

# The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER

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VOL. XXXII (No. 3)

MARCH, 1918

NO. 742

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## The Open Court Publishing Company

CHICAGO

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

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Entered as Second-Class Matter March 26, 1897, at the Post Office at Chicago, Ill., under Act of March 3, 1879  
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# THE GOSPEL OF BUDDHA

By

DR. PAUL CARUS

*Pocket Edition. Illustrated. Cloth, \$1.00; flexible leather, \$1.50*

This edition is a photographic reproduction of the *edition de luxe* which was printed in Leipsic in 1913 and ready for shipment in time to be caught by the embargo Great Britain put on all articles exported from Germany. Luckily two copies of the above edition escaped, and these were used to make the photographic reproduction of this latest edition. While the Buddhist Bible could not in any way be considered a contraband of war yet, the publishers were forced to hold back many hundred orders for the book on account of orders in council of Great Britain.

When the book was first published His Majesty, the King of Siam, sent the following communication through his private secretary:

"Dear Sir: I am commanded by His Most Gracious Majesty, the King of Siam, to acknowledge, with many thanks, the receipt of your letter and the book, *The Gospel of Buddha*, which he esteems very much; and he expresses his sincerest thanks for the very hard and difficult task of compilation you have considerably undertaken in the interest of our religion. I avail myself of this favorable opportunity to wish the book every success."

His Royal Highness, Prince Chandradat Chudhadharn, official delegate of Siamese Buddhism to the Chicago Parliament of Religions, writes:

"As regards the contents of the book, and as far as I could see, it is one of the best Buddhist Scriptures ever published. Those who wish to know the life of Buddha and the spirit of his Dharma may be recommended to read this work which is so ably edited that it comprises almost all knowledge of Buddhism itself."

The book has been introduced as a reader in private Buddhist schools of Ceylon. Mrs. Marie H. Higgins, Principal of the Musaeus School and Orphanage for Buddhist Girls, Cinnamon Gardens, Ceylon, writes as follows:

"It is the best work I have read on Buddhism. This opinion is endorsed by all who read it here. I propose to make it a text-book of study for my girls."

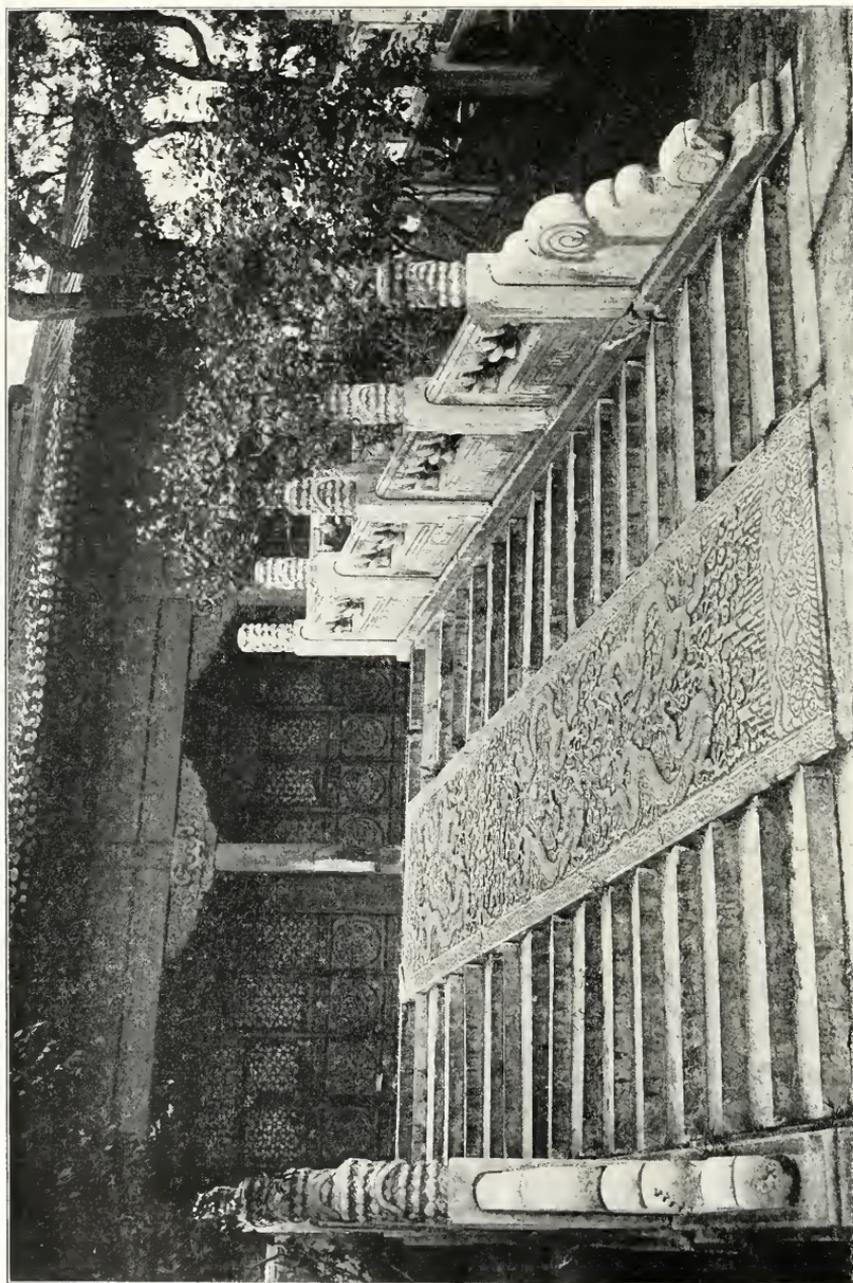
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TEMPLE OF CONFUCIUS AT PEKING.

*Frontispiece to The Open Court.*

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## VOLTAIRE AND ENGLISH LIBERTY.

BY FLORENCE DONNELL WHITE.

THE story of past relations between England and France is varied and significant. In the light of present events, it is particularly interesting to recall how large a part was played by English influence in the period which was to produce that gigantic struggle for liberty, the French Revolution. For Frenchman of the early eighteenth century England was, intellectually, an undiscovered country. It was Voltaire, in whose character modesty had small part, who claimed the glory of having made known to his fellow-citizens the land across the channel. And indeed it would be difficult to overestimate the importance of the years Voltaire spent in England while still a young man, and the influence of his published impressions of English institutions, philosophy, science and literature, the famous *Lettres anglaises* or *Lettres philosophiques*.

Some four years ago an eminent French scholar, now at the front, spoke of a letter of Voltaire's, written from a town near London, as containing the warmest praise of England that has ever come from the pen of a Frenchman.<sup>1</sup> Throughout his long life Voltaire retained a vital interest in things English although he never revisited English shores. He had, it is true, gone to the country under circumstances calculated to give him a somewhat exaggerated idea of the liberty and the manifold privileges enjoyed by its citizens. He had thrown himself upon their hospitality as an outcast from Paris. He had had a trivial quarrel with a nobleman, had been beaten by hirelings of his adversary and had, to his surprise, been deserted by the persons of rank who had previously been his warmest friends and admirers. In a contemporary journal we read: "The poor beaten Voltaire shows himself as often as possible at court

<sup>1</sup> Lucien Foulet, *Correspondance de Voltaire (1726-1729)*, Paris, 1913, p. xii.

and in the city, but no one pities him and those people he believed to be his friends have turned their backs on him.”<sup>2</sup> Government authorities had, as a simple way of avoiding further difficulties, first imprisoned and then exiled him. The bourgeois poet was in a position to feel keenly the injustice of the French social order and the lack of liberty prevailing in his own country.

He chose England as the place of his exile partly because he wished to publish there his epic poem, the *Henriade*, which he had not been allowed to bring out in Paris. He had had this idea in mind for some time. In October, 1725, he had written King George I of England: “I have spoken in my work the *Henriade* with liberty and truth. You, Sire, are the protector of both liberty and truth; and I dare flatter myself that you will grant me your royal protection that I may have printed in your kingdom a work which is sure to interest you since it is a eulogy of virtue. It is in order to learn to depict virtue better that I am eagerly seeking the honor of coming to London to present to you the profound respect and the gratitude with which I have the honor of being, Sire, your majesty’s very humble, very obedient and very grateful Servant.”

Possessed of the idea that England was the land of freedom, and smarting from his recent experiences in France, Voltaire crossed the Channel in May, 1726. Always a keen observer, with sharp intellectual curiosity, he was particularly in the frame of mind to draw comparisons between France and England and to appreciate to the utmost liberty in any form. The extent of this appreciation becomes evident when we bring together from various sources, some of which have only recently become accessible, passages in which Voltaire expressed, either while he was still on English soil or shortly after, his impressions of England.

Concerning the early months of his residence there we know little beyond the fact that in the summer he made a secret and hasty trip back to Paris and upon his return established himself at Wandswoth, a village not far from London, in the home of an English merchant whom he had known in France. There he spent two or three months in retirement, leading, to quote his own words, “an obscure and charming life. . . without going to London, and quite given over to the pleasures of indolence and of friendship,”—“the bitterness” of his life soothed, he says, by “the true and generous affection of this man.”<sup>3</sup> There he read English literature, Shake-

<sup>2</sup> Translated from Foulet, *Corr.*, p. 219.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Foulet, *Corr.*, pp. 59-60.

speare, Addison, Pope, Swift and the like. The story of his varying opinions regarding Shakespeare is a long and complicated one—puzzled astonishment gave way to admiration, to be followed in its turn by violent and lasting dislike. A few years after his return to France, he spoke of him with real appreciation. He had at first, he said, been unable to understand why such absurd dramatic monstrosities as Shakespeare's plays should be more popular than any others in London play-houses. He had, however, come to realize that the English were right and that the marvelous beauties of Shakespeare's dramas were the more remarkable because of their very defects, as a bright light shines brighter in a dark night. In his essay on epic poetry, written while he was in England, Voltaire paid Addison the compliment of borrowing largely from the *Spectator*, without acknowledgment, and spoke of him, moreover, as "the best Critic as well as the best Writer of his Age." Again, soon after his arrival in England, with his easy use of superlatives, he wrote a friend regarding "Mr. Pope, the best poet of England and at present of all the world. I hope," he adds, "you are acquainted enough with the English tongue to be sensible of all the charms of his works. For my part, I look on his poem call'd the *Essay upon criticism* as superior to the *Art of poetry* of Horace; and his *Rape of the lock, la boucle de cheveux*, [that is a comical one<sup>4</sup>], is in my opinion above the *Lutrin* of Despreaux; I never saw so amiable an imagination, so gentle graces, so great variety, so much wit, and so refined knowledge of the world as in this little performance." Swift he considered the English Rabelais, and he thoroughly enjoyed his work. At the end of the year 1727 he wrote Swift: "Pray forgive an admirer of you who owes to your writings the love he bears to your language." To the study of this language Voltaire applied himself with assiduity. It would seem, however, that he did not speak it easily, for he writes a friend early in 1727: "Remember that there is no other way to get the true English pronuntiation than to come over into England," and at the end of that year refers to English as a language "which he cannot pronounce at all and which he hardly understands in conversation." Light is thrown on one of the means he chose for improving his English in a note to be found in the *General History of the Stage* written by Chetwood of the Drury Lane Theater. "The noted author about twenty years past resided in London," we read. "His acquaintance with the *Laureat* brought him frequently to the theatre where (he confess'd) he improved in the English Orthography more in a week

<sup>4</sup> The brackets are Voltaire's.

than he should otherwise have done by labour'd study in a month. I furnished him every evening with the play of the night which he took with him into the Orchestra (his accustomed seat). In four or five months he not only conversed in elegant English but wrote it with exact propriety."<sup>5</sup>

In October or November, 1726, Voltaire moved to London, and early in the year 1727 he was presented at the court of George I. He remained in England, in London and at various country houses, somewhat over two years.<sup>6</sup>

In a long letter or sketch probably written in 1728 and evidently intended as an introduction to his *Lettres philosophiques* but not published until after his death, Voltaire gives a highly colored account of his experiences on landing in England. This account was so clearly written for picturesque effect that it has little serious value, but it is not without spice and interest. Voltaire first speaks of the difficulties experienced by a foreigner who wishes to give an idea of the country he is visiting and quotes, in that connection, from the work of an Englishman named Dennis who, having spent two weeks in France, undertook to describe that nation and began by saying: "I am going to give you a good and impartial description of the French people and, to begin with, I will tell you that I hate them with a mortal hatred."<sup>7</sup> Voltaire goes on to say that a French ambassador in England, quite unlike an English ambassador in France, usually does not know a word of English, has not the slightest notion of the works written in that tongue and therefore cannot give his countrymen any accurate information regarding the country. Despite all the difficulties, one might hope to learn somewhat more, he says, from a Frenchman visiting England as a private citizen who—and here he seems to outline his own course of procedure while in the country—"had sufficient leisure and obstinacy to learn to speak English, who talked freely with Whigs and Tories, who dined with a Bishop and supped with a Quaker, went Saturday to the Synagogue and Sunday to Saint Paul's, heard a sermon in the morning and saw a comedy after dinner, who went from the court to the exchange and above all was not in the least rebuffed by the coldness, the scornful and icy manner which English ladies assume in the beginning of an acquaintance and which some of them never lay aside." "When I landed near London," he con-

<sup>5</sup> Page 46, note.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Foulet, *Corr.*, pp. 270 ff.

<sup>7</sup> These extracts as well as those quoted later from the *Lettres philosophiques* are translated from Lanson's edition.

tinues, "it was in the middle of the spring, the sky was as cloudless as it is on the loveliest days in the south of France, there was a gentle and fresh west wind which made all nature serene and the people joyful." Certain curious festivities he witnessed on his arrival called to his mind the Olympian games, but, he adds: "the beauty of the Thames, the great numbers of vessels, the vast size of the city of London soon made me blush at having dared to compare Elis to England." Certain court ladies whom he met that evening surprised him, for "they had not at all the lively manner of people who have been enjoying themselves. They were stiff and cold, they drank tea, made a great noise with their fans and didn't say a word or else talked all at once slandering their neighbors. Some were playing cards and others reading papers." The morning after his arrival he met, in an ill-kept coffee-house, some of the gentlemen he had seen the day before and found them singularly solemn and uncommunicative. He tried to recall whether he could have offended them by hinting that French cooks were better than English, that Paris was a pleasanter city than London, that the time passed more agreeably at Versailles than at Saint James or by some other equally insulting remark. Finally he asked why they were all so sad and some one explained to him sullenly that the wind was blowing from the east. At that very moment a messenger ran in, bringing the news that a beautiful young girl, a friend of them all, had just cut her throat (reference is often made in French literature to the supposed frequency of suicide in England). The news was received with perfect calm. Voltaire asked why so shocking a thing should have occurred and was simply told, by way of explanation, that an east wind was blowing. He goes on to say: "I left the coffee-house at once and went to the court, possessed of that fine notion that a court is always gay. Everything there was sad and mournful, even the ladies in waiting. They were talking in melancholy fashion of the east wind. I was tempted to laugh but the climate was already having its effect on me and I was astonished to find I could not laugh. A famous court physician to whom I confided my surprise told me that there was nothing astonishing in that, that I would find things far worse in November and March; that then people hanged themselves by the dozen, that nearly everybody was really ill then and that a profound melancholy lay over the whole nation, 'for that' he said, 'is when the east wind blows most constantly. That wind is the ruin of our island. Even the animals suffer from it and all seem cast down. The men who are robust enough to keep in good health in that accursed weather

at least lose their good temper. Every one looks severe then and is capable of doing almost any desperate act. It was, indeed, when an east wind was blowing that Charles I was beheaded and, James II dethroned. . . . If you have some favor to ask at court,' he added in a whisper, 'be sure to wait till the wind blows from the west or the south.'" Thus does a Frenchman accuse the English of being changeable! Again in the same letter, Voltaire speaks of talking with a boatman on the Thames who proudly boasted of the liberty prevailing in his country and swore by high Heaven that he would rather be a boatman on the Thames than an archbishop in France. The next day he saw the same man in prison because of the law forcing sailors to serve on his majesty's ships—a law which, Voltaire tells us, was repealed shortly after. Instead of rejoicing, as did a fellow Frenchman who was with him, that the English, who so loudly reproach the French with their servitude, were sometimes slaves themselves, Voltaire experienced, he would have us believe, a more humane feeling. He was distressed that there was not more liberty on earth. The underlying idea of this letter—the contradictions to be found in the character of this changeable English nation—finds definite expression in the last sentence: "The Spanish say of a man, he was brave yesterday. That is about the way one should judge nations and especially as regards the English nation one ought to say, 'That is what they were like that particular year or that month.'"

More serious in tone and far more significant are the scattered passages to be found in a note-book of Voltaire's, in his private letters, in his *Essay on Epic Poetry* and in the *Lettres philosophiques*, passages which bear upon England, particularly English tolerance and English liberty in matters social and intellectual and which often contrast, openly or by implication, France and England. The contents of the small note-book were published for the first time and without comment in the *English Review* of February, 1914. From dates contained in it, it appears that these notes were, in part at least, jotted down in the early months of Voltaire's stay in England, the summer of 1726. Wishing to become thoroughly familiar with the English language, Voltaire began at once the practice of writing it. The result in this little book is curious but for the most part intelligible. Some of the entries may be quoted in the order in which they chance to occur. "England is meeting of all religions, as the royal exchange is the rendez-vous of all foreigners. . . . Theatre in England is boundless. . . . English tongue, barren and barbarous in its origin is now plentiful and sweet, like

a garden full of exotiks plants. In England every body is publik spirited. In France every body is concern'd in his own intrest only. The English is full of taughts, french all in miens, compliments, swet words, and curious of engaging outside, over flowing in words, obsequious with pride, and very much self concern'd under the appearance of a pleasant modesty. The English is sparing of words, openly proud and unconcerned he gives the most quick birth he can to his taughts, for fear of loosing his time. . . . We arrive to the same work by differents ways, a chartusian fryar kneels and prostrates himself all along before me, a quacker speaks to me all-wyais covered, both do so to follow the gospel, in the most rigorous sense. . . . Malboroug despisead French because he had conquer'd 'em, Law despis'd 'em also because he had cheated them. . . . Seldom brothers agree together, t'is for this reason sovereings of Europe are stiled brothers to each other. they pursue, they deceive, they betray, they hate one another like true brothers, and after having fight with the utmost fury, and having lay wast respectively their kingdoms, they take a solemn mourning upon the death one of another. . . . They say Cromwell was nothing less than an enthusiaste, he was so far from being a fanatick that he rul'd all who were so . . . . A man was burnt alive in Paris for saying he was the Pope's son. . . . M. Lock's reasonableness of christian religion is really a new religion. One of the french prophets having boasted that at any appointed day, he would raise a dead body from his grave, the government sent guards to the place apointed to keep off the rabble, and to keep all things in quiet that the play could be acted without disturbance. . . . A king is in England a necessary thing to preserve the spirit of liberty, as a post to a fencer to exert himself."

The correspondence of Voltaire belonging to the period of his residence in England may be expected to throw light on his opinion of the people among whom he was living. In a French letter dated August 12, 1726, and addressed to his intimate friend, Thiériot, Voltaire speaks of England as a country where there are no distinctions between men but those of merit, a country where people think freely and nobly without being restrained by any servile fear. "If I followed my inclination," he says, "I should establish myself in that country with the sole idea of learning to think."<sup>8</sup> In the letter of October 26, 1726, Voltaire gives his correspondent (Thiériot, no doubt,) details of what he calls "his for ever cursed fortune," although he also speaks of "my star that among all its

<sup>8</sup> All extracts from Voltaire's letters are quoted or translated from Foulet's edition.

direful influences pours allways on me some kind refreshment" and expresses appreciation of the great goodness of his English friends. Debating as to whether he shall try, for publishing his epic, "the way of subscriptions by the favour of the court," Voltaire voices the sentiments which have been characterized as the warmest praise a Frenchman ever gave to England. "I am weary of courts, my Thiriot," he writes, "all that is king or belongs to a king, frights my republican philosophy, I won't drink the least draught of slavery in the land of liberty. . . . I fear, I hope nothing from your country [i. e., France]. All that I wish for, is to see you one day in London. I am entertaining myself with this pleasant hope; if it is but a dream, let me enjoy it, don't undeceive me, let me believe I shall have the pleasure to see you in London, [drawing up]<sup>9</sup> the strong spirit of this unaccountable nation; you will translate their thoughts better when you live among em. You will see a nation fond of their liberty, learned, witty, despising life and death, a nation of philosophers; not but that there are some fools in England, every country has its madmen, it may be French folly is pleasanter than English madness, but by God English wisdom and English honesty is above yours. One day I will acquaint you with the character of this strange people, but tis time to put an end to my English talkativeness." If Voltaire is somewhat more cautious in later letters from England, it is no doubt because, when the first heat of his angry resentment is past, he realizes in what serious difficulties he would be involved if such sentiments from his pen fell into the hands of French government officials. Indeed, at one time he tells Thiériot that in writing him he uses English as a sort of cypher in order that he may not be "understood by many over-curious people." Other and later letters, if usually somewhat more restrained, contain passages which are full of interest. February 13, 1727, Voltaire tells his friend of changes which he has made in the *Henriade*. At a certain point in the poem as it was to appear in London and thereafter, he has added a flattering description of England, including some lines on the English government. From this passage and from the explanatory note which Voltaire appended after his return to France, it is evident that he was conversant with the principles underlying the English constitution, although he has been accused of showing no keen interest in it.<sup>10</sup> In an English letter to Thiériot written in March of the same year there occurs a passage, interesting in that it shows Voltaire could

<sup>9</sup> The brackets are Voltaire's.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Foulet, *Corr.*, p. 84, n. 2.

criticise English literature adversely. "It was," he says, "indeed a very hard task for me to find that damn'd book which under the title of *Improvement of Humane Reason* is an example of nonsense from one end to the other, and which besides is a tedious nonsense and consequently very distasteful to the French nation who dislikes madness itself when madness is languishing and flat. The book is scarce, because it is bad, it being the fate of all the wretch'd books never to be printed again. So I spent almost a fortnight in the search of it till at last I had the misfortune to find it." In the English dedicatory letter to the Queen of England, published in the first London edition of the *Henriade* in 1728, occur the sentences: "Your Majesty will find in this book, bold impartial truths, morality unstained with superstition, a spirit of liberty, equally abhorrent of rebellion and of tyranny, the rights of kings always asserted and those of mankind never laid aside. The same spirit in which it is written, gave me the confidence to offer it to the virtuous consort of a king who among so many crowned heads enjoys almost alone, the inestimable honour of ruling a free nation, a king who makes his power consist in being beloved, and his glory in being just." Writing in English in April, 1728, to an unknown correspondent regarding the essays which he himself had recently published in London, Voltaire says: "But I dare not send any thing of that kind into France before I have settled my affairs in that country. . . . I think I am not to let the French court know that I think and write like a free Englishman. I heartily wish to see you and my friends, but I had rather to see them in England than in France. You, who are a perfect Briton, you should cross the Channel and come to us. I assure you again that a man of your temper would not dislike a country where one obeys to the laws only and to one's whims. Reason is free here and walks her own way. Hypochondriacs especially are welcome. No manner of living appears strange. We have men who walk six miles a day for their health, feed upon roots, never taste flesh, wear a coat in winter thinner than your ladies do in the hottest days: all this is accounted a particular reason but taxed with folly by nobody." Again in the same month, with reference to the ban laid upon the *Henriade* in France, Voltaire writes Thiériot: "I have already. . . . intreated him [the lieutenant of police in France] to seize all the copies which might steal into France till I have leave from the government to publish the book. I have assured him I would never send into France any thing without the consent of the ministry." In the same letter he writes regarding his essay published in Eng-

lish: "That little pamphlet could not succeed in France without being dressed in quite another manner. . . . The style besides is after the English fashion; so many similies, so many things which appear but easy and familiar here would seem too low to your wits in Paris." In June he returns to the subject of the *Henriade*. "Now I want to know when and where I could print secretly the *Henriade*? It must be in France, in some country town. I question whether Rouen is a proper place; for methinks the bookish inquisition is so rigorous that it has frightened all the book-sellers in those parts."

Writing in July to Dr. Towne who proposes translating the *Henriade* into English, Voltaire says: "You do me the greatest honour I could ever boast of, in bestowing an English dress upon my French child. I receive the best reward of all my labours if you go on in the generous design of translating my undeserving work into a language which gives life and strength to all the subjects it touches. The *Henriade* has at least in itself a spirit of liberty which is not very common in France; the language of a free nation as yours is the only one that can vigorously express what I have but faintly drawn in my native tongue: the work will grow under your hands worthy of the British nation, and that tree transplanted in your soil and grafted by you will bear a new and better sort of fruit." In August he speaks of a French version he is making of his English essay as a very curious work for those who, he says, "although born in France, wish to have some idea of the taste of other nations." Again apropos of the *Henriade* he writes in French: "You tell me that bigots, people who cannot be trusted or have very little sense, have found fault with me because I have dared. . . . represent God as a being full of goodness and indulgent as regards the follies of mankind. Those rascallions may make God a tyrant as much as they please; I shall none the less consider him as good and wise as those gentlemen are idiotic and wicked."

We may now turn from Voltaire's private letters to his *Essay on Epic Poetry*. Voltaire's definite purpose in going to England and his chief interest while there was the publication in London of the *Henriade*. The first London edition of the poem dates from the month of March, 1728. Near the end of the preceding year, as a clever piece of advertising, Voltaire had published in London a small book containing two essays written in English, the first of which, the *Essay upon the Civil Wars in France*, gave the historical setting of the *Henriade*, while the second, the *Essay on Epic Poetry*, treated in a fashion flattering to the English the class of poetry to which the *Henriade* belonged. The second of these essays was

soon translated into French and published in Paris without the knowledge of Voltaire, who himself published a fundamentally revised French version of it several years later. The English version has been until recently very rare.

This essay, as it appeared in English, contained various comparisons between France and England. A few sentences detach themselves with particular clearness, as expressing the contrast between liberty and tolerance on the one hand, lack of liberty and intolerance on the other. These sentences were either omitted or entirely altered by the French translator and again by Voltaire in his own French version of the essay. They are as follows. "I am apt to think that every Language has its own particular Genius, flowing chiefly from the Genius of the Nation, and partly from its own Nature. On the one Side, more or less Liberty in the Government, and in Religion. . . all these Means have a great Share in determining the Nature of a Language, in making it extensive or stinted, strong or weak, sublime or low. . . The Force of that Idiom [English] is wonderfully heighten'd by the Nature of the Government, which allows the *English* to speak in Publick, and by the Liberty of Conscience, which makes them more conversant in the Scripture. . . . To this happy Freedom, that the *British* Nation enjoys in every thing, are owing many excellent Versions of the ancient Poets. . . . For it is with our Heroick Poetry, as with our Trade, we come up to the *English* in neither, for want of being a free *Nation*. Slavery is generally an Obstacle to Abundance. . . . We have discarded a Multitude of old energetic Expressions, the Loss of which has weakened the Stock of the *French* Tongue, as the compelling our Protestants away [the allusion is, of course, to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes] hath thinned the Nation. The *English* have naturalized many of our antiquated Words, as they have done our Countrymen, and so they have increased their Language, as well as their People, at our Expence." In the course of this essay Voltaire stresses the advantage one nation may derive from a tolerant acquaintance with the customs and the ideas of others. He recommends to Frenchmen the study of English, saying: "I look upon the *English* Language as a learned one, which deserves to be the Object of our Application in *France*, as the *French* Tongue is thought a kind of Accomplishment in *England*." This sentence is doubly interesting in light of the scorn previously felt in France for the English language, and it is significant to connect with it references in Voltaire's correspondence to friends of his who had undertaken the study of English since he had been

in England as well as the testimony of certain contemporaries. For example, in the preface of his translation of Swift's *Gulliver*, the Abbé Desfontaines speaks in 1727 of the English language "which is beginning to be fashionable in Paris and which numerous distinguished and worthy persons have recently learned."

It remains for us to consider the work in which Voltaire summed up his various impressions of England and which, under the title *Lettres philosophiques*, was published in 1734 in Amsterdam, the necessary official permission for publishing it in Paris having naturally enough been refused. It had already appeared in an English translation in London in 1733. This work, more commonly known as *Lettres anglaises*, and recognized as a powerful factor in the intellectual life of the eighteenth century, is familiar to many more people than the material we have considered up to this point and differs from that material also in that it found its way immediately to the French public. It contained somewhat informal essays in which the author discussed various aspects of English life and English thought, religion, politics, philosophy, science and literature. It has been called the first bomb thrown against the old régime in France. Observations concerning England are made to serve as so many attacks, direct or indirect, upon the very structure of French society.

A few quotations will serve to show the harmony between the opinions Voltaire expresses in the *Lettres philosophiques* and those we have already brought together from other and less familiar sources. "This is the country of sects. An Englishman, as a free man, goes to Heaven by whatever road his chooses. . . . The fruit of the wars in England has been liberty. The English nation is the only one on earth which has succeeded in controlling the power of its kings by resisting them and which, through constant effort, has finally established that wise sort of government in which the ruler, all-powerful so far as doing good is concerned, finds his hands tied if he wishes to do evil, in which the nobles are great without being insolent and without having vassals, and the common people share in the government without causing any confusion. . . . This country is not only jealous of its own liberty, it is jealous of that of others. . . . The civil wars in France have been longer, more cruel and more prolific of crime than those in England, but of all those civil wars not one has had a wise liberty as a goal. . . . The common people, the most numerous and even the most virtuous and consequently the most respectable part of humanity. . . . The strength of these petty brigands was broken in France by the

legitimate power of our kings, in England by the legitimate power of the kings and of the people. . . . A man because he is noble or a priest is by no means exempt from paying certain taxes here. . . . The peasant's feet are not bruised with wooden shoes, he eats white bread, he is well-dressed, he doesn't hesitate to increase the amount of his live-stock or to put tiles on his roof for fear his taxes will be raised the following year. . . . Commerce which has enriched English citizens has helped make them free and that very freedom has increased commerce in its turn, thence the greatness of the state. In France any one who wishes may be a marquis and any one who comes to Paris from the most remote corner of a province with money to spend and a name in *ac* or *ille* may talk about "a man like me, a man of my stamp," and thoroughly despise a merchant; the merchant himself hears his profession so often spoken of with scorn that he is foolish enough to blush for it; nevertheless I do not know which is the more useful to a state, a well-powdered nobleman who knows precisely at what hour the king gets up and goes to bed and who assumes grand airs playing the role of slave in the ante-chamber of a minister, or a merchant who enriches his country, gives from his office orders to Surat and Cairo and contributes to the happiness of the world. . . . [Newton's] great good fortune was not only to be born in a free country . . . . The poetical genius of the English is thus far like a bushy tree, planted by nature, sending out hap-hazard a thousand branches and growing irregular and powerful. It dies if you try to force its nature and prune it after the manner of trees in Marly garden. . . . In England people in general think and letters are more honored than in France. This advantage is a necessary consequence of the form of their government. It seems to me that the English have . . . . philosophers who should be the teachers of mankind. . . . Addison in France would have belonged to some academy and might have obtained, through the influence of some woman a pension of twelve hundred *livres*. In England he was Secretary of State."

## THE SOCIAL BASES OF JUDAISM.

BY H. OSCHEROWITZ.

THE history of Israel offers a picture of manifold social development. When the Jewish tribes had settled in Canaan, Israel had reached the stage of social unity. At that time there existed no single social need. Conditions harmful to the life of a people

had not yet developed. The early position of the Jews gave rise to but few social conflicts. The Jews could boast of no world empire, as could the Egyptians and Babylonians; there were no oppressed classes in Israel, no rulers who could enjoy the luxuries produced by the toil of their slaves.

The foundations of the social life in Israel were well laid. The reverence which was shown to the elders and the ancestors was at the bottom of Jewish national power. Thus we can see in ancient Israel a natural political unity, resting upon ties of blood. While all of the modern states in their present form are overwhelmingly a product of historical occurrences, of migration and of conquests, Israel alone can boast of the natural ties of common descent which hold her people intact. The original ties of blood-relationship taken in and by themselves do not justify Israel's existence as a nation, for in the Book of Genesis itself we find the story of the common ancestry of all peoples and of all nations of the earth.

National existence is founded primarily on the free and supreme will of God. The Jewish state also has absorbed the principle of nationality, the natural laws of state formation into its basis of existence. The Jew, however, does not regard nature in itself, but the supernatural divine will as the main factor in the formation of his nation.

Israel is not a state resting upon a voluntary contract relationship between its members, but rather an organism created by a divine being. The Jews do not compose their nation through their collective voluntary agreement, but they are the component parts of an organism without which they as Jews are non-existent. If Israel is an organism created by divine power, then there must be certain intervening parts combining the individual elements into a single entity. These intermediaries in themselves must consequently be living organisms with individual existence. We may look upon the state as a body composed of separate component parts in the form of tribes, of families or homes.

The tribes in particular owned individualities whose existence was dear to the hearts of the entire people (Judges xxi. 6-17), and the possession of which was sacred to them (Judges xxi. 3). The tribes are in turn separable into families. Outside of this classification we have to reckon with another category, the several houses of ancient lineage composed of several degrees of kinship, called *Mischpachaus* or *Alaphim*. These patriarchal houses or families in turn do not consist of separate atoms in any peculiar order, but may be said to comprise the separate families, in the narrow sense of the

term. The family, again, is not a voluntary union, but rests ultimately upon matrimony as its basis. Marriage ties, however, are regarded as natural and moral bonds woven by God in his divine providence. Here we are confronted by the same moral element which even in modern society is recognized as a wholesome foundation of the political organism. In a concentric mode of life a social unity inevitably arises. The social organism is divisible into individual integral parts. This decomposition in the case of ancient Israel was not based upon an external, politically practical theory, but proceeded along an internal natural order. Let us then turn to the narrower social question. Besides these natural demarcations in ancient Israel were there not others of an artificial character? Were there further social differentiations within the above-mentioned categories? These questions can only be answered by an unconditional "No."

Every man in Israel occupied the same social position as his fellow-man. There were no hereditary family privileges and distinctions, and likewise no professional class enjoyed social advantages superior to those of all the rest. Israel's political and social order was wholesome throughout, comprising all the members of society and suppressing all revolutionary tendencies in the embryo. In this order, personal liberty and dignity were guaranteed by the state to every individual. Israel regards itself as a people of brethren. Liberty, equality and fraternity, with a retention of the natural differentiation and excluding all unnatural leveling or democratization that is the condition whose creation and perpetuation was the goal of the Old Testament law.

There existed in Israel not even the least gradation of rank particularly with reference to the rights and duties of citizenship. We know here of no division of the people into nobles and common people, patricians and plebeians. Even the power which goes hand in hand with the right of private property was from the very beginning carefully guarded and held in check by means of an adequate legal code. In order to prevent the growth in property rights of a few individual families it was enacted that the "sale of real property" should consist of a lease for a maximum period of forty-nine years, and that after the term fixed by the lease had expired the original owner should again come into absolute possession of his property; and that the sum paid on the account should be accounted as rent for the duration of the lease. Only the Eternal possessed an absolute title to the property and absolute control over the affairs of the state in Israel. Throughout the entire evolution of Jewish

law-making runs the principle, that the land is the common heritage of all the people; the belief that all were entitled to utilize this gift of the Almighty. On this point the Scriptures are unmistakable: "The land shall not be sold for ever: for the land is mine; for ye are strangers and sojourners with me" (Leviticus xxv. 23).

In the year of the Jubilee all returned to the land which formerly was possessed by their families.

"And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof; it shall be a Jubilee unto you; and ye shall return every man unto his possession, and ye shall return every man unto his family" (Leviticus xxv. 10). These are the precepts as laid down in the law of Moses.

A sale of the land and unconditional transfer of real estate, using these terms in the modern sense, was thus absolutely forbidden. Every sale of land was in its very essence only a sale of the products of the land for a term extending to the next Jubilee year. The price was of course proportionate to the number of years remaining between the year of the sale and the return of the Jubilee, when all obligations hitherto incurred were automatically invalidated.

Even within the Jubilee period the vender reserved for himself the right to regain possession of his land. When any one in his family regained the means to redeem the land thus sold, he could exercise that privilege. In that case the buyer of the land had to be content with the refund of the purchasing price paid from which could be deducted the full value of the harvest which the possessor had reaped during the period of his possession. But, on the other hand, in order to guard the legitimate interests of the purchaser, the redemption of the land could not take place until the latter had reaped two full harvests.

This statute of the Mosaic law is expressed in these words: "And in all the land of your possession ye shall grant a redemption for the land. If thy brother be waxen poor, and hath sold away some of his possession, and if any of his kin come to redeem it, then shall he redeem that which his brother sold. And if the man have none to redeem it, and himself be able to redeem it, then let him count the years of the sale thereof, and restore the surplus unto the man to whom he sold it, that he may return unto his possession" (Leviticus xxv. 24-28).

The poor laws of Israel show in every respect the tendency to arouse and to cultivate even in the poor a feeling of self-respect and individual liberty, and to guard these virtues from the depressing and paralyzing effect of humility and slavish abnegation. Since the

feeling of inferiority almost inevitably develops in a society in which one class is economically dependent upon another, and since those unfortunates who had to sell their property anticipated a return to their lands during the next Jubilee year, it was essential to cultivate this positive self-feeling. This made Israel a society of free men instead of slaves. Those parts of the harvest, therefore, which were set aside for the poor did not bear the stamp of alms, but were symbolical of a legitimate right of the poor.

In order to make it impossible for shiftlessness and squandrous habits on the part of an individual to condemn his family to eternal poverty, it was decreed that even those lands which had been given to others as gifts should return to the original owner in the year of the Jubilee.

Of great social and economic significance was also the institution of the "Sabbath Year," which recurred every seven years. During that year it was forbidden to sow the fields or to prune the vineyard (Leviticus xxv. 3-7). "That which groweth of its own accord of thy harvest thou shalt not reap, neither gather the grapes of thy vine undressed: for it is a year of rest unto the land. And the Sabbath of the land shall be meat for you; for thee, and for thy servant, and for thy maid, and for thy hired servant, and for thy stranger that sojourneth with thee" (Leviticus xxv. 5-6).

Thus the fields were to lie idle every seventh year, both to increase the fertility of the soil and to be a benefice to the poor and needy.

Lest in the seventh year there be hunger or famine throughout the land, special provisions were observed to prevent want. The land was divided into districts. The Sabbath year did not occur simultaneously in all the districts, but it was so arranged that only a part of the entire number of districts should observe the Sabbath year at any given time.

The impelling motive prompting all of the land-reform laws was to protect all of the members of the nation forever from want and misery. The state considered it its duty to guarantee the individual's inherent and legitimate rights to the products of the natural source of production: the land.

Although, on the one hand, the Sabbath year prevented the owners from extracting the maximum of products from the soil and thereby decreased the accumulated stores somewhat, on the other hand, a permanent right of redemption and the ultimate restoration of the land to its original owner during the Jubilee year, made it possible for any individual in the long run to add to his real estate.

The well-to-do could of course rent a considerable area of land for a number of years, but they could never obtain a title to the land which was so possessed by them. In ancient Israel the law made the permanent concentration of the land in a few hands impossible. Captains of industry, speculators and princes of commerce were prevented from converting their quickly acquired capital into real estate and thus the creation of a landed aristocracy was forestalled. One other very important regulation was affected by these measures. The moneyed classes were not allowed to exploit their poorer fellow men by getting hold of the latter's property at sacrifice prices at times when money was scarce. The building up of great estates that pass from father to son was thereby made impossible—as long at least as the people held to the precepts of their sacred laws.

When, therefore, "The Joining of Houses," which, at least in the urban communities, did not constitute a direct breach of the letter of the law, is regarded as a violation of the spirit of the law, we are not surprised to hear the prophet exclaim: "Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field till there be no room (Isaiah v. 8) in order that they alone may possess the lands of the earth who use force" (Mishna ii. 2).

In our own day it has become one of the chief problems of political economy to further the acquisition and tenure of individual property rights in real estate for the sake of national welfare, and to devise ways and means of furthering the interests of large-scale land owners. The Old Testament which tried to work in a directly opposite direction, was perhaps not able to avoid poverty entirely, but at least offered effective resistance to those who wished to accumulate great stores of wealth.

The beneficial effects of the ancient Jewish agrarian system consisted in the fact that on the one hand there was no propertyless proletariat and on the other hand no plutocratic group able to manipulate the affairs of the entire people. It is of course not altogether an established fact that the Biblical laws were always carried out to the letter, but this much is certain, that the basic principles of this agrarian legislation were enforced over a period extending far beyond the division of the Jewish kingdom. For how could we otherwise explain the fact that during this period, which extended over several centuries, we find evidence of not a single case of concentration of power in a few families and the oppression of other family groups.

In connection with these social regulations, there existed certain

other statutes concerning money lending, interest, bonding, and pawning. Since agriculture was the main source of wealth in ancient Israel, the necessity for loans was not great. Only in cases of emergency did one borrow from another and then only under the regulations of the law. It was illegal to speculate for gain or to practise usury. The taking of interest for the use of capital which is nowadays regarded as a matter of course business practice, was absolutely prohibited. When a debtor was unable to repay his creditor the borrowed capital he could contract himself into bondage. At the bottom of this provision lay the tendency to prevent idleness and to offer the industrious an opportunity to gain their livelihood to be freed again in the Sabbath year. In the meanwhile the weak were guarded from the ill effects of unemployment. This arrangement constituted a sort of unemployed insurance which even to-day is an unsolved problem of no mean importance in the majority of our modern states.

The credit laws, though often misused, had the purpose of not only preventing complete poverty but also to ameliorate the condition of the poor and impoverished.

This then brings us to the poor laws of ancient Israel which command the attention even of modern reformers. In ancient Israel as well as in modern times the care of the poor rested upon legal enactment. In the former, however, the law was divine law, while in the latter the poor laws were laid down by men. While in our day the precepts of the law are enforced by police power, in the days of the Old Testament God was the one who avenged the violations of His law. Instead of the police, morality makes for the enforcement of the poor laws in the ancient Jewish state. In our society the case of the poor rests upon the state or some particular organization, while in ancient Israel every individual bore his share. The care of the poor in our day may be more systematic and formal, but in the Old Testament days there is room for individual action whereby the deed is lifted into an ethical sphere. While in our times the poor receive aid, only under certain formal conditions, in ancient days every needy person was entitled to support. Our system guards of course against abuse, but the ancient system not only provided for individual cases of extreme need, but also did much toward preventing extreme poverty and want. Furthermore, in ancient Israel the poor were spared from the offensive inquisitorial methods, which are so common to-day, but they were also free from the embarrassment due to the publication of poor lists, which is an objectionable part of our present-day method.

The relationship between rich and poor was in many other respects relatively exemplary. The creditor was subject to a courteous restraint in the face of his debtors. He was not allowed to enter the dwelling of the debtor, but had to await at the outside the pawn which the debtor might bring to him. Above all, however, the creditor was prohibited from extorting as security those chattels regarded as the barest necessities of life; for instance: handmill, millstone, necessary clothing, etc. (Exodus xxii. 24-26; Deuteronomy, xxiv. 10-13). This was a legal provision which certainly has left its mark upon the laws of to-day.

When the law permitted, as has already been stated, a debtor to sell himself into slavery or bondage for a certain period, the reason underlying it was to caution against the careless creation of debts. But when the relationship of master and slave had once arisen between creditor and debtor, the law commanded of the former a "brotherly treatment" of the slave.

Theoretically one may speak of "omnipotent competition," as the liberator of the workingman from the yoke of the employer; in practice, however, we often find that the converse is the case. The lack of mobility on the part of the worker, the static conditions of the industrial establishments, the well-meant and in itself praiseworthy provision on the part of many industrial establishments of furnishing their employees dwelling places—naturally however, for only as long a period as they are connected with that particular mine or factory—all these conditions may lead to the establishment of ties between the employee and his place of work which are as firm and indestructible as were the bonds between master and slave of Old-Testament days, though the latter were much more beneficent and moral than are the bonds existing to-day.

The Old Testament serf, not to speak of the thralls among other peoples of antiquity, was in many respects better off than is the modern laborer. All shared in the labor, in the life and in the rest which the day brought. The slave partook of the same pleasures, of the same festivities, of the same fate as did his master. When decrepitude or accident overtook the worker, the employer could not simply repudiate the contract which bound him to what had become a human wreck, he could not leave a faithful worker who had served him for years stoically to his fate without offering adequate compensation.

The occupation of the people, as it found expression in the laws of the land, was by no means predominantly active trading or commerce. This is shown by the subnormal development of the

ancient Hebrew money and banking system, which is so manifest as to make it indeed difficult to determine the money-values and standards of those days.

The Scriptural law seems to have held industry in higher regard than commerce. The craftsmen "Bezalel and Aholiab who knew how to work all manner of work for the service of the sanctuary" (Exodus xxxi, 2, 6) were regarded as "wise hearted men, in whom the Lord put wisdom and understanding" (Exodus xxxi. 6). As is well known, however, it is not only the skilled artist who is called to exercise his talents in the service of the sanctuary, but also the unskilled common workman. Consequently industry, of the higher as well as that of the lower type, forms a substantial element in the economic life of ancient Israel.

The Biblical law does not regard financial enterprise in as high and favorable a light as it held agricultural undertakings. The latter were ever preferred to the former, as a wholesome economic basis for society. The Old Testament perceives in an extended financially organized society certain inevitable moral and social evils. True, the Jewish law does not put a ban on commerce and industry, but it also does not select them as the main levers in the economic machine, but rather assigns them a position of secondary importance.

When we recognize the fact that the laws of ancient Israel directed or rather narrowed the occupation of the people to agriculture, it is easy to understand why the law was so careful to conserve the right of individual land ownership and why the national welfare was considered inextricably interwoven with national promotion of agriculture. The Scriptural law wished to restrict the egotism, the feverish gain spirit, which even to-day is promoted by men of integrity and reputation in the name of liberty and democracy. Under the Hebraic law, it was just as *impossible* to hoard up great wealth, to produce and acquire the many luxuries of to-day, as the demand for these luxuries in our day is *unjustifiable*. Then again the laws of Israel prevented the excessive and lamentable poverty which to-day in spite of our increased national wealth is so evident in our industrial centers.

The legal regulations with reference to the treatment of domestic animals were extremely humanitarian. Just as carefully as the Mosaic law guarded the welfare of the worker, so did it accord its aid to animals. It did not nullify man's privilege of utilizing the service of domestic animals—yea, the law even allowed their killing for sacrificial purposes. But in other respects the law prescribed tender treatment within certain limits. It may well be said that the

law made Israel a great "Humanitarian Society." The provisions of the law were quite detailed and were promoted with tender forbearance toward animals.

The Sabbath or rest day was accorded to the animals as well as to man. If the rest day is necessary for man on every seventh day, how much more is it necessary for the domestic animal which has none of the liberties of man, and which cannot choose a period of rest according to its own desire. This was the principle underlying the Mosaic law.

In case of accident, the law made aid to the animal imperative. When an animal lost its way, it was to be brought back to its master. Even the ties of blood-relationship among animals were sacredly guarded. When therefore a new-born calf was to be offered as a sacrifice, the calf had to remain for seven days with its mother. The law forbade the slaughtering of an animal on the same day with its young (Leviticus xxii. 28). In the fact that the law prohibited the taking of a mother with her young out of the nest, we can see that the law's protection was not limited to domesticated animals. In this category we may also place the law which forbade the hitching together of an animal with an animal of another species. Thus it was wrong to hitch horse and mule to the same plow. There was one law, however, which received special emphasis in Biblical days, and that was the provision which aimed to guard against the shortening of rations of animals. As the law reads: "Thou shalt not tie the mouth of the laboring ox."<sup>1</sup> These and similar laws show that the Mosaic law regards animals not only tenderly but also looks upon them as a kind of slaves or fellow-servants with human beings. The community of life is enlarged to a community of law. God showed the same mercy to the animals as to men, as is shown by the voice of God as it calls out to the prophet Jonah: "And should not I spare Nineveh, that great city, wherein are more than six score thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand; and also much cattle?" (Jonah iv. 11).

It is indeed of great interest to know that in their care for the public health the ancient Hebrews were an ideal people. Moses was the first man to enact hygienic laws, and to this day he remains unexcelled in that field. Not only did he give the first impetus to theoretical hygiene, but in practice we meet his spirit in the work of hygienic reform in our own public life. According to the

<sup>1</sup> Deuteronomy xxv. 4: "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn."

Scriptural conception, religion, morality, and hygiene are congruous. The bodily health of the individual is held in the same esteem as his spiritual soundness, as his religious constitution. One is inseparable from the other. The strict observance of sanitary measures was best secured by making religion and political law identical. "Ye shall be holy: for I the Lord your God am holy" (Leviticus xix. 2). Holy is God alone. To his holiness, corresponds purity of heart, and in the effort to gain purity of heart, external bodily cleanliness. The old Israelitic law forbade gluttony and intemperance. The use of the flesh of diseased animals or animals which had been killed by beasts of prey, as well as the meat which had not been thoroughly drained of blood was prohibited.

Even at the time of Noah it was illegal to eat meat from a living animal. All kinds of vegetable foods were permitted; as was the meat of herbivorous animals whose digestive organs were best adapted to the assimilation of such food; all kinds of fishes with scales and fins which were capable of a high degree of locomotion, while cartilaginous fishes, which decay rapidly, were not included in the diet. Likewise, the many diseases arising from the consumption of clams, and reptiles, poisoning contracted from eating oysters all argue for the ancient Hebrew law which excluded these delicacies from the table. The ancient Jews were careful in pointing out the dangers of immoderate use of meat as food and especially in calling attention to the presence of trichinas in pork. The use of pork according to Virchow makes men stupid and lazy, while it also makes for a lower degree of intelligence. The spread and contagion of diseases from animals to men, and the decomposition of particles of blood which might remain in the cadaver of the animal are counteracted by the regulation prescribing the "Shchito" and other hygienic measures which rid the flesh of the animal blood in as thorough a manner as is practically possible. By this method two other beneficial results are achieved:

1. The meat keeps fresh for a much longer period.
2. The meat becomes more easily digestible.

In close connection with the food regulations are the measures aiming at bodily cleanliness, through clothing specifications and hygienic and curative baths.

Of great social-hygienic significance is the Sabbath, mention of which has already been made. The Sabbath day not only gave the workers a much-needed day of rest, but also was the source of physical, mental and spiritual recuperation which made the work of the coming week more endurable.

The entire life in Israel was hygienically regulated. Agriculture and the handicrafts were throughout the period of the independence of the Hebrew state the two principal fields of endeavor. All hygienic measures which were taken by the Hebrews were for the benefit and the observance of the entire population and not merely for certain classes as was the case among other nations of antiquity. "A right and a law," this rigid Biblical maxim was also pertinent to the field of hygiene.

The security of the individual, the upholding of the rights of life and property are considered as the prime functions of the Mosaic law. To this end every effort is made to curb egotism, the fundamental cause of all crime. In the law which says: Be ye holy even as is your God, the death sentence is pronounced on all those conditions and practices which might stain moral and spiritual purity and from this axiom we deduce the postulate: "Love thy neighbor as thyself" without the popular appendix to this age-old motto: No one is nearer to you than you yourself.

Just as the moralist subordinates all specific rules to the general, fundamental laws of love, so does the jurist subordinate all technicalities to the universal law of justice and equality. The Biblical law knew no pariahs, no classes, no personalities, no discrimination. All shared equally in the benefits of the common law. Even the stranger is on a basis of equality with the native citizens. "Ye shall have one manner of law, as well for the stranger as for one of your own country: for I am the Lord your God" (Leviticus xxiv. 22). The women, who among all other peoples of antiquity were held in contempt, the prisoners of war, who elsewhere are the involuntary victims of the victor, the slaves, the poor and the beggars, yea, even the criminal, all are equal before the law. All are watched over with equal care by the scrutinous eye of Justice. The privileges of classes and professions, which were taken for granted among other nations, are scorned by the law of the Hebrews. Before the law at least the individual is secure and his right respected.

As a corollary to these rights of the individual, expressed in diverse places and ways, stand the laws which prohibit and punish any violation or infringement of these rights, of life, liberty and property. They are stated with equal emphasis and expressed in terms of equal rigidity as are the positive laws upon which they are based.

The Mosaic law is especially hostile to the giving of any kind of shelter or protection to criminals whose guilt is known. He against whom there was sufficient evidence to convict him of premeditated murder, could even be led away from the altar to receive

his punishment, or to hear his judgment. In like manner might be treated who swore falsely against his fellow man. He who was guilty of unpremeditated murder was given asylum in some refuge city, but was nevertheless not altogether freed from punishment. Cases of less serious nature such as personal injury through assault and battery were punished by correspondingly severe penalties, in order to make their occurrence less frequent. Kidnapping, which was of frequent occurrence in the world of antiquity, was punishable with death. Encroachment upon rights of property, theft and other crimes were adequately dealt with by the law.

The laws enacted for the protection of the helpless were of great significance. Thus it was prohibited to curse a deaf person, to place an obstruction in the path of a blind person, to denounce any one publicly without giving him adequate notice.

Another group of laws is directed against manslaughter and other less serious cases of neglect and carelessness.

Lastly all measures which pertained to the support and continued existence of the state, the organs of public order, the bodies and officers in the legislative branch of the government, the police, the judiciary and the executive,—all were provided for in a way which did not seriously impair the material welfare of the individual.

The chief power was of course in the hands of Moses. He fills the post of law-giver and regent without remuneration. Later the leadership of the people was confided to a king. That this king should receive his means of support from the people was already regarded by Samuel as a royal right. It is, however, expressly stated that the king does not possess the right of usurping the property rights of his subjects. The manner in which the king was to receive his compensation was strictly indicated by legal provisions, viz., from the people in the form of personal property.

The judicial powers were in the hands of Judges who were elders serving without pay. The police force and executive officials were usually public officers who served also without pay.

In the ancient Hebrew state we do not find any evidence of a school budget. The teachers served voluntarily and without stipend. Public schools were unknown. Whatever the children were supposed to be informed on outside of their practical life's work, namely, the history of their people, the parents were supposed to supply in connection with their religious usages, especially during the numerous holidays. It was one of the duties of the priests to teach the laws unto the people. For this the priests received one-tenth of the crops, but otherwise they served without pay. At the

time of Samuel we see the rise of prophet schools, where a prophet functions as the teacher of young men in the Scriptures, in religious song and often in reading and writing. Out of this group of educated people certain ones might at times have been called into the public service.

About the only public work of which we have knowledge is the building of the tabernacle together with the construction of the sacred vessels and vestments, and the building of roads. The cost of these works and their upkeep was covered by voluntary contribution. In such matters the Mosaic law has few prescriptions, but leaves all to the discretion of the individuals. Many a matter which nowadays is regulated by governmental means was left to private or communal generosity in the days of Moses. Only for religious purposes is ever a single tax levied. This tax called "The Half Shekel" was collected from every male; as the name implies, it consisted of a half shekel per capita. Besides this, the payment of the annual tithe was prescribed by law.

The assessment for the annual tithe which was used for the support of the tribe of Levy, who performed the religious services for the whole people, was determined by the size of the actual income. Every one was rated according to his declaration concerning his financial—or rather agricultural—ability to pay. A modern economist looking at the economic conditions of Israel from the modern point of view, would indeed be tempted to believe that he were looking at a land of dreams.

From this ancient order we may well draw many practical suggestions of great significance, not only we as individuals but also our society as a whole, our modern governments.

I shall close with the words of Kübel:

"Oh happy people! That which is regarded as the greatest achievement of modern times, that which was accomplished in the Occident only after streams of blood had washed away all opposition, after countless crimes had been committed and after enormous sacrifices had been made, that, all that was possessed and enjoyed by the ancient Israelites three thousand years ago. And what lay at the foundation of this liberty, what secured this liberty to that ancient people? Not self-invented theories, not the "good common sense" of the masses, but the law, this same law, which has so often been denounced as barbaric and antediluvian."

## CEREMONY CELEBRATED UNDER THE CHINESE REPUBLIC IN HONOR OF CONFUCIUS.

BY THE EDITOR.

TWICE a year the moral teacher of China is worshiped in his temples all over China, and especially in Peking by the chief executive of the country, formerly the emperor, now the president of the republic. We are in receipt of a letter from the Hon. Paul S. Reinsch, American ambassador to China, in which he communicates an interesting account of this ceremony as reported in the *Peking Daily News* of September 24, 1917.

The moral teacher of China is K'ung Fu Tze, or simply K'ung Tze, whom the Jesuits called Confucius, a name under which he has become known to all western countries, and he is worshiped in a similar spirit as the Buddhists worship the Gautama Buddha, the Enlightened One, the Christians worship Jesus Christ, as the Messiah of Israel and the Saviour of all mankind, and the adherents of Islam look reverently up to their prophet Mohammed.

The Confucian worship at Peking, and simultaneously all over China, is performed during the spring and the autumn equinoxes, on days which, according to the Chinese views, are considered auspicious.

Other ceremonies of a similar kind take place during the winter solstice, which means about Christmas, for the literati worship heaven during the winter solstice, while the summer solstice is reserved for the earth; and by heaven and earth is not understood the visible heaven and the visible earth, but the principle which represents light and lordliness and the opposite principle which represents respectively, fertility and heaviness.

We will describe here the ceremony of Confucius according to the report given by Mr. J. A. van Aalst, formerly of the Chinese imperial customs service, of Shanghai, published in 1884 in a special series II, 6, of a collection called *Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs*, under the title "Chinese Music," sold by Messrs. Kelly and Walsh, Shanghai, Yokohama, and in London by P. S. King and Son, Canada Building, King Street, Westminster, Southwest. So far as I know this is the best source of information concerning Chinese music, and especially the ritual of Confucian worship.

Mr. van Aalst says:

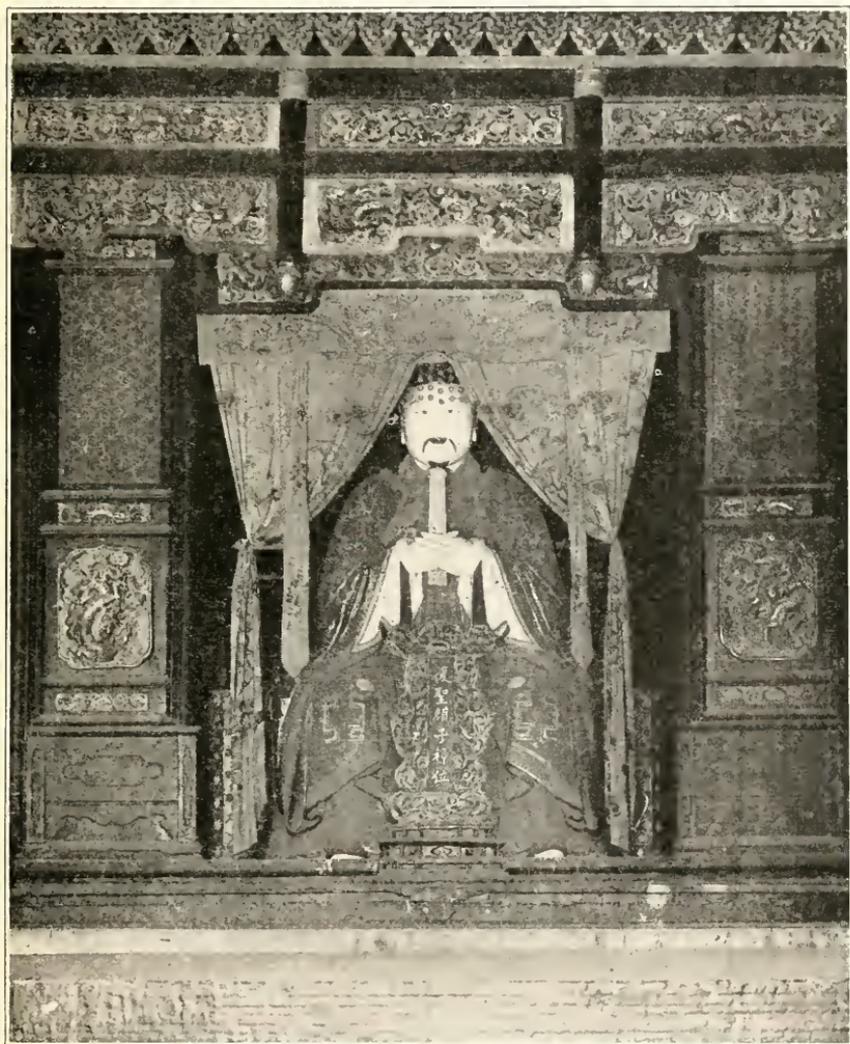
“Confucius is now worshiped all over China by those who belong to the lettered class. In every prefecture and sub-prefecture there is a temple devoted to him where ceremonies are performed



STATUE OF CONFUCIUS IN CONFUCIUS TEMPLE.

with great pomp twice a year. The Confucian temple at Peking is a spacious and magnificent building, covered with a double roof of yellow glazed tiles, which is sustained by massive wooden pillars. Access to the temple is gained by passing through three great gates

and traversing as many wide courts, where weeds are growing luxuriantly. Before the temple there is a broad, elevated, marble terrace reached by a flight of steps, and guarded by handsome balustrades of elaborately carved marble. The temple has three



STATUE OF YEN-H'WAI, OR YEN-TZU.

great doors, which are wide open at the time of worshipping. Within, on the north side of the great hall and facing south stands the shrine with the tablet bearing the words: The Most Holy Ancient Sage Confucius. In two other shrines, facing, one west and the

other east, are to be seen the tablets of the four principal disciples of the sage, Mencius, Tzu-ssu-tzu, Tseng-tzu, and Yen-tzu. In two other large buildings lying east and west of the temple are placed, in the order of merit, the tablets of ancient worthies."

On the day of the Confucian festival, the emperor or his representative with his dignitaries or attendants enters the gate. From the first gate to the center a passage is left open for the worshipers, and at the second gate the chief administrator of the country leaves his sedan and walks up into the inner portions of the building with a slow stately pace preceded by a band of fourteen musicians and eleven ensign and umbrella bearers to the tune of what is called the "guiding march."

尺。	四。	合。	工	合。	工	四	導 引 樂 譜
		工	尺。	工。	六。	四、	
		六。	上、	四	五	工、	
	合、	五	四	合。	六。	四	
	工、	六。	合。	工	工		
	合	工、	工。	六、	尺。		
	四、	尺。	四、	五	上	四、	
	合	上、	四、	六、	四	合。	
	工、						

#### THE GUIDING MARCH.

The details of the words of the hymn are described definitely and minutely, and no one dares to take away or add anything to them even now after the change of government. The music is a slow heavy tune, reminding of our Christian chorals, especially as they are sung in the Lutheran churches. The religious character of the melody cannot be mistaken. The Guiding March, however, is a little more lively and preserves the tone of our marches. There is no harmony in the music, as it is absent from all Chinese hymns.

We reproduce here the Chinese text, and at the same time the Chinese expression of the musical values of each syllable. The text runs down on the right side; the musical notation is attached to it on the left side of each line. For musical readers interested in the melody we will reproduce a transcription of the musical notes of the Chinese hymn, as far as it is possible to transcribe them in our musical system, as follows:

合 四 合 工	乾 坤 清 怡	合 四 合 工	日 月 既 揭	合 四 合 工	韻 答 金 絲	乙 尺 合 四	祥 徵 麟 紱	工 尺 乙 乙	萬 世 之 師	合 四 尺 乙	與 天 地 參	工 尺 乙 四	先 覺 先 知	工 合 四 乙	大 哉 孔 子	迎 神
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° Ta	tsai	K'ung - Tzu.	Hsien	chüeh	Hsien	chic.
A	C	D	E	A	G	D
Yü	t'ien	ti	ts'an	Wan	shih	shih
C	D	G	E	A	G	E
Hsiang	cheng	lin	fu	Yün	ta	chin
E	G	C	A	C	G	D
Jih	yuëh	chi	chieh	Ch'ien	k'un	ch'ing
C	A	A	E	C	D	C
						A

合 四 合 工	其 香 始 升	工 尺 合 工	清 酒 既 載	四 尺 四	春 秋 上 丁	乙 合 工 乙	俎 豆 千 古	合 四 乙	展 也 大 成	四 合 尺 乙	生 民 未 有	尺 合 工 尺	玉 振 金 聲	工 合 四 乙	子 懷 明 德	初 獻
------------------	------------------	------------------	------------------	-------------	------------------	------------------	------------------	-------------	------------------	------------------	------------------	------------------	------------------	------------------	------------------	--------

Yü	huai	ming	te.	Yü	chen	chin	sheng.
A	C	D	E	G	C	A	G
Sheng	ming	wei	yu	Chan	yeh	ta	ch'eng.
D	C	G	E	C	D	E	C
Tsu	tou	ch'ien	ku.	Ch'un	ch'iu	shang	ting
E	C	A	E	D	D	G	D
Ch'ing	chiu	chi.	tsai.	Ch'i.	hsiang	shih	sheng.
A	G	C	A	C	D	C	A

乙 四 合 工	相 觀 而 善	尺 乙 合 四	禮 陶 樂 淑	合 尺 工	譽 髦 斯 彥	乙 尺 合 四	肅 肅 雍 雍	乙 尺 工	誠 孚 蠱 獻	尺 乙 合 四	響 協 鼓 鑄	尺 乙 合 乙	升 堂 再 獻	工 合 四 乙	式 禮 莫 愆	亞 獻
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Shih	li	mo	ch'ien.	Sheng	t'ang	tsai	hsien.
A	C	D	E	G	E	C	E
Hsiang	hsieh	t'ao	ying.	Ch'eng	fu	lei	hsien.
G	E	C	D	E	G	E	A
Su	su	ying - yung.	Yü	mao	ssu	yen.	
E	E	D	D	C	A	G	A
Li	t'ao	yo	shu.	Hsiang	kuan	erh	shan.
G	E	C	D	E	D	C	A

尺 合 工	至 今 木 鐸	乙 尺 工	彝 倫 攸 叙	合 尺 四	惟 聖 時 若	乙 尺 乙	惟 天 牖 民	尺 乙 合	於 論 思 樂	乙 乙 合 工	皮 弁 祭 荼	尺 乙 合 四	先 民 有 作	工 合 四 乙	自 古 在 昔	終 獻
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Tzu	ku	tsai	hsi	Hsien	min	yu	tso.	
A	C	D	E	G	E	C	D	
P'u	pien	chi	ts'ai.	Yü	lun	ssu	lo.	
E	E	C	A	G	E	D	C	
Wei	t'ien	yu	min.	Wei	sheng	shih	jo .	
E	G	A	E	C	G	C	D	
I	lun	yu	hsu	Chih	chin	mu	to.	
E	E	G	A	G	E	C	A	
乙中	乙樂	乙毋	乙禮	合疇	合四	仁祭	工先	
四原	尺所	四疏	尺成	四敢	仁海	尺則	合師	徹饌
合有	合自	合毋	仁告	合不	乙覺	仁受	四有	
工菽	仁生	仁瀆	乙徹	仁肅	尺宮	乙福	乙言	
Hsien	shih	yu	yen.	Chi	tse	shou	fu.	
A	C	D	E	A	F	A	E	
Ssu	hai	huang	kung.	Ch'ou	kan	pu	su?	
C	A	E	G	C	D	C	A	
Li	ch'eng	kao	ch'e.	Wu	shu	wu	tu.	
E	G	A	E	E	D	C	A	
Lo	so	tzu	sheng.	Chung	yuan	yu	shu.	
E	F	C	A	E	D	C	A	
合育	仁化	仁祀	乙聿	合流	尺景	尺洙	工臯	
四我	乙我	尺事	尺昭	四澤	乙行	仁酒	合繹	送
合膠	仁蒸	合孔	合祀	乙無	乙行	合洋	四峨	神
工庠	尺民	四明	仁事	四彊	尺止	四洋	乙峨	
Fu	i	o	o.	Chu	ssu	yang	yang.	
A	C	D	E	G	A	C	D	
Ching	hsing	hsing	chih.	Liu	tse	wu	chiang.	
G	E	E	G	C	D	E	C	
Lu	chao	ssu	shih.	Ssu	shih	k'ung	ming.	
E	G	C	A	A	G	C	D	
Hua	wo	cheng	min.	Yu	wo	chiao	hsiang.	
A	E	A	G	C	D	C	A	

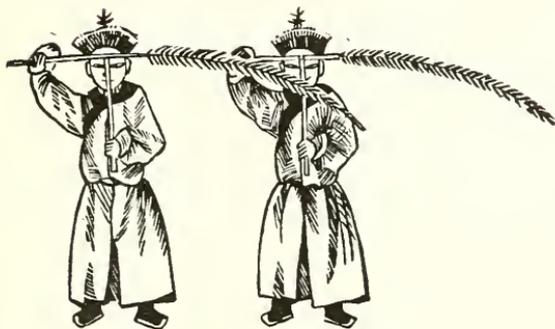
The hymn consists of six verses, which denote the progress of the ceremony. The first verse marks the reception of the approaching spirit. It is a praise of K'ung Tze, and is followed by a presentation in each of the second, third and fourth verses. The fifth verse is sung for the removal of the viands, and the sixth is devoted to the escorting back of the Spirit to his heavenly home. All these verses are accompanied by peculiar attitudes of the dancers, but of course we must not think of dancing in the sense as dancing is commonly thought of in western countries or as it is practised in ball rooms.

The dance is performed in slow and dignified movements expressing utmost reverence and devotion. The dancers are provided with plumes, and at present the peacock feathers are preferred. Formerly they also carried a flute, but this is now replaced by a little staff of the shape of a flute.

In our presentation we follow Mr. van Aalst's description of the



FIRST POSITION.



SENCOD POSITION.

ceremony, and reproduce here from the book above quoted a description of the dancers in their eleven attitudes at successive stages of the ceremony.

The dancing was first introduced into religious ceremonies by Emperor Shun (2255 B. C.), and it was not until the third year of Yung Ming in the Ch'i dynasty (485 A. D.) that it was introduced by an imperial decree into the Confucian ceremonies. At first there

were civil dancers, but Emperor Chên Kuan of the T'ang dynasty (650 A. D.) introduced military dances. The former were dressed in their court uniforms and the latter carried an axe in one hand and a shield in the other, but later the military dancers were abolished and the number of civil dancers was increased to thirty-six with two chiefs. Formerly the feathers they wore were composed of three bound together in the form of a trident, but they have



THIRD POSITION.



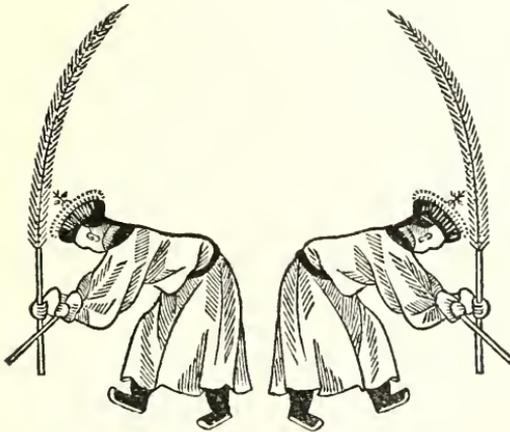
FOURTH POSITION.

FIFTH POSITION.

been reduced to a single peacock's feather. The little sticks, now carried in place of the flutes with three holes which they played at intervals, are displayed against the feathers in various positions.

In making this description we follow Mr. van Aalst's report: "The hymn is sung by two groups of three singers standing

east and west of the temple and facing each other. The pitch of the key-note is given them at each strophe by the bell instrument. They are accompanied by the other instruments in the following way:



SIXTH POSITION.



SEVENTH POSITION.

EIGHTH POSITION.

“The *t'ê-chung*, or large bell, sounds the first note of each verse.

“The *pien-chung*, or bell-chime, gives one sound at each word, and, in fact, guides the voices. After the bell-chime the lutes give their note, which is followed by all the other instruments except

the *pien-ch'ing*, or stone-chime, which is struck after all the other instruments, in order "to receive the sound and transmit it" to the second note, which is treated in the same way.

"At the end of a verse a drum is beaten three times and answered by another drum, after which the bell-chime gives the key-note and the next verse is begun.



NINTH POSITION.



TENTH POSITION.



FINAL POSITION.

"When the hymn is finished the head of the *yü*, or "tiger-box" is beaten once, and a stick is passed rapidly along the projections of its back."

This ends the ceremony, and the emperor or his chief representative, or now the chief executive of the republic, retires while the band that precedes him plays the guiding march that accompanied his arrival. At the second gate he enters his sedan.

The ceremony is performed during the quiet hours of the night beginning at sunset, which, as formerly in Jewish times, was considered as the beginning of the new day, and the ceremony ends at sunrise. Mr. van Aalst says that the ceremony is really worth seeing, and the profane who have the good fortune to be admitted to a quiet corner cannot fail to be deeply and solemnly impressed.

It is very difficult to translate the six verses to be performed at the ceremony, because Chinese verse expresses in its monosyllabic language whole trains of thought which in order to be understood would require explanations. In order to give our readers an idea of the hymn and the difficulty of translation, we here reproduce Mr. van Aalst's translation,<sup>1</sup> leaving it to the reader to divine which of the verses reappear in Dr. Soothill's sonorous lines quoted below.

### 1. *Receiving the Approaching Spirit.*

Great is Confucius!

He perceives things and knows them before the time.

He is in the same order with Heaven and Earth;

The teacher of ten thousand ages.

There were lucky portents, and on the unicorn's horn a tuft of silk.

The rhymes of the song correspond to the sounds of metal and silk.

The sun and moon were unveiled to us;

Heaven and Earth were made to look fresh and joyful.

### 2. *First Presentation of Offerings.*

I think of thy bright virtue.

The jade music ends. The music of metal is first heard.

Of living men there never was one like him;

Truly his teaching is in all respects complete.

The vessels are here with the offerings, the same as during thousands of years.

At the spring and autumn equinoxes, on the first of the days whose character  
is *ting*,

Clear wine is offered.

The sweet smell of the sacrifice now first rises.

<sup>1</sup> In the stories of the life of Confucius his birth is announced to his mother by the appearance of a Lin or unicorn, around whose horn a tuft of silk was stretched as a luck omen indicating the birth of a throneless king.

According to mystical ideas the hymn is sung to the accompaniment of metal and silk strings, and a deep significance is seen in the sound of the instruments.

The words "heaven" and "earth" in the last line of the first stanza are not the same as above. They are called in the original *ch'ien* and *kw'un*, which are the two *kwas* representing in the system of Chinese philosophy not only heaven and earth but also the symbols of the principles of the two contrasts of *yang* and *yin*, and are called in Chinese symbolism the father and the mother in the family of the eight trigrams. For details see my *Chinese Thought*, page 28, and especially page 30.

3. *Second Presentation.*

The regular sacrifices should be offered without deficiency.  
 The chief sacrificer advances in the hall and presents the second offering.  
 The harmonious sounds are heard of drum and bell;  
 With sincerity the wine cups are offered.  
 Reverently and harmoniously  
 Approach the sacrificers, men of honorable fame.  
 The ceremonies are purifying, the music cleanses the heart;  
 They work on each other and reach the point of perfect goodness.

3. *Third and Last Presentation.*

From antiquity through all the ages  
 Primitive men have done this.  
 They wore skin hats; they offered the fruit of the ground.  
 How orderly was the music!  
 Only Heaven guides the people;  
 Only the Sage conforms his instructions to the day and hour.  
 The moral duties are arranged in their proper order.  
 Till now the wooden clapper sounds.

5. *Removal of the Viands.*

The ancestral teacher said in his instructions:  
 "Those who sacrifice obtain happiness."  
 Throughout the four seas, in students' halls,  
 Who would dare not to be reverential?  
 The ceremony concluded, the removal of the offerings is announced.  
 Let none be neglectful or show want of respect;  
 Let their joy be in him who is the source of their culture;  
 Let them remember the poem of the beans in the field, and imitate him.

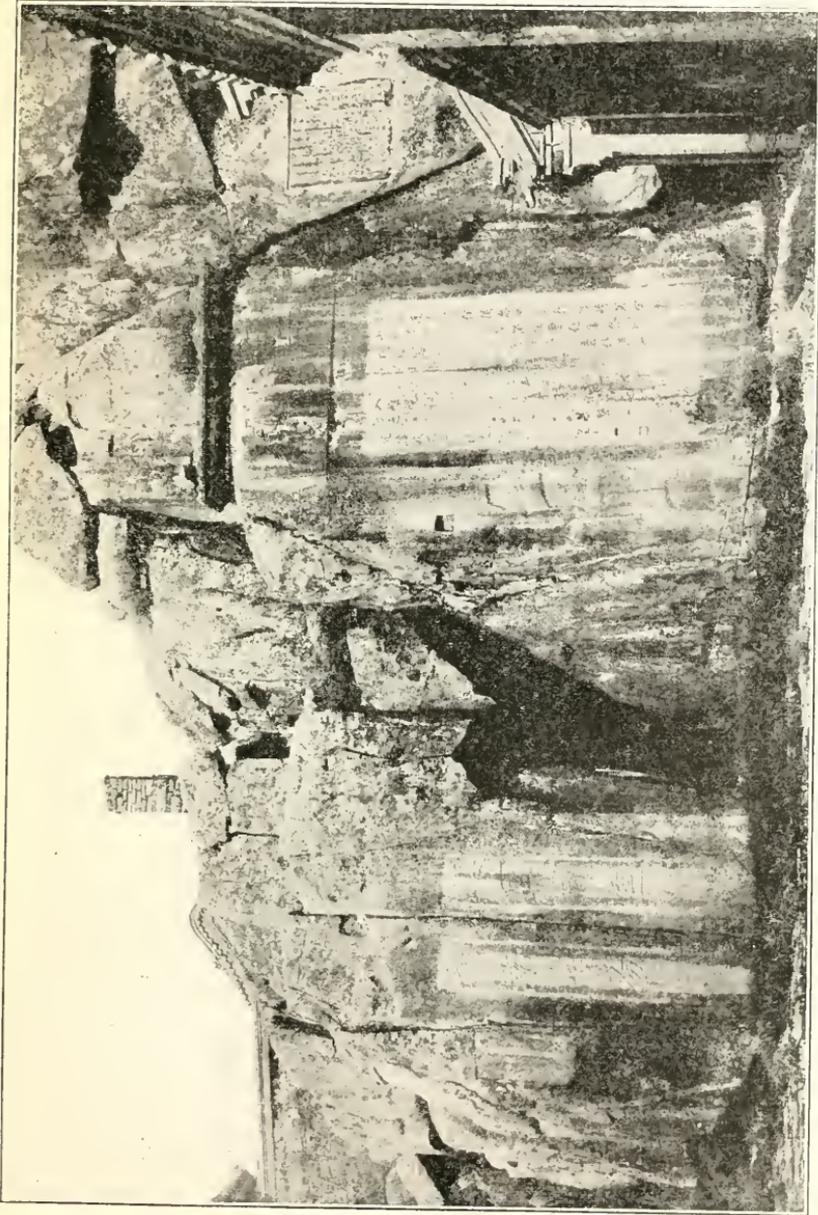
6. *Escorting the Spirit Back.*

The Fu and Yi mountains are very high;  
 The Chu and Ssü spread their waters far,  
 So thy beautiful acts extend their influence above and around,  
 Causing benefits without end.  
 Now has been seen the glory of the sacrifice;  
 The sacrifice has been made to appear great and beautiful.  
 He renovates the thousands of our people;  
 He fosters our schools and halls for instruction.

We here offer the newspaper account of the ceremony:

"The autumnal sacrifice to Confucius was held in the Confucian Temple at six o'clock on Saturday morning, September 22, 1917. In full military uniform, the President personally attended the worship and offered a prayer in front of the shrine of China's great Sage on behalf of four hundred million people. He proceeded to the place of ceremony in his armored automobile.

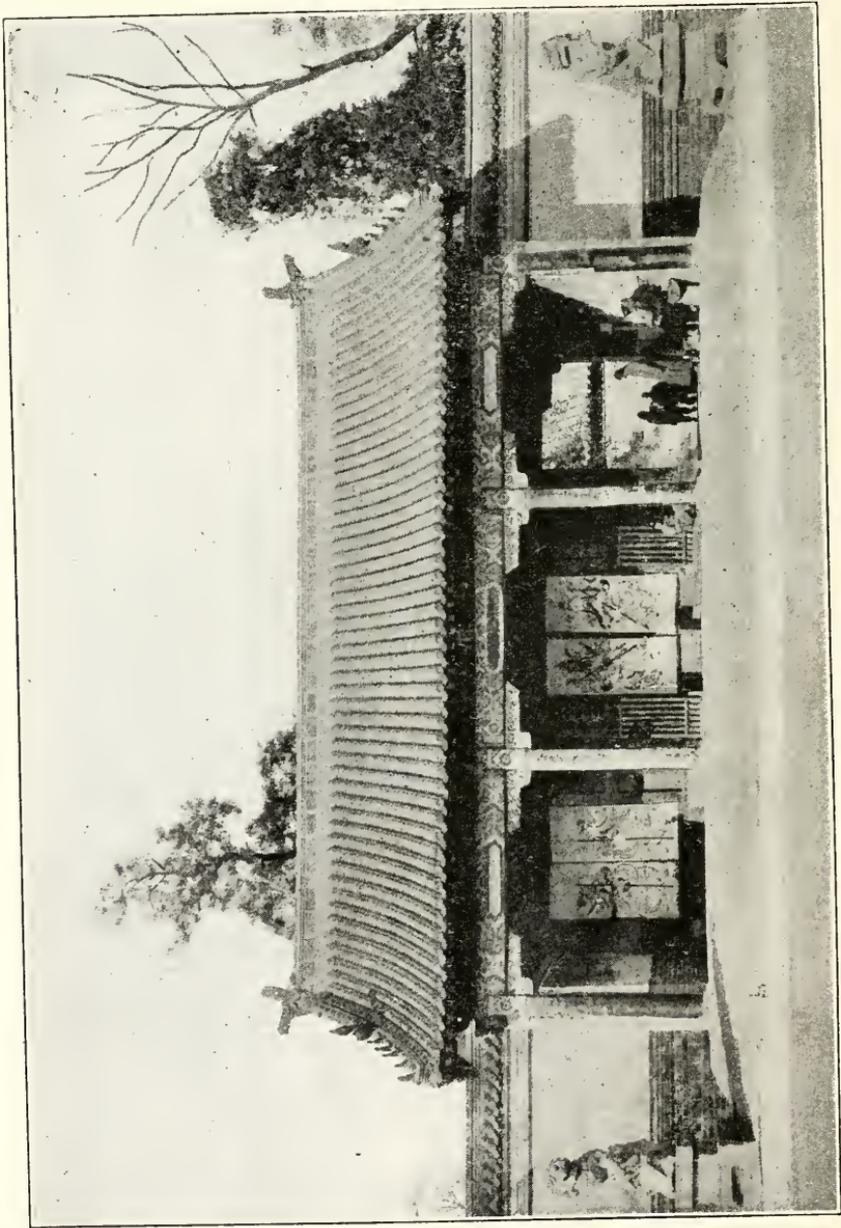
"The roads from the President's Office to the Confucian Temple were lined with soldiers, and it was stimulating to see the salute of



PEAK OF TAI SHAN WITH INSCRIPTION DEDICATED TO CONFUCIUS.

the troops as the President's motor car swiftly darted past. As it was early morning the sidewalks remained free of pedestrians. The

President alighted from his automobile at the Lunhsinmen, the first principal gate before the Temple, where special mats were spread



ENTRANCE TO CONFUCIUS HOME.

on the ground, and was preceded by the Ministers of the Interior and of Education, the Chief Justice of the Administrative Court

and the herald and the conductor to the temporary pavilion where he was offered a basin of water by the attendant officers to wash his hands prior to the offering of sacrifice. The preliminaries being ended, the drum was solemnly sounded thrice, and the Chief Master of Ceremony requested the President to leave the pavilion and offer sacrifice. At his order, the attendant officers and ceremonial officers led the President through the left door of the Temple, where a mat was also spread, while the different ministers, the Chief Justice of the Administrative Court and other ceremonial officers stood with their faces turned in various directions. The herald announced: 'All singers and dancers get ready, and all sacrificial officers attend to their functions.' The ceremonial officers went to their assigned places while the President stood on a worshipping cushion. The herald called out: 'Open the door.' The door of the Temple was accordingly opened. The herald next announced that the first verse of the hymn welcoming the Spirit be sung, and that the grand music be played. Bells and gongs were struck several times and the hymn was then sung. The verse for welcoming the Spirit according to the translation of Dr. W. E. Soothill, runs thus:

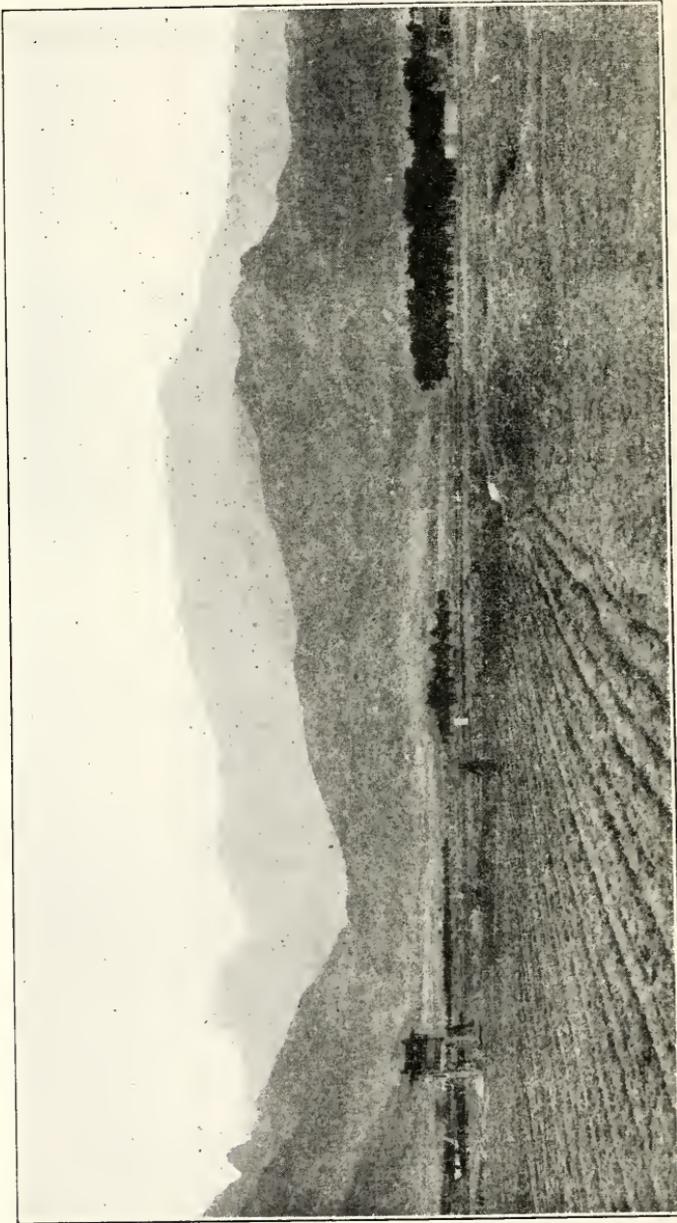
"Great is K'ung tzu, philosopher,  
The primal Seer, the primal Sage!  
With Heaven and Earth he equal ranks,  
Immortal Guide for every age.  
One hailed by wreathed unicorn,  
Respond we now with harps and bells,  
Celestial light he has revealed,  
Above, below, order prevails.'

"The herald then called out: 'Three bows,' which ceremony the President accordingly performed. Here the music stopped.

"The offering of sacrifices of wine, animals and paper money began. All the ceremonial officers went to their respective places at the announcement of the herald to offer sacrifice. The second verse on the first offering was sung, and the strange music was again performed. The words of the second verse are as follows:

"We cherish still his virtue bright,  
With quivering chime and sonant bell,  
Since birth of man none equals him,  
Who caused perfection to excel.  
The patens of a thousand years,  
We spread for his great sacrifice,  
With purest wine the cups are filled,  
Its fragrance now to him doth rise.'

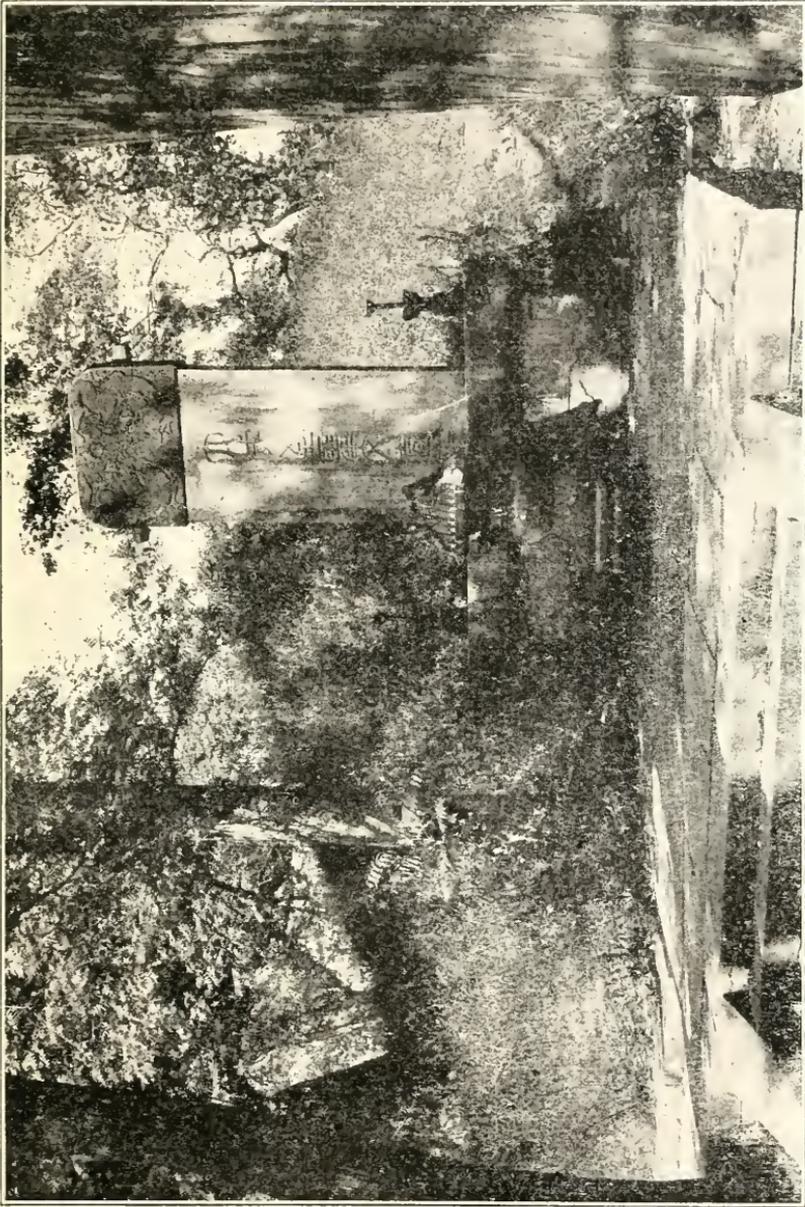
“At the conclusion of the singing, the ceremonial officers led the President through the left door to the inside of the Temple. In



TAI SHAN.

front of the incense table, the Chief Executive stood, while around him were the ceremonial officers. The herald announced: 'Offer

paper money.' The President received it from the Master of Ceremony, who placed it on the table. The offering of wine was per-



TOMB OF CONFUCIUS.

formed in the same manner. The herald yelled: 'Resume seats,' and the President was led out of the Temple to the original place

through the left door. Then the ceremonial officers went inside and put the trays of wine, etc., in their proper places on the table, and after having done this, they retired.

"The Chief Executive was again led to the hall of the Temple and stood before the shrine of Confucius after passing through ceremonies like those described above. A ceremonial officer read an invocation to the spirit, which was afterward put in a box on the worshiping table. The President was led out to the first place outside the Temple waiting for the second offering. When everything was ready, he was again led into the hall to offer his second sacrifice. The musical instruments were again sounded, the tune being regulated by the drum and the bell at the order of the herald. The third verse of the hymn was sung as follows:

"Our rites their flawless forms shall take,  
We spread our second offering;  
United sound our drums and bells  
While flagons now sincere we bring.  
In reverence and harmony  
We, raised by his accomplishments,  
Perfect by rites, by music pure,  
With mutual gaze learn excellence."

"The third and last offering was performed in the same manner. Finally the offerings were removed with the like ceremony. The President went to the hall and bowed three times to signify his thankfulness for the meat and wine which the Great Sage was supposed to have bestowed upon him. This concluded the ceremony of escorting away the Spirit. The last verse which was sung reads as follows:

"Majestic towers his native Hill,  
Wide roll their floods his native streams,  
Far fades their vista from the sight,  
Boundless with good their bosom seems.

"Again our sacrifice is o'er,  
Its splendor passes from our gaze;

"'Tis he who has transformed our race,  
And nurtures still our Colleges."

"After the playing of more ancient music, the President returned to the palace in his automobile."

## IS JAPANESE EASY OR DIFFICULT?

BY DR. A. GRAMATZKY.

IN an article published in a San Francisco newspaper, on Sunday, February 11, Professor Kiang, of the University of California, described Chinese as the "easiest language in the world." Many Occidentals who have studied Chinese agree with one of the first padres who believed it to be an "invention of the devil in order to torment the faithful," and will shake their heads in wild amazement just as the examiners did when listening to the strange answers of "candidate Jobs." "The candidate Jobs this answer making, there followed of heads a general shaking," as Kortum's clever translator, Brooks, puts it. Notwithstanding, Professor Kiang is quite right—*cum grano salis*.

The simplicity of his immortal mother tongue, the vernacular as well as written Chinese, by the absence of superfluous etymology, makes it look very easy for everybody. If, therefore, an Easterner seeks in the west a language or alphabet without superfluous difficulties, he must take up the study of an artificial tongue like Esperanto, not English, German or Russian, for he will find these tongues very absurd and difficult. So far, Mr. Kiang is quite right in lauding Chinese and condemning our tongues. That Chinese is much easier and more logical in its structure than other languages, is more obvious to Asiatics than to us. What the renowned Polish doctor made out of our Western languages, shaving them with the zeal of an American or Japanese barber in order to get his simple skeleton-grammar, Chinese is by nature—nay it is even more simple.

Zamenhof is still so thoroughly a Westerner that he conserved the plural and other superfluous forms of European grammar in his Esperanto, which he hoped must please every student who hates gender rules and irregular verbs, as it is nearly Chinese simplicity in its structure combined with a vocabulary known for the most part beforehand. Mr. Kiang may be quite right in stating that Chinese is especially easy, and what is much more important, he certainly is correct in stating that even the complicated Chinese written language in its structure, is by far simpler and more logical than our tongues. The grammatical difficulties which spoil the best hours of our youngsters do not exist, and the Chinese obliged to

learn them is fully entitled to laugh at them and unable to understand how reasonable men could make so difficult and unreasonable a language.

But the drawback to the study of Chinese is this: The simplicity and nudity of the most logical man in swimming does not convey to me quite clearly what he is. On the other hand, another, in full dress, with many superfluous adornments, may be very illogical and unreasonable in putting on so many awkward things, of interest only to "Professor Teufelsdröckh," in Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*, or people who prefer the exterior to the interior of the man. But this ridiculous fop shows us at a glance what he really is, whereas the simple logical swimmer conceals a good deal even by his simplicity and nudity. This is the other side of the picture. In reading Chinese texts we sigh for the European full dress, and are not content with the Chinese bathing suit, if there be any at all. We should prefer having some grammatical difficulties, and getting some headaches in learning Chinese, if afterward we could enjoy Chinese texts in "full dress." That is the weak point of Chinese, easy and logical as it is. Reading often becomes mere guessing and brooding if not a total misunderstanding of the text. Exaggerating a little, I should say: Reading Chinese is often a compromise between reading, as we understand it, and solving riddles. But to console my dear friend, Kiang, and his many students who, under his instruction, learn with enthusiasm, as I have seen myself, the "easiest tongue of the world," I am glad to add that there are consolations. The direct European influence on Chinese and the indirect one through Japan combined with some old devices, such as laws of position, helping particles and parallelisms, will minimize this waste of time and acrobatic performances of the human brain. That simplicity is the mother of difficulty and difficulty the mother of simplicity is not restricted to Chinese only. Take, for example, telegraphy, stenography, or "go." No easier style exists than that used on the wire, no easier and quicker jotting down than by the stenographer's nimble hand and pen, and no easier rules than those for learning *go*, the favorite game of the Chinese and Japanese. Now the average man of the States will best understand what I mean when I say: A telegram jotted down by a rusher, or a scare-line in our dailies looks simpler than a well shaped long note of Mr. Wilson or Mr. Balfour, but it is not. Often you cannot make it out at all. As to the simplicity of deciphering stenographic notes and of *go*, ask sincere shorthand writers and *go*-players. But the more striking example of difficult simplicity is plain English, with

her twenty-six letters instead of some thousands of Chinese characters, and in a lesser degree other languages, like French and German.

Though English has without any doubt the merit of dropping many superfluous difficulties existing in other European languages, she excels on the other hand by a so-called *orthography*, which certainly does not deserve that name without change to the standard alphabet of Lepsius or Pitman's reasonable writing of English sounds. Even in German it is pretty difficult for a foreigner always to know which of its eight pronunciations the simple letter *g* has in a given case, (in *Tag, Tage, Weg, Wege* it stands for six different sounds, in *Ingenieur* and *Agnes* it has two other sounds. When a student in Paris, I met Frenchmen of high standing who could not write a letter in French with its simple twenty-six letters without their *Littré*. So even learned Anglo-Saxons refer to their *Webster*, Germans to their *Duden*, to see which of the twenty-six simple letters are to be used. On the other hand, difficulties in learning often make understanding easy, as, for instance, the complicated grammar of the Germans, or the consonantal clusters and long words of the Slavs. My Japanese students were horrified by German, and still more by Latin grammar with male and female gender for things, the same endings for different functions, and different endings for the same functions, the declension, conjugation, irregular verbs, etc. All this must seem absurd for students whose cradles stood far from Indogermanic speech. Notwithstanding this, every Japanese declares that the German is easier for him to understand than English is, very likely on account of its difficulty in learning. So the long and difficult words of the Poles and Russians are hard to acquire for persons not born Slavs. But how good and clear they are! A word like *prezysiatelstwo* looks somewhat longer and more difficult than our "preside" or a Chinese monosyllable, but you are quite sure you will not find some dozens of homophones of this word all with different meanings as so often in Chinese and Japanese. Even chess, although difficult enough, is said to be easier than *go*, the favorite game of the Chinese and Japanese.

As to the study of Chinese characters, for Japanese or Chinese, the difficulty as a rule is exaggerated and is probably about the same. If De Rougé is right, in his statement in *The History of the ABC*, we may certainly say that Chinese writing—as to the forms of its characters used in books, papers and documents—was not so conservative and is not so clear as the hieroglyphics on the monuments.

But still it was and is much more so than the Semitic alphabets formed out of them and now used in Southern, Central and Eastern Asia. It was and is so even with regard to our own letters, though these show to this very day still more of their descent than the Semitic and the rest of these alphabets do. A trained eye may discover still a good deal in the Chinese characters that neither the law of evolution nor the use of paper and brush, nor the stupidity of scribes was able to destroy. It is true, it is difficult to learn them, as is usually done, mechanically in a stupid and tedious way, counting curves, strokes, and dots. It is highly interesting and comparatively easy to learn them from the standpoint of their development, as far as is of practical value and by adding explanations with the help of one's imagination or that of others, if we use the books by Chalmers or Wieger which tell us of the master-work of the good old Hsü and his followers. So Professor Kiang teaches them, and as to this method too, I agree completely with him. It was a great pleasure for me to see how such a system works on students in our city hall. Of these written symbols standing for root words, as Prof. von der Gabelentz fitly called them, there are, of course, many used more in China than in Japan, and many others more in Japan than in China. Besides, there are some formed by the Japanese themselves just as cleverly as by the Chinese of old. The meaning of the characters differs very often in both realms. By and by, however, Chinese on account of the military, political and commercial strength, not to say hegemony of modern Great Japan in the Far East, will take on more and more of the Japanese touch.

The characters were brought to Japan from China, via Korea, but their modern combinations for terms and idioms are brought, we may say, in a large measure, from Western thought through Japan to China. Apart from the study of the form of the characters, which is equally difficult, there is no question but that Japanese is far more complicated and difficult to learn than Chinese. In the first place, modern Japanese is a mixture of two quite different languages. Japanese not only shares the doubtful benefit of homophony with the Chinese, but also the perhaps still more embarrassing richness of polyphony with the Cuneiform of the old Assyrians and Babylonians and the modern Turks in an astonishing degree. Almost the whole Chinese dictionary is used by the Japanese, but, moreover, the characters have not one pronunciation but often are pronounced according to several Chinese dialects, besides in several Japanese ways. That is to say, we find not only doublets like "begin" and "commence" in English, *Akt* and *Aufzug* in German, but also

doublets similar to *frêle* and *fragile* in French, both French derivations of the same Latin word *fragilis*. For example, the simple sun and day character ☉, a pointed circle, changed by the stupid brush to 日, a double square, in Pekinese Chinese is always *jih*, in Cantonese *yat*, etc., but in Japanese it will read: *ni* in Nihombashi (Japanese, "bridge," that is, the center of Tokyo and Japan); *nip* in "Nippon Yusen Kaisha" (Japanese Mail Co.); *nichi* in *Nichinichi Shimbun* (Daily News); *Jitsu* in *senjitsu* (some days ago); *hi* in *higasa* (parasol); and *hi* and *bi* in *hibi* (daily); that means six different pronunciations, four Sinico-Japanese and two pure Japanese. So learning to read Chinese of the easy modern style, when you know Japanese, means hardly more than adding another pronunciation to many others you already know, which for catching the meaning is, of course, not necessary at all, and to get accustomed to read *between* the characters still more than in Japanese.

On the other hand, for a Chinese to learn Japanese would mean beginning the study of quite a new language together with a remodeling of a known one. So far, of course, Japanese is much more difficult than Chinese. We may add some other difficulties, existing for the study of Japanese, but not for the study of Chinese. One of them is that the "grass" method of writing, or running hand, is more used in Japan than in China, but this is not so important for most Western students. But two other difficulties of Japanese are its grammar and the two syllabaries called *katakana* and *hiragana*. Why two? Nobody can tell. It is just the same *embarras de richesses* as the two kinds in German. But again, in regard to the grammar and *kana*,—difficulty makes it, I shall not say easy, but easier. There are texts from purest Chinese to purest Japanese in Japan, but as a rule the golden middle reigns there. Instead of Chinese nakedness, horrible to western eyes, and instead of the superfluous decorations of our western tongues, horrible to Chinese, Japanese grammar has a simple and reasonable dress, a light kimono so to say, avoiding both extremes. As in Chinese there are no plurals, genders, and such difficulties, but there are particles and verbal endings of practical use. As to *kana*, the invention of the two *kana* syllabaries may be called overzealous and regrettable. The *kana* invention in itself was a splendid thing for naked Chinese. Often the Japanese are said to be the most receptive nation on this globe, lacking productiveness. Not quite so. Certainly they are imitators, and not bad ones, as their famous struggles with two big nations have shown to the stupefied world—1894-5 and 1904-5. On the battlefield and on the ocean, in plants and shops, in science and

politics, they are working like ants and bees, progressing, and imitating, with astonishing cleverness. But they are reformers, too, let it be remembered. Their *furigana*, a translation, so to say, at the side of the characters for the little man, and especially their *okurigana* between the characters, is a help for the readers. The *furigana* is the consolation of the masses, the *okurigana* is not even despised by learned men. Wise old Japanese preferred reading to brooding, just as we do, as to the tools of thought. The old Japanese, shaking their heads at the nakedness of the Chinese, just as we do now, invented *kana*. So modern Japanese is certainly more than an imitated, distorted, mispronounced Chinese, mixed with a harmonious native tongue reminding us of Castilian or Malay, it is a better, clearer, developed Chinese, the queen of the tongues in the Far East, just as her speakers and writers are the kings of the Orient.

But even Japanese, alas, has some simplicities, for example, like Chinese it often has the bad fashion of dropping the subject, a simplicity leading as we know to another difficulty, and moreover another apparent simplicity is the very small number of sound-combinations in Chinese-Japanese as well as in pure Japanese. Dropping the tones and aspirations of Chinese characters, Chinese-Japanese has more homophones and less sound-combinations (syllables) than any Chinese dialect, even Pekinese not excluded (altogether upward of two hundred), and pure Japanese has still less syllables. This simplicity in learning becomes another difficulty for understanding. This will be sufficient to show that Japanese, like Chinese, is only easy *cum grano salis*.

Now I don't know whether the best Japanese themselves, be it for their belief that their language and writing is awfully difficult only, or for their love of imitation and reform, or for both reasons together, try again and again to get rid of the old-fashioned Chinese characters and *kana* and to simplify their language, especially the written one. So they did when thirty years ago I became a student of Japanese, and so they do now. A society for Latin letters published books, pamphlets and periodicals in our letters in 1887, and a similar society published this printed matter in 1917, but with little success. For the Far East, as it seems, the complicated writing systems are either far above our "twenty-six simple letters" or at least a necessary evil. But the Japanese spirit of enterprise is daring, keen and hopeful notwithstanding. My dear friend here, Mr. T., hopes to find a simple solution of this very great problem of his country in the following reform, I think I must say, revolutionary idea: "Down with the old-fashioned characters which are

out of date (the *kanas* included)! Down with the sinization of pure Japanese! If necessary foreign evils must be, let us prefer a modern one! We must learn European and American thought and express it in Japanese. All right! One foreign thought, one foreign language (English). Why two (Chinese and English)? Why learn the thoughts in English and translate them from English into old Chinese characters? This means nothing more nor less than changing modern Japanese, that is, Chinese-Japanese, into English-Japanese." Of course, if this revolution were possible to-morrow Japanese would be able to write their new tongue with our simple twenty-six letters to-morrow too, and better than we do ours. There seem to be unsurmountable difficulties against this plan similar to that of the unlucky Japanese Minister of Education, Mori, who thought of replacing Japanese by English and who fell a victim to his progressiveness about thirty years ago. But who knows? We are living in a very pugnacious and revolutionary period. In his "Modern Japanese Literature," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 1913, Professor Dening of Sendai, Japan, tells us what other eminent Japanese scholars and journalists think of the Japanese writing of the future. Of these statements by far the most interesting is that of my old teacher, Prof. Dr. Inoue Tetsujiro, Dean of the Faculty of Letters of the Imperial University of Tokyo. Though an advocate of Romanization, he is convinced that for hundreds of years both systems,—Chinese-Japanese and Western writing—must be used together before dropping the Chinese characters completely, as they link us with the past written in them. It would be just like the simultaneous use of two modes of writing, cuneiform and the alphabetic, before the fall of the Assyrian Empire. In the meantime, perhaps for the rest of our lives and longer, let us hope that by intelligent instruction and study and by Europeanization and Americanization of the dictionary, Japanese as well as Chinese may be made as easy as possible for foreigners and Far Easterners—easy—*cum grano salis*.

## THE CENTRUM PARTY'S INFLUENCE IN GERMAN AFFAIRS.

### THE FUTURE CONTEST BETWEEN CLERICALISM AND SOCIALISM.

BY EDWARD T. HEYN.

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IT is greatly surprising that, although thousands and thousands of articles on German political conditions have appeared in America since the world war, but little has been said of the stupendous influence of the powerful Centrum or Clerical Party. That the Centrum however is an important factor to-day in Germany was fully demonstrated a few months ago when Count von Hertling, a decided ultramontane and former Centrum leader was appointed German Chancellor. Hertling's present, somewhat lukewarm support of the important bill for the reform of the Prussian franchise, as well as the decided opposition to the same measure by a large faction of the Centrum in the Prussian Diet, is abundant proof that the party is not very much in favor of a very radical democratization of German political institutions.

The Centrum Party or Center, why so called? It was so named because its members occupy seats in the center of the German Parliament. Considered politically, the name "Center" admirably characterizes its tendencies, for during its entire history the party has taken an attitude midway between that of the Conservatives and the radical parties of the Left. On many questions, in fact, this party throughout its history has been unstable, assuming a character at times very conservative, while under other conditions it has displayed democratic and very popular tendencies.

Does the Center Party deserve the name "Clerical," so emphatically repudiated by its followers? Let it be said, that before the war there were 23,821,453 Roman Catholics in Germany (as against 39,991,421 Protestants), the majority of which belonged to the "Centrum," "the only party," in the words of the now frequently mentioned Dr. Matthias Erzberger, "in which a consistent German Catholic can be active, for it is the only one which gives him what

he needs with regard to political, religious and educational matters." The Roman Catholics are indeed an active and very influential element in Germany. Does the public of the United States know that in certain German states, as sovereign as any in the American union, Bavaria and Baden, for example, the Catholics are in the majority, and that over 20 percent of the population of Prussia with its almost solidly Catholic Westphalia and the Rhine provinces, Württemberg, Hesse, Oldenburg, are adherents of the Roman Church? The "Centrum" in these states has a large following, and in October 1915 the party adopted a resolution in which it was said: "Besides the protection of material possessions, we hope for the happiness of our dear Fatherland, to carefully cultivate the old religious virtues of the people, which are the cause of the true greatness of Germany, and the means of divine grace." A similar opinion was expressed by one of its prominent members, Gronowski, who in February 1910 said: "If you desire to know the secret of our unity I will unfold it to you, it is our Christian point of view which keeps us together."

Yet the "Centrum" has always denied that it is an exclusively religious party, and especially repudiated the strong indictment framed against it by Bismarck in 1872 when the great Chancellor said: "I have always felt that it was an extraordinary phenomenon in a political direction, that a 'confessional' party faction had formed a political organization. Indeed I have learned that in accepting the principles of the 'Centrum,' neither the German nor the Prussian State can permanently exist." Since that time the Center Party has again and again denied that its aims are primarily religious, asserting especially in a strong party declaration in 1909: "The Centrum is fundamentally a political and not a 'confessional' party. The fact that most of its supporters and deputies belong to the Catholic Church is a sufficient guarantee that in all activities of public life it will support the justified interests of the German Catholics." What is more, the Center Party has repeatedly stated that only in religious matters does it acknowledge the authority of the Vatican, while in exclusively political subjects, in the words of the Reichstag Center member Fehrenbach, "it is uninfluenced by Pope or Bishops." This independence the Center Party displayed on numerous occasions, but especially in 1887, in the great parliamentary fight for the increase of the size of the German army, known as the "Septennate question." The Center Party then refused to support Bismarck's military policy, against the advice of the Roman Hierarchy which had come to an understanding with the

Prussian government in a reform of the obnoxious religious legislation known as the "May Laws." The Pope in fact had asked the Center Party to vote for the military budget, but the organization refused. Later the "Centrum" made a concession by abstaining from voting, and as a result the Reichstag was dissolved. In this connection it was noted at the time, that Baron von Frankenstein, a prominent member of the "Centrum," while visiting Rome in 1887, asked the Pope whether it was his wish that the party should disband as a political organization. His Holiness answered that he considered its continuance necessary in the interest of the Church. In the course of this article I intend to show that the continuance of the close relations which have always existed between the Vatican and the German Center Party, is of vital importance to Roman Catholicism. It certainly constitutes an important element in the recent attempt of the Vatican to bring about an early peace.

The Center Party is a power to be reckoned with. It has 91 deputies in the Reichstag, out of a total number of 397 members. (The Social Democrats in that body have 110 seats.) The clerical influence surrounding the Centrum is best indicated by its membership, for in 1912 at least a dozen of its deputies were than Catholic priests or at one time had belonged to religious orders. The official Reichstag directory for the same year shows that 130 deputies of the parliament were Roman Catholics, affiliated with all parties, while there were 180 Protestants in the entire body.

The growth of the Center Party, from the first day of its establishment has been phenomenal. Starting with over 71,000 voters in 1871 and 63 deputies, in 1890 it received over 1,342,000 votes and elected 106 deputies; in 1912 it received 2,035,290 votes and elected 91 deputies. The total number of votes for all parties cast in 1912 was 12,260,731, divided as follows:

Social Democrats . . . . .	4,250,399	voters.
Center Party . . . . .	2,035,290	"
National Liberals . . . . .	1,672,619	"
Progressive Peoples Party ..	1,528,886	"
Conservatives . . . . .	1,129,275	"
Free Conservatives . . . . .	370,287	"

The remainder of the votes in 1912 were received by the smaller parties of the Reichstag, the Poles, Guelfs, Alsatians, Union of Husbandry, Danes and Christian Socialists.

The Center Party, whatever may be said of its former attitude on religious matters, at the present time is a truly German national

party, loyal, moderate and responsible for much constructive legislation, particularly such passed in the interest of the working people. For example, at a time when the Socialists were still opposed to the introduction of State Social Insurance in Germany, the Center supported this measure most enthusiastically. The Center Party has become a great national peoples' party, and no German statesman can ignore it. I am not unmindful of the enormous growth of Social Democracy, but the "Centrum" at the present time holds the balance of power in the Reichstag, and in its support of the parliamentary resolution for more democratic government gave a decided turn to its affairs. If the "Centrum" in the past showed conservative leanings, this attitude was due to its intense hatred of radical liberalism and socialism. Only a year ago a Catholic weekly in Augsburg said that the Center Party would never allow the Social Democrats, the "unbelievers," to become the real rulers of Germany. In connection with the Centrum's support of a peace resolution and democratic reforms, it was generally stated in the American Press that Dr. Matthias Erzberger, the democratic member of the Centrum, was the official leader of the Party, but in fact until quite recently Dr. Peter Spahn, now Prussian Minister of Justice, held that position. Spahn during the war has been a warm supporter of the Government's policies and of the Kaiser. This was indicated by a speech which he made in the Reichstag, in which among other things he declared: "When the enemies of Prussian militarism and of the Hohenzollerns revile the exalted person of the Kaiser, this only tends to bring His Majesty closer to the hearts of the German people."

Spahn speaking thus uttered the real sentiments of the conservative elements of German Catholicism, of the Catholic hierarchy and officials, of the Catholic nobility, and of the Catholic manufacturers of the Rhine, especially of Bavaria and Westphalia. Similar conservative tendencies were also shown by Deputy Fehrenbach of the Center Party, when in introducing the "majority" peace resolution he added:

"If some enemy voices explain the resolution as a sign of weakness, we shall prove that we are ready to fight and capable of achieving victory. Our military situation makes any such misunderstanding impossible, and we therefore make this peace demonstration. If the hand which the German Parliament extends to the enemy is refused by our enemies, we will achieve even greater and more heroic deeds. Then we will show the world that the German people is unconquerable in its unity.

"The Emperor's magnanimous decree extended the field of internal politics in a manner corresponding with the wishes of the people. We hope electoral reform will soon be accomplished without internal strife. As for our parliamentary system, the center party will fully protect the rights of the federal states and those of the Emperor.

"It is hoped the new chancellor will succeed in bringing about a peace which will guarantee free development of the German peoples, but which also will lead to an understanding among the nations."

*The Center Party, Friendly to Labor.*

"The Center Party" includes, in the words of the late Professor Lamprecht, "all those who in the different layers of society disapprove of the system of capitalist enterprise, and aim at restricting free competition, and substituting a united system based upon Christian principles for the unlimited development of subjective individualism. This would explain for instance the great solicitude which Catholicism has for centuries shown for the Fourth Estate, and its persistent and time-established effort to solve the social problem in a Christian way."

As has already been intimated the Center Party was the most active supporter of State Social Insurance, established in the interest of the German working people. Much has been heard since the war as to the great strength of the German socialist trade unions, the *Gewerkschaften*, but it is not generally known that the so-called "Christian-Social Trade Unions," consisting of both Catholics and Protestants, have a large following. Before the war the socialist trade unions had 2,300,000 members, as compared with 1,300,000 Christian trade unionists. A few years before the war, a bitter and acrimonious controversy stirred up German Catholicism, the issue being the propriety of giving support to these Christian trade unions. The Center Party and the German hierarchy were divided on the question, whether the men of their faith should belong to these unions or to an exclusive Catholic Workman's organization. Giesbert and Schiffer, two very prominent Catholic trade unionists, members of the Christian-Social Trade Union, at a conference held at Zürich in 1910 said: "The Christian Social Trade Unions represent economic aims, they are interconfessional, but as exclusive Church organizations would lose their backbone in the growing economic contests."

The two German Catholic factions known respectively as the

Cologne and Berlin *Richtungen* were completely at odds as to which of the trade unions a Catholic workman should belong. As a result of the bitter contest which ensued, Cardinal Fischer, the highest dignitary of the Church in Germany, in 1910 went to Rome to confer with the Pope on the important question. His Holiness decided that he would take an entirely neutral stand on the matter, urging at the same time that the Executive Catholic Workmen's Union should receive equal support. As a result, while many German Catholics still belong to the so-called Christian-Social Trade Unions, an independent Catholic Workmen's Trade Union organization also exists.

### *The Center Party and Alsace-Lorraine.*

Before the war the two provinces of Alsace-Lorraine had a population of 1,428,343 Catholics as compared to 408,274 Protestants and 30,483 Jews. It is not surprising in view of these figures that not a single utterance can be quoted indicating that German Catholics are willing to voluntarily give up the provinces to France. Dr. Ricklin, a prominent Alsatian and members of the "Centrum," president of the Alsatian Diet, said in that body:

"Gentlemen, we cannot depart without expressing the hope and wish for an honorable peace. We need not hush our cries for peace because this war has brought untold agony upon our country and population, and it is becoming evermore apparent that separation of Alsace-Lorraine from Germany is assuming a preponderant position among our opponents' war aims. Therefore we owe it to our conscience to declare that the people of Alsace-Lorraine decidedly reject the idea that this terrible bloodshed shall be continued for their sake and that they have no other desire than to remain inseparably united with the German Empire, which best guarantees their cultural, economic and political future, having proper regard for our national peculiarity."

Dr. Ricklin uttered the real sentiments of German Catholicism, for the "Centrum" as a truly German national party is naturally opposed to giving up Alsace-Lorraine, for of course with the return of these provinces to France the party would lose at least five deputies in the Reichstag with a consequent reduction of political influence in the German parliament.

### *The Center as a Political Factor.*

As has already been said, the Center Party has frequently supported progressive measures. It voted for the establishment of

the gold standard, favored colonial reforms and building of railroads in the German colonial possessions. It brought about the more humane treatment of the natives in the colonies. It was very active in the legislation establishing the famous Civic Code, which gave Germany more uniform laws. The Centrum voted for the army increases, building and extension of the German navy, for more liberal pensions for the veterans, restricting speculation in futures, and more equitable distribution of taxes. It supported legislation limiting the power of the Cartels and monopolies. It aided in limiting the abuses of common soldiers by their officers, and was most energetic in opposing dueling in the army. Indeed, largely as a result of the work of the Center Party in that direction no German Catholic before the war would accept a challenge to a duel. The Center Party, while at one time a free trade party, later changed its attitude on the question and supported increased customs' duties, not only on manufactured goods but especially on agrarian products. The agrarian members of the Center Party from South Germany repeatedly favored higher duties in order to hit the agrarian products imported from Russia, Austro-Hungary and the United States.

The Center Party however did not display a similar "backbone" when the German Government, in order to obtain additional revenues, endeavored to impose a special national tax on inheritances. This legislation was bitterly fought by the Conservatives, and the Center Party supported the "Junkers" in order not to antagonize its own followers belonging to the landed nobility and representing capitalist interests.

*The Future Contest Between the Center Party and Social  
Democracy.*

It is now certain, whatever may be the outcome of the war, that Germany will become more democratic and obtain a government responsible to the Reichstag. The Center Party by lending its support to the "majority party" peace resolution demonstrated its interest, and in cooperation with the Social Democrats and Liberals favored the change of the Reichstag suffrage. For the Centrum now recognizes, though it has not always done so in the past, that the existing national suffrage laws have heretofore been largely nullified by a specious system of districting or gerrymandering. Despite the enormous shifting of population from the country to the industrial centers the socialists did not obtain the number of deputies to which they were entitled according to their votes. In

Berlin for example before the war they had only six deputies when according to population they were really entitled to ten. A similar injustice prevailed in the electoral systems for the various state legislatures of Germany. If the Conservative Party, the famous party of the "Junkers" is largely responsible for the peculiar system of suffrage heretofore existing in Prussia, its continuation up to this time is in large measure due to the Center Party, which refused its aid to change "the most miserable of all electoral franchises" as Bismarck once called the Prussian three-class system.

It is quite clear, whatever may be the result of the war, that the Center Party will continue to be a dominant factor in German politics. Prince Buelow, the former German Chancellor, once said: "If the Center Party did not exist it would be necessary to create it as a bulwark against Social Democracy, and as a 'stopgap' between the extreme views of the parties of the right and left." In his interesting book *Imperial Germany*, Prince Buelow, whose downfall was largely brought about through the influence of the Center, says: "I never for a moment failed to realize the inconvenience that was entailed by dissolving the Reichstag, and thus breaking with a party so powerful and so tenacious as the Centrum."

Tenacity indeed has always been the strongest trait of the Center Party, and it has never hesitated to make alliances with other parties to accomplish a purpose. At times it was even willing to make deals with the hated socialists, as it did in 1907, when the party leaders of the Bavarian Centrum and the Bavarian Socialists met in the famous Dom at Speyer, and formed a secret coalition to fight the forces of the government and the allied parties known as the "Bloc." And again in 1912 when the "Bloc" was broken the Center Party did not hesitate to support the Conservatives in their opposition to inheritance taxes and reform of the Prussian franchise system. As once was said by the liberal leader Dr. Bamberger, "The Centrum can boast of being the sweetheart whose love all political parties in Germany desire."

#### *Religious Contest of the Future.*

Despite the past and present understandings established between the Center and the Social Democrats, it is certain that a big contest will be fought between the two parties when the war is over. The Center, allied with the Conservatives and the forces of religious orthodoxy, both Catholic and Protestant, will then bitterly oppose every move made by German Liberalism to bring about a separation between Church and State and the consequent abolishment of re-

ligious instruction in the public and private schools, not only in Protestant Prussia, but also in Catholic Bavaria and in the other German Federal States. Under present conditions every religious denomination, whether Protestant, Catholic or Jewish, receives state aid. A tax-payer required to make a statement of his income is compelled to make known the religious denomination to which he belongs. When the tax bill comes in he finds an additional amount added for the support of the particular church of which he is an adherent. A non-church member must advance most convincing proof to avoid the payment of a church tax. Even foreigners in Prussia are required after three months residence to pay income taxes and are subject to this church tax. Americans living in Berlin before the war usually were exempt from this tax in case they could show that they belonged to the American church in that city.

The relation between State and Church in Prussia as well as in the other Federal States of Germany is most intimate, especially with regard to questions relating to religious instruction in the schools. Every child attending school has to spend certain hours a week in a class of his religious denomination. The Poles of the Province of Posen for many years fought the requirement of the Prussian State for the religious instruction of school-children in German. At times strenuous attempts have been made to evade the law compelling this attendance. Hoffmann, a socialist member of the Prussian Landtag, objected to the law which required him to send his child to a religious class. He said that although he was a Protestant he would, if his request was refused, send his child to the Jewish instruction, and when an exemption was denied, he carried out his threat.

This question of Church and State will have to be solved before Germany can be democratized and more liberal government is introduced. The Center Party, rather than see the Liberals and Socialists in power, will support every move of the Imperial and various German federal governments to combat advanced ideas. For it must be borne in mind that the Center Party to-day believes as it has in the past, in a monarchical form of government, in the union of church and state, and in the language of the famous Bishop von Ketteler, in every activity which will guard the German nation against "materialism and unbelief." The Center Party in one of its party declarations stated: "The foundation of the Center tower rests on religion; it is the strength of our power. The Center is a Christian party."

In view of the peculiar party conditions in Germany, it needs

hardly to be said that the Imperial and state governments of the country in the future as they have done in the past will do everything to please and satisfy the Center Party. For it has been the policy of the German governments, for the sake of religious peace to maintain a "parity" between Catholics and Protestants, and political questions therefore were often considered primarily from a religious standpoint. The Center Party in the course of the present war has given an example of its great influence by the passage of a law permitting the Jesuits to enter Germany. This question has been a bone of contention between Church and State for forty years. A few years ago the Reichstag passed a law permitting German Jesuits to establish their orders in Germany, and the above-name legislation now extends a similar privilege to foreign Jesuits. It is fortunate that the present war has put an end for the time being at least, to the unfortunate religious differences which formerly existed between the various religious denominations of Germany. A few years ago, for example, in the ultra-Protestant states like Brunswick, Mecklenburg and Saxony German Catholics complained bitterly of religious discrimination against them by state religious synods. Erzberger in his book on the German Centrum mentions the fact that a foreign priest was not allowed to offer the death-sacrament to a communicant in the above-named Protestant states. On the other hand it is only fair to say that in certain Catholic states like Bavaria, Alsace and Baden, and the Prussian province of Posen, the Center was most anxious to retain narrowly sectarian instruction in the public schools.

*What Will Be the future Relations of the Pope with France and with Germany?*

It will be remembered that for twelve years before the war, the relations of the Holy See and France were very strained owing to the Republic's disestablishment of the Church. One was reminded of this bitter contest by a speech made by Mr. O'Connor, the Irish Nationalist, visiting America, who in speaking before the Aldine Club of New York said that some Americans were not anxious to fight for "atheistic France." (Atheistic translated into plain English: Church disestablishment.) Mr. O'Connor however at the same time assured his hearers, that both priests and unbelievers were fighting the "Prussian Junkers," in which latter category he undoubtedly also included the German soldiers belonging to the Center Party and the Bavarians fighting in Belgium. On the other hand the relations between the Vatican and the Im-

perial German and Prussian Governments before the war were cordial and intimate. The last two popes before Benedict XV frequently referred to the excellent position of Catholics in Germany. Prussia, a Protestant state, sent a minister to the Holy See. The Kaiser repeatedly visited Catholic churches and convents, presented valuable gifts to Catholic orders, contributed to the rebuilding of ancient cathedrals, and took pleasure in being the guest of the Catholic nobility of Silesia, of Alsace, and of the rich Catholic manufacturers of the Rhine. The late Cardinal Kopp was the link in the various questions negotiated between the Prussian State and the Catholic Church, especially concerning the delicate Polish problem. Kopp's successors, Cardinals Fischer and Hartmann, continued the friendly policy and complete understanding between the Holy See and the Prussian Government. In 1905, when France disestablished the Church, Germany became the protector of German Catholic missions in the Orient, a position previously held by the French Republic.

*The Influence of the Center After the War.*

During the great religious contest known as the *Kulturkampf* fought between the Center Party and the Prussian Government Bismarck dramatically said: "We shall not go to Canossa," referring to the historical incident of the twelfth century when a German emperor dressed in sackcloth and on bended knees had to beg forgiveness of the pope, in order to escape from the bonds of excommunication. Bismarck in the nineteenth century, after the great *Kulturkampf* was over, had to admit that he had been the loser and that only "ashes and ruins" remained. The famous Prussian minister of finance von Miquel once said to Dr. Lieber, the Center leader, that the German Government had committed three asinities (*Eseleien*), the *Kulturkampf*, the anti-socialist laws and the obnoxious anti-Polish policy; and in consideration of possible future political events in Germany, the question occurs to the writer, will the Kaiser, and his government, allied with Conservatives and National Liberals, make a similar mistake and strengthen the Center Party, the party which in its blind hatred of Liberalism and Socialism aims to sustain the relation of Church and State, and retain religious instruction in the public schools? However, who knows what may happen after the world war? Everything is possible as long as the Center Party is powerful in German political affairs, for in popular German vernacular, it always holds the trumps.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

## ARTHUR MACHEN AND "THE ANGELS OF MONS."

BY VINCENT STARRETT.

There can be little doubt that Arthur Machen started the "legend." In a nutshell, the facts are these: Arthur Machen is a special writer employed by the London *Evening News*, in whose columns shortly after the retreat from Mons appeared a sketch from his pen, called "The Bowmen." It told of the miraculous appearance of the English archers of Agincourt at a time when the British were hard pressed by the Germans, and whose "singing arrows fled so swift and thick that they darkened the air."

The story was seized upon at once by church and laity; rich man, poor man, beggar man, thief, as an actual narrative and immediately other stories began to be heard, of other miraculous appearances, superinduced unquestionably by Machen's story, for until after the publication of that story there was no "legend" whatsoever. The spiritualists and other occultists took it up, and pamphlets and articles were written briskly.

Somebody—I think Ralph Shirley—had the inspiration finally to write to Machen asking for his data. Machen replied simply with the truth—that the tale was purely fictional; he had "made it up out of his head," but by reason of his supreme art [this expression is mine] he lent to it such a startling verisimilitude that it appeared to be an actual chronicle. Shirley could not believe it—would not; nor would the others. The story was reprinted a dozen times, perhaps, and the whole affair became a sort of hysteria for a time.

The "angels" idea probably grew out of Machen's line in the tale about "a long line of shapes, with a shining about them." Also Machen had mentioned St. George in the story—so there were now tales from soldiers who had seen St. George. And so on. The outstanding fact is, however, that none of the legends existed until *after* publication of Machen's story. Machen sticks to this absolutely, and he is thoroughly trustworthy and patriotic.

You will find a complete exposition of the "legend" in the book of war "legends" published by Machen in 1915, and to be had in this country from Putnam. In a prologue and an epilogue Machen sums up the case as it appears to him, and finds matter for considerable cynical amusement.

He does not deny the possibility of miraculous intervention, nor do I, (I know nothing about these things!) but in this instance it seems certain there was no such phenomenon.

Machen is my friend and is one of the great masters of English literature. Machen is Welsh; not German—as his name might mislead one to believe! He has been gloriously ignored for thirty years. But he ranks—and I hope this letter will turn up some day a hundred years from now, when it will have become apparent to all—with Cervantes and Rabelais and Boccaccio! Read his great novel *The Hill of Dreams*; and his remarkable short stories in *The House of Souls*; and his long-out-of-print Rabelaisian masterpiece, *The Chronicle of Clemency*—if you can get them. They are worth buying at any price.

NUMENIUS OF APAMEA, The Father of Neo-Platonism. By *Kenneth Sylvan Guthrie*. London: George Bell and Sons, 1917. Pp. 215. Price \$1.25.

It is a great pity that so little of the voluminous writings of Numenius have come down to us, for what Dr. Guthrie has collected from fragments scattered through the works of early Christian Fathers and others and printed facing his excellent English renderings, arouses a desire for the complete text. Until Dr. Guthrie published this volume, which is practically identical with his doctor's dissertation submitted to the faculty of Columbia University, it had been thought that this Greek thinker of the reign of Marcus Aurelius was rather a Neo-Pythagorean and as such a forerunner of Neo-Platonism than a claimant to the honor, which has been traditionally conceded to Ammonius of Sakkas, of being the "Father of Neo-Platonism." However, if it is true that Plato "borrowed everything from Pythagoras and Moses, and Numenius is a Neo-Pythagorean as well as a mystic, quoted with approval by Pagan and Christian, on the one hand, by Porphyry, Chalcidius, and other like; on the other by Clement of Alexandria, Origen and Eusebius of Nicomedia," it can well be that the title in question belongs to the man of greater influence, in this case Numenius.

His *History of the Platonic Succession* was written to show "how far the later Platonists had strayed from their master, and how abortive these attempts were; what the genuine Plato had believed, with indications how to return thither." He always expresses the greatest reverence for and loyalty to Plato, who, as he insisted had collected the best of the best: Socrates and Pythagoras.

Philo of Alexandria, a Jew, has been by some accorded the precious title, but Dr. Guthrie makes the telling point that while he acknowledges Plato's philosophy as representative, it was to him no more than an interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures to which he demanded ultimate loyalty.

Numenius was a man of the world; he was not limited to Greek and Egyptian mysteries, but talked familiarly of the myths of Brahmins and Magi. It is however his knowledge and use of the Hebrew Scriptures which distinguishes him from other Greek philosophers. He refers to Moses simply as "the prophet," exactly as for him Homer is "the poet." Plato is the Greek Moses. It is remarkable that so wellknown a writer and thinker has left no account of the facts of his life that can be regarded as authoritative. He seems to have led a quiet but very human existence, being interested in dogs, hunting, wild animals, eggs and fishes. Philosophy, poetry and religion were his life, but an absence of austerity and an ever present fund of humor made him evidently a likable man. For him the "world-directing divinity is a pilot, safely steering the world-ship, by raising his eyes to find his way through the starry vault above him." The "human soul in search of ecstatic harmony is a boat hidden until the last moment by the waves of life's ocean." These two fancies may be but a variant of his master's famous simile of the relations between soul and body as illustrated by those of rider and horse. He united Hebraism and Egyptian philosophy as the soul of a new Platonic movement, considering it his mission to prepare for popular enjoyment and use the best in philosophy.

Dr. Guthrie, teacher clergyman professor, has brought to the compilation of this little editorial gem, long experience and and much erudition, giving us in handy compact form a valuable contribution to an interesting phase in the history of the transition from Greek philosophy to Christian teachings. €

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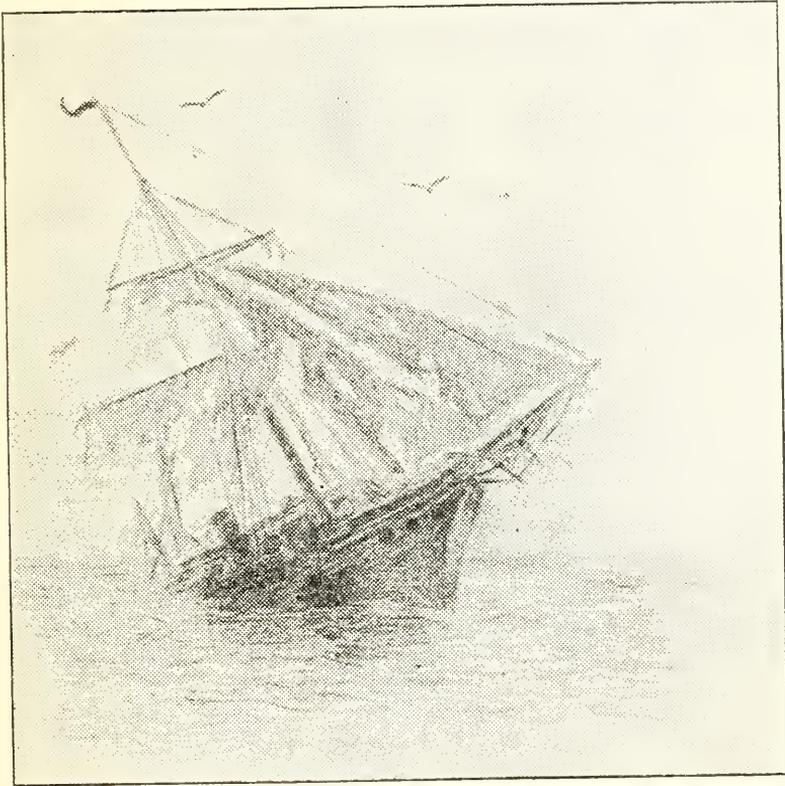
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