

The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER

VOL. XXXII (No. 5)

MAY, 1918

NO. 744

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CHICAGO

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

Entered as Second-Class Matter March 26, 1897, at the Post Office at Chicago, Ill., under Act of March 3, 1879
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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."

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY

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ILLINOIS



Key: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.

A SERMON OF SKARGA'S.

(See pages 289 and 290.)

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THE SECULAR OBJECTION TO RELIGION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

BY THE HON. JUSTIN HENRY SHAW.

Trial Justice, Municipal Criminal Court, Kittery, Maine.

THE *Open Court* for February, 1918, finds some considerable space for two interesting articles which rather unexpectedly continue the historic attempt to meddle with the public schools by a union of the religious cults if it were possible that such a union might be accomplished. The first is under the quite familiar title of "Bible-Reading and Religious Instruction in the Public Schools; from the Catholic Point of View," which is entirely an anonymous statement only of the Catholic position. The other, probably intended as a sort of concurrent contradiction and of immediate balance, is a Protestant plan of momentum, and entitled, "Religious Education in the Public Schools," by Mr. C. E. Sparks.

One cannot say that either of these articles is of intimate consequence on these questions. These religionists come to us even in the same number of this magazine, with the customary different meanings to their religions; differences of authority, differences in what they please to call their text-book; independent and separate interpretations; and obviously with a religious quarrel among themselves that cannot possibly be concealed. It is plainly admitted by the Catholic and emphasized by the Protestant. They necessarily present themselves under the motive of *morality*, because one must approve of morality, although neither seems to know just the meaning of the term; but they appear together with a theological, sectarian disturbance which is not a new one, and ask to have a hand in the public schools. Of course they will not be more generally permitted to do so, and I shall perhaps hastily attempt to tell them

why, and the reasons are substantial and convincing ones, I think—historical, legal and moral. They involve briefly the purpose of education, the purport of our national and many state constitutions, and some better ethical considerations.

Therefore, in view of the more clearly recognized absolute separation of the Church and State in America, as intended by our National Constitution, and with some better knowledge of recent state constitutional provisions and of decisions in the courts thereunder; and particularly in the face of the unprecedented expulsion of religion from the affairs of the commonwealth in a leading state like Massachusetts in the adoption of its sweeping Forty-sixth Article of Amendment to the Constitution, which I append,¹ one must gladly feel that these religious articles are to be regarded as untimely, and to a great extent socially as almost impudent.

The religious standpoint in these times can never be a very cheerful one. Everything is usually very nearly all wrong with the world. The religionist usually has the attitude of Dean Mansel, that "the adversity of the good, the prosperity of the wicked, the tardy appearance of moral and religious knowledge in the world, are facts which no doubt are reconcilable, we know not how, with the infinite goodness of God."

"Irreligion and religious indifferences are gaining day by day an increasingly firmer hold upon society here in America," is the

¹ ARTICLE XLVI, CONSTITUTION OF MASSACHUSETTS.

(In place of article xviii of the articles of amendment of the constitution ratified and adopted April 9, 1821, the following article of amendment, submitted by the constitutional convention, was ratified and adopted November 6, 1917. Effective October 1, 1918.)

Article xviii. Section 1. No law shall be passed prohibiting the free exercise of religion.

Section 2. All moneys raised by taxation in the towns and cities for the support of public schools, and all moneys which may be appropriated by the commonwealth for the support of common schools shall be applied to, and expended in, no other schools than those which are conducted according to law, under the order and superintendence of the authorities of the town or city in which the money is expended; and no grant, appropriation or use of public money or property or loan of public credit shall be made or authorized by the commonwealth or any political division thereof for the purpose of founding, maintaining or aiding any school or institution of learning, whether under public control or otherwise, wherein any denominational doctrine is inculcated, or any other school, or any college, infirmary, hospital, institution, or educational, charitable or religious undertaking which is not publicly owned and under the exclusive control, order, and superintendence of public officers or public agents authorized by the commonwealth or federal authority or both, except that appropriations may be made for the maintenance and support of the Soldiers' Home in Massachusetts and for free public libraries in any city or town, and to carry out legal obligations, if any, already entered into; and no such grant, appropriation or use of public money or property or loan of public credit shall be made or authorized for the purpose of founding, maintaining or aiding any church, religious denomination or society.

lament of the Catholic author in *The Open Court*, and fear is expressed "that we are reverting to the Greek type of paganism," and paganism is intentionally made a common name for evil, in self-defense. I shall hope to add a little to the religious disquietude, from Pagan motives.

This must be a very strange condition, if true, with approximately 175,000 Christian priests and ministers in the land; probably 200,000 untaxed churches and billions of dollars in church buildings and endowments and advantages; with the influence and activities of 35,000,000 organized Christians in the country, with numberless Christian institutions, missions, parochial schools, parish settlements, Bible publishing houses and unlimited opportunities. Something would seem to be wrong with Christian "education," if the pessimistic complaint were well founded, and that it were important some other plan of teaching should be worked out. It would be a great satisfaction if we could feel that this religious depression were entirely justified. For religion to have thus fallen is indeed a great gain. But I suspect that religion were never more contemptible than it is at the present moment.

One can only regard the Catholic article as showing how impossible it is for the educated world at this time to seriously consider its theology or its theory of education. The Church would appear by its admission not only to have failed in its plan of salvation, but also in religious education and in promoting what it terms as morality. This is a serious admission to make for the purpose of asking the privilege to introduce religion in the public schools, so far as the Catholic is concerned, if he intends to do so.

One must say that the Catholic article is apparently intended to be entirely frank and consistent, and of course religious. It is impossible to credit the Protestant writer with such consistency or with very much social integrity, as I shall show, because he intends that his terms shall be deceiving. The Catholic writer does not. He has nothing to say about the "ungodly American public schools," nor any intimation of their "immoral output." The article is fair and without unkindness. One may question, however, how far this Catholic is permitted to suggest any cooperation or agreement with any Protestant plan for religious instruction in the schools, as the article at least in a way implies, but this may be treated as a defect in any Catholic plan. It says nothing new about the Catholic standpoint, except perhaps in this one implied particular, and it very honestly states apparently the Catholic position, but of course in a hopeless way to ever make this religion intelligible

or sensible. It does not attempt to say that if Catholics were allowed to introduce religion in the public schools that Catholics would teach the Protestant religion. But Mr. Sparks plainly wishes to teach the Protestant religion in the schools and would call it "morality."

