his work in the theory of numbers, and two of his classical pamphlets have been translated by W. W. Beman under the title



Essays on the Theory of Numbers, and published by the Open Court Publishing Company. In the current (July) number of *The Monist*, Mr. Philip E. B. Jourdain, of Fleet, England, presents an appreciation of Dedekind's scientific achievements and we refer our readers to this article for further details.

MR. GORHAM'S REPLY TO MR. MATTERN.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

Allow me a few lines relative to Mr. Gorham's reply to Mr. Mattern in the April issue of *The Open Court*. It seems to me that Mr. Gorham is right within certain limits. In view of the collected evidence it is not possible to contend that the German army in Belgium has remained free of guilt. Nevertheless, it is my conviction that Mr. Gorham looks at the whole matter through English glasses—smoked glasses, penetrable only to certain rays of light. He is blind to the truth that Mr. Roland Hugins has well expressed when he said that "we do not have here white angels fighting black fiends, but human beings all smeared with the same scarlet."

There was no need for Mr. Gorham to refer to a Prussian law of a hundred years ago, in order to settle the question whether or not the civil population are entitled to offer armed resistance to an invader. According to Article 2 of the Annex to the Hague Convention of 1899, the civil population are entitled to do so, however, *only at the moment of invasion*. Has the occupation once been accomplished no civil person has a right to attack soldiers. In occupied territory, "Very generally acts of disobedience or hostility are made punishable with the penalty of death." (*American and English Encyclopedia of Law*, 2d. ed., Vol. 16, p. 157).

But the army of what country is likely to care for law if outnumbered by a hostile civil population? The British perhaps? Frederick F. Schrader, in one of his essays, (*Fatherland*, December 2, 1914) quotes from the *London Truth* an article by Lt. Morrison of the Canadian Artillery, as follows: "During the trek our progress was like the old times forays in the highlands of Scotland, two centuries ago. We moved on from valley to valley, lifting cattle and sheep, burning, looting and turning out the women and children."

The trek referred to by Lt. Morrison took place during the Transvaal war. The point I wish to make is that we may admit that the German soldiers have committed atrocities in certain sections of Belgium and at the same time ask whether any other army under similar circumstances would have acted in a more humane manner. In the Transvaal the British were fighting for extension of their colonial empire. They had no cause for desperation. The Germans in Belgium, however, knew very well that a defeat in the west would have meant defeat in the east; they had to save the women of Berlin from the fate that befell the women of East Prussia. Moreover, the Transvaal was but thinly populated and the invading army was smaller there than in Belgium, hence the points of contact were fewer, the temptation less.

Considering also what is known about the punishment for sniping during the Transvaal war and about the concentration camps of those days, the conclusion seems to be ineluctable that Europe would have been a thousand times worse off had the Germans not invaded Belgium, but the Cossacks and the Tommy Atkins, together penetrated central Europe; that after all the smaller of two evils has come to pass; and that no nation under the sun can turn to Germany and exclaim, "I am holier than thou!"

Should you think that what I have said might help to clear the thought on the subject, you are welcome to make use of these lines in *The Open Court*.

EMIL REACH.

THE THERMOMETER.

In connection with Dr. Carus's article on thermometers in *The Open Court* for March, 1916 (p. 187), it is of interest to note that the original memoirs of Fahrenheit, Réaumur, and Celsius were collected and reprinted in No. 57 of *Ostwald's Klassiker der exakten Wissenschaften*. The subject is also referred to in the English translation of Mach's *Principles of the Theory of Heat* which is now in the press and will shortly be published by the Open Court Publishing Company. The little volume of the *Klassiker* just mentioned is edited by A. J. von Ottingen, and from it the following particulars are taken. Gabriel Daniel Fahrenheit (1686-1736) was a son of a merchant in Danzig, and went to Amsterdam to study business. Here he learned physics, and traveled to England where he wrote five memoirs for the *Philosophical Transactions* of 1724. These memoirs were the only ones he ever wrote, and though they are not at all connected immediately with his famous thermometer, they are all translated from Latin into German in the above little volume. Fahrenheit seems to have lived in Amsterdam by the making of meteorological instruments, but was of some scientific eminence, since he was elected a member of the Royal Society of London. Fahrenheit was the first to use mercury in thermometers, but Christian Wolff, who is best known as a follower of Leibniz, had used it in *thermoscopes* in 1709. René Antoine Ferchault, Seigneur de Réaumur, des Angles et de la Bermondière (1683-1757) became a member of the Paris Academy of Sciences in 1708, published much on the technical arts, and later on constructed his thermometer and took up studies connected with it. His memoirs on thermometry appeared first in the Paris *Mémoires* for 1730, 1731, and 1733, and were of great length, in contrast to Fahrenheit's short and excellent writings. Anders Celsius (1701-1744) was born and died at Upsala in Sweden, was professor of astronomy there, and his memoir on thermometers appeared in the publications of the Swedish Academy of Sciences for 1742.

