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

Founded by Edward C. Hegeler.

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PHILIP II OF SPAIN. Portrait by Titian, Palazzo Rosso, Genoa.

At the time of the Dutch Rebellion he succeeded in retaining Belgium, then called the Spanish Netherlands.

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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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THE PROTESTANTISM OF JOHN HUSS.

BY D. R. PIPER.

AN old Moravian hymn-book is preserved in the library of the University of Prague in which is a picture symbolizing the place of the great Bohemian martyr in the reform movement. The frontispiece represents Wyclif seizing a torch, Huss lighting it, and Luther holding it aloft. The movement under Wyclif in England was largely of a political and patriotic nature. Huss added the fire of religious conviction to the teachings of the Oxford reformer. And Luther, out of his own personal experience applied to the eternal verities which Huss had proclaimed, lifted that truth as a torch where the political, social, and religious aspirations of his people converged, to light the one path to threefold liberty.

Few historians seem to have realized to what an extent the German Reformation was indebted to Huss and his followers. Luther himself did not fail to acknowledge this indebtedness. Early in his career, when accused by his arch-enemy Eck of being a follower of the Bohemian heretic, he replied, "My dear Doctor, the Hussite opinions are not all wrong." Later in his life he did not hesitate to praise Huss, and this acknowledgment of indebtedness does not in the least reflect on the genius of Luther. For I do not pretend to assume that the statement of a few religious ideas, however new and vital, will sum up the significance of Luther's work. Every one understands that the phenomenon known as the German reformation was a social and economic movement no less than a religious revival. It is difficult to sift and separate these factors and determine the importance of each in the success of the movement. Undoubtedly, however, religious conviction formed the center about which all the other forces circled. The purpose of this

IOANNES HVSSVS BOHEMVS
Cæsaris huic violata fides, damnatus iniquè est
Vir pius et veræ religiones amans.
Nonne (inquit) lapsos post centum iugiter annos
Danda deo ratio est impia turba tibi?
Cum priuill.

The above picture of John Huss, the semi-millennial of whose martyrdom is celebrated the sixth of July, is taken from a page roughly torn from an old Latin book, which evidently was an ancient edition of some of the writings of Huss. It can not be certainly determined who is the author of the picture. But the H in the upper right-hand corner probably stands for Holbein, and the meager evidence at hand indicates that the picture is from a wood-cut by Hans Holbein the Younger, made about 1520, and possibly first used in Ulrich von Hutten's edition of Huss's *De ecclesia*, published in that year at Basel.

article is to maintain that there were to be found in the propaganda of Huss all the elements of religious protest which were present in the reformation of a century later. So thoroughly Protestant were the views of Huss that had the social, economic, and political status of sixteenth-century Germany prevailed in fifteenth-century Bohemia history would undoubtedly record a Bohemian reformation under Huss and Jerome, instead of a German reformation under Luther and Melanchthon.

I.

The religious soul of the reformation was the conception that Christianity is not a dogma but an experience. In order to be in the kingdom of God one must be in living touch with God himself. This was a bizarre idea to the orthodox churchman. For the medieval church laid its stress on conformity. Faith was assent to the doctrines of the church. It was not trust in God which saved, but the sacraments. Nevertheless, the sacramental and penitential system of the church failed to give relief to the overburdened soul of Luther. He discovered that "neither baptism nor monkery" could assist him in his inner struggle. At last he threw himself upon God and found peace. Luther's experience taught him to insist that faith is not intellectual assent to dogma, but a living trust in the God whom Christ revealed, which trust is coincident with the coming of the saving grace of God into the heart. It is this mercy of God made real to the heart which gives the sense of forgiveness and begets new trust. "The true faith," says Luther, "is the heart's utter trust in Christ, and God alone awakens this in us." Justification, with Luther, is an act which is continuous in its operation. We are justified whenever we look to Christ.

Of this conception of religion as an experience rather than a dogma, Principal Lindsay[1] says that, "here we find something entirely new, or at least hitherto unexpressed, as far as medieval theology is concerned;" and also that "Luther rediscovered religion when he declared that the truly Christian man must cling directly and with a living faith to the God who speaks to him in Christ." And I think that Lindsay is mistaken.

It is not to be expected that Huss should have stated this doctrine so forcibly or explicitly as did Luther. The occasion did not arise. But that Huss did conceive of religion as an experience rather than a dogma there can be little doubt; and while the term "justification by faith" is not found in his writings, the idea is there

[1] *History of the Reformation,* Vol. 1, p. 429.

in full force. "The priest or deacon who loves his enemies, despises riches, esteems as nothing the glory of the world, avoids entangling himself in worldly business, and patiently endures terrible threatenings, even persecutions for the gospel's sake, such a priest or deacon has the witness *within him* that he is a genuine disciple of Christ." What can this be, written in regard to those whom the church opposed, unless it be a statement that religion is an experience of the heart, that the testimony of the church is not a necessary proof of one's Christianity? When the bull of excommunication was issued against Huss, he boldly preached from the pulpit of Bethlehem Chapel that the pope could not excommunicate from the true church, but could at most but declare excommunicate those whom Christ had already rejected, and since he had not violated any law of Christ the bull was a dead letter. In the third hearing at Constance the fifth charge brought against Huss was that he had taught that *only the grace of God* makes one a member of the true church, and he did not attempt to refute, but defended the proposition. This means nothing if it does not substitute the direct experience of the heart with God for the mediation of the priesthood.

When the papal legate, Wenzel Tiem, came to Prague to sell indulgences during the crusade against Ladislas of Naples, Huss held a disputation in which he set forth the fallacy of the doctrine of indulgences, as did Luther a century later. On this occasion he declared that only Christ can forgive sins and that Christ does freely forgive the sins of the truly penitent. The absolution of the priest, therefore, said Huss, is but the assurance of the church as Christ's servant that Christ has already granted pardon if penitence is genuine. But since only Christ can forgive and the church can but declare accomplished what the grace of God has already wrought, no amount of money can avail to buy forgiveness without penitence; and if the heart is penitent no grant of indulgence can make the remission of sins more effective. Now since in penitence the heart does throw itself directly upon the mercy of God, we have here *implicitly* stated the idea of justification by faith. But in the same disputation Huss went a step farther. He declared that God grants the pardon of sin to none whom He Himself has not first rendered fit to receive it. This is an *explicit* statement of the Lutheran doctrine that it is God who puts the saving grace in the heart. It is true that Huss did not oppose confession and penance. But he did take the thoroughly Protestant position that though penance is a Christian duty it avails nothing in the forgiveness of sins, and that with Christ contrition suffices for pardon. Confession

and penance were to be observed apparently simply as acts of obedience to external authority on the Petrine principle of "Fear God, honor the king." A direct quotation will make the position of Huss more clear. All absolution, he says, is "conditioned on the fact that the person confessedly feels remorse for having sinned, is resolved to sin no more, *trusts in God's mercy,* and is determined for the future to obey God's commandments." We are justified, says Luther, by faith; and "true faith is the heart's utter trust in Christ, and God alone awakens this in us." Says Huss, we are forgiven by "trust in God's mercy," and we receive God's pardon only when he renders us fit to receive it. Luther's idea of saving faith, which Lindsay calls "something entirely new," is simply Huss's view developed into doctrinal expression.

II.

The corollary of justification by faith is the "universal priesthood of believers." If only God puts grace in the heart, if only he forgives, then we are all priests, we need no apostolic mediator. Every devout heart can intercede directly with Christ. To quote Luther in this matter: "Faith alone and the efficacious use of the word of God bring salvation." "We are all equally priests." The priests, posits Luther, are improperly named. They are not endowed with mediatorial powers. They do not possess unique access to the throne of grace. But the church has them only as ministers and servants, to preach and teach that gospel of which all may partake. The sacraments are thus robbed of their efficacy, although Luther does not immediately wish to dispense with them. But for the crying abuse of them by the clergy and the superstition of the people they might never have been dispensed with. Luther was concerned with building up the religion of the heart and was at first willing to let stand all that was not positively destructive of faith. Eventually, however, he dispensed with all but two of the sacraments as unscriptural, and retained these only as aids to faith.

Regarding Huss's position as to the Lutheran doctrine of the priesthood of believers, let us begin by reminding ourselves that Huss looked upon his own priesthood not as mediatorial but prophetic; and that he derived it not from apostolical succession but from God. When Alexander V prohibited his preaching in Bethlehem Chapel Huss replied: "He who lives conformably with the law of Christ and, animated by a disposition of sincere love, has singly in view the glory of God and his own and his neighbor's salvation and preaches not lies, not ribaldry, not fables, but the law of Christ and doctrines of the holy fathers of the church,. . . .such a person never

arrogates to himself the call to preach without authority; and it is not to be doubted that the man in such a case is sent from God." The view here is that the inner call is of more authority than the sanction of the church, and that the content of one's preaching is the test of one's divine authority to preach.

In his *De ecclesia* Huss lays the foundation for the doctrine of the priesthood of believers when he states that Christ is more present to the saints in Bohemia than is the pope, who lives 800 miles distant at Rome; for Christ can make his presence real to every true believer. Further he taught, and this was the thirty-sixth charge brought against him at Constance, that the church does not need an earthly head since Christ can rule directly in the hearts of his saints. These are approaches to the Lutheran thesis. But if we wish an explicit statement of the priesthood of believers we shall find it in the reformer's *Responsio ad scripta Stanislai.* The church, he says in this reply, "has a sure consolation and infallible promise, the promise of Christ's own word that if we ask the Father anything in his name he will give it us. And, whatever ye ask the Bridegroom, he will do. From no pope can she obtain this." When we remember that Huss in all his controversies rejected the medieval notion that the church consisted of the pope and clergy to whom had been entrusted the power of the keys and administration of the sacraments, and held the church to be the community of all believers, we at once see that the above statement resolves itself into the doctrine of the universal priesthood of believers. The church, including all true believers, has the privilege of direct petition to God. For if it is not *direct* intercession that Huss has in mind, what means the phrase, "From no pope can she obtain this"?

We shall have to confess that the force of this clear statement seems somewhat diminished by the fact that Huss never entirely freed himself from the medieval belief in the intercession of the saints. He derives this doctrine, however, from his view of the church as the community of all believers in all ages, and argues that if a saint on earth can properly be asked to intercede for another believer, how much more beneficial is the intercession of a saint in heaven. He does not believe in invoking the aid of the saints directly, but merely in petitioning the saints to intercede with God. It is only this part of the medieval doctrine to which he clings. For instance, when in chains at Constance he expressed the hope that St. John, who was beheaded in prison, would intercede for him to Christ. All this, however, does not diminish the fact

that Huss did hold the doctrine of the priesthood of believers. He simply held this medieval doctrine in addition. Like Luther, he struggled in vain to be entirely free from the power of tradition, and tradition in the fifteenth century was much stronger than it was in the sixteenth after a century of Hussite propaganda. The essential difference between the two on this point may be stated thus: Luther made Christ the sole advocate through whom alone the believer gains access to the divine ear; Huss did not admit the necessity of any mediator between the soul and Christ, but did admit the value of additional intercession of the saints with Christ.

III.

The essential significance of Huss's teaching, however, and that which sent him to the stake, consists in his attitude toward two important doctrines found in all his writings from first to last; namely, the authority of scripture, and the true spiritual constitution of the church. In these the great Bohemian is truly Protestant, and here he probably exerted his greatest influence on the German reformation.

The medieval schoolmen still clung to the fourfold interpretation of scripture: literal, moral, allegorical, and anagogic. Manifestly each passage had but one set of interpretations, and only the authority of the church could decide what interpretation was correct. This put the word and tradition of the church—that is, of the pope and cardinals—above the authority of scripture. Opposing this view, the Protestant reformation stood for the perspicuity of the divine Word, and declared that the one purpose of scripture was to "bring God near me." To Luther the Bible was seen, not as a system of law or a collection of fragmentary texts, but as one transparent whole. It was the belief of Luther that the "common man with the Bible in his hands could know more about the way of salvation than pope or councils without the scriptures." Hence the necessity for the people to have a Bible they could understand. It has often been stated, but incorrectly, that the reformers transferred the doctrine of the infallibility of the church to the Bible. The reformers dispensed entirely with the doctrine of infallibility in the old sense, and held up instead the rule of faith and reason, although their successors did not follow them in this. Since the purpose of scripture was to reveal God, the Bible was to the reformers "infallible" only in the sense that it is always a dependable guide to faith in God and the revelation of His will when approached by the believing heart.

Now this is precisely the position of Huss a century earlier. That he dispensed with papal infallibility and adopted the rule of faith and reason applied to scripture study, is clear from the position he took in his disputation against the doctrine of indulgences. Objecting to the argument that the doctrine was true because approved by the church and accepted with practical unanimity by both clergy and laity, Huss states the principle that "it is the custom of wise men, whenever difficulties occur with regard to any truth, to consider first of all what the faith of Holy Scripture teaches on the point in question, and whatever can be so determined, that they hold fast as a matter of faith. But if the Holy Scripture decides neither on one side nor the other, they let the subject alone as one which does not concern them." As early as 1410 in his tract *De Trinitate* he indicates that scripture and reason are for him the final authorities. In 1412, in a paper on tithes, he states that Holy Scripture, reason and the experience of the senses are the three sources of the knowledge of the truth which is to be held fast. The national synod met in Prague February 6, 1413, (while Huss was in exile) to restore peace between the contending parties in the kingdom. On this occasion the theological faculty of the university, headed by Paletz, listed the errors of the exiled heretic and traced them all to one cause, that *Huss admitted no other authority than the sacred scriptures, explained in their own sense, and contrary to the traditional interpretation of the church.* In answer to this synod's demand that the dictates of the church should be observed with unquestioned obedience, Huss replied through his representative that no obedience could be required which was at variance with the teachings of the Holy Scriptures, which alone must pass as final authority. His deliberate resolve to die, rather than to recant before the council of Constance, was due to the fact that he believed scripture supported his teachings, and that his inquisitors had failed to adduce scriptural testimony against him. Huss died for placing scripture above tradition and Christ above the pope.

IV.

It is in his attitude toward, and his conception of, the church that Huss most clearly demonstrates his Protestantism. The Protestant idea of the church may be briefly stated thus: The church is not an organization but an organism. Against the medieval position that where the church is there is Christ, was pitted the reverse idea that where Christ is there is the church.

The traditional view was threefold: (1) The church is the

divine depository of law and grace, hence, "outside the church no salvation"; (2) the church, as such depository, is composed of the priesthood only, which is the "plastic medium" through which God dispenses salvation; (3) the church is a close organization, a hierarchical state, dominated by the pope as absolute monarch.