The Catholic writer very properly recognizes and also honestly admits that "Our public schools have been made non-sectarian by legislative act. There can be no question," he says, "of promoting religious life in these schools at present." And then he obviously observes that "in certain quarters Bible-reading has been recommended to remedy this defect (and I will emphasize his comment) —*Bible-reading as it is practised by certain Protestant denominations.*" And so he raises the question now "whether Catholic pupils can take part in this reading without doing violence to their religious convictions." Of course it hardly ever occurs to the religionists that the intrusion of their religions where religions are not wanted and are not intended, might be a violence to the conscience or conviction of the secular American rationalist. Happily *The Open Court* is such a publication where this may be freely discussed. But I have no interest in what is regarded by Dr. Carus in his philosophy as the "purification" of religions, although I must acknowledge with gratitude his tremendous service to liberalism in all thought.

I do not believe that these two religious articles should be considered with any great concern by Americans. The efforts have been simultaneous suicides, and I think I might very well be in a better business just now in the more serious affairs of the country than in taking the time to attempt a reply to these religionists. I should suppose that if religion were good for peoples that Spain, Russia, Mexico and other religious and Christian communities ought to be most beautiful countries and that there could be no great objections to the Christian religion in this country. But I would hopefully prefer to reach if possible those of *The Open Court* readers who perhaps may still have an undecided interest in the question, and I cannot think that there are many who would care to see the plan of these sectarians promoted in the least in our schools. I would prefer to win those who may be reached with what I am pleased to think are sufficient reasons for the opposition, if they may care to consider them.

I doubt very much if regular readers of *The Open Court* are likely to become greatly befuddled by the medieval theology of these articles. Regular readers of this magazine or of general modern literature are likely to leave it wholly alone. For instance, what

can one say to this religious recognition by the Catholic writer? (and I have copied it carefully, it being somewhat of an exertion even from the mechanical standpoint:) "Theology recognizes gladly and frankly that the concepts which express revealed, supernatural reality do not represent it in its own peculiar way but only by analogy. The analogy between revealed supernatural reality and the concepts which express it is not an attributive analogy but an *analogia proportionalis*, and in certain cases only *proportionalitatis*, as P. Sertillanges calls it (*'Agnosticisme et anthropomorphisme.'*)"

I should suppose good-naturedly that the theological case had never been more scholarly expressed than in this ponderous quotation. But one must leave that to the use of the theologians. By this sort of analogy one could hardly be more successfully direct in teaching the law of gravitation than by employing the pigs-in-clover problem, and perhaps without the pigs, "*Depositum custodi.*"

"The Catholic Church," it is again authoritatively explained, "alone possesses the whole of the divine revelation and regards it as her most sacred duty to preserve it faithfully and without modification." Consequently, "the Catholic Church is likewise opposed to every sort of pure and exclusive voluntarism, which deprives the theoretic truth of all its static element and degrades the truth to an exclusive instrument of action." The most positive injunction, from the Catholic standpoint of authority is that "*there must be no Protestant Bible-reading* (in the public schools) because, (a) Protestant Bible-reading is founded upon an entirely false idea of inspiration which, *a posteriori* at least, has proved untrue; and (b) no Catholic layman may read any Bible whose text has not been approved by the competent ecclesiastical authorities and accompanied with the required commentaries." Here is the positive asserted authority of the Catholic Church against the Protestant pretense, and its reasons. Obviously its authority must be true, or else it is not true. The religious dispute therefore begins here. If it affected them only, we would not be further concerned.

Then we turn to the lubricated Protestant plan and "the dominating note in (his) religion is authority," says the Protestant Mr. Sparks, which is a strange suggestion for a Protestant to make. And again he makes the same sort of blunder for a Protestant to make in an article that appears concurrently with a Catholic article, in saying that "in moral training it is *absolutely necessary to develop a reverent respect for authority.*" (A part of the italics are unwisely his own.) "And the first point in this (Protestant) plan that is now presented is the introduction of (Protestant) Bible-study

into the curriculum of the public school. And again he says, unguardedly, or unblushingly as I regard it, that "The Bible is *the* text-book of ethics." This has been forever disposed of by better scholars and moralists than I. There remains the task of more general education.

When the Catholic writer may be able to show conclusively to his Protestant friend that the Catholic Church still possesses the entire "divine revelation" and that Mr. Sparks has none of it; or when the Protestant Mr. Sparks may submit properly to the "divine" authority conferred upon the institution of his Catholic friend, and feels that a parochial religious school is better than an American public school, then these gentlemen will be in a better position to argue together effectively in the same number of *The Open Court* about the benefits of religion in the schools, and the argument will be entirely Catholic. It is necessary to kindly remind our religious friends of this before they reach the schoolhouse doors with an unended quarrel of three hundred years.

But a single comment should be made on one of Mr. Sparks's assertions. "The Bible is *the* textbook of ethics," he says. One must simply say and make it plain that the man either knows nothing of the Bible or does not know the meaning of the term ethics. He is not in any sense an educator.

And I need go no further than the same February issue of *The Open Court* to remind our Protestant Mr. Sparks of the contention of the Catholic writer that "religious instruction is the particular function of the ecclesiastical office (Matt. xxviii. 19) and may not be exercised by any person without the canonical permission of the bishop."² It would be better, as it seems to me, to acknowledge that the teaching of the only true revealed and divinely authorized religion should be left to those who have received the revelation and the authority. One can therefore have no discussion with our Catholic friend in his sincerity in this respect. And I would like to remind the Protestant Mr. Sparks of the suspicion of his Catholic friend that "the Bible is not a children's reader."³

² It is plainly the intention of the Catholic writer to regard the Protestant Mr. Sparks as of no consequence as an authority on religion, inasmuch as the same gospel (Matt. xviii. 17) provides in case of a dispute between religious brothers: "If he neglects to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican."

³ The qualifications for teaching the Protestant religion are more amusingly and applicably discussed by Mr. Eugene Wood in one of his delightful essays, on "The Sabbath School," (*McClure's Magazine*), in which it is suggested that "for some eighteen centuries it was supposed that a regularly ordained ministry should have exclusive charge of this work. At rare intervals now-

The Constitution of the United States is a superlatively moral and broad basis of government. "It is in no sense founded on the Christian religion," or any other religion. "It was the spirit of the eighteenth century, a century of philosophical inquiry which gave our revolutionary leaders their broader views. Had they been susceptible to clerical influences, or had they consulted Moses and Paul, there would have been a king here, 'by the grace of God,' as there is in most Christian countries." For "there is not a single text either in the old or new Testament which may be fairly quoted in defense of popular or republican government."⁴

To live under this American Constitution and to accept its opportunities of religious freedom and religious liberty is the finest privilege that man has ever inherited and enjoyed from his government. It also imposes an obligation not to use any governmental or state means for the promotion of any religion whatsoever. The text of the Constitution in this respect has become so well known to scholars and lawyers that it is unnecessary to repeat it. No comment ought to be necessary to make the purport of this provision more manifest than the text of the provision itself. Only the lowest type of American religionist would attempt to modify it, or evade it. And this "proudest product of the pen and brain" of man was not the work of religionists.

"This is a Freethought nation," says the scholarly Freethought author, Mr. John E. Remsburg, writing as President of the American Secular Union and Freethought Federation. "Freethinkers have preserved it. The Fathers of our Republic—Washington and Franklin and Paine and Adams and Jefferson—were Freethinkers. The saviours of our Republic, Lincoln and Grant, were Freethinkers. The man who first proposed this nation was a Freethinker. The man who wrote the Declaration of Independence was a Freethinker. The man who led the armies of the Revolution to victory was a Freethinker. The man who presided over the Convention that framed our Constitution was a Freethinker. The man who drafted

adays a clergyman may be found to maintain that because a man has been to college and to the theological seminary, and has made the study of the Scriptures his life work (moved to that decision after careful self-examination), that therefore he is better fitted to that ministry than Miss Susie Goldrick, who teaches a class in Sabbath-school very acceptably. Miss Goldrick is in the second year in the High School, and last Saturday afternoon read a composition on English Literature, in which she spoke in terms of high praise of John Bunion, the well-known author of 'Progress and Poverty.' Miss Goldrick is very conscientious, and always keeps her thumb-nail against the questions printed on the lesson-leaf, so as to not ask twice, 'What did the disciples then do?'"

⁴ *A New Catechism*, (M. M. Mangasarian), pages 193-198.

that instrument was a Freethinker. Its ablest exponents were Freethinkers. The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States are both Freethought documents, the one Deistic, the other Agnostic.

"For a period of one hundred years from the accession of our first President, Washington, to the retirement of the twenty-second, Cleveland, not one Christian communicant occupied the Executive chair; for Garfield, while he had not ceased to commune, had ceased to believe. Our greatest statesmen and orators, scientists and inventors, authors and poets, have been Freethinkers. Free thought, free speech, a free press, and free schools, the products of Freethought, are the pillars upon which our national fabric rests."⁵

We are very much indebted to that great achievement of American law work now in publication, our first available comprehensive summary of the substance of American Law, *Corpus Juris*, for a sufficient survey of the history and application of our Constitutional Law which covers this religious issue. The constitutional separation of Church and State was intended to be absolute. The history of this important measure clearly shows this united purpose of the early American people to put an end to the existing religious evil in state affairs, and one may feel that the following citation fairly represents the accepted view of the American courts as a recital of the circumstances and influences of those times:

"Before the adoption of the Constitution (in this citation used), attempts were made in some of the colonies and states to legislate not only in respect to the establishment of religion, but in respect to its doctrines and precepts as well. . . . The controversy upon this general subject was animated in many of the states, but seemed at last to culminate in Virginia. In 1784, the House of Delegates of that state having under consideration 'a bill establishing provision for teachers of the Christian religion,' postponed it until the next session, and directed that the bill should be published and distributed, and that the people be requested 'to signify their opinion respecting the adoption of such a bill at the next session of assembly.' . . . At the next session the proposed bill was not only defeated, but another, 'for establishing religious freedom,' drafted by Mr. Jefferson, was passed. (Jefferson's *Works*, II, 45; 2 Howison, *History of Virginia*, 298.) . . . In a little more than a year after the passage of this statute the convention met which prepared the Con-

⁵ *The Chicago Bible*, (a pamphlet against religion in the schools of that city 1896). See also Remsburg's *Six Historic Americans*, (The Truth Seeker Co., New York).

stitution of the United States. Of this convention Mr. Jefferson was not a member, he being then absent as minister to France. As soon as he saw the draft of the Constitution, proposed for adoption, he, in a letter to a friend, expressed his disappointment at the absence of an express declaration insuring the freedom of religion (Jefferson's *Works*, II, 355), but was willing to accept it as it was, trusting that the good sense and honest intentions of the people would bring about the necessary alterations (Jefferson's *Works*, I, 79). Five of the states, while adopting the Constitution, proposed amendments. Three—New Hampshire, New York and Virginia—included in one form or another a declaration of religious freedom in the changes they desired to have made, as did also North Carolina, where the convention at first declined to ratify the Constitution until the proposed amendments were acted upon. Accordingly, at the first session of the first Congress the amendment now under consideration was proposed with others by Mr. Madison. It met the views of the advocates of religious freedom, and was adopted." Reynolds v. U. S., 98 U. S. 145, 162; 25 L. ed. 244. (See also *Life of Madison*, or biographical article in *Nelson's Encyclopædia*.)

It is very helpful to have an impartial and a very full statement following therein of all the American law upon this constitutional question, such as we have in *Corpus Juris*. In this accomplishment one gets the whole of the law exactly as it is, the object being neither for nor against religion. It is a strictly judicial recital, with every sentence of the text based carefully upon selected citations; and the "reason for the rule" in support of each decision is appended. It is gratifying in this to be sure that "the weight of authority and of reason" is with the secularist; that instruction from a sectarian book has been held to be sectarian instruction; and that the only way to prevent sectarianism is to exclude it altogether. This is therefore the best constitutional law and common sense.

Continuing the statement of the law relating to the Church and the State, we find, as a matter of exact facts, that:

"There is considerable variety in the constitutional provisions of the *various states* affecting the right to hold religious exercises in the public schools, and equally great variety of opinion in the decisions of the courts in regard to the matter.

"In some states the constitutional provisions forbidding compulsory attendance on religious worship and taxation for sectarian schools have been construed not to prohibit religious exercises in the public schools, such as reading the Bible, offering prayer and singing devotional songs.

"The tendency of recent constitutions, however, and also of judicial decisions construing and applying them, *has been in favor of extending the scope of constitutional guaranties to the exclusion of religious exercises from the public schools.*

"And the weight of recent authority and of reason would seem to be with those cases which hold that prayer and the singing of hymns as a part of the public exercises of the school are in violation of constitutional provisions against taxation for the support of religion, even though pupils may be excused from attending such exercises on application by themselves or their parents."

The reason for the rule is: "Prayer is always worship. Reading the Bible and singing may be worship. . . . If these exercises of reading the Bible, joining in prayer and the singing of hymns were performed in a church there would be no doubt of their religious character and that character is not changed by the place OF THEIR PERFORMANCE. . . . The wrong arises, not out of the particular version, of the Bible or form of prayer used—whether that found in the Douay or the King James version,—or the particular songs sung, but out of the compulsion to join in any form of worship. The free enjoyment of religious worship includes freedom not to worship." Per Dunn, J., in *People v. District 24, Board of Education*, 245 Ill. 334, 339; 92 N. E. 251; 29 L. R. A. N. S. 442; 19 Ann. Cases 220. (12 *Corpus Juris* 943, under Note 67.)

(My comment on this is: It is shameful that any sort of exercise should be permitted in a public school where it might be considered necessary or proper to excuse any pupil from participating in it, from a question of conscience. The reason for the rule in this case is therefore a destruction of the whole religious proposition.)

"The mere reading from a particular version of the Bible, without comment, has been held not to constitute an infringement of the constitutional guaranty, and this has been conceded by some authorities that held otherwise as to prayer and devotional singing."

The reason for the rule: "But the fact that the King James translation may be used to inculcate sectarian doctrines affords no presumption that it will be so used. The law does not forbid the use of the Bible in either version in the public schools; it is not proscribed either by the constitution or the statutes, and the courts have no right to declare its use to be unlawful because it is possible or probable that those who are privileged to use it will misuse the privilege by attempting to propagate their own peculiar theological or ecclesiastical views and opinions. The point where the courts may rightfully intervene, and where they should intervene without

hesitation, is where legitimate use has degenerated into abuse,—where a teacher employed to give secular instructions has violated the constitution by becoming a sectarian propagandist. *That sectarian instruction may be given by the frequent reading, without note or comment, of judiciously selected passages, is of course obvious.*” Per Sullivan, C. J., in *State v. Scheve*, 65 Nebr. 853, 883; 91 N.W. 846; 93 N.W. 169; 59 L.R.A. 927. (12 *Corpus Juris* 943, under Note 70.)

“But other authorities hold that the Bible is a sectarian book and that the reading in the public schools of any portion or any version of it for religious purposes is a violation of constitutional guaranties.”

The reason for the rule: “The only means of preventing sectarian instruction in the schools is to exclude altogether religious instruction, by means of the reading of the Bible or otherwise. The Bible is not read in the public schools as mere literature or mere history. It cannot be separated from its character as an inspired book of religion. . . . If any parts are to be selected for use as being free from sectarian differences of opinion, who will select them?” Per Dunn, J., in *People v. District 24, Board of Education*, 245 Ill. 334, 348; 92 N.E. 251; 29 L.R.A.N.S. 442; 19 Ann. Cases 220. (Cited in 12 *Corpus Juris* 943, under Note 71.)

Earlier Illinois cases inconsistent with above were “practically overruled thereby.”

“It is unanimously agreed that a law or regulation which forbids religious instruction or the reading of religious books, including the Bible, in the public schools is valid.”

The principle that no one may impose his religious beliefs or practices amounting to a religious nuisance to others has been well expressed in *In-re: Frazee*, (63 Mich. 396, 405; 30 N.W. 72; 6 Am. S. R. 310) by Chief Justice Campbell: “We cannot accede to the suggestion that religious liberty includes the right to introduce and carry out every scheme or purpose which persons see fit to claim as a part of their religious system. There is no legal authority to constrain belief, but no one can lawfully stretch his own liberty of action so as to interfere with that of his neighbor, or violate peace or good order. The whole criminal law might be practically superseded if, under pretext of liberty or conscience, the commission of crime be made a religious dogma. It is a fundamental condition of all liberty, and necessary to civil society, that all men must exercise their rights in harmony, and must yield to such restrictions as are necessary to promote that result.”

These cases make no mention of the disturbance that inevitably arises over the attempt to introduce religion of any particular kind in a public institution like the public schools, and these disturbances have been a Protestant disgrace in the schools. The American schools are for the children of all the people of every religion and of no religion. The rights of Catholics, Jews and infidels, agnostics and atheists are just as much to be regarded and respected as the rights of Protestant Christians, which latter are only a Christian sect, or who constitute many sects of as many different beliefs. Either is in duty bound to respect the Constitution which protects the rights of all. Freethinkers claim the right to teach Freethought, but do not ask that Freethought be introduced in the schools to disparage religion, at the expense of the State; or to the violence of the conscience of religious children or their parents. The schools are for the imparting of necessary information, according to what may be regarded as the best systems of education by real educators. Morality will come from knowledge, and from the better conditions resulting from knowledge obtained in the schools, and not from the teaching of any particular form of dogma or belief, or from any sectarian teaching of sectarian morality. Otherwise the schools and knowledge were of no use, and only religion were useful.

Protestant clergymen may deliver nonsectarian prayers (if such a performance were possible!) at graduation exercises and the exercises may be held in churches in those communities where there may be no town hall or theater, and when permitted by the school board, without seriously violating the constitutional guaranty. This is only a form of Protestant ministerial impoliteness and an intrusion. But Jewish children, or the children of agnostics, or Catholic scholars of the public schools are quite justified, from social reasons, in refusing diplomas when handed to them by a Protestant preacher officiating where he is not desired and where he ought not to appear as a religionist. Religion is not an affair of the state.

It is natural to anticipate the religious chaos that would result if Protestantism were allowed to operate and develop without restraint, or if it were permitted to extend the plan proposed by Mr. Sparks. The public schools are not to be made ultimate Protestant parish schools, as desired by him, with credit for Bible study or Bible work. "Pastor" Russell's Bible classes, an influence of this religion, or other kinds of Bible-classes have no place in state-supported schools, nor any connection with them. It is not the purpose of the schools to train children or inspire them for the ministry or for missionary fields. There should be no preparatory

grades or primary lessons in any superstition, or any credit that tends to reverence or respect for the outrageous religion of Evangelist Sunday or the fanatical religion of the German Emperor. Parsons and preachers and book agents and peddlers should be excluded from the schoolhouse. It is necessary to say this, because we have the afflictions.

The Catholic writer proposes "an interdenominational school" for religious instruction, and proposes "in this respect (that) Germany's schools might serve as a model." I think the present righteous temper of the American people would have disposed of that suggestion had not the abomination of religion and state in Germany been specifically and sufficiently exposed in Mr. Heyn's timely and informative article in the March number of this magazine, which has fortunately come to hand before the preparation of this reply.⁶ And I do not believe that we are yet ready to have "*Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott*" as the American national anthem.

It is hardly worth while to go into the details of Mr. Sparks's proposed tentative religious plan. His whole proposition is fundamentally and essentially and morally wrong, and it has been the intent of the Constitution to prevent this moral wrong. And "moral considerations are of more importance" to the moral Rationalist "than either the ecclesiastical or legal considerations." If it has appeared that I have been severe in criticism of the moral and intellectual integrity of this Protestant religious writer I wish to call attention to this statement of his: "Where Bible selections even are barred from the schools, arrangements could be made to have this material taught by representatives of the religious bodies outside the schools and after satisfactory examinations have been passed, credit given the pupils on their school work." There could hardly be a more deliberate and constructive scheme to violate the intent and practice of the law than this. I cannot think the man is so much interested in teaching "morality" as he is in introducing this "Bible material," from a religious incentive, and where it has been particularly barred, and this can only be treated as a piece of becoming sectarianism. We can accept Mr. Sparks's confident exhibit that the Bible is *the* text-book of his morality without further comment.

Outside the narrow realm of Protestant religious thought the Bible is considered at its true value. It is no longer an authority

⁶ See *The Open Court* for March, 1918, and "The Centrum Party's Influence in German Affairs," (particularly page 188) for the failure of liberal government. By Hon. Edward T. Heyn, former American Vice-Consul.

on any question of importance to mankind. And it is now an obstacle to Protestant education and consequently capable of great harm so long as it may be treated otherwise in trying to explain our affairs or in helping in any of the problems of our American life and progress. It has been progressively and completely driven out of the halls of learning. "It is no longer an authority, for example on questions of science—geology, astronomy, chemistry, biology and all other branches of one of the principal pursuits of man," the pursuit of *knowledge*. Better books have replaced the Bible. "What is true of science is also true of history, politics, government, education, commerce; in all these departments and activities of life better books have relegated the Bible into the background."⁷ The framers of the American Constitution did not consult this religious book for their work.

The American secularists also object to this book on strictly moral grounds. There is no book in existence that as a whole has so many objectionable features. And the wish to give these things the appearance of authority is especially pernicious and must be withstood so long as ignorance persists.

"The claim that the Bible is the only moral guide," says Mr. Remsburg of the American Secular Union, "is a very foolish falsehood. The claim that it is the best moral guide is untrue; and the claim that it even is a good moral guide is untrue. The Bible contains some worthy precepts, but it also sanctions nearly every vice and crime." In proof of this he cites a solid magazine page of Bible references which are known to every scholar showing the approval of lying, cheating, murder, slavery, witchcraft, cannibalism, human sacrifices, injustice to women, cruelty to children, intemperance, religious persecution and obscenity."⁸ It is a book filled with unnatural thoughts and perversions. The churches of course do not directly teach these vices, I should hope. What a monstrous book then to be made such a fetish of, and to have the unqualified approval of such an organization.

The prison statistics of the country involving the religions of criminals would astonish even the thoughtful religionists. The worst recent criminals have been Christian ministers. There are 60,605 Christians in the state penitentiaries of the country; 5420 Jews; 131

⁷ Consult *The Bible Unveiled* (M. M. Mangasarian), The Independent Religious Society, Chicago, publishers, 1911.

⁸ And if I am not mistaken an able writer in *The Open Court*, less than two years ago, has discussed this question along the same lines, and given similar references and if so, readers have access to this information.

pagans; 3 infidels and 4,887 giving no church affiliation, but a great many of undoubted religious training. "The assertion that the church is the mainstay of morals is proven to be an exploded fiction," says Mr. Franklin Steiner, in his compilation of these figures in *Religion and Roguery* (The Truth Seeker Co., New York). "Like every claim made by that institution it will not bear the light of day." The word "morality" does not appear in the Bible. It is an Asiatic cult book, and not an American text-book. The approval of the horrors and cruelty of the present war may be found in this collection of Hebraic-Christian literature, and one is forced to seriously wonder to what extent the book is directly responsible for the actions of those barbarians who have threatened our civilization. The authority of this Protestant book originated in the country with which this nation is at present engaged in a struggle for the life of democracy. One cannot overlook this important fact.

The American question is not one of majorities. That is not the issue at all. If it were a matter between the Church and the unchurched the latter would be in a position to prevail overwhelmingly, probably two to one, and might succeed in reaching anti-religious determinations with natural injustice to religions. But it is the principle of the nation that must be considered. If it were a matter between Catholics and Protestants the latter would be able to dictate in religion and in dogma, if it could, so far as the public recognition of religion were concerned, as Protestants have done, with natural injustice to all *other* religions. But the Constitution has removed the possibility of this shifting of religious influence or interference consequent on numbers. Religion must not be an elementary part of the American state, and it is fortunate for the United States and for the world that it is not. The religious beliefs of any cult, or the teachings of any prophet, ancient or modern, or the teachings or practice of any ascetic or medicine-man, such as we experience, are not in any instance a subject for the minds of American children in the American schools. Religion is safe and protected under such a principle and the state should be maintained upon this splendid idea of independence and freedom. And there are better moral ideas than those preached or practised by religionists from religious motives.

There are millions of Roman Catholics in America who have Constitutional rights that Protestants are bound to respect. There are millions of Jews who have equal rights. There are hundreds of thousands of atheists, agnostics, infidels, Freethinkers, and undoubtedly millions of no religious belief one way or another. Our

American morality is undoubtedly the best the world has ever seen. It is free, healthy, intelligent and generous. Religionists have also intelligently contributed their share to this increasingly satisfactory condition of American life.

But "ethics is the science of right human character and conduct. It is in no wise primarily dependent upon religion but has suffered immeasurably by having been associated with it through all the ages."⁹

To put an end to the confusions of religion in state affairs The American Secular Union (a national organization) was organized July 4, 1876, and exists for the purpose of making effective the first amendment of the Constitution, concerning which I have tried to make some of the provisions better understood. This American organization in perfectly clear language proposes a complete separation of religion and the state in every particular, and submits what it has called "nine demands" to bring about our American ideals under the Constitution. It is encouraged with more recent events, and expects that others favorable will follow education and enlightenment. The organization will live until this has been accomplished. Its methods are lawful, its purpose is unselfish, and it asks the consideration of the American people as a whole. I am pleased to attach the statement of this organization:¹⁰

The Nine Demands of Liberalism.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall be no longer exempt from taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in the Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums and all other institutions supported by public money shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book, or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment by the President of the United States or by the governors of the various states, of all religious festivals and feasts shall wholly cease.

⁹ *The Development of the Ethical Idea* (S. S. Knight), R. F. Fenno & Co. New York.

¹⁰ The Secretary of the American Secular Union is Mr. E. C. Reichwald, 79 West South Water St., Chicago, Ill., who may be addressed by all interested.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitution of the United States and of the several states, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privileges or advantages shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly and promptly made.

MACAULAY'S CRITICISM OF DEMOCRACY AND GARFIELD'S REPLY.

BY CHARLES H. BETTS.

SOME time ago I called on the editor of *The Open Court* at his office and while we were discussing the world-wide conflict in which this country is now engaged, Dr. Carus asked me if I had ever happened to see a letter written by Lord Macaulay criticising Jefferson and democracy. I replied that I had the Macaulay letter, one copy in my scrap book and another copy in one of General Garfield's speeches.

I then related that on a recent visit with Dr. Andrew White at his home in Ithaca, while we were discussing the war, he asked me the same question asked by Dr. Carus relative to the Macaulay letter. I informed Dr. White that I had a copy of the letter whereupon he related how in a campaign when General Garfield was a candidate for president he spoke at Cornell University and in his speech quoted Macaulay's letter. Dr. White said he had always wanted to secure a copy of it and then described how General Garfield after quoting the letter had answered the criticism of democracy therein contained and concluded his speech by appealing to the audience to see to it that Macaulay's prophecy relative to our demo-

cratic form of government should not be fulfilled. Dr. White said that at the conclusion of his address General Garfield wanted to know how he liked his speech, whereupon he said to Garfield: "You have just made the greatest political speech I have ever heard." After I had related these facts to the editor of *The Open Court* he requested me to send him a copy of the Macaulay letter together with General Garfield's comments. I quote from General Garfield's speech as follows:

"At the risk of offending our American pride, I shall quote what is probably the most formidable indictment of democratic principles ever penned. It was written by the late Lord Macaulay, a profound student of society and government, and a man who, on most subjects, entertained broad and liberal views. Millions of Americans have read and admired his *History and Essays*, but only a few thousands have read his brief but remarkable letter of 1857, in which he discusses the future of our government. We are so confident of our position that we seldom care to debate it. The letter was addressed to the Hon. H. S. Randall, of New York, in acknowledgement of a copy of that gentleman's *Life of Jefferson*. I quote it almost entire.

'HOLLY LODGE, KENSINGTON, LONDON, May 23, 1857.

'Dear Sir, You are surprised to learn that I have not a high opinion of Mr. Jefferson, and I am surprised at your surprise. I am certain that I never wrote a line, and that I never, in Parliament, in conversation, or even on the hustings,—a place where it is the fashion to court the populace,—uttered a word indicating an opinion that the supreme authority in a state ought to be intrusted to the majority of citizens told by the head; in other words, to the poorest and most ignorant part of society. I have long been convinced that institutions purely democratic must, sooner or later, destroy liberty or civilization, or both. In Europe, where the population is dense, the effect of such institutions would be almost instantaneous. What happened lately in France is an example. In 1848, a pure democracy was established there. During a short time there was reason to expect a general spoliation, a national bankruptcy, a new partition of the soil, a maximum of prices, a ruinous load of taxation laid on the rich for the purpose of supporting the poor in idleness. Such a system would, in twenty years, have made France as poor and barbarous as the France of the Carolingians. Happily, the danger was averted; and now there is a despotism, a silent tribune, an enslaved press. Liberty is gone, but civilization

has been saved. I have not the smallest doubt that, if we had a purely democratic government here, the effect would be the same. Either the poor would plunder the rich, and civilization would perish, or order and prosperity would be saved by a strong military government, and liberty would perish. You may think that your country enjoys an exemption from these evils. I will frankly own to you that I am of a very different opinion. Your fate I believe to be certain, though it is deferred by physical cause. As long as you have a boundless extent of fertile and unoccupied land, your laboring population will be far more at ease than the laboring population of the Old World; and while that is the case, the Jefferson politics may continue to exist without causing any fatal calamity. But the time will come when New England will be as thickly peopled as Old England. Wages will be as low, and will fluctuate as much with you as with us. You will have your Manchesters and Birminghams. And in those Manchesters and Birminghams hundreds of thousands of artisans will assuredly be sometimes out of work. Then your institutions will be fairly brought to the test. Distress everywhere makes the laborer mutinous and discontented, and inclines him to listen with eagerness to agitators, who tell him that it is a monstrous iniquity that one man should have a million while another cannot get a full meal. In bad years there is plenty of grumbling here, and sometimes a little rioting. But it matters little, for here the sufferers are not the rulers. The supreme power is in the hands of a class, numerous indeed, but select,—of an educated class,—of a class which is, and knows itself to be, deeply interested in the security of property, and the maintenance of order. Accordingly, the malcontents are firmly, yet gently, restrained. The bad time is got over without robbing the wealthy to relieve the indigent. The springs of national prosperity soon begin to flow again: work is plentiful, wages rise, and all is tranquillity and cheerfulness. I have seen England pass three or four times through such critical seasons as I have described. Through such seasons the United States will have to pass in the course of the next century, if not of this. How will you pass through them? I heartily wish you a good deliverance. But my reason and my wishes are at war, and I cannot help foreboding the worst. It is quite plain that your government will never be able to restrain a distressed and discontented majority. For with you the majority is the government, and has the rich, who are always a minority, absolutely at its mercy. The day will come when, in the State of New York, a multitude of people, none of whom has had more than half a breakfast, or expects to have more than half

a dinner, will choose a legislature. Is it possible to doubt what sort of a legislature will be chosen? On one side is a statesman preaching patience, respect for vested rights, strict observance of public faith; on the other is a demagogue ranting about the tyranny of capitalists and usurers, and asking why anybody should be permitted to drink champagne, and to ride in a carriage, while thousands of honest folk are in want of necessaries. Which of the two candidates is likely to be preferred by a workingman who hears his children cry for more bread? I seriously apprehend that you will, in some such season of adversity as I have described, do things which will prevent prosperity from returning; that you will act like people who should, in a year of scarcity, devour all the seed corn, and thus make the next year, not of scarcity, but of absolute famine. There will be, I fear, spoliation. The distress will produce fresh spoliation. There is nothing to stop you. Your Constitution is all sail and no anchor. As I said before, when a society has entered on this downward progress, either civilization or liberty must perish. Either some Cæsar or Napoleon will seize the reins of government with a strong hand, or your republic will be as fearfully plundered and laid waste by barbarians in the twentieth century, as the Roman empire was in the fifth,—with this difference, that the Huns and Vandals who ravaged the Roman empire came from without, and that your Huns and Vandals will have been engendered within your country by your own institutions.

'Thinking thus, of course I cannot reckon Jefferson among the benefactors of mankind.'¹

"Certainly this letter contains food for serious thought; and it would be idle to deny that the writer has pointed out what may become serious dangers in our future. But the evils he complains of are by no means confined to democratic government, nor do they, in the main, grow out of popular suffrage. If they do, England herself has taken a dangerous step since Macaulay wrote. Ten years after the date of this letter she extended the suffrage to eight hundred thousand of her workingmen, a class hitherto ignored in politics. And still later we have extended it to an ignorant and lately enslaved population of more than four millions. Whether for weal or for woe, enlarged suffrage is the tendency of all modern nations. I venture the declaration, that this opinion of Macaulay's is vulnerable on several grounds. . .

¹ The copy here followed is that found in the Appendix to Harper's edition of *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, by G. O. Trevelyan.

"In the first place, it is based upon a belief from which few if any British writers have been able to emancipate themselves; namely, the belief that mankind are born into permanent classes, and that in the main they must live, work, and die in the fixed class or condition in which they are born. It is hardly possible for a man reared in an aristocracy like that of England to eliminate this conviction from his mind, for the British empire is built upon it. Their theory of national stability is, that there must be a permanent class who shall hold in their own hands so much of the wealth, the privilege, and the political power of the kingdom, that they can compel the admiration and obedience of all other classes. At several periods in English history there have been serious encroachments upon this doctrine. But, on the whole, British phlegm has held to it sturdily, and still maintains it. The great voiceless class of day-laborers have made but little headway against the doctrine. The editor of a leading British magazine told me, a few years ago, that in twenty-five years of observation he had never known a mere farm-laborer in England to rise above his class. Some, he said, had done so in manufactures, some in trade, but in mere farm labor not one. The government of a country where such is a fact, is possible, has much to answer for.

"We deny the justice or the necessity of keeping ninety-nine of the population in perpetual poverty and obscurity, in order that the hundredth may be rich and powerful enough to hold the ninety-nine in subjection. Where such permanent classes exist, the conflict of which Macaulay speaks is inevitable. And why? Not that men are inclined to fight the class above them, but that they fight against any artificial barrier which makes it impossible for them to enter that higher class and become a part of it. We point to the fact, that in this country there are no classes in the British sense of that word,—no impassable barriers of caste. Now that slavery is abolished we can truly say that through our political society there run no fixed horizontal strata above which none can pass. Our society resembles rather the waves of the ocean, whose every drop may move freely among its fellows, and may rise toward the light until it flashes on the crest of the highest wave.

"Again, in depicting the dangers of universal suffrage, Macaulay leaves wholly out of the account the great counterbalancing force of universal education. He contemplates a government delivered over to a vast multitude of ignorant, vicious men, who have learned no self-control, who have never comprehended the national life, and who wield the ballot solely for personal and selfish ends. If

this were indeed the necessary condition of democratic communities, it would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to escape the logic of Macaulay's letter. And here is a real peril,—the danger that we shall rely upon the mere extent of the suffrage as a national safeguard. We cannot safely, even for a moment, lose sight of the *quality* of the suffrage, which is more important than its quantity.

"We are apt to be deluded into false security by political catch-words, devised to flatter rather than instruct. We have happily escaped the dogma of the divine right of kings. Let us not fall into the equally pernicious error that multitude is divine because it is a multitude. The words of our great publicist, the late Dr. Lieber, whose faith in republican liberty was undoubted, should never be forgotten. In discussing the doctrine *Vox populi, vox Dei*, he said, "Woe to the country in which political hypocrisy first calls the people almighty, then teaches that the voice of the people is divine, then pretends to take a mere clamor for the true voice of the people, and lastly gets up the desired clamor." This sentence ought to be read in every political caucus. It would make an interesting and significant preamble to most of our political platforms. It is only when the people speak truth and justice that their voice can be called "the voice of God." Our faith in the democratic principle rests upon the belief that intelligent men will see that their highest political good is in liberty, regulated by just and equal laws; and that, in the distribution of political power, it is safe to follow the maxim, "Each for all, and all for each." We confront the dangers of suffrage by the blessings of universal education. We believe that the strength of the state is the aggregate strength of its individual citizens; and that the suffrage is the link that binds, in a bond of mutual interest and responsibility, the fortunes of the citizen to the fortunes of the state. Hence, as popular suffrage is the broadest base, so, when coupled with intelligence and virtue, it becomes the strongest, the most enduring base on which to build the superstructure of government."²

The above reply of Garfield to Macaulay's letter merits all the praise bestowed upon it by Dr. White. It is a brilliant and scholarly defense of democracy.

In regard to Macaulay's criticism of Jefferson it might be well to state that Jefferson did not believe in a pure democracy as most of his followers believe. On the contrary he declared that it was unworkable beyond the limits of a township. He was a firm be-

² *Garfield's Works*, Vol. II.

liever in the American system of representative government. He knew that the engrafting of representation upon a pure democracy was a new invention in government unknown to the ancients.

Upon this subject Jefferson said:

"They knew no medium between a democracy (the only pure republic, but impractical beyond the limits of a township) and an abandonment of themselves to an aristocracy or a tyranny independent of the people. It seems not to have occurred that where the citizens cannot meet to transact their business in person, they alone have the right to choose agents who shall transact it, and that in this way a republican or popular government of the second grade of purity may be exercised over any extent of country. The full experiment of a government democratical, but representative, was and still is reserved for us."

Thus it will be observed that Jefferson was a firm believer in the representative feature of our American system of government and appreciated that it was a new invention in government unknown to the ancients. On this subject Stimson in his *History of Popular Law Making* says:

"All the authorities appear to agree that there is no prototype for what seems to us such a very simple thing as representation, *representative government*, among the Greeks or Romans, or any of the older civilizations of which we have knowledge."

It appears to be clear that the ancients had never discovered a workable system of government between the extremes of a pure democracy *which was a failure* and an aristocracy or a monarchy, both of which curtailed individual liberty and deprived the great mass of the people of a controlling voice in the affairs of their government.

The founders of the republic having the wisdom and experience of all the ages to guide them, knew that a pure democracy had neither stability nor reliability, because it gave a free rein to the emotions and passions of men. They knew that an aristocracy and a monarchy had stability and reliability but evolved into tyranny, and so they aimed to found a government which had all the good features of democracy, which left the final control of the government in the hands of the people, but which at the same time possessed some of the efficiency and stability of the monarchy, and so they planned to make the people themselves a monarch, with certain necessary checks, balances and limitations, the same to be fixed in a written constitution.



PORTRAIT OF MATEJKO BY HIMSELF.

JAN ALOJSIUS MATEJKO.

1838-1893.

BY POLONIUS.

THE great Polish historical painter, Matejko, was born in Cracow, Austrian Galicia, whether on the twenty-eighth of July, or the thirtieth of June, 1838, is apparently not quite clear. His father, a teacher of music, was from the Bohemian town Hradec, while his mother, Joanna Karolina, daughter of the merchant and citizen of Cracow Johan Peter Rossberg, seems to have added a German strain to the Czecho-Polish blood of the artist. The boy attended first the St. Barbara school and later St. Anna's gymnasium, which he left at the age of fourteen, much against his father's wishes, in order to enter the School of Fine Arts in his native city. His instruction in the art of painting he received from Adalbert Stattler and Ladislaus Lunakiewicz. During the hours when he was free from his professional studies he devoted himself with great interest to the study of Polish history, from which he drew the subjects for the works of his apprentice years, such as *Szujski before Zygmunt III*, *The Entry of Henri de Valois into Cracow*, *Jagiello Praying before the Battle of Tannenberg*, *Karl Gustav and Starowolski Before the Grave of Ladislaus Lokietek* and *Zygmunt I Confers Academic Privileges on the University of Cracow*.

After these labors Matejko received in 1858 a stipend to enable him to defray the cost of further studies which he pursued at Munich for ten months under the supervision of Anschütz, when an unfortunate illness compelled him to return to Cracow. But during this short period he had completed his *Poisoning of Queen Bona*, which represents the contemporary explanation for the mysterious death in 1557 of this princess of the House of Sforza, wife of the Polish King Zygmunt I, and mother of King Zygmunt August and three princesses. For this work the Academy distinguished its pupil with a bronze medal. On the completion of his recovery in 1860 Matejko next sought Vienna where he remained for two months as a pupil of the historical painter Christian Ruben, famous for his painting *Columbus Discovering America*.

The next years of labor in his native Cracow saw the com-

pletion in 1864 of the splendid *Skarga's Sermon*, in which the Polish Jeremiah foretells to the king and the Polish Court the impending ruin of his beloved country. This work when exhibited at the Paris Exposition of 1865 rewarded the artist with a gold medal and made him a European celebrity. In November of 1864 he



MATEJKO'S WIFE (1865).

married Theodora Gielbutowska, whom he has immortalized in the strong, sweet *Portrait of My Wife* of the following year. The next years were years of study spent in Germany and France, whence he made a trip to Constantinople in 1872. In 1866 he com-

pleted another of the powerful works on which his fame will rest, *Rejtan at the Diet of 1773*, which was exhibited at the Paris Exhibition of 1867, where it was bought for 50,000 crowns by the Emperor Franz Joseph, who also conferred the cross of the order of Franz Joseph on the artist. This picture represents an episode drawn from the darkest days of Polish history when the disgraceful Diet confirmed the dismemberment of its country on April 21, 1773, with the exception of one brave heart, Tadeus Rejtan, who tore apart the clothing from his breast, threw himself before the door of the building and cried: "Kill me first, for as long as I live I will



THADDEUS REJTAN, from REJTAN AT THE DIET OF 1773.
(Hofgalerie at Vienna.)

never consent to this deed." However, the greater part of the Polish deputies stepped over his body and left him lying there for thirty-eight hours. Rejtan became ill from grief at this disgrace, lost his reason and committed suicide on August 8, 1780.

Among the great works of Matejko we mention ten. As a foil to the depressing Skarga and Rejtan pictures stands out the *Union of Lublin*, commemorating the union of Lithuania and Poland under Zygmunt August in 1569, one of the bright spots in Polish history. The defeat of Russia and the capture of Livonian Polotsk by King Stephen