The above accounts of Fahrenheit, Réaumur, and Celsius are confirmed by the biographies in the latest (eleventh) edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Vol. X, p. 126; Vol. XXII, p. 947; Vol. V, p. 609, respectively). ☐

Comments upon the Editorial Article concerning our Thermometer.

The recent article in the March number of *The Open Court* upon "Our Thermometer" has no doubt been read with considerable interest. Several statements in it, however, are very misleading and require to be corrected.

It is said for example on page 188: "There is no doubt that to Fahrenheit belongs the honor of having invented the thermometer; all the essentials of temperature measurement were invented by him and we shall never forget that he was the pioneer in the field." The Editor's desire to award the invention of the thermometer to a German is of course perfectly natural; if he will turn, however, to two perfectly trustworthy German authorities, Poggen-dorff's *Geschichte der Physik* (p. 225) and Gerland's more recent *Geschichte der Physik* (p. 339), he will find that Fahrenheit instead of being a pioneer was a comparatively late comer in the field of temperature measurement. Galileo, an Italian, invented the thermometer about 1592; his first instrument, based upon the expansion of air, was really a development of the work of a Greek, Hero of Alexandria. Galileo soon found air to be unsatisfactory and

in 1612 invented the alcohol thermometer in which each degree represented $\frac{1}{1000}$ the volume of the bulb. Many of these old Galilean thermometers can still be seen in museums. Réaumur based his alcohol thermometer upon that of Galileo, and having fixed his zero at the freezing point of water let each degree above this represent $\frac{1}{1000}$ the volume of the bulb and stem below the zero division. With the strength of alcohol which he used the boiling point of water happened to fall at the 80th division. There is no truth whatever in the statement that Réaumur graduated his scale by dividing the interval between the freezing and boiling points into 80 degrees; this method of graduation was adopted by Réaumur's successors but not by Réaumur himself.

The use of mercury for thermometers in place of alcohol was first tried in Florence and later in Paris. Fahrenheit's first experiments were made with alcohol, but about 1720 he abandoned alcohol for mercury, and his technical skill, which exceeded that of his predecessors, soon made the mercury thermometer, what it never was before, an accurate instrument of measurement.

The zero point of Fahrenheit's thermometer was based upon the temperature of a mixture of ice, water and salt (which he believed to be the lowest possible cold) and not upon that of the coldest day which he had experienced, as incorrectly stated by the Editor (see Poggendorff's *Geschichte*, p. 519).

Fahrenheit fixed the freezing point of water upon his scale and divided the interval between this and his zero into 32 divisions, probably for the reason that he was able to reach the length of a single degree mark by a simple process of bisection. (The English inch is divided in the same way into $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{16}$ and $\frac{1}{32}$, and this method of bisection is a great convenience for many purposes.) By extending these divisions above the zero division Fahrenheit arrived at the upper register of his scale. The temperature of the human body which Fahrenheit found to be 96° (three times the interval from 0 to 32) formed the third fixed point upon his scale. By means of these three fixed points Fahrenheit could easily standardize his thermometers and it was in this way that his instruments were brought to their high point of accuracy. Fahrenheit did not employ the temperature of boiling water as a fixed point. Upon the scale graduated as described the boiling point of water happened to fall at 212° . At the present day it is customary to graduate the Fahrenheit scale by fixing the freezing point of water at 32° and the boiling point at 212° , the interval between these two divisions being divided into 180 degrees. By extending these divisions below 32° the lower register of the scale is reached.

The Editor omits to state in his article several advantages which the Fahrenheit scale has over other systems. In the first place by setting his zero point very low Fahrenheit obviated the necessity of employing minus degrees for most meteorological measurements. Of course we know now that a much lower cold can be produced than by a mixture of ice and salt, the absolute zero being several hundred degrees below this (-273° Centigrade and -460° Fahrenheit). The principle of starting with the lowest possible cold, however, is sound and many scientific measurements are based upon a scale which begins with absolute zero.