Luther freed himself with great difficulty and very gradually from all the network of related and dependent ideas which had grown up around this threefold conception of the church. By devious paths he finally arrived at a clear notion of the church in harmony with his religious experience. This idea in its final form was that the church is a divine and human fellowship; or, to use an overworked phrase, "the communion of the saints." The foundation of the church is not the sacraments, nor a doctrinal system, nor tradition, but the promises of God, and especially "the testimony of Jesus, who is the saviour of souls." In some sense the church is invisible. "Its roots penetrate the unseen." But it is visible in two things, "the proclamation of the word and the manifestation of faith." In working out this conception Luther discovered that he held the same view which the Bohemian heretic had propounded, and he wrote, "We have been all Hussites without knowing it."

The thesis fought over at Constance was, indeed, no mere difference of theological terms, but a question of the very existence of the Roman church. It was because the prelates felt the teachings of Huss to be a menace to the constitution of the church that, though they could not prove him guilty of serious heresy and had to resort to falsehoods, they yet were impelled to take his life. And Erasmus wrote truthfully, "John Huss, burned, but not convicted."

The reformer's opposition to indulgences was itself a denial of the church as the divine depository of law and grace. At the beginning of the crusade in Prague the papal legate, apprehensive of trouble, asked Huss if he would obey the apostolical mandates. Huss replied in the affirmative, but cautioned: "My lord, understand me well. I said I am ready with all my heart to fulfil the apostolical mandates, but I call apostolical mandates the doctrines of the apostles of Christ; and so far as the *papal* mandates agree with these, so far will I obey them most willingly. But if I see anything in them at variance with these I shall not obey them though the stake were staring me in the face." In the disputation which followed Huss declared that he felt bound to test all the laws of the church and even the bulls of the popes by the words of Christ before he could accept them: "Therefore in order that I may proceed more

safely," he adds, "I will place myself on the immovable foundation, the cornerstone which is the truth, the way, and the life, our Lord Jesus Christ." Christ, not the pope nor tradition, is the final test of truth and the highest authority in the church. It is not strange, then, that failing to secure justice from Rome he returned from exile to Prague on that New Year's day to deliver his famous appeal from the pope to Christ.

Huss followed Wyclif in his attack upon the temporal authority of Rome, but he went further than Wyclif in attacking the spiritual supremacy of the curia. With Huss, the pope could be spiritually supreme only when he happened to be the most spiritual person in Christendom and the most efficient servant of the spiritual community of believers. Of the reformer's *De ecclesia* Cardinal d'Ailly correctly declared that it attacked the papal authority and the plenitude of papal power as much as the Koran did the Catholic faith. Huss traces the origin of the papal powers to the donation of Constantine, and declares that God can give others than the pope and cardinals as true successors of the apostles, and whoso denies this makes the power of Constantine greater than that of God. If any one doubts that Huss struck a death-blow at papacy he should read the following from his tract "On the Church": "It is evident that the greatest errors and the greatest divisions have arisen by occasion of this head of the church and that they have gone on multiplying to this day. For before such a head had been instituted by the emperor, the church was constantly adding to her virtues, but after the appointment of such a head, the evils have constantly mounted higher." In another place he puts reason above the pope: "Wherefore should I not place my own thought before the pope's dictum?" And again (*De ecclesia*), "Christ is the all-sufficient head of the church, as he proved during three hundred years of the existence of the church and still longer, in which time the church was most prosperous and happy." Christ, he says, promised the Spirit of truth to guide his church. And even if the pope were always infallible and as divine an authority as this Spirit, yet this guide makes the pope superfluous, for I have to go to Rome to see the pope, but I have access to the Spirit of truth at home.

Huss did not contemplate leading a revolt against Rome, yet he did intend that the movement which he led should result in so purifying the church that the pontiff would be only a figurehead except in so far as his spirituality should give him influence over the hearts of men. Huss advocated a fundamental reorganization of the church in which the priests should be the higher order, fulfilling

the law of God; all temporal powers should be restored to the secular arm, which should compel obedience to Christian ordinances; and the laity should serve both orders according to the law of Christ. This restoration of all temporal powers to the secular arm would imply, what Huss also contemplated, that the church in every nation should be independent of outside authority, and there should be unity rather than uniformity. There is no room in this program for pope or cardinals. Indeed Huss anticipated a possible future papal vacancy and said that should such occur, and that if no one were elected to the pontificate till the day of judgment, Christ could govern his church.

It is true that in practice Huss did not go as far as the logic of his theses should have led him. No reformer ever does. His great inconsistency is that he held a practically orthodox view of the sacraments, although, apparently, their mystery did not for him consist in a priestly miracle, but in a direct divine interposition. When at the height of his power in Prague he seems to have upheld Wyclif in the rejection of the medieval doctrine concerning the eucharist; but while in prison at Constance he wrote a tract on the sacraments and expressly declared his belief in transubstantiation, which term he used. However, he favored the Jacobellian custom of administering the eucharist to the laity in both kinds.

Though marred by this inconsistency, we have seen that Huss held the real constitution of the church as a spiritual fellowship of which Christ is the true and only head; the supreme authority of scripture as interpreted by reason and experience; the priesthood of all believers; and, implicitly, if not explicitly, the doctrine of justification by faith. Had Huss lived longer and battled the Roman hierarchy a few more years, he doubtless would have seen the logic of all his views and acted consistently with them. Had Luther died as early in his career as did Huss, his views too would have suffered from incompletenesss in their application to the whole field of Christian polity. Huss, however unconscious he may have been of the fact, was a perfectly good Protestant, and there is nothing essential to the Protestant movement which he did not embody in his teachings.

It remained for Martin Luther, coming also to the consciousness of these same truths, at a time when the spirit of social and ecclesiastical revolt was rife, to fuse these truths by the fire of his own religious zeal with the social and spiritual yearnings of the people, and thus to form that amalgamation which we call the Protestant faith.

BELGIAN HISTORY AND THE NEUTRALITY QUESTION.

BY THE EDITOR.

BELGIUM, in industry and art, is for its size one of the greatest countries in the world, and it is the Flemish portion of the population that has been and still is leading in these noble pursuits. Historians of the country point with pride to the old Flemish school patronized by the wealthy burghers, and from the long list of great artists we will mention the following names: the brothers Hubert and Jan van Eyck, Hans Memling, and Quentin Matsys, all of whom lived before the Reformation, the last one being a contemporary of Luther; and Peter Paul Rubens, Anthony van Dyck and David Teniers, the stars of Flemish art after the Reformation; but the greatest among them is Peter Paul Rubens.

After Charlemagne the country was divided into a number of feudal principalities among which Flanders was the most prominent, so as to enable the counts of Flanders to acquire the territories of their weaker neighbors. Before the time of the Reformation Holland and Belgium developed together, as they formed practically one country, known as the Netherlands. The line of the counts of Flanders died out in 1384, the last one of them leaving a daughter who was married to Charles the Bold of Burgundy. Times were favorable; commerce and trade developed; and the dukes patronized artists; all of which resulted in the first golden age of Flemish art. But in time new conditions arose; Mary of Burgundy, the daughter of Charles the Bold, married Maximilian of Hapsburg, later on Emperor, who in 1477 inherited the Netherlands; and when Maximilian's grandson, Emperor Charles V, retired into a monastery in 1556, he divided his extended possessions into two parts. His German lands (now the Austrian empire) fell to his brother, Ferdinand I, who also became emperor, while Spain, with the Netherlands, was given to his son, Philip II of Spain, a Spaniard by education and inclination. This distribution practically meant that the

Netherlands became subject to Spain, and Philip's many encroachments upon the independence of the citizens brought about the Dutch revolution; for he expected his Dutch subjects to obey him with the same submission as he had become accustomed to in Spain. The Netherlands had, for the most part, adopted the Reformation, and Philip II proposed to force them back into submission to Rome. The result was a protracted war in which the Spaniards failed to subject the seven northern provinces of the Netherlands. These concluded an alliance in 1579, fighting with perseverance and

FLEMISH PEASANTS.
By David Teniers.

courage against their oppressors; and in 1581 they declared their independence from Spain under William of Orange who, in 1584, fell a victim to the dagger of an assassin. His last thoughts were with the people to whom he had devoted his life, and a well-known portrait of him preserved in The Hague has inscribed over it his last words:

"Mon Dieu, ayes pitié de mon âme,
Mon Dieu, ayes pitié de ce pauvre peuple!"

William's son, Maurice, although only seventeen years of age, continued the work of his father with energy and ability, and the

seven provinces, now called the kingdom of Holland, maintained their independence.

The two men, William of Orange and Philip II of Spain, repre-

WILLIAM OF ORANGE.

sent the division which took place between Holland and Belgium. Though the countries were reunited again in 1814, the two peoples had become so alienated from each other that they could not be truly

formed into one nation. Belgium remained influenced by France, and its population was either severely Roman Catholic, or, as is quite common in purely Catholic countries, became positively irreligious. A middle party of moderate views scarcely existed. At the same time French manners, French amusements and French luxury have become the standard of life, and Brussels prides itself in being a second Paris.

When the Hapsburg line of Spain died out a European war ensued, known as the War of the Spanish Succession, and at the end of it Belgium, then called the Spanish Netherlands, fell again to Austria according to the conditions of the peace of Utrecht; and with the exception of several years of French conquest (1745-1748), it remained Austrian until the French Revolution involved Belgium and resulted in its incorporation, in 1794, into the French republic. It remained French under Napoleon, but after Napoleon's fall in 1815, it again became a part of the Netherlands under King William I of the Orange family, a lineal descendant of William, the first stadtholder.

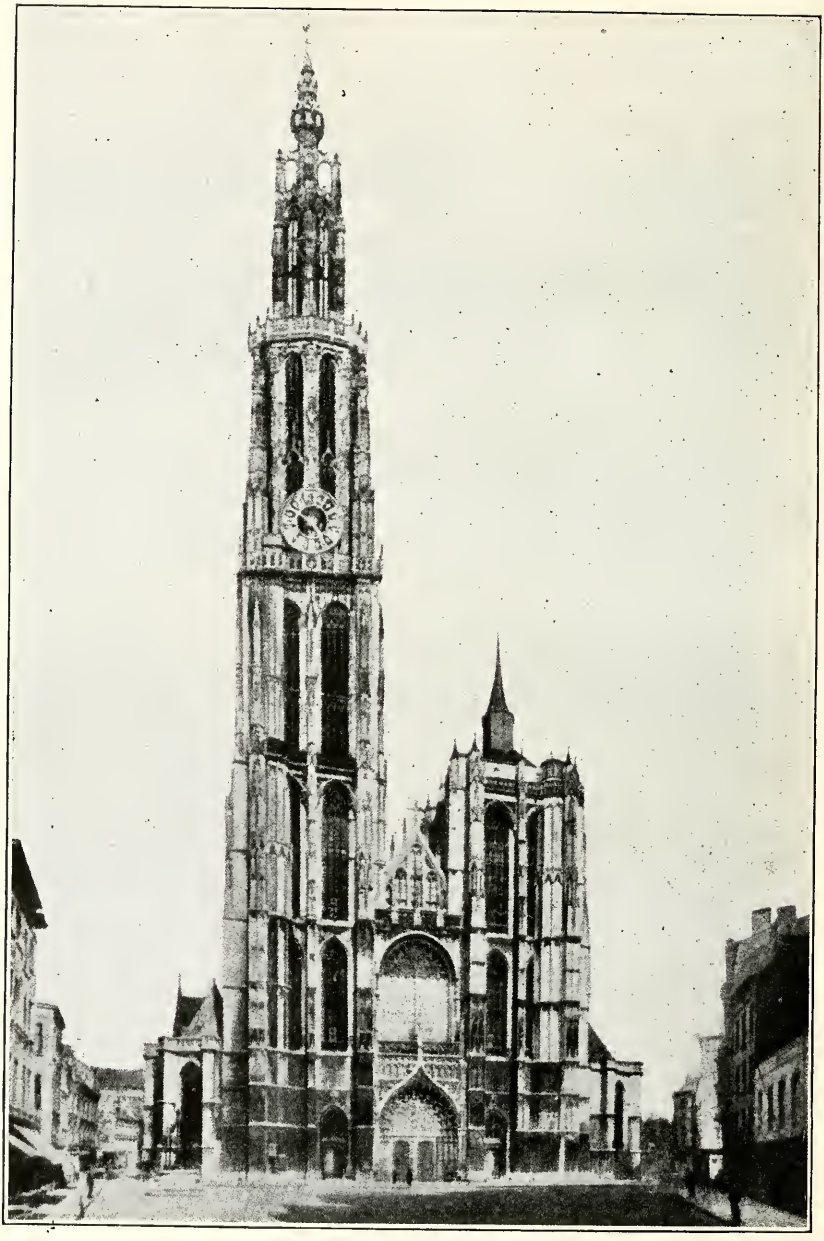
But, as stated above, the two countries, Belgium and Holland, had become estranged, and it was difficult for the two portions of the population to live together in peace. The discontent in Belgium resulted finally, in 1830, in a rebellion which, supported by France and England, led to a separation and the establishment of a new constitutional monarchy, called Belgium. Luxemburg, however, was excluded and remained an independent duchy, connected with the kingdom of Holland in personal union, and a part of the German confederacy.

A national congress elected first a French prince, the Duke of Nemours, but his father, King Louis Philippe of France, declined the offer on his son's behalf, and England recommended the uncle of the Prince Consort—his father's younger brother—Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, who accepted the candidacy and was elected June 4, 1831, with 152 out of 196 votes.

King Leopold I married Princess Louise of Orleans, the daughter of Louis Philippe, and governed his new kingdom with wisdom and success. His son, Leopold II, followed him after his death, in 1865, and, Leopold II dying without a legitimate heir to the throne, his brother's son, Albert, succeeded him.

* * *

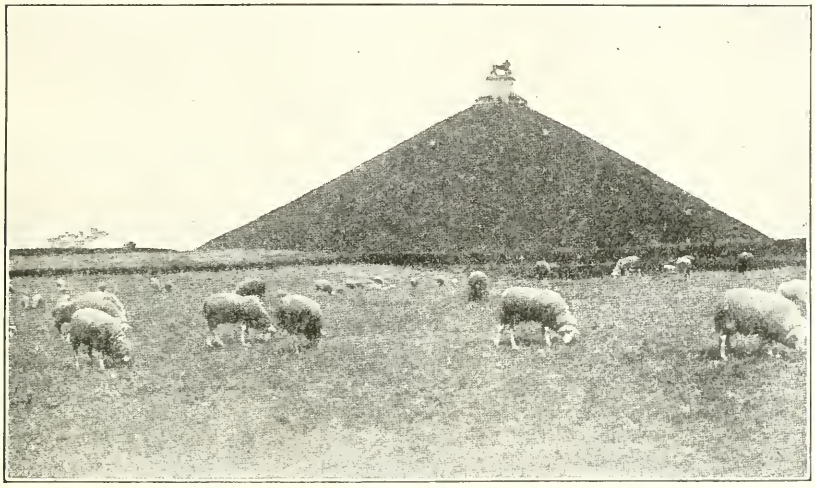
One condition of the establishment of Belgium, made by England, was the declaration of her neutrality, which was guaran-



CATHEDRAL OF ANTWERP.
From Boulger, *Belgium of the Belgians.*

teed by Prussia, Austria, France and England. This neutrality meant that in case of war Belgian territory should not be trespassed, and thus should serve as a home of peace from which European quarrels should be kept away.

This idea is perhaps based on the English notion that any European war should be kept away from the country which lies opposite to England; but the idea is a mere pious wish which was recognized even at the time it was proposed to be an illusion, quite desirable but impossible and unrealizable. Belgium has a very central position in Europe, and it is no accident that a great number of European battles have been fought on its soil, the best known



THE LION MOUND AT WATERLOO.
From Griffis, *Belgium the Land of Art.*

of which is Waterloo. Was it possible in these cases for the belligerents to keep out? Scarcely. The idea of Belgian neutrality was an experiment and we now know that it failed.

We pity Belgium for the sad fate which has befallen it, but we must consider that its central position is not only a source of danger in times of war, but an enormous advantage in times of peace. Belgium's unrivaled prosperity is due to it. Similarly, those who cultivate the fields and the slopes of Mount Vesuvius and Mount Aetna enjoy rich harvests, but must from time to time expect volcanic eruptions.

It is difficult to understand the purport of England's proposal

A PULPIT IN ANTWERP CATHEDRAL.
From Boulger, *Belgium of the Belgians.*

to make Belgium an especially neutral country with some undefinable sanctity. Is it not true that, under normal conditions, every country is neutral, and that, if other countries are at war, the neutrality of its citizens, its ships, its possessions and all that appertains to it should be respected. The special and extraordinary sanctity of Belgium's neutrality has never been defined. Would England have allowed Belgian ships free passage, while those of Holland and Denmark were inspected for contraband and dragged into British harbors? Scarcely! What, then, is the real difference between the neutrality of Belgium and that of other countries? This question would be difficult to answer if we did not know what kind of policy England has in mind. We have only to remember the explanation of the late Earl Roberts who insisted that the coast and territory opposite England must not fall into the hands of a strong power.

Belgium is a territory which, according to old tradition, England wishes to have perpetually kept in weak hands, and so England is greatly interested in seeing Belgium made inviolable. This can only mean that England wants to prevent Belgium's annexation by a strong power, be it France or Germany.

When the idea was originally concocted in the brain of an English diplomat the danger of annexation lay not in Austria or Prussia, least of all in Germany, but in France. In fact England did not even deem it necessary to make Germany (then the German confederacy) an accessory to the treaty and, as stated above, had it ratified by the two great German states, Prussia and Austria. If the German Emperor had been a quibbler on points of legality he would have ordered Bavarian, Swabian, Hessian or Hanoverian troops to force the passage through Belgium, and all the virulent accusation of England would have lost its force; Prussia had signed the treaty, but not Germany, and the truth is that every declaration of war is a breach of neutrality, and the neutrality of a country which is practically a vassal state of England is, for that reason, not more sacred than that of any other country.

The Franco-German frontier is comparatively short, and on both sides excellently protected. The French knew very well that both Metz and Strasburg were formidable fortresses, very difficult to take, and that, even if they were taken, the possession of Alsace-Lorraine would open the way not to Berlin but only into Southern Germany. Therefore the French naturally deemed it desirable to break through Belgium into Germany. For diplomatic reasons they would, of course, prefer the Germans to be guilty of the

breach of neutrality, but if the Germans had not done it they would have done it themselves, because, for strategical reasons, they deemed the widening of the theater of war and the possession of the direct route from Paris to Berlin indispensable for their success.

If the Germans had been assured that Belgium's neutrality would have been respected by the other powers they would have had the great advantage of having to protect only their short and well-defended frontier. They would have been able to concentrate the force of their army against Russia and keep on the defensive in Alsace-Lorraine. The neutrality of Belgium, provided it had been assured, would actually have been of great advantage to

LACE MAKERS OF BRUGES.

From Griffis, *Belgium the Land of Art.*

Germany. Why then did she not keep it, but instead break it deliberately and ruthlessly?

The answer and explanation is this. The neutrality of Belgium was not assured. The Germans claim to have reliable information that the French had planned to invade Germany through Belgium. I need not here repeat the well-known statement that French officers were in Belgium before the beginning of the war; and there were numerous indications that the French intended to surprise the Germans after the war had started, by an outflanking movement whereby they would be atacked in the rear. This would have been fatal, and any one who knows something about war knows that the mere possibility (and in this case it was a great probability,

amounting to a practical certainty) could not be overlooked or ignored, or left till a time when the emergency would present itself as an accomplished fact, but has to be counted upon and prevented before it can materialize.

That interesting novel, *La fin de l'empire allemande,* by Major de Civrieux (reviewed in the March number of *The Open Court,* p. 190) sets very plainly before our minds French ideas on this subject. It is a very cheap attitude, that of accusing the Germans on moral grounds for the breach of Belgian neutrality; but if they had allowed themselves to be duped, and if the theater of war had, by a French outflanking movement through Belgium, with or without Belgian consent, placed the French army into the Rhinelands, the allies would simply have laughed at German carelessness.

If the English were at all desirous of attacking Germany they had still stronger reasons for selecting Belgium as a basis for an attack of Germany, for the German frontier in the region of Metz and Mühlhausen is too far away from their base of supplies, and the obstacles offered by the Vosges mountains are too formidable.

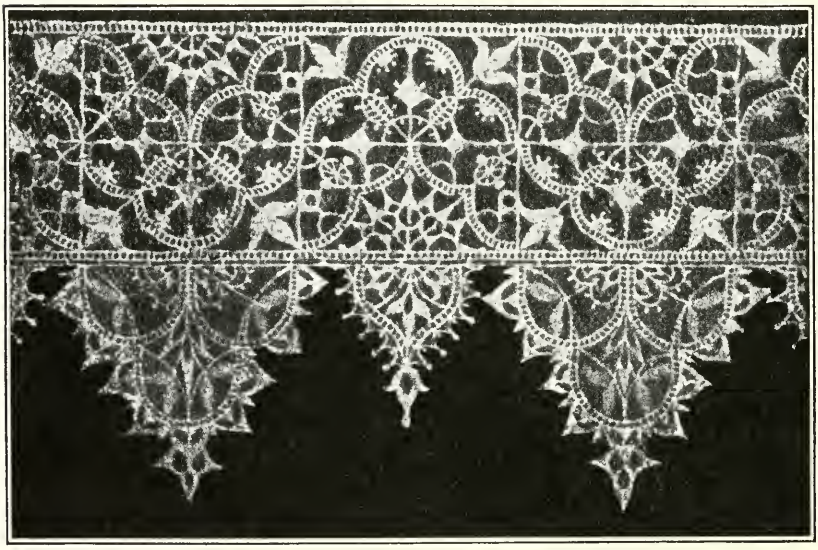
The Germans did not want to attack England. They were enjoying a peaceful prosperity. Their industries were expanding in an unprecedented manner. But General Bernhardi warned the Germans of the English danger, exhorting them to be prepared for war and prophesying that war must come simply because their natural growth led them to encroach upon British interests. The German prophet of the war did not preach war, nor did he incite to war; he raised a warning voice, pointed out a great danger, and exhorted Germany to be prepared for it.

If the Germans had intended to attack England they would have accepted the French and Russian proposition to join with them in a general protest against England on account of the Boer war. Kaiser Wilhelm sympathized with the Boers, but he did not go so far as to assume a hostile attitude toward the English or start a war in behalf of his South African friends. Bernhardi would perhaps have accepted the proposition of the French and the Russians, but his views were not approved and he was a voice crying in the wilderness. His book was almost unnoticed in Germany.

In the crisis of 1914 Germany would gladly have been satisfied to let Belgium enjoy her privilege of neutrality if she could only have been assured that her enemies themselves would respect it; but all military arrangements pointed the other way and convinced the German General Staff that they had to expect a French or even a Franco-Belgian invasion. If Belgium really meant to be neutral

there was no need of a large Belgian army. But it is well known that Belgium's army was of unusual strength for the size of the country, more than three times greater numerically than the entire English army, and it has, in consequence, played quite a considerable part in the present war.

The Belgian policy did not adhere to a neutral course, and we do not blame the Belgian kings for it, for the rôle of neutrality imposed upon the country by English interests was too difficult and too delicate to be carried out. The acquisition of the Congo state was its first great infringement, and in more recent times King Albert attempted a confederacy among the five small northern



BRABANT LACE OF THE YEAR 1596.

powers (Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden) which clearly implied a violation of Belgian neutrality. England knew that the old treaty of 1839 had lost its significance. Gladstone acknowledged this openly, and made a new treaty during the war of 1870-71, to last for a year, to guard Belgian neutrality. But even this was of doubtful value, for necessity knows no restriction, and when Napoleon III saw his cause on French territory lost he tried to break through Belgium and would have ventured an attack on the Rhenish provinces had the German army not cut off the French army at Sedan, close to the Belgian frontier, and compelled the entire French force to surrender.

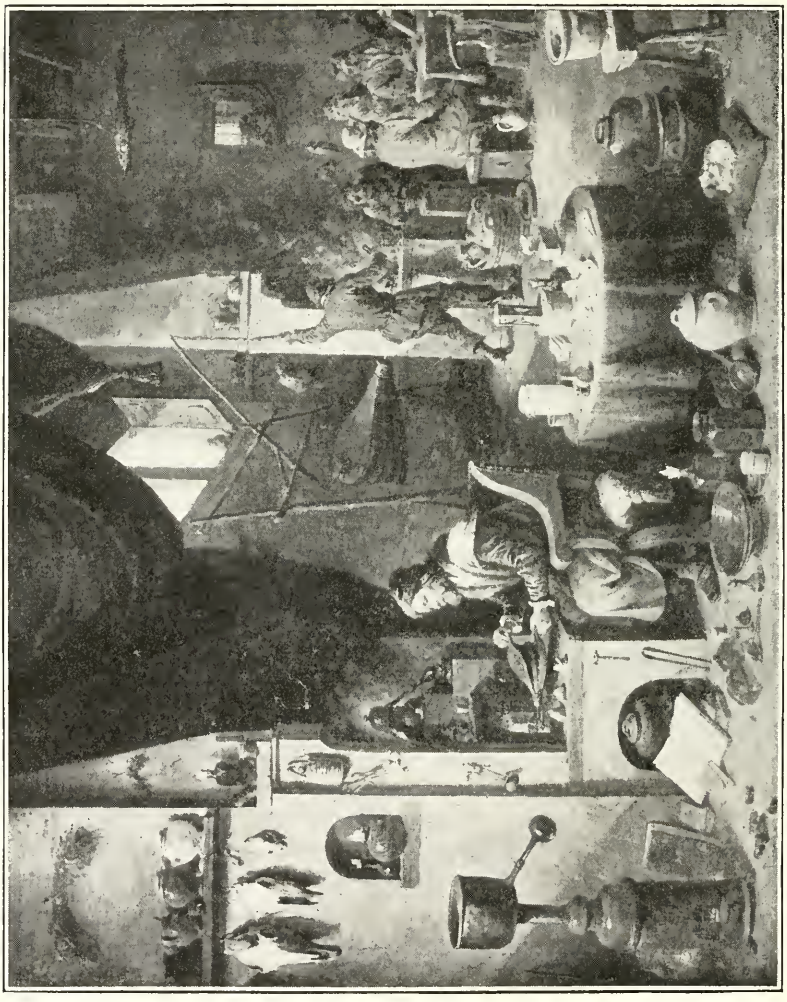
The documents of a secret understanding between England and Belgium, involving also France, are a sufficient proof that neither England nor Belgium thought seriously of the neutrality treaty of 1839, and this remains true in spite of the declaration by Sir Edward Grey and the Belgian government that the Brussels documents were of a purely informal character. It is unfortunate for England that they fell into German hands; the cleverest excuses and explanations will not annihilate their existence nor minimize their significance. Whether we call this kind of "*conversation*" informal, or Platonic, or even pacifistic, the Germans cannot be blamed for regarding them as positive proof of a conspiracy between England, Belgium and France, against Germany.

The German General Staff did not yet know of the Brussels documents; there were other reasons why an attack through Belgium was considered necessary. It is noticeable that the Belgian fortifications face Germany, not France. On the German frontier of Belgium there were two fortified Belgian camps, one on either side of the fortress Huy; none lie on the French frontier, which suggests that the French were regarded as allies. The fortified camps are enclosed by a belt of forts, and they are a continuation of the French forts along the river Meuse, erected against Germany on the Franco-German frontier. The three great fortresses, Antwerp, Liège and Namur, were kept up to date without regard to cost, and French officers were consulted as to the best methods of installing modern improvements.

Under these circumstances the German Chancellor had a perfect right to regard the old treaty of Belgian neutrality, over eighty years old, as "a scrap of paper." It was concluded under decidedly different conditions, before Belgium had developed into a military, and indeed a belligerent state, unfriendly, yes obviously hostile, to Germany. It must be a very partial judgment that would not at least give Germany the benefit of the doubt, and the Brussels documents discovered later on, together with the evidence furnished by the letters of the Belgian ministers, justify the German procedure.

Sir Edward Grey explains that the Brussels documents refer to a very harmless conversation "discussing the help which England should send Belgium *only in case of a breach of Belgian neutrality* by other powers." Would Sir Edward also have protected Belgium against France? If so, is it not strange that French ports had been selected for the landing of English troops?—a fact which proves that France was implicated. A previous plan had been to land troops in Antwerp, but this was abandoned because of the

erection, by the Dutch, of fortifications at the mouth of the Schelde; and it now became clear why the proposition of the Dutch to fortify the Schelde river, commanding the entrance to Antwerp from the sea, called forth so much violent opposition in London and Paris.



THE ALCHEMIST. By David Teniers.

If the English policy was so pacific, as stated by Sir Edward, it is strange that these harmless "conversations" were treated with such confidential secrecy. It would have been better to make such pacific discussions public, because they might then have had an influence on the Germans and taught them to keep hands off.

Moreover, they ought to have been made not only with the French against the Germans, but also with the Germans against the French.

If it is true (as says Sir Edward) that "there is no note of these conversations at the British War Office or Foreign Office," does he mean to say that the reports of these conversations were kept in another place, or that "these conversations" were purely private and were neither authorized by, nor at all reported to, the British government? If they were indeed so rigorously conditional on a German invasion why was the condition not emphasized at the start in plain and unmistakable words, but only incidentally mentioned? And I feel inclined to add: if they only served to encourage the Belgians to resist, why were they not lived up to by Great Britain? The Germans did not want this war and are perfectly well convinced that their Kaiser strove for peace up to the last minute.

The art of English diplomacy consisted in uniting all the elements hostile to Germany and making them act simultaneously. The plan was to deal the enemy a sudden and crushing blow by an overwhelming array of hostile forces which would invade Germany at once on two sides, the east and the west; and we must grant, the idea was very clever. The French and the Russians would have done the work, and as usual the English would have reaped the benefit.

Germany broke Belgian neutrality because she knew that the French intended to attack the poorly-protected Rhenish province, and this is the reason which the German Chancellor gave officially. He regretted the necessity for the deed, he granted that it was wrong and proclaimed that for the damage caused by the German army Germany would reimburse the sufferers. Moreover, he guaranteed Belgian independence—and all this provided Belgium would allow the Germans to pass through Belgium. Belgium rejected the offer and joined the Triple Entente.

Sir Edward Grey, in commenting on the situation, not unappropriately quotes the parody on a Shakespeare passage thus:

> "'Thrice is he armed that hath his quarrel just',
> But four times he that gets his blow in fust."

Sir Edward is right; the quotation from *King Henry IV*,[1] as well as the sarcastic gloss added to it, is right, and it is an old Prussian principle to act on it. Prussian strategists believe that there is only one method of defense which can be successful, that

[1] Part II, Act iii, Scene 2.

THE MARRIAGE OF ST. CATHARINE.
By Hans Memling.

is, a vigorous offensive. This course alone promises victory. It was natural that the Kaiser should hesitate to begin a war; but it was equally to be expected that, as soon as he knew that war was unavoidable, he would take the offensive, in order to get "his blow in fust," even though this course exposed him to the criticism of having begun the war. The pro-British press has made good use of this point, and has on the strength of it converted many to regard Germany as the disturber of the peace.

I have given careful consideration to the English presentation of the question and have come to the conclusion that, as usual, it shows much more keenness and diplomatic wisdom than the German, and thus has a strong appearance of justice; but the cause of Germany, though often presented in a misleading way, is truly just. The war, and also the breach of Belgian neutrality, were forced upon Germany. Therefore, according to Sir Edward Grey's quotation, the Germans are seven times armed; three times because their quarrel is just, and four times because, as soon as they saw that war was positively unavoidable, they did not wait for the allies to invade Germany, but dealt the first blow.

I believe in the Germans and in the German cause, but for that reason I am not anti-English, or anti-British. I am fully convinced that the English people did not begin this war; but I do believe that the British diplomats have carefully prepared it and have gradually made the English believe that the war was necessary. The first step toward the war was the formation of the Triple Entente, and the Triple Entente with all that it implies was not only vicious, but also an asinine stupidity. I will not here dwell on the viciousness of this compact, for diplomats believe that in statecraft no moral law is binding, and English diplomats have acted accordingly. The policy of British diplomacy has of course been kept secret, for part of the diplomatic art consists in the hypocrisy of pretending to be truthful and moral, at the same time making the enemy seem a liar even when he is simply suffering (as are the Germans) from an undiplomatic frankness or "brazen candor."

I will lose no space here in pointing out the moral deficiencies of the English policy. These are apparent in all her recent wars, not one of which has been righteous. And, in the present war, I insist that the scheme of crushing Germany is insensate beyond measure.

First, neither the Russians nor the French are or, in spite of their present alliance, can become true friends of the English; on the contrary both dislike, or even hate, the English even at the

ST. CATHARINE.
From a Memling Breviary.

present time most intensely. The English propose to use their allies for the sake of helping them to crush the Germans, but as soon as the task is done the old enmities will be renewed.

Secondly, the English underrate German strength, intelligence and ability in both the defensive and the offensive; they have not the slightest idea of what their cousins on the continent will endure in patience and sacrifice. The Germans are a more formidable foe than the English have ever before encountered, and they should have thought twice before entering this war—the very first war in history between England and Germany.

Thirdly, the English have overrated their allies and also themselves. The chances for an easy victory looked splendid; indeed victory seemed perfectly assured. The French army was in better condition than ever, even under the first Napoleon; the Russians are so numerous; and the two ought to have been sufficient to crush the Germans. But it takes more than an overwhelming majority to beat the Germans; it takes leadership as well, and that is missing in both France and Russia. The English think they can supply it, and they boast of their former historical victories. The English people do not even now know that the victories of Marlborough were gained by Prince Eugene; Marlborough simply happened to be present; and the battle of Waterloo was almost lost by Wellington when the genius of Gneisenau saved the day by means of Blücher's Prussian army. The English have a very good opinion of themselves, and it would have been better for them if they had not overrated their own ability before they had brought on the crisis.

The Germans are by no means the only people in the world who represent culture, science, and the progress of humanity. There are other civilized and partly civilized nations. The French and the English range as high in literature and general culture as the Germans, but one thing is sure, the Germans are leading in almost every science and branch of cultural aspirations, not only in music and other arts but also in chemistry and manufacture of all kinds. Even if the Germans were defeated in war the cultural qualities of Germany would make her indispensable for the progress of mankind, and it is this quality which adds to her warlike strength in this critical moment when England seems to hold the key to the situation on account of both her wealth and her naval supremacy.

We quote the following lines on German inventiveness from Bulletin No. 10 of the *"Kriegs-Ausschuss der deutschen Industrie Berlin"*:

"England has planned on the largest scale possible to starve

out Germany. She is endeavoring to cut off all food supplies from the inhabitants of Germany—men, women and children—and to bring the German industry forcibly to a standstill by preventing the importation of raw materials. In this way she hopes to weaken the German people by hunger and make it impossible for them to manufacture munitions of war, so that they will finally be compelled to accept a peace dictated by England.

ST. CATHARINE.
By Jan Van Eyck.

"The English plan is based upon the fact that before the war Germany purchased a portion of its food supply and raw materials abroad.... Through its intimate cooperation with science German industrie has been particularly successful in the past in discovering new uses for apparently worthless raw materials; and the public life of Germany has always been distinguished for a model organization recognized even by our enemies.

"During the present war England has cut off Germany from the supply of natural saltpetre in order to prevent the manufacture of explosives and make it impossible to fertilize the fields. In the course of the few months since the beginning of the war the chemical industry has succeeded in making sufficient quantities of artificial nitrates from air and coal. The necessary factories have been built, and Germany is now assured of an adequate supply of saltpetre. Indeed, it may be said even now, that after the end of the war these new plants will continue to operate and thus diminish to no small extent the importation of natural saltpetre, so that England's starvation policy will bring permanent injury only to the producers of natural saltpetre. Similarly in the matter of petroleum. Since the importation of petroleum has been made impossible, the great majority have now taken to the use of gas and electricity. The new gas and electric fittings will of course

continue to be used after the conclusion of the war, and we can safely assume that in future Germany will import very much less petroleum than formerly."

We will add that Dr. Hans Friedlander has recently improved the chemical process of changing straw into food, and England's proposition to reduce Germany by starvation seems thereby to have received an additional check, one which would prove sufficient even if the enormous agricultural improvements did not work.

A glaring instance of the difference between German efficiency and English lack of progressiveness appears in naval warfare. The superiority of the English navy consists in numbers, but in naval training, in good marksmanship and in grit the Germans are fully their equal. It is certain that the German crews handle their submarines better than the English marines their dreadnoughts.

The chances of crushing Germany seemed excellent, but the Germans are up to the mark and it looks as if this time the English have undertaken too much.

There are still other reasons why this war is an incredible stupidity; and we must bear in mind English bulldoggedness which will carry on the war to the bitter end, even when conditions become more and more unfavorable.

The war can bring no good to England. It can do her only harm. It jeopardizes all the many advantageous positions England has gained, the Suez canal, South Africa, Egypt, India. It may also liberate Ireland. The war has allied her with Japan, a doubtful and even dangerous confederate which will demand a high price for its services—presumably nothing less than the recognition of an Asiatic Monroe doctrine, Asia for the Asiatics. This means at present, China for the Japanese and the Pacific for Asia; in the future it may mean more.

There is no need of going into further details, but it seems to me it is not even in the interest of England that the cause of the Allies should come out victorious. The English are fighting for a cause which is most injurious to England herself.

It is true and I grant that England was in a precarious state, due to what the English call the "German peril," and this seems to me to be the only justification for her going to war. We have been told that German aggressiveness could not be tolerated, and that Germany must be crushed before she becomes too strong, and before she can endanger England's dominion over the seas. This is the real reason for the war. All other reasons are mere pretexts;

they are opportunities seized by smart diplomats for the purpose of making Germany seem the responsible party.

It is true that Germany has been growing rapidly and even threatened to eclipse England. But if English diplomacy had been less smart and more wise it would have been possible to make of the Germans friends and allies; and how much better would they have served the England of the future than the Japanese, or the Russians, or even the French! I have a great respect for English diplomacy, but how much better had it been applied if it had treated German rivalry as a friendly and helpful competition. Have not German settlers proved a most valuable element in English colonies in times past, and have not the Germans been distinguished by their diligence and industry as well as by their faithfulness? All the benefits which England might have derived from a continued friendship with the German people now seem well-nigh impossible of realization, and the hope of building up a firmly established world peace upon the good entente of Germany, England and the United States almost appears lost for all time.

Who is guilty of this crime? I repeat, it is the inventor of the Triple Entente and the diplomats who have carried out the plan underlying it; and it is a sin that cannot be forgiven—neither in the world of present conditions nor in the life to come. The curse of it will live on into the distant future of mankind, and if the English people but knew the inner workings of their politics they would rise in indignation and give the men responsible for the present situation their deserts. But I fear it is too late.

CRAMB'S "GERMANY AND ENGLAND."

A VALUATION OF ITS PREMISES.

BY J. MATTERN.

[Mr. Mattern, the writer of the article which we print below, was born in Rhineland, Germany, in 1882. He graduated from the state gymnasium at Cleves and for his postgraduate work attended the universities of Münster and Bonn. After finishing his studies he came to the United States in 1907 on what he then considered a "temporary business trip." However he has since made this country his home and has become naturalized. In answering Professor Cramb's assertions concerning young Germany's ideals and aspirations Mr. Mattern, as will be admitted, is in a position to speak from recent and personal experience, a fact which is bound to lend to his argument special interest and weight. Mr. Mattern at present holds the position of assistant librarian at the Johns Hopkins University.—ED.]

CRAMB'S *Germany and England* was recommended to me as a "remarkable" book. I confess that while reading and rereading it I found it to be more than remarkable, it proved to be a veritable revelation. Born and raised in the western, that is, the industrial part of Germany, with a university record of four semesters at Münster i. W. and two semesters at Bonn, the Alma Mater of the imperial princes, I have up to the present considered myself entitled to claim some knowledge of my fatherland and of the aspirations of young Germany.

I therefore protest on behalf of myself and on behalf of the youth of Germany against the picture which Cramb choses to paint of them. I protest against Cramb's assertion that Treitschke's supposed advocacy of world dominance and world empire is young Germany's political creed and that Nietzsche's megalomaniacal caricature of the superman is the ideal, and his pagan apotheosis of might the quintessence of young Germany's philosophy and religion.

Professor Cramb evidently never heard of the Wingolf, the

Cartellverband, the Katholischer Verband, the Unitas, each of which consists of from twenty to eighty individual student clubs, all having as their motto, not Treitschkean world-politics, not Nietzschean religion of sheer force (all politics and, by the way, the *Mensur* and duel being barred by statute), but "learning, friendship and chastity." All are built on the principle of a positive religious creed; the Wingolf being predominantly Protestant and the other three Catholic. In these circles reigns supreme not Nietzsche but the Galilean. Equally among the other, the so-called "liberal," organizations: the *Korps,* the *Landsmannschaften,* the *Burschenschaften,* the *Turnerschaften,* and also among the freely organized or unorganized German university students, Treitschke and Nietzsche are comparatively little known.

No doubt Treitschke during his time drew large crowds; no doubt Treitschke still has admirers and followers. I remember an address given about twelve years ago by one of the professors of the gymnasium which I attended. In this address war with England was the theme and was declared to be inevitable. The speaker either was under the spell of Treitschke or he had allowed himself to become alarmed over the hostile ravings of the *Saturday Review* which had then for several years been waging its inflammatory campaign against Germany, with its historic cry: *Germaniam esse delendam.* But whatever the causes for his fears, his alarming utterances elicited no response except a sceptical shrugging of shoulders and a significant shaking of heads. Students and parents alike refused to be stirred.

As far as Nietzsche's influence among young Germany is concerned I take full responsibility for the statement that, except those whom their particular course compels to make a special study of that "philosopher," not one in a hundred reads his writings, and of a hundred who read them not one understands all he reads or, rather, all that Nietzsche has written; and I am not ashamed to admit that I belong in the class of those who fail to follow Nietzsche to his lofty heights or bottomless abysses, or by whatever terms one may chose to describe his eccentric dithyrambics. The *Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten* of December 1, 1914, reprints from the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* an interview with Edward Seirer Disyen in which the latter is credited with the following statement: "To consider Nietzsche's philosophy of might responsible for the present war I hold to be absurd. As late as yesterday I cabled to America that there are not two hundred Germans who really know Nietzsche. I believe myself to be justified in making this state-

ment." A similar opinion is expressed by G. M. C. Brandes in his *Friedrich Nietzsche*,[1] where he says: "Friedrich Nietzsche appears to me the most interesting writer in German literature of the present time [1889]. Though little known even in his own country, he is a thinker of a high order, who fully deserves to be studied, discussed, contested and mastered" (p. 3).

An interesting statement on Treitschke's relation to his hearers is quoted in the *Literary Digest* of November 14, 1914, p. 936: "The vigor of his utterances often called forth strong opposition among the students which they expressed, according to the German custom, by rubbing the floor with the soles of their shoes. Although Treitschke was stone-deaf it seemed as if he must have felt these demonstrations in some way, possibly through the vibrations of the floor, for whenever one occurred he would hit back with some oracular utterance like a sledge-hammer, calculated to crush if not to convince his critics." In the closing paragraphs of his sketch of Treitschke, published in *The Bookman*, December, 1914, p. 457, Munroe Smith expresses his opinion of Treitschke's influence on the Germans as follows: "It seems to me improbable that Treitschke's theories of the state and of war have appreciably affected the conduct of Germany. Conduct is more strongly influenced by sentiment than by theory. For this very reason, however, the extent to which he associated love of country with hatred of the foreigner has made his influence baleful." This should effectually counteract Cramb's claim that Treitschke and Nietzsche dominate the very thoughts and wishes of young Germany.

There is, however, still another consideration which should not be passed by lightly even though it is based on the human element of the question at issue, that is, on purely personal experience. As I said at the beginning, Cramb's book proved a real revelation to me. I do not hesitate to confess that after reading and rereading it I found, for a time at least, my confidence in the knowledge of the land of my birth and youth and of its hopes and ideals severely tried. Only once before has the reading of a book ever played such havoc with my equanimity, and that was when the orthodox youth laid hands upon Haeckel's *Welträtsel*. When I regained my bearings after reading Cramb's phantasms, I wondered if it were possible that I should have grown up and lived among my German brethren and cousins as one of them; that I should have attended the state gymnasium for seven long years; that I should have

[1] Translated from the Danish by A. G. Chater, New York, Macmillan Company; London, W. Heinemann, [1889].

listened for three years more to the professors of two universities, thus imbibing their teachings of all kinds of *Weltanschauungen,* those of the believer and of the professed atheist, of the imperialist and of the socialist; and that after all, or rather in spite of all, I should have utterly failed to discover what, according to Cramb, animated all the rest of my fellow students, namely the craving for world dominance, and the thing for the realization of which all the youth of Germany was yearning—world conquest. Is it possible that I alone should have failed to realize that among the "most earnest and passionate young minds" of Germany "intellect is wrestling against Christianism" itself and that Nietzsche's paganism has replaced the teachings of the Galilean? I say—and I say it most emphatically—it is impossible that I should have lived and breathed in an atmosphere such as Cramb claims for young Germany without having become contaminated by the same spirit or without having at least become conscious of its existence. Is it possible then that thousands of German youths of my closer sphere, sharing with me the same faith, the same ideals, the same *Weltanschauung,* as expressed by the principles of hundreds of German students' clubs represented at every German university, should have walked through life blindfolded? Is it possible that all of us should have failed to be taken into the confidence of those whom Cramb calls "the most earnest and passionate," those under the spell of Treitschke, the political propagandist, those disciples of Nietzsche, the high priest of the new religion of brute force? I declare with the same emphasis that this is equally impossible. It is true, young Germany as well as old has its religious and political differences, but all have been and are being nourished at the same fountain of learning, and the very fact that the German student visits at least two, and sometimes three or four different universities while pursuing his postgraduate work must exclude all possibility of clannishness and onesidedness. It is thus utterly unthinkable that the individual as well as groups of individuals should not have come in contact with the sentiments Cramb scores.

Whether Treitschke's and Nietzsche's teachings actually are all they are claimed to be by Cramb and his camp-followers, or whether their interpretation as given to the English-speaking world on the strength of detached quotations is correct, space will not permit me to discuss as thoroughly as I should wish to do. Munroe Smith's article is extremely interesting in this respect. I take the liberty of quoting some of the most salient points: "Treitschke was before all things a literary artist. It was largely the lucidity,

energy and brilliancy of his style that won him influence and fame as a publicist and historian. This should be taken into account in endeavoring to determine his real political opinions. Without accepting Seeley's contention, that in proportion as history becomes literature it sacrifices its proper aim of exact truthfulness, it must be recognized that a writer of marked literary gifts is often tempted to sacrifice precision for the sake of antithesis or epigram. And when such a writer devotes his talents, as Treitschke did, to the moulding of public opinion in a period of national stress, it is hardly fair to cite detached sentences, or even entire essays, as expression of his final and deliberate judgment...."

To illustrate Treitschke's views of war I let him speak for himself: "Those who declaim this nonsense of a perpetual peace do not understand the Aryan peoples; the Aryan peoples are above all things brave. They have always been men enough to protect with the sword what they had won by the spirit. We must not consider all these things by the light of the reading lamp alone; to the historian who lives in the world of will it is immediately clear that the demand for a perpetual peace is thoroughly reactionary; he sees that with war all movement, all growth, must be struck out of history. It has always been the tired, unintelligent, and enervated periods that have played with the dream of perpetual peace....However, it is not worth the trouble to discuss this matter further; the living God will see to it that war constantly returns as a dreadful medicine for the human race."[2]

Ruskin, who was considered the most peace-loving man of his time, in a speech before the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich in 1866, had this to say on the subject of peace and war:[3] "When I tell you that war is the foundation of all the arts, I mean also that it is the foundation of all high virtues and faculties of man.... The common notion that peace and virtues of civil life flourish together I found to be wholly untenable. Peace and the vices of civil life only flourish together. We talk of peace and learning, of peace and plenty, of peace and civilization, but I found that these were not the words which the Muse of History coupled together; that on her lips the words were: peace and sensuality, peace and selfishness, peace and corruption, peace and death. I found in brief that all great nations learn their truth of word and strength of thought in war; that they were nourished by war and wasted by

[2] Selections from Treitschke's lectures on politics, translated by A. L. Gowans, pp. 24-25.

[3] "Christianity and War," in *Journal of the Military Service Institution*, No. 193, p. 91.

peace; taught by war and deceived by peace; trained by war and betrayed by peace; in a word that they were born in war and expired in peace...."

If we compare the two statements we cannot but confess that Treitschke's version is comparatively mild.

It is true, Treitschke teaches that "of all political sins, weakness is the most abominable and the most contemptible; it is the sin against the Holy Ghost of politics." It is true, he teaches that "the state is might." But on the whole Cramb's version of Treitschke's supposed propaganda of a German world empire is given a rather rude shock by Munroe Smith. Let me quote: "Although [according to Treitschke] the state is might, Treitschke does not admit that might is right. The state is unquestionably subject to the moral law. Acquired power must justify itself by its employment for the highest moral benefit of humanity; and 'power which tramples all right under foot must perish in the end'....In the main he [Treitschke] gets no further than to assert that the statesman should be as moral as he can be under any given circumstances.... It is desirable, and as a rule it is advantageous, that diplomacy should be truthful; but in the state of 'latent war' in which Europe lives this is not always possible; and we should not applaud the statesman who would warm his hands over the smoking ruins of his country and declare with smug satisfaction, 'At any rate, I have never lied.' On one point, however, Treitschke is quite clear: no state has a right to extend its sway over people of a different race whom it cannot assimilate....It follows that world empire is contrary to the highest morality. In his 'German history' Treitschke recognizes that the humiliation of Germany in the Thirty Years' War was a just retribution for the attempts of German kings to rule Italy and to reestablish universal empire. 'In the merciless justice of history,' he wrote, 'those who lusted to rule the world were trampled under the feet of the stronger.'"

Now, who is right, Cramb or Munroe Smith?

I could have given the same quotations and the same paraphrases from Treitschke's teachings myself without reference to Munroe Smith, but for reasons too obvious to be mentioned I chose to give Smith's judgment and opinion the preference.

Since I have candidly issued for myself a *testimonium paupertatis* as far as a thorough knowledge of Nietzsche and his teachings is concerned, I am forced to let those who know speak. I suppose that the judgment of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* will be accepted as beyond suspicion by all. This is in part what it has to say: "In

1878 eye (and brain) trouble caused him [Nietzsche] to obtain sick leave, and finally in 1879 to be pensioned. For the next ten years he lived in various health resorts in considerable suffering (he declares that the year contained for him 200 days of pure pain), but dashing off at high pressure the brilliant essays on which his fame rests. Towards the end of 1888, after recovering from an earlier attack, he was pronounced hopelessly insane, and in this condition he remained until he died on the 25th of August 1900. Nietzsche's writings must be considered in their relation to these circumstances of his life, and as the outcome of a violent revolt against them on the part of an intensely emotional and nervous temperament. His philosophy, consequently, is neither systematic in itself nor expounded in systematic form. It is made up of a number of points of view which successively appeared acceptable to a personality whose self-appreciation verges more and more upon the insane and exhibits neither consecutiveness nor consistency. Its natural form is the aphorism, and to this and to its epigrammatic brilliance, vigor, and uncompromising revolt against all conventions in science and conduct it owes its persuasiveness. Revolt against the whole civilized environment in which he was brought up is the keynote of Nietzsche's literary career. His revolt against Christian faith and morals turns him into a proudly atheistic 'freethinker' and preacher of a new 'master' morality, which transposes the current valuations, deposes the 'Christian virtues,' and incites the 'overman' ruthlessly to trample under foot the servile herd of the weak, degenerate and poor in spirit. His revolt against the theory of state supremacy turns him into an anarchist and individualist; his revolt against modern democracy into an aristocrat...."

This is the man who, if we believe Cramb, has shaped the German youth of to-day into men of exceptional will power, into disciples and worshipers of the religion of might. Nonsense! German youth need no Nietzsche to improve their will power. Before I had read anything of Nietzsche's works, before Nietzsche had been mentioned to me, I had shaped my motto: *Ich kann was ich will, und ich will was ich kann*: "I am able to do what I want to do and (or because) I want to do (only) what (I know that) I am able to do." Herein lies the whole secret of the Germans' strength of will and consequently of their phenomenal power of perseverance, endurance and success. They know how to learn and to demark their own limitations, and within those limitations there exists no *non possumus* for them. To think and to seriously state that such qualities could be the result of the teaching of a man of yesterday

is the height of folly. They are the product of centuries of struggles, disappointments and battles such as only the German nation has endured in this world. But to appreciate this requires more than a smattering knowledge of European battles and of historical facts in general; it requires above all a sympathetic understanding of the race, or of what the Germans call *die Volksseele.*

On Bernhardi's book, *Germany and the Next War,* Mr. Cramb among many other things has this to say: "The book has the interest derived from the fact that it represents a very strong trend of German and, above all, of Prussian opinion—that accumulated mass of determined anti-Englishism. It is useless to see in Bernhardi's book the expression of a morbid or heated Jingoism. It is no rhapsody on war. Bernhardi is not a man who takes any excessive pleasure in the contemplation of war; on the contrary! But he is a man who recognizes the darker, obscurer forces shaping the destiny of nations. To him this war with England is inevitable. And his book is symptomatic; that is to say, it represents the mood, the conviction, the fervent faith, of thousands and tens of thousands of Germans—Prussians, Saxons, Suabians, Bavarians." From a review of Bernhardi's book in the London *Athenæum* of 1912 (pp. 513-514), it appears that the *Athenæum* has its doubts about Bernhardi's views being "symptomatic" of the mood and the conviction of "thousands and tens of thousands of Germans" when it writes: "He [Bernhardi] does not hesitate to exaggerate the dangers which beset Germany. He tells his fellow countrymen that they are in the midst of hostile rivals; and when some of them who are not Prussians read about the 'curse of petty nationalities,' they may not appreciate his words. He writes from the standpoint of one who thinks that aspirations for peace threaten to poison the soul of the German people....General von Bernhardi attempts to prove to his German readers that 'England will attack us [the Germans] on some pretext or other'....but he admits that some of his [German] friends say that 'England would never resolve to declare war on us.'"

But regarding Bernhardi's reception and influence among his German fellow citizens, it is imperative that we consider above all the reviews of his work in German journals and newspapers.

Of fifty German military journals (including the Austrian and German Swiss) as enumerated in the *Deutscher Journal-Katalog für 1914,*[4] the *Bibliographie der deutschen Rezensionen* for 1912 has re-

[4] Published in Leipsic by Schulze & Co.

viewed thirty, and from these thirty it records only three as reviewing Bernhardi's *Germany and the Next War*, namely the *Marine-Rundschau; Ueberall, illustrierte Zeitschrift für Armee, Marine und Kolonien*; and Streffleur's *Oesterreichische militärische Zeitschrift*. From more than fifty of the leading German newspapers (not including the Austrian and German Swiss) the same bibliography records only seven reviews of Bernhardi's work in the following seven papers: the *Berliner Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*; the *Reichsbote* (Berlin); the *Tägliche Rundschau* (Berlin); the *Münchener Allgemeine Zeitung* (formerly a daily, now a weekly); the *Leipziger Zeitung*; the *Danziger Allgemeine Zeitung*; and the *Schwäbischer Merkur*. In addition to these military journals and newspapers, the *Oesterreichische Rundschau*, a serial publication of a general character, and the *Friedenswarte*, an Austrian pacifist monthly, are mentioned as doing the journalistic honors to Bernhardi's book.

The fact that of thirty military journals reviewed by the bibliography in question only three are recorded as having paid attention to Bernhardi's work, out of more than fifty of the leading newspapers only seven, and out of the great mass of weeklies, semi-monthlies, and monthlies, only two, indicates a rather niggardly treatment of a book which Cramb claims to be a "remarkable book," a book which is supposed to be "symptomatic of the mood, the conviction, the fervent faith of tens of thousands of Germans —Prussians, Saxons, Suabians, Bavarians."

Still more significant than these statistics are the reviews themselves. Of the military journals the *Marine-Rundschau*, April 1912, is rather noncommittal. After reviewing the contents without any comment whatever it closes by saying: "The exposition by the talented author is distinguished by acuteness of judgment, temperament and great frankness in his verdict on the conditions, mistakes and peculiarities of the Germans as well as of Germany's relations to France and England."

Streffleur's *Oesterreichische militärische Zeitschrift*[5] lays stress on the fact that "this book by its entire treatment of the subject and through the depth of its thoughts is considerably distinguished from the products of that profuse 'future-war' literature of late years, which is seeking sensation by the unrollment of its fantastic war scenes." Without further comment on Bernhardi's theories we are assured that "this book transmits to us the opinions of a mature politician, philosopher of war, experienced military tactician and leader," and that "though primarily intended for the German people,

[5] 1912, *Literaturbeiblatt*, p. 42.

it contains so many truisms full of general validity that its importance reaches far beyond Germany's boundaries."

In connection with the last statement I cannot refrain from calling attention to a remark attributed to George Sylvester Viereck, editor of the *Fatherland*. Cecil Chesterton, editor of the London *New Witness,* had challenged Mr. Viereck to a joint discussion on the question "The Cause of Germany and that of the Allies." In the course of the debate, which took place on January 17 at the Cort Theater, New York, Mr. Viereck is reported as having said that "Bernhardi....was better known in England than in Germany."[6] While I fully endorse this remark I beg leave to amend it so as to read: "Bernhardi was better known in England and America than in Germany."

The critic of *Ueberall* (1911-1912, pages 567-569), Major-General Constantin von Zeppelin — who must not be confused with Count von Zeppelin of airship fame — introduces himself as an ardent partisan of Bernhardi. He criticises in no uncertain terms the *Berliner Tageblatt* which, as he claims, is to his knowledge the only voice condemnatory of Bernhardi's book. Zeppelin's criticism is all the more interesting because he quotes in part the disapproval of the *Berliner Tageblatt* in his attempt to discountenance its importance and value. He resents the fact that the *Berliner Tageblatt* classes Bernhardi's book as a "brochure," but he admits that this is a "matter of taste." The *Berliner Tageblatt* disapprovingly interprets Bernhardi's intention as demanding close cooperation between the political leaders and the General Staff. This Zeppelin denies and seeks to disprove by his claim that Bernhardi's is only "an academic discussion," although when it suits his argument he maintains that Bernhardi "of course avoids all description of a fantastic war, such as is furnished us persistently by French officers of the reserve as well as of the active service and even by some in responsible positions." The *Berliner Tageblatt's* sardonic confession: "For the present we are astounded by the scrupulousness with which a level-headed (*objectiver*) general launches his—happily rather clumsy—attempt to force the civilized world into a general war," and its fitting reminder of Bismarck's abhorrence of "those generals mixing in politics" is met by Zeppelin's somewhat weak rejoinder: "We believe that when the German people must choose between the views of the *Berliner Tageblatt* and those of Bernhardi....the choice cannot

[6] *The Fatherland,* No. 25, p. 11.

be in doubt." He urgently recommends Bernhardi's "excellent" work to "our" readers, but he "does not know whether the future will bear out his [Bernhardi's] prophecy that Germany's development cannot exert itself in the face of France and England without war." And before effecting his "exit" he considers it wise to assure us that "we are far from being willing—be it said with emphasis—to identify ourselves with every viewpoint (*Wendung*) of Bernhardi's spirited work." He concedes that "like all such personalities, he [Bernhardi] also invites opposition," and that as an "enthusiastic patriot" he may "permit his enthusiasm to run away with him," perhaps he even may "err," but never does he "err in one thing, in his confidence in the future of his people."

Of the seven newspapers I have been able to consult two. The critic of the *Münchener Allgemeine Zeitung* of April 6, 1912, Major a. D. (of the reserve) Bellville laments Germany's inner party strife and criticises what he considers a sad failure of the German foreign policy in the Morocco affair. Under the circumstances he welcomes Bernhardi's book as a timely warning. This is in part what he writes: "We must consider the latest work of General Bernhardi....as a warning that will appeal to the opinions of all patriotic Germans....The General's political views may probably be looked upon by not a few as somewhat pessimistic and the conclusions drawn by him from his premises for the enlargement and strengthening of our defense as too far-reaching, nevertheless it must be held that pessimism in such matters is less harmful than optimism such as has reigned among us altogether too long, and that the military measures resorted to by other great powers and especially in most recent times mainly by France and Great Britain surpass the General's proposals in more than one respect..." The *Berliner Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of May 12, 1912, considers Bernhardi's political teachings as being contrary to the views and the politics of the government: "From the politico-geographical position of the fatherland General von Bernhardi deduces the necessity for the strengthening of army and navy. We confess that in many respects we cannot by any means agree with his views. His interpretation of the relations of the German empire with its neighbors does not tally with that of the imperial government, but it leads him to the same conclusion that is found in the speech of the chancellor introducing the bill for military defense."

Of the two journals I failed to place the *Friedenswarte,* but considering that this is a pacifist journal we can almost divine its

opinion, and without fear of disagreement on its stand in this matter pass to the *Oesterreichische Rundschau.* Prof. H. Kretschmayr,[7] while referring to the much-attacked German *Marokko-Politik* is there of the opinion that "this question the politicians may settle among themselves," and then turning to Bernhardi's *Germany and the Next War* continues: "No more should on this occasion Bernhardi's much-talked-about book meet with approval or disapproval. We of course believe that strong objection must manifest itself. The question as it is put is not 'war or peace?,' but 'how will the German empire meet the inevitable war with the Triple Entente?' It is a strictly military book. Against the modern peace ideas it calls to the front all the priests of war from Heraclitus to Treitschke, and even if one does not associate oneself with the pacifists one can hardly follow whither its philosophy of war leads."

These reviews speak for themselves, and I shall let it go at that. But I cannot resist the temptation of comparing them with a few reviews from English and American journals of Homer Lea's *The Day of the Saxon,* which is a worthy counterpart to Bernhardi's *Germany and the Next War.*

In the advertising matter found on the protecting cover we are informed: "In the *Valor of Ignorance* General Lea endeavored to arouse Americans from their fancied security from invasion, and now in this new book he awakens as with a trumpet call the British empire to the dangers which each day threaten more and more the 'thin red Saxon line' engirdling the earth." The *Book Review Digest* of 1912 gives only the reviews from two English journals, the *Athenæum* and the *Spectator.* According to the *Athenæum* of June 22, 1912, the *Day of the Saxon* is interesting as a violent counterblast to the peace movement, but is too extravagant to be taken seriously." This comes indeed very close to the criticism of Bernhardi's work in the *Oesterreichische Rundschau.* The *Spectator* of August 24, 1912, admits that the book "bristles with contentious points." It expects that "the pacifist will, of course, deny the value of the supremacy for which so much is to be sacrificed" and that "the democrat will be scandalized by his [Lea's] apparent glorification of a military bureaucracy." The *Spectator* concedes that "some of the special prophecies must seem a little fantastic, and there will be considerable difference of opinion on many of the strategical views." Beyond such general criticism of the technical value of Lea's book neither the *Athenæum* nor the

[7] Vol. XXXIII, p. 76.

Spectator venture to go, which means that neither specifically approves or disapproves of the politico-ethical side of the work. This cannot be said of the German reviews of Bernhardi's book, all of which more or less accept the conclusions as a timely warning but repudiate, with the probable exception of the military journals, Bernhardi's philosophy of war and his political and ethical views in point. By the way, the closing paragraph of the *Spectator's* review of Lea's *The Day of the Saxon* is, *mutatis mutandis,* of course, almost identical with part of the criticism of Bernhardi's book as found in the *Münchener Allgemeine Zeitung.* The *Spectator* concludes by saying: "When all is said, there is a great deal of sound sense and timely warning. The book demands serious attention for its good will, its earnestness, and its many penetrating comments. We have been drifting of late into a false conception of the meaning of naval power, and, if for nothing else than this, Mr. Lea's analysis should be deeply pondered by those responsible for our imperial security."

American opinion of Lea's book as expressed in the reviews of American journals and newspapers is rather unfavorable. Graham Berry, in the *Bookman* of 1912, grants that the book is "no small achievement," but he does not admit its "gigantic conclusions." E. B. Krehbiel, in the *Dial* of the same year, thinks that "in the hands of others [besides cool and well-informed men] it may do real harm, for it bristles with a show of learning and scientific understanding of world affairs that will catch the unlearned with consequences none the less dire, because of its flamboyant pretensions." Similar expressions of the same opinion by the New York *Times,* the New York *Nation,* the *Review of Reviews* are recorded in the *Book Review Digest* of 1912, on page 272.

Before leaving this chapter the reader may duly expect an explanation for the fact that the *Berliner Tageblatt's* review of Bernhardi's work is not recorded in the *Bibliographie deutscher Recensionen.* From a prefatory statement of the bibliography it can be learned that some of the papers are, unfortunately, not submitted regularly and that consequently incomplete records cannot be laid at its door. Such admission by no means influences the argument and conclusions in our case. For we must assume that the papers or journals would submit whatever reviews they consider important enough to the compiler of the bibliography, who is only too anxious to receive and to embody them in his records. Thus the absence of the *Berliner Tageblatt's,* and possibly a few more reviews of Bernhardi's work can safely be interpreted as a more or

less intentional pigeon-holing due to either an indifferent or unfavorable attitude.

Why then, if the public reception and opinion of Lea's work in America and England and of Bernhardi's work in Germany are practically identical, is the *Day of the Saxon* simply ignored in the camp of the English and their friends, or, if mentioned at all, dismissed with a noncommittal smile, while Bernhardi's *Germany and the Next War* is being taken so seriously that, together with Treitschke's and Nietzsche's writings it has been made the fundamental basis of Cramb's lectures and ever since has been held up to the world as the one unquestionable sample of all Germany's principles and intentions?

The answer to this question would be the indictment of Cramb's judgment if not of his sincerity, but such indictment would at the same time constitute his most effective defense. The concluding paragraph will explain this apparent paradox.

It must be remembered that Professor Cramb's lectures had a political aim and thus were nothing more or less than a political campaign in which the most had to be, and actually has been, made of the capital at his disposal. However, Cramb was no ordinary, no hired speaker; he was the ardent patriot, stirred to a frenzy by the flat failures of Salisbury and Roberts to arouse their countrymen to the realization of what they claimed to be their impending danger from an unrecognized or underestimated foe, and to the acceptance of compulsory military service in place of their present mercenary system; he was, in his own opinion, the man of destiny, determined at all costs to succeed where others had failed, and he had at his disposal fervor of speech and an apparently boundless imagination, means which his predecessors had lacked in one form or the other. Unfortunately, however, in spite of his pretended intention of fairness to the antagonist the alarmist in him prevailed and led him to exaggerations and, *nolens volens,* to misrepresentations, or at least misinterpretations which in the judgment of the calm and critical reader must weaken his argument and cause. As a layman he had a distinct advantage over Salisbury the statesman, and Roberts the soldier. It is only natural that in a country where heretofore the national defense has been found secure in the hands of willing professionals a statesman's and soldier's plea for general conscription should have met with a cool reception, while the ardent clamors of a university professor without direct connection with the government and the military should have made a more deep and lasting impression.

Last but not least needs be mentioned a fact which should receive the widest possible publication. A. C. Bradley in his foreword to the "ante-war" edition of the lectures[8] tells us: "Mr. Cramb did not write his lectures; speaking without notes, he departed widely from the syllabus he had issued; and no shorthand report of his words exists. What is printed here has been put together from his own partial reconstruction, from scattered indications in his note-books and from full notes of the lectures taken by his hearers. The work, so far as I can judge, has been very faithfully and skilfully done; and, although the result must of necessity be much inferior to the book which he would have produced, it preserves what is most characteristic both in his ideas and in the manner of their expression." Why is it that in E. P. Dutton and Company's more recent edition, with a preface by Joseph H. Choate, dated "8 October, 1914," not a word about these important facts concerning the "history" of this "remarkable" book which is supposed to be Cramb's is given? Why is it? In my experience of more than five years of library work there have passed through my hands many a dozen of lectures issued in book form, and I dare say that in practically every case the author assures us that he considered himself not only justified but compelled to resort to considerable modifications and changes ere he would wish or consent to let his spoken word appear in cold print. Thus it must be admitted as a certainty that if Cramb himself had been permitted to prepare his lectures for publication they would have appeared in a dress considerably less assuming and glaring than that in which they now, without his approval, have gone out into the world.

[8] New York, E. P. Dutton and Company.

LUCRETIUS ON WAR.[1]

TRANSLATED BY WILLIAM ELLERY LEONARD.

AND yet in those days not much more than now
Would generations of mortality
Leave the sweet light of fading life behind.
Indeed, in those days here and there a man,
More oftener snatched upon, and gulped by fangs,
Afforded the beasts a food that roared alive,
Echoing through groves and hills and forest trees,
Even as he saw his living flesh entombed
Within a living grave; whilst those whom flight
Had spared (with body eaten into) shrieked
(Pressing their quivering palms to loathsome sores)
With horrible voices for eternal death—
Until, forlorn of help, and witless what
Might medicine their wounds, the writhing pangs
Took them from life. But not in those far times
Would one lone day give over unto doom
A soldiery in thousands marching on
Beneath the battle-banners, nor would then
The ramping breakers of the main seas dash
Whole argosies and crews upon the rocks.
But ocean uprisen would often rave in vain,
Without all end or outcome, and give up
Its empty menacings as lightly too;
Nor soft seductions of a sérene sea
Could lure by laughing billows any man
Out to disaster; for the science bold
Of ship-sailing lay dark in those far times.
Again, 'twas *then* that lack of food gave o'er
Men's fainting limbs to dissolution; *now*

[1] Passages from a forthcoming translation of the entire six books of *De rerum natura*.

'Tis plenty overwhelms. Unwary, they
Oft for themselves, themselves would *then* outpour
The poison; *now,* with nicer art, themselves
They give the drafts to others.

Book V, l. 986 ff. (Guissani's text).

* * *

Now, Memmius,
How nature of iron discovered was, thou mayst
Of thine own self divine. Man's ancient arms
Were hands, and nails and teeth, stones too and boughs—
Breakage of forest trees—and flame and fire,
As soon as known. Thereafter, force of iron
And copper discovered was; and copper's use
Was known ere iron's, since more pliable
Its nature is and its abundance more.
With copper men to work the soil began,
With copper to rouse the hurly waves of war,
To straw the monstrous wounds, and seize away
Another's flocks and fields. For unto them,
Thus armèd, all things naked of defense
Readily yielded. Then by slow degrees
The sword of iron succeeded, and the shape
Of brazen sickle into scorn was turned;
With iron to cleave the soil of earth they 'gan,
And the contentions of uncertain war
Were rendered equal.

And, lo, man was wont
Armèd to mount upon the ribs of horse
And guide him with the rein, and play about
With right hand free, of times before he tried
Perils of war in yokèd chariot,
And yokèd pairs abreast came earlier
Than yokes of four, or scythèd chariots
Whereinto clomb the men at arms. And next
The Punic folk did train the elephants—
Those curst Lucanian oxen, hideous,
The serpent-handed, with turrets on their bulks—
To dure the wounds of war and panic-strike
The mighty troops of Mars. Thus Discord sad
Begat the one Thing after other, to be
The terror of the nations under arms,

And day by day to horrors of old war
She added an increase.
Bulls, too, they tried
In wars' grim business; and essayed to send
Outrageous boars against the foes. And some
Sent on before their ranks puissant lions
With armèd trainers and with masters fierce
To guide and hold in chains—and yet in vain,
Since, fleshed and hot with hurly-burly slaughter,
Those beasts would wreck all order in the troops,
Shaking the frightful crests upon their heads,
Now here, now there. Nor could the horsemen calm
Their horses, panic-breasted at the roar,
And rein them around to front the foe. With spring
The infuriate she lions would upleap
Now here, now there; and whoso came apace
Against them, these they'd rend across the face;
And others unwitting from behind they'd tear
Down from their mounts, and, twining round them, bring
Tumbling to earth, o'ermastered by the wound,
And with those powerful fangs and hookèd claws
Fasten upon them. Bulls would toss their friends,
And trample under foot, and from beneath
Rip flanks and bellies of horses with their horns,
And with a threatening forehead jam the sod;
And boars would tear their allies with stout tusks,
Tingeing in fury with own blood the spears
Splintered in their own bodies, and would put
To rout and ruin infantry and horse.
For there the beasts-of-saddle tried to scape
The savage thrusts of tusk, by shying off,
Or rearing up with hoofs apaw in air.
In vain—since there thou mightest see them sink,
Their sinews severed, and with mighty fall
Bestrew the ground. And such of these as men
Supposed well-trainèd long ago at home,
Were in the thick of action seen to foam
In fury, from the wounds, the shrieks, the flight,
The panic and the tumult; nor could men
Aught of their numbers rally. For each breed
And various of the wild beasts fled apart
Hither or thither, as often in wars to-day

Flee those Lucanian oxen, by the steel
Sorely bemangled, after they have wrought
Upon their friends so many a dreadful doom.
If 'twas indeed that thus they did at all:
But scarcely I'll believe that men could not
With mind foreknow and see, as sure to come,
Such foul and general disaster. This
Thou canst maintain as true in the great All,
In divers molds on divers plans create,
More certainly than in some namèd land
Of the earth-sphere. But men chose this to do
Less in the hope of conquering than to give
Their enemies a goodly cause of woe,
(Even though thereby they perishèd themselves),
When weak in numbers and when wanting arms.

Book V, l. 1279 ff. (Guissani's text).

KIAO-CHAU AND BUSHIDO.

BY JOHN T. BRAMHALL.

THE cherry trees were blooming in Kagoshima in the old province of Satsuma in Nippon two years ago, when the old volcano on Sakura-shima in Kago Bay gave warnings of activity. But the busy Nipponese had heard these rumblings and felt these tremors many times before,—why worry?. The cherry blossoms and the wistarias made the earth an Eden, and the warm soil, fertilized by volcanic ash, promised abundant harvests. Nowhere did the rice paddies give a more generous yield than on that southern island of Kiusiu. Summer and winter passed, and then Sakura-shima broke loose, with clouds of smoke and ashes twenty miles in height and torrents of lava that buried fields and villages, changed the geography of the province and resulted in the loss of thousands of human lives.

In the *Kultur* of Nippon there is much of the cherry blossom, the wistaria and the chrysanthemum, and there is something of the treachery and the inhumanity of the Sakura-shima. Among the most cherished traditions of the feudal age of Nippon—the rule of the Samurai—is the doctrine of Bushido. In his introduction to the instructive little book of Inago Nitobe, *The Soul of Japan,* William Elliot Griffis characterizes it as "a weighty message to the Anglo-Saxon nations." Mr. Nitobe defines *Bushido* as "military-knight-ways," or "the *noblesse oblige* of the warrior class." He explains that "the elements of *Bushido* belong mainly to the realm of practical ethics, and comprise such subjects as justice, courage, benevolence, politeness, veracity and sincerity, honor, loyalty, self-control, suicide and redress, the ethics of the sword, the training and position of women."

"Christianity and materialism," he goes on to say, "(including utilitarianism),—or will the future reduce them to the still more archaic forms of Hebraism and Hellenism?—will divide the world

between them. Lesser systems of morals will ally themselves to either side for their preservation. On which side will Bushido enlist? Having no set dogma or formula to defend, it can afford to disappear as an entity; like the cherry blossom, it is willing to die at the first gust of the morning breeze. But a total extinction will never be its lot. Bushido as an independent code of ethics may vanish, but its power will not perish from the earth."

Bushido, then, is the unwritten code of ethics of Nippon, expressing the knightly honor of the Samurai,—the soul of Japan. Its interpretation is a weighty message to the Anglo-Saxon nations. In veracity, sincerity, honor and loyalty, it perhaps exceeds the Hebraic and Christian ideals. In all trust and courtesy, we of the West have been inclined to take Dr. Griffis's word for this and ask ourselves if we would not better revise our code by the Light of Asia. What a shock, then, is the unlooked-for conduct of Nippon in February and March of this year, toward her peaceful neighbor, the republic of China! At a time when all the powers of the West are either engaged in a life-and-death struggle or are using every endeavor to preserve their neutrality, when there is no friend to whom China can turn for aid,—Nippon, under the guise of her alliance with Great Britain, expels the German power from China and the Pacific, tears to shreds the scrap of paper on which she promised to restore Kiao Chau to China, and follows up the move with Nipponese celerity by a series of demands upon China so far exceeding those of Austria upon Servia or those of Germany upon Belgium as to provoke her former allies to protest, according to the press dispatches, with a declaration that unless the demands are very much modified it will be difficult for the powers to negotiate diplomatically with Japan in the future. A striking comment, certainly, on Bushido, this "weighty message to the Anglo-Saxon nations."

For, whatever explanations or assurances Nippon may give, this much is evident: that should China in her extremity grant but the first of the Nipponese demands, her sovereignty is surrendered to the Mikado, as much so as that of the independent empire of Korea which Nippon, by the way, solemnly recognized by treaty. Germany laid violent hands upon a nation of seven million people —promising in the Reichstag to make full restitution after the war —but Nippon seeks to grasp at a single blow an independent and ancient nation of four hundred million people.

So contradictory have been the reports regarding the Nipponese demands that conservative journals have been very reserved in their comments on the situation; but there seems to be no doubt upon

two points, besides the concessions in Manchuria which may be regarded as a *fait accompli.* These points are: first, a transfer of all the German concessions to Nippon; and, second, a diplomatic or advisory control of the Peking government. Mr. William R. Giles, the Peking correspondent of the San Francisco *Chronicle,* writes to his paper that Japan demands that no other country shall be given any part of the coast or islands of China by lease or concesssion, and that China shall purchase at least half of her arms and ammunition requirements from Japan, with the alternative that arsenals under Chinese-Japanese ownership shall be erected in China. In case of necessity China must call upon Japan alone to preserve her integrity, and if it be found necessary to appoint foreigners to work in arsenals only Japanese shall be appointed. China shall appoint high Japanese officials to military, financial and police services. Japan, it is demanded, shall have joint administration with China of the Yang-tse valley, which has hitherto been regarded as a British "sphere," without, however, any British administrative control. In Eastern Mongolia,[1] which has been regarded in the same manner as under Russian "influence" (without administrative control or any specific governmental rights), Japan demands exclusive mining rights and that no railways shall be constructed without her consent. This would put the projected Kalgan-Urga-Kiakhta railway, along the old caravan route between Peking and Lake Baikal, under Japanese instead of Russian control. Considering that the leading powers, at the instigation of the United States, have already guaranteed the integrity of China,[2] the stipulation that no other country than Japan shall be given any part of the coast or islands looks very much as if it were designed to be given a more definite and affirmative meaning later on.

The above points form only a portion of those cabled by Mr. Giles early in February. At the end of March he sent this:

"I am able to throw light on these matters affecting the existence of China as a sovereign state, as I myself translated the original text. There can be no possibility of mistake, despite the ingenious protestations of Tokio and all the conflicting official explanations (*ipso facto,* under German influence). The subheads, which are too long to telegraph *in extenso,* are:

[1] Unless the demand be limited (which does not appear) to the small district east of the Khan-gan mountains.

[2] In 1905 Great Britain and Japan concluded a treaty guaranteeing the integrity of China, and this was followed by a similar one between Russia and Japan in 1907. These were the outcome of the John Hay note of 1899.

"First—China appoints Japanese advisers in every needed direction, and will not enter into agreements without consultation.

"Second—Privileges throughout the country.

"Third—Mixed police forces shall be established, assisted by Japanese whenever needed.

"Fourth—A minimum of 50 per cent of all war munition contracts shall be by Japanese, with joint Japanese and Chinese arsenals.

"Fifth—A network of Japanese railways from King-tse province (Kiang su?) and the Yang-tse valley southward to the Fu-kien and Canton coast.

"Sixth—Fu-kien province shall be declared a special area and no rights shall be conceded to any nation other than Japan.[3]

"Seventh—The propagation of Japanese Buddhism shall be permitted."

Such are the demands, as reported by a presumably respectable authority, which are made upon the oldest, the most peaceable, and it may not be too much to say the most honorable nation on the globe. Mr. Giles adds: "I can most emphatically state that China will not concede a single one of these articles, save perhaps the seventh, which has already irritated foreign opinion as being a secret thrust at the missionaries." Just why Nippon should demand a privilege that heretofore has been freely granted to all, and why the younger Buddhist church should have the audacity to offer to teach the mother church, it is difficult for the Western mind to comprehend. If this proposition has any meaning at all, it must be that the Buddhist church of Nippon deliberately contemplates claiming a precedence over the ancient Dalai-lama of Lhassa and the Bogdo-lama[4] of Urga,—an assumption that can scarcely be enforced by any show of physical power. What show the Christian churches would have under such an arrangement they can, perhaps, best figure out for themselves.

Americans, and perhaps Englishmen, unacquainted with the unbushidoness of the Japanese, and inclined, like some of our too disingenuous and credulous statesmen, to take diplomatic platitudes at their face value, may possibly accept the statement from Tokio that the propositions submitted to Peking contain nothing of a nature to disturb the territorial integrity of China, and that the sole purpose of the negotiations is to arrive at a decision of the future relationship between the two governments, as well as certain ques-

[3] In 1898 Japan obtained from the Tsung-li-yamen an "Assurance" respecting the non-alienation of Fu-kien province.

[4] Or Bogdo-Guiguen Khoutouktou.

tions regarding the future of the Chinese republic. Possibly our merchants also will be satisfied with the assurance of a strict fidelity to the policy of the open door—as open, no doubt, as it is now in Manchuria.

But let us inquire into the situation as regards the relations of Nippon toward her continental neighbor on the west. China has immense natural and agricultural resources that Nippon regards with covetous eyes. China is populous, but weak. Nippon is few in numbers, but strong in arms, poor in mineral wealth and in land; her people overtaxed, but valorous in war; arrogant and flushed with her recent victories, and imbued with the spirit of conquest.[5] Look at the fifth and sixth heads of the Japanese demands, as quoted above. The purport of these is to annex some of the natural and industrial wealth of China, while the other demands insure the burglars—if I may venture to use the expression—against molestation by any meddlesome outsiders, by putting none but Nipponese on guard and providing them with arms. The fifth propositon places the interior transportation system of China (the Manchurian and the German concessions being already taken care of) in the hands of the clever Nipponese; and this alone binds China hand and foot and places her as entirely at the mercy of her exploiters as though they had taken her cities by assault,—far more so, indeed, as they have left uninjured the commercial and industrial resources for their own loot.

Moreover: "Fu-kien province shall be declared a special area," etc., or in other words a special and private preserve for the Nipponese hunters. Fu-kien province lies opposite to the Japanese island (formerly Chinese) of Formosa and is one of the richest districts of China.[6] It is more than four times as large as Belgium, and has almost three times its normal population, or, to bring the comparison nearer home, it is as large as our states of Rhode Island, Connecticut and Ohio combined, with more than three times their population. Compared with Nippon, while its population is only about half as large, its arable area is probably greater than that of all the islands of Nippon. Agriculturally, the importance of Fu-kien province lies in its rice production and the probability of a considerable

[5] The return of the Okuma ministry to power in March is interpreted as a triumph of the militarist party. Parliament, which meets in April, is expected to take action for a greater army and navy, and a stronger foreign policy is demanded.

[6] Japan's designs upon Fu-kien are doubtless owing to its strategical importance as being the province opposite to Formosa,—counterbalancing Kiao-chau.

increase of the crop under scientific cultivation,[7] as the Japanese have done with the soya bean in Manchuria. China, next to British India, is the greatest rice-producing country in the world, but she is not an exporter of the grain, requiring annually to feed her people, from 250,000 to 500,000 tons in addition to her large production. Japan is also a large importer, and in some years the heaviest of all countries, her imports in 1904 reaching nearly one million tons. It is easy to see, therefore, why Nippon is looking for a larger rice acreage. If her supply from British India and French Indo-China were cut off, Japan would starve.

An elaborate spy and information system is maintained by Nippon in Fu-kien (and, indeed, all through eastern China), as reported by Gardner Harding, of the London *Telegraph,* and he adds that Japanese merchants are steadily pouring into the province, armed with digests of the information procured by the agents of the intelligence department, which gives them an incalculable advantage over all competitors. The railway (south from Hankow on the Yang-tse), goes steadily forward, and the drift of other affairs shapes itself toward the familiar process of absorption which has reached its maturity in Manchuria and Korea. Mr. Harding has also drawn attention to the immense deposits of coal and iron in Hu-peh province on the northern side of the Yang-tse, which the Japanese have practically absorbed, taking almost the entire production of the Han-yang foundries (58,000 tons out of 68,000 tons exported), and a like proportion of rails, which are turned out at about one-third of the Pittsburg price. And these mines are not only mortgaged to the Nipponese, but preparations have been made for their armed protection.

The meaning of Nippon's demands upon China may be better understood in the light of the grip which the islanders have already got upon the transportation system of that populous and wealthy country, a grip which is made all the stronger by the acquirement of the German lines and concessions. As far back as last November Mr. Harding, whom I have quoted above, pointed out in the *Outlook* that the Germans had built and were operating two railways in China, that from Tsing-tao (Kiao-chau) to Tsi-nan, the capital of Shan-tung, and that from Tien-tsin to the southern border of Shan-tung, where a British section continues it to Nan-king on the

[7] Fu-kian is not one of the leading rice-producing provinces, the leading production being tea. Formerly it was the leading camphor-producing district, until Japan promoted the industry in Formosa. The exports in 1908 were 1,743,000 pounds.

Yang-tse, which is in turn the terminus of a British road to Shanghai. The first opens Kiao-chau to the western outlets via Manchuria or Mongolia, and the second forms what might be called an intercepting road for all eastern and southern traffic. The value of these lines alone is shown by the growth of the trade of Tsing-tao, from $3,000,000 in 1900 to $33,000,000 in 1911. But the concessions of lines now begun or to be built are still more important, and form a network of lines that puts the vast and productive interior of China in direct communication with the coast through the former German port of Tsing-tao. Not only the Yang-tse valley at I-chang, 800 miles from its mouth, is thus tapped, but the great Peking-Hankow trunk line and the transcontinental route which will some day form a rail line along the fortieth parallel, reaching the Caspian through eastern Turkestan, is brought into this great system. "This is the reason," writes Mr. Harding, "for that little railway pointing toward Kai-feng (on the Peking-Hankow line on the Hoang-Ho); this is the reason for the elaborate connections, capitalized at over $75,000,000, which concentrate at Tsing-tao. Not a mere Port Arthur is at stake, but a gateway to commercial empire."

We need not, perhaps, be surprised if our Uncle Sam has gone to sleep over the whole business. We are very careful to avoid "entanglements," and any one who invests in enterprises abroad is presumably no better than he should be, and, in the opinion of Washington, if he is robbed it serves him right. But what of Russia, Great Britain and France? Even if they are in a death grapple with Germany it would seem that they might be able, by a vigorous presentation of the consequences of the wrath to come, to hold the hand of aggressive and unscrupulous Nippon. Kaiser Wilhelm, when he warned Europe of "the yellow peril," had in mind a coalition between China and Nippon—a racial and social impossibilty—but it would now seem that his warning would apply to the "brown peril" alone.

One thing appears to be certain: Great Britain has lost, for the time at least, her prestige in the East, and her "ally" Nippon has taken, or threatens to take, her place. Will she be content to resign her proud positon, or will the grim necessities of the situation force her, upon the conclusion of the present destructive war, to take up the quarrel of China and begin anew the struggle where Russia left off?

And what of Bushido? It has perished from the earth.

* * *

What should be the attitude of the United States at this junc-

ture? We should not, certainly, be influenced by any prejudice for or against Japan and her allies in the European war, nor for or against China or Japan on account of any occurrences which have taken place in our relations with either. Our attitude should be influenced solely by the situation in which either nation is placed by the changes which may occur, and our own interests as affected thereby.

China and the Chinese are greatly misunderstood, not only by our own people but by all the Western nations, and even by the traders and merchants of the treaty ports and by many of the diplomatic agents who have had dealings with the old Chinese empire. Few of us ever see a cultivated, educated Chinaman, and should we meet such a one we would regard him as a phenomenon, or an abnormal example of his race. We prefer to judge the people by the coolie class of the Pacific coast and the steamer servants, who are, despite their low rank, their ignorance, and their "oriental vices," in some respects (e. g., sobriety, industry, faithfulness, honesty and commercial reliability) far superior to their white or indeed any competitors. Some of our newspapers, who should know better, are found still referring to China as the "Flowery Kingdom," and to the people as "opium-smoking heathen," despite the fact that the country has been a republic for three years, without a revolution, and that the authorities, cordially supported by public opinion, have waged the first successful warfare against intoxication that has been undertaken by any nation in the world. And yet it is said that the Chinese have no such thing as public opinion, and do not comprehend the idea of patriotism!

Western critics persist in regarding China as a possible aggressive military power, and delight to speculate on the possible consequences of the yellow races "waking up" and joining in throwing their "hordes" upon Europe. One of our magazine writers went so far as to indulge in a nightmare of poisoning the "yellow hordes" by wholesale, as the only possible means of preserving European civilization! The truth is that while China was conquered by the Mongols, who were quietly assimilated, and attacked and defeated by their little brown brothers of Nippon, and suffered grievous injury at the hands of the "barbarians of the Western Ocean," (can we blame them for the term?), she has never made an offensive war. China is not, nor ever was, a military power, although the Mongol invaders kept up an antiquated army. China is the greatest cooperative commonwealth on earth,—where the government is always poor and the people control the wealth, reversing the rule of

the "civilized" countries of the rest of the world. China has no money (except that which has very recently been introduced, as a concession to Western methods and demands), and is the only land where the word of the people is as good as their bond. China is tolerant toward all religions (where the Western "barbarians" do not attempt, as they have generally done, to use the cloak of religion in which to serve the devil), and hospitable toward all traders when they do not attempt to force their trade upon her, which has been the invariable rule of all countries, except the United States.

It is quite proper that we should consider our commerce, in an honorable way, since a people should live by commerce rather than conquest. Peaceful commerce is the handmaid of civilization, and the proof of a consistent religion. It is well to note, therefore, that the commerce of the New China is one of the greatest prizes on the globe. The country, exclusive of Mongolia and Tibet, has a population of about 325,000,000 of the most industrious of earth's children, just beginning to learn the mechanical arts, manufacturing, engineering, mining, railroading, etc. Her public debt, imposed upon her by the Western powers (nearly $1,000,000,000), is one-fourth less than that of Japan, and only about $3 per capita as compared with $10 per capita, in round numbers, for the United States. Her foreign trade is reported at $625,000,000 (1912), of which the American share is but $64,000,000, or, including Hong Kong and Japanese and German China, about $67,000,000. Figuring our possible commerce with China on the same ratio of population as that with Japan, we find it would amount to close to a billion of dollars annually, to say nothing of the enterprises in which our people might be legitimately and profitably engaged, in railroads, public works, mines, manufactures, etc.—the prize for which Japan is now eagerly contending, to the exclusion of all others.

What course, then, should be pursued, to save China's national integrity, and the open door for the commerce of the world? It is true that Europe is now in the throes of bitter and destructive war, but that war cannot last forever. Some day, perhaps soon, Europe will be at peace, and the victors, in all probability, will not be entirely exhausted. And all Europe, as well as America—friends and enemies alike—are deeply interested in the Nippon-Chinese negotiations. Would it not be opportune for the United States of America (a party interested only on the commercial side, and to a far less degree than Europe), to propose to the powers a re-iteration of the Hay note, declaring the integrity of China and endorsing the "open-door" policy, and deferring the Kiao-chau settlement, including

the "demands" of Nippon, to the adjustment of the final treaty which will be negotiated to settle the peace of Europe. Germany, on the one hand, and the allies no less on the other, would welcome, it may well be believed, such a proposition to ensure the *status quo ante bellum* in the Far East. And Nippon would surely hesitate to disregard the united voice of Europe and America, backed as it should be by their united power. She would gain, with all the rest of the world, in China's renaissance, losing no prestige in agreeing to an honorable settlement. As for the United States of America, to bring about such a peaceful adjustment of the affairs of the two great peoples of Asia, insuring the integrity of the oldest and largest of her nations, would redound to the credit of this young nation of the West to a far greater degree than it is possible for us to imagine.

MISCELLANEOUS.

PREVENTION OF WAR.

A very simple—and, if it were possible to introduce, a very efficient—method to prevent war in the future has been proposed in several quarters. It is thus expressed in a statement of principles issued by the Society to Eliminate Economic Causes of War:

"The surest way to prevent war is to remove the temptation to war. This can best be done by providing the means by which nations can secure and retain peacefully through some representative organization the ends which they would otherwise seek to secure through war. Although the world cannot remain in *statu quo,* there must be a more efficient means of determining policies and bringing about changes than by resort to war.

"It is generally agreed that the causes of war in modern times are largely matters of commerce and trade. If some method can be found by which international trade routes shall become neutral and further unfair legislation by one nation against another shall cease, a long step toward the elimination of wars will have been taken.

"The present disturbed condition of the world's trade makes this a favorable moment for the consideration of a plan based upon justice, economy and security. The neutralization of trade routes and the prevention of additional legislation by any one country against the people or trade of any other country, excepting by consent of a representative international commission, supported by international force, presents such a method.

"This plan provides security and opportunity for all, eliminates the necessity for the control of the seas by any one power, and the opposition to such control by any other. It provides, what perhaps no other plan does, an incentive to states to combine. Nations will naturally combine to protect the neutrality of trade routes and the joint regulation of the extension of national barriers—once such neutrality and joint regulation has been secured—as the easiest and cheapest method of protection. Commercial alliance appeals where political alliance does not.

"The plan involves the yielding of some so-called sovereign rights; but this is more than offset by an ultimate advantage of almost incalculable value. Unless nations are willing to join in a movement for international protection they must continue to compete in expenditures for national defense. There is no half-way ground."—*Society to Eliminate Economic Causes of War, Wellesley Hills, Mass.*

Another advocate of an international government for the prevention of war is P. F. Schulte of Cedar Rapids, Iowa (Box 43).

There is no doubt that if an international government could be established there could be peace over all the world. It is a matter of course that England would have to guarantee the neutrality of international trade routes by delivering Gibraltar, Malta, the Suez Canal, Aden and other stations into the hands of the international government. The United States would have to do the same with the Panama Canal, and the armies of the great military powers ought to be sworn in for police service by the established international authorities, whoever they might be. As soon as such an arrangement is perfected peace will be assured, and it were better to delay discussion of these detailed plans until such an international government exists.

LUTHER AND HUSS.

The name Huss means "goose." When Johannes Huss was condemned to die at the stake he felt that his cause could not perish. Convinced that a

MARTIN LUTHER.
Portrait by the Belgian artist Quentin Matsys.

greater than he, a swan, would rise to defend the truth for which he had stood, he uttered this prophecy:

"After me a swan will rise
Whom they will not roast likewise."

[Nach mir wird kommen ein Schwan,
Den sollen sie ungebraten lah'n.]

Protestants quite naturally claim that this doggerel with its grim humor foretold the coming of Martin Luther.

The accompanying portrait of Luther was painted by Matsys at Rotterdam about 1545 when Luther was the guest of Erasmus there. The original is still to be found in the city hall at Rotterdam. A replica from which the present reproduction has been made is in the Editor's possession.

RELIGIOUS CONFERENCES AT SHANGHAI.

For four years religious conferences have been held on Sunday afternoons in the International Institute of Shanghai under the direction of Dr. Gilbert Reid. Speakers of all religious views are invited to set forth the principles of their faiths, but any possibility of disputes or ill feeling is avoided by strict observance of the rule that no one is allowed to criticize or ridicule the religion of another. Recently these meetings have been devoted to an enumeration of the benefits pertaining to the practices of some of the leading religions.

On one occasion Dr. Reid himself spoke of the beneficial practices of Hinduism, among which he considered (1) a cultivation of the humanities as enjoyed in the laws of the Manu, since mildness, mercy, gentleness and kindness are exemplified in the lives of their best men; (2) the spirit of fraternity within the several castes; (3) the architecture and sculpture of beautiful Hindu temples; and (4) its contribution to speculative learning.

One very broad and tolerant Moslem, Wang Hao-jen, spoke on another occasion of the benefits of the Mohammedan religion, as the first of which he dwelt on the importance of their belief in the existence of one true God to whom all are responsible. He spoke also of Moslem learning, which, though differing in character from the classical studies of the Chinese, possessed the advantage of emphasizing that virtue and religion comprised the highest learning. Nevertheless he urged that Moslem education in China should change with political conditions, and told of a college of three hundred students in Peking connected with his own mosque where the course of study has recently been modified to include the Chinese and English languages and other branches. The speaker also advocated the mingling of all races and religions in conferences for mutual benefit and for the purpose of performing the duties owed to and required by the state.

On another Sunday afternoon a representative of the Parsi religion emphasized the points of his religion which are universally recognized as beneficial to its adherents. First of all he mentioned the requirements of scrupulous personal cleanliness; next fostering education among the worthy poor; the inculcation in children of a strict filial obedience, truthfulness, and reverence; religious tolerance; a high grade of personal and commercial morality; and obedience to law.

NOTES.

We are in receipt of a circular letter signed by a number of Christian Chinese students and business men resident in the United States, in which an appeal is made to Christian America, on behalf of their fellow Chinese Christians in this country, to come to the aid of China in this her hour of peril. Were it not that we are pressed for space we should be glad to print the communication in full.

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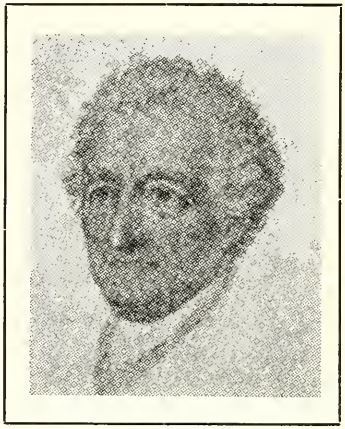

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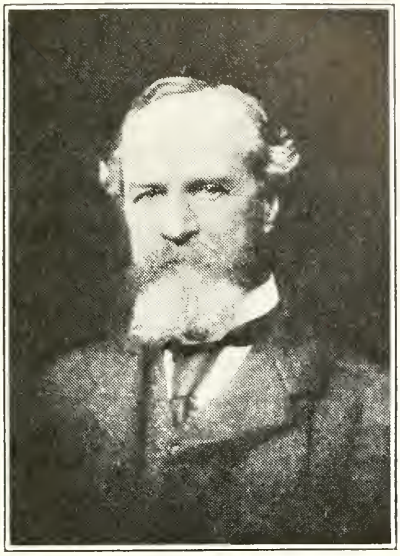

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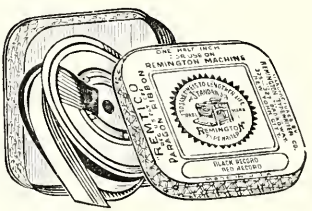

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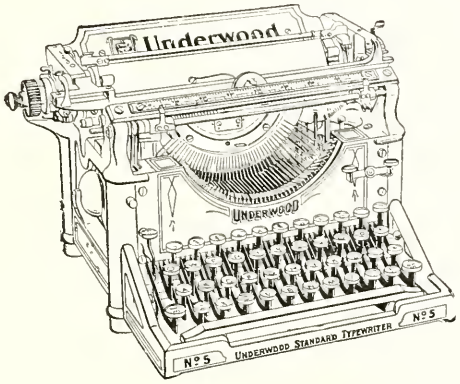

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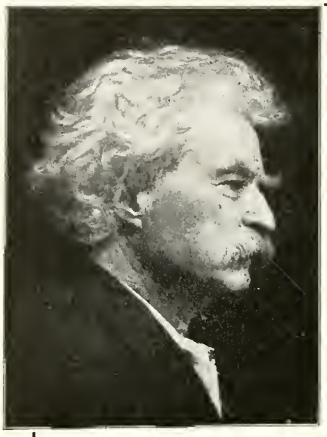

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