Another great advantage of the Fahrenheit scale is that it largely does away with the necessity of using fractional degrees. The one hundred divisions of the Centigrade scale are hardly sufficient to express ordinary observations without the use of fractions.

These advantages of the Fahrenheit scale and the natural inclination of most peoples to conform to natural usage explain the continuance of its use in England, Holland, the United States and other parts of the world. The statement "That America has so long followed the English conservatism is only a sign of our lack of independence" is wholly unwarranted. Would the Editor explain the use of the Fahrenheit thermometer in Holland in this way? Surely there is such a thing as persistence of natural customs! As good a philosopher as Dr. Carus must recognize this and he should be less hasty in forming his generalizations. Would it be permissible to say that the barbarous custom of the student duel, which persists in Germany notwithstanding all efforts to abolish it, is a sign that all Germans are barbarians? Would Dr. Carus call the tenacity with which the German people cling to their black letter type, when other nations centuries ago adopted the simpler and much more beautiful Roman type, a sign that the German people are unprogressive? In spite of the fact that reformers in Germany have shown their people that the old black letter produces eye-strain and myopia, and is a severe handicap in the education of young children, old custom continues to assert itself and the use of Roman type is making only gradual headway.

Adopting the reasoning which Dr. Carus has used, an unfriendly critic of German customs might retort: "The Germans, most conservative of all, cling to forms of type used by their inventor, a native of Holland. Koster selected as the model for his types the old Gothic letter, and notwithstanding the fact that the people of Holland and of other nations centuries ago abandoned the Gothic for the simpler and more pleasing Roman letter, the Gothic is still the letter for every German mind. This settled the question and no change has occurred down to the present day, for if the German mind accepts one method of action it will stick to it until the end of time." The Editor would very justly repudiate any such conclusions as these, and yet they are strictly analogous to those which he has drawn in his article upon the thermometer.

The pages of *The Open Court*, whose chief aim has been to encourage the philosophy and religion of science, should be above every display of petty nationalism.

These comments upon the article of Dr. Carus concerning the thermometer might be applied to other recent contributions of his, where strong racial feeling has apparently prevented him from looking upon many questions with his former broad-minded spirit of fairness and impartiality. The many friends of *The Open Court* dislike to see its Editor forsake his previous love for scientific accuracy and truth, for the sophistries of a partisan propagandist.

C. A. BROWNE.

NEW YORK.

Editorial Reply.

Mr. C. A. Browne's letter is very welcome because Mr. Albert Johnson, member of the House of Representatives, has introduced a bill to abolish the Fahrenheit thermometer and is anxious to collect the opinions of specialists on the subject. Here is the revised draft of the bill which is "submitted for criticism":

"Be it enacted, etc., That the centigrade scale of temperature measurement shall be the standard in United States Government publications, the use of the

Fahrenheit scale being discontinued, at the option of the chiefs of bureaus, either immediately upon the signing of this bill or after such interval as may in the opinion of each bureau chief seem advisable as regards the publications issued by his bureau.

"Sec. 2. During the period of transition, the Fahrenheit equivalent of centigrade degrees may be added in parenthesis or as a footnote or in any other way, if in the opinion of bureau chiefs it seem necessary in order to prevent misunderstanding.

"Sec. 3. The introduction of the centigrade scale as the standard is not intended to interfere with the use of the absolute scale, in which zero represents the absolute cold."

I must confess that the note which I had jotted down on the thermometer was merely a comment to be used in reference to the proposed bill, and that by mistake it was published prematurely; but it serves its purpose if it has called out the criticism of specialists. That is exactly what is needed.

Mr. Brown seems to be a specialist, I am not; and Mr. Browne will do a good service to the cause if he can advise our legislators whether it would be wiser to retain the Fahrenheit thermometer as being possessed of qualities which make it more desirable than the centigrade now used in scientific work on the European continent.

I feel reluctant to reply to Mr. Browne's critical remarks so far as they are directed at me personally. I am inclined to let them stand. Still I feel that I should make a few comments in explanation of my convictions.

I know very well that mankind is conservative, and the English are more conservative than other nations. They are often conservative to a fault, but we must consider that conservatism is a virtue, and England's pre-eminent position among the nations is mainly due to the conservative character of her people.

It is strange that Gothic type is frequently considered as a peculiar kind of alphabet which results in difficulties for school-children when attempting to learn German. The Gothic form of letters, often called the German alphabet, is the same as the old Roman, only it is a peculiar style which at the time of its invention was considered ornamental. You can trace in every Gothic letter the shape of its Roman equivalent, the only difference being a twist given to the straight line of its Roman prototype. It is really the same mode of tracing letters which in English is called "black letter," and it is an invention to be traced back to the monks who were the scribes and copyists in the middle ages long before Koster. I will no more belittle Koster's innovation in introducing the black letter type into print, than Mr. Browne denies the merit of Fahrenheit in making the first practical thermometer, even when insisting upon the fact that he had predecessors in Galileo and Hero of Alexandria.

Considering my partisanship for the Germans, of which Mr. Browne accuses me, I plead guilty. But I will add that I am not pro-German because I am a native German; I am pro-German because after a careful investigation I have acquired the conviction that in the present war Germany is right and the Allies are wrong. I am very sorry that the war has come upon the world. It is a terrible struggle, terrible for all, and I am sorry for every nation and for mankind in general; but I am positive that Germany did not start the war,

and I feel sure that, although greatly outnumbered by her enemies, she will hold her own on account of her efficiency.

The English are of German extraction and the English language is a modified Saxon or Low German dialect. The English are nearer kin to the North Germans than are the Danes or the other Scandinavians,—nearer even than the South Germans are to the North Germans. I have always cherished a high opinion of the English nationality as well as the English language. I am positive that if I could be shown by facts and sound argument that the Germans are wrong in this present war I would vigorously stand up against them as I did at the time of the Dewey-Dietrich quarrel when I did not hesitate to express my views on the subject in unequivocal terms. I would consider it a sign of cowardice on my part if I shrank from speaking out plainly what I have found to be the truth. Convince me that I am wrong, but do not attribute my position to "racial feeling" which makes me "forsake love for scientific accuracy and truth, for the sophistries of a partisan propagandist."

I know that most people do not take sides in this war on rational grounds but from sentimental impulse, and it is hopeless to convince any one by argument after he has once taken his stand. The large masses of people are absolutely deaf to argument. Nevertheless I would act against my conscience if I concealed my conviction.

My duty to speak out boldly is the more imperative since I see a tremendous danger threatening our national independence. I came to this country as an American, not as a German. I believe in American ideals, but I am shocked at the sight of Americans turning traitors to their own Americanism. We are not endangered by Germany, but we are endangered by England and her ally Japan. At present the Japanese danger is the more acute, but the English is the more insidious. It has poisoned the minds of our leaders, and the final result will be the loss of our independent development. I know that some of my pro-British friends would not grieve over it because they bow down before the British ideal. They think that we would gain by recognizing English superiority, by overcoming our crudeness and imbibing English civilization, yea, identifying ourselves with Anglicism. I am an American of the old style, and if the new pro-British Americanism should become our national ideal, officially recognized not only by one transient administration but with full conviction endorsed by the people, by the whole people, I would regret ever having set foot on this shore and would feel a longing to emigrate to some other country where the spirit of the old Americanism, the spirit of Washington and Franklin, of Jefferson and Hamilton, and of Lincoln, is alive. I would bid goodby to my American countrymen and would wish them God speed, but would say: You are no longer truly American! you are pseudo-American; you have lost the old vigorous American spirit; you have forsaken your own traditions; you have forfeited the blessings for which your fathers fought.

WATER-POWER CONSERVATION.

While our president keeps us bewildered with his pro-British policy and while our dailies concentrate our attention on the chase our troops are giving to Villa, there are those who claim that the American people are being robbed in the most legal and thorough style by laws which are donating enormous

riches of national resources to some bold grabbers, and that those whose duty it would be to protect the people are too much interested in other affairs to come to the rescue.

The law under special consideration is the Shields bill, and its supporters claim that its purpose is to make possible the development of water-power which has been held up for eight years by the absence of proper legislation. Mr. Gifford Pinchot on the other hand believes that this measure would turn over to the power interests in perpetuity (although there is a pretended fifty years limitation) water-power equivalent to twice the mechanical power of every kind now used in the United States, or enough to meet the needs of two hundred million people. Former Secretary James R. Garfield agrees with Mr. Pinchot in regarding the Shields bill as iniquitous. He says:

"These laws turn over to private monopoly public power in perpetuity. The fifty years' limitation as proposed is nothing more than a mere fiction. I realize the need of water-power development. I have no patience with that conservation which ties up our natural resources, but neither have I any patience with that conservation which destroys the public interest."

Strangely enough the Conservation Congress which met in Washington during the first week in May favored the passage of the bill but its opponents claim that the Congress was greatly under the influence of the special power interests. Mr. Pinchot favors the Ferris bill but considers the Myers bill an unsatisfactory substitute.

"J'ACCUSE."

The book "I Accuse! (*J'accuse!*) by a German" was highly recommended to me by several of my anti-German friends. So I bought it and perused it in the hope of learning some new facts about the war and finding some arguments in favor of the Allies' cause which I had not sufficiently appreciated. But I was disappointed. In fact I doubt the statement which the editor of the book, Dr. Anton Suttner, a Swiss lawyer, makes in his preface: "The book *J'accuse*, written by a German patriot, and entrusted to me, is herewith presented to the public. I regard this work as an act which can only confer a blessing on the German people and on humanity, and I accordingly assume responsibility for its publication."

A perusal of the book proves positively that the author is not a German patriot. He is well informed concerning German affairs and accordingly we may assume that he is a German and that the misstatements which he introduces here and there are intentional. The treatment of the material indicates that he is plainly a traitor and has written the book for the sake of misrepresenting the German cause. There are however some strange and ridiculous mistakes in the book, such as would be almost impossible for a German, and which may have been introduced by the translator, Alexander Gray. I will only mention that in a footnote on page 14, Ernst Haeckel is called "the celebrated professor of theology."

Much light is shed on the authorship of the book in a statement which has appeared in a German weekly (*Deutsche Volkszeitung*) published at Amsterdam, Holland, whose editor had information from Switzerland to the effect that the editor of *J'accuse* is, or rather was, a lawyer of Bern who was

disbarred for doubtful practices. In the book the author—a certain Dr. Richard Grelling—is introduced as a patriotic German. He is neither a patriot nor a man of high standing, but a fugitive from Berlin, where he is sought by the courts on account of questionable proceedings in his profession. It is stated that if he had not escaped from Berlin he might now be in the penitentiary.

After his flight he lived for some time in Florence, and then in Paris. Being hostile to the German authorities, he obtained at the beginning of the war official permission to stay in France, and there wrote the book for which he was supplied with useful material by the French government. It is also stated that he was paid for writing the book, and there is no truth whatever in the assumption that he is a German patriot and has written his accusation of Germany from pure motives.

TOLSTOY ON THE FRANCO-RUSSIAN ALLIANCE.

One of our subscribers sends us an old clipping from the *Weserzeitung* of Bremen, which has a special interest in the light of current history. The *Weserzeitung* contains an account of Tolstoy's opinion given at the time of the conclusion of the Franco-Russian alliance. With a sound judgment born of a large outlook upon the world, Tolstoy pronounced the alliance an unmitigated evil in terms which to us to-day seem almost prophetic. The extract from the Bremen newspaper is as follows:

"Count Tolstoy has for some years past been honored in France with real enthusiasm; his spoken and written words almost always make a very deep impression in that country, and carry the weight of law. The *Revue Blanche* has asked the Russian savant and eccentric some questions relative to the Franco-Russian alliance, and he has replied most unequivocally that he condemns it. He says: 'My answer to the first question, what the Russian people think of the alliance, is as follows: The Russian people, the real people, have not the slightest idea of such an alliance; but even if they knew of it the whole populace would be indifferent about it, in the general feeling that this exclusive alliance with another people can have no other result than the arousing of enmity and the provoking of wars. And for this reason the alliance would be extremely displeasing to the people. To the question, whether the Russian people shares the enthusiasm of the French, I would answer that the Russian people does not share their enthusiasm, if such enthusiasm exists; and that, if it knew all that is being said and done in France in regard to this alliance, it would have a feeling of distrust and antipathy to a people that, suddenly and without apparent reason, is at pains to manifest a spontaneous and extraordinary enthusiasm for an alliance.

"To the third question, as to what result the alliance would have for civilization in general, Tolstoy answered as follows: 'I am justified in assuming that it can have no other purpose than war or the threat of war against other peoples, and so can only be pernicious in its results. And even for the two peoples that have concluded the alliance it can bring nothing but the greatest disaster in its train, both now and in the future. The French government, the press, and all classes of French society, which have been active in the demand for the alliance, have already made great concessions from their traditions of freedom and humanity, and will make still greater ones. In

appearance, or even in fact, they will have to bring themselves into accord with the reactionary and most despotic and brutal government in Europe; and that will mean a great loss for France. While the alliance has already had a disintegrating influence on Russia, this influence will become even more powerful if the alliance endures. Since the conclusion of this unhappy treaty the Russian government, which formerly entertained a certain fear of European sentiment, and reckoned with it, no longer troubles about it. France claims to be the most civilized of peoples, yet inwardly she is rotten and disintegrated; and friendship with such a people must naturally lead to the Russian government becoming more and more reactionary and despotic. So the only possible result of this strange and unhappy alliance will be an unholy influence on the welfare of the two peoples as well as on civilization in general.⁷

"By a coincidence the famous Italian philosopher of law, Lombroso, has also recently discussed the Franco-Russian alliance with Tolstoy. Professor Lombroso writes as follows in *Das freie Wort* concerning his interview:

"Before taking leave I could not refrain from inquiring what his views were on the Franco-Russian alliance. And the answer he gave me was one of those utterances which seem paradoxical but are nevertheless eminently true: "It was the greatest misfortune that could have befallen the Russian people, for hitherto the government has at times been deterred from overtyrannical conduct, through fear of European public sentiment, whose great center lies in France; while now this fear will no longer exist." And the facts, especially the sad oppression of Finland, bear him out all too well."

MR. MANGASARIAN AGAIN.

Mr. Mangasarian prints an extract from my answer to him where I say that "if God stands for anything he means truth and justice, and the main thing in a war will ever be to have these on one's side." By this I mean that if people sincerely believe in God they will endeavor to purify their souls, and their belief will help them to think right and to do the right thing. As to my own conception of God, I will add that I define God as those factors in the world which constitute the world-order and find their clearest expression in what scientists call natural laws, including those highest laws which result in what has been called the moral world-order. In this sense I say that the laws of nature are the eternal thoughts of God.

In discussing the problem of God I have taken the course of inquiring what God meant to our ancestors in their experience, and in trying to understand their experience I have come to the conclusion that God meant to them truth, right and justice; that they personified their ideals in the belief of a supernatural personality.

Now to my mind the underlying idea of God contains a great truth, but it should be purified of errors and poetical imagery which can easily lead us into superstitions.

If I call God the All-Being I mean to say that he is not a concrete being that is in a definite place, but omnipresent; he is everywhere in the All. He is as omnipresent as is every law of nature which takes effect wherever conditions permit its application.

Mr. Mangasarian says: "If Carns makes God the 'determinant' then he must hold him responsible for the war and all the crimes and follies connected with it." I am not a quibbler so I will say: In a certain sense, yes; in another, no! God is the law of causation. He determines the results of conditions; therefore he is the blessing of good deeds and the curse of evil deeds. War is the result of egotism, ill will, greed, envy, hatred and other vices. In this sense war is a punishment sent by God, but in so far as the vices and the evil deeds that result from vices are men's own doings and not God's, God can not be blamed for them, unless we understand God in a pantheistic sense and identify the creator with his creation. But here I do not follow. I am opposed to pantheism. If I call God the All-Being, I do not identify him with the All, as Mr. Mangasarian assumes. It seems so hopeless to explain anything to Mr. Mangasarian. Nevertheless I would have patience enough to explain, if I had not the impression that he draws wrong conclusions intentionally, simply for the sake of argument.

Proper worship of God does not consist in ceremonies or prayer, but in knowing and appreciating the worth of this character of existence. In the course of evolution it has made man a moral being, and man must obey its rules for the sake of progress and general well-being. This God is the God of truth, the God of justice, the God of history.

Mr. Mangasarian has taken special offense at my saying that "God is neutral." He has misinterpreted and perhaps misunderstood me, but I mean what he says in his criticism, that the law of gravitation is neutral. Indeed all the laws of nature are neutral, but they serve him who adapts himself to them. In the same sense God is neutral, even as neutral as the sun that shines upon the evil as well as on the good and the rain that falls alike on the just and on the unjust. I still believe that God is neutral, and Mr. Mangasarian's sarcasm convinces me as little as it has convinced some members of his congregation who called at my office in search of further literature on the subject. One gentleman told me that he had been interested in Mr. Mangasarian's attack on me, but judging from his (Mr. Mangasarian's) statement alone, he thought that I had the better of him.

I grant, however, that others of Mr. Mangasarian's congregation agree with him. One of his admirers makes the following comment on the case:

"No one is so blind as he who *will not* see.

"No one is so deaf as he who *will not* hear.

"Also—any one with any 'sense of humor' and fair degree of knowledge, logic and FACTS surely must *smile* over your 'hypothesis of God' and 'God is Neutral' writings. Your *reasonings, statements, and conclusions* in them are ALL so absurd, and simply *creations of your own brain* and mere reflections of *your individual conceptions and wishes.*"

In reply to this conception I will say that the formulations of all natural laws are the creations of the brains of naturalists, be they Galileos, Keplers or Newtons. There is no harm in that. But if their formulas are true, they possess a meaning beyond themselves and become very serviceable. My critic's view will please Mr. Mangasarian and I quote it because I do not begrudge him the satisfaction he will derive therefrom.

Mr. Mangasarian has continued his attacks on me but I do not understand what he is driving at, for he makes statements that are irrelevant. He says, for instance: "The name of God has fenced in all manner of crimes,

to use a thought of Shelley. Does a massacre become 'holy' because it was started with a shout of 'Allah is great!' or 'Glory be unto God!'?"

In trying to understand me, he continues: "Can the good doctor be serious with his suggestion that the Christian and 'heathen' belligerents in invoking the God of battles are only praying to truth and justice? Truth and justice are not existences or entities, they are qualities. It would be just as unmeaning to pray to *hardness* or *softness* as to pray to truth or justice."

I did not attribute my God-conception to others, not even by way of suggestion; nor did I speak of prayer, or have I ever advocated it. I remind my readers of Kant's attitude toward prayer, and he rejects it except for oratorical reasons. It is well known that the pious Buddhists replace prayer by vows, and Jesus prays to God, "Thy will be done." The Lord's Prayer is not an appeal to God to change His will, but a vow that we shall adapt ourselves to God's will.

These are only incidental remarks on a topic which does not properly belong here, but Mr. Mangasarian raises the question to attack me and for the sake of effect does not mind shooting into the empty air. It does not hit me. Truth and justice, he declares, are qualities, not existences or entities. Let them be qualities or whatever you may call them. So long as they possess objective significance we would better heed them as much as we heed the laws of nature.

Mr. Mangasarian winds up his attack on me with a tirade on war prayers and his notions of Allah. He says:

"The God of both Turk and Christian is a *person*. The prayer which is recited by order of the Kaiser in all the churches to-day reads: 'Almighty and merciful God! *God of the armies!*... Bless the entire German war force. Lead us to victory, etc.' That is a very different God from the attenuated divinity of Paul Carus. And the English God is as anthropomorphic as the German: 'Oh, Lord our God arise. Scatter his [the king's] enemies. And make them fall. Confound their politics. Frustrate their knavish tricks. On thee our trust we fix, etc.' And when the Moslem obeys God's command to put every unbeliever to the edge of the sword, but to save the young maidens for his harem, he is not thinking of the made-to-order God of Dr. Carus—who is a mere adjective—a sort of stage God who appears and disappears as his managers pull the strings, but of a personal Being seated on a throne—one who hates the *Giavour* and loves the Moslem."

I have read Mr. Mangasarian's exposition of the God of the German Kaiser and the English king, like all his other comments, with much edification but also with indifference and without profit, for I do not know what these opinions have to do with me or my views. I enjoy a good controversy, but I do not care to meet an antagonist who either does not want or does not care to understand the meaning of my statements. We might as well listen to the crowing of our neighbor's rooster or watch the artistic contortions of an acrobat on the trapeze.

The English national hymn is correctly quoted but I do not understand what it has to do with me or my conception of God. The main use which these arguments possess is that they have convinced some of Mr. Mangasarian's admirers (or as I positively know at least one of them) of the absurdity of my views of God. Very well! I am satisfied. p. c.

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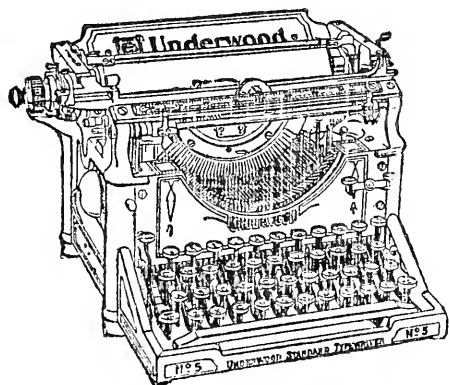
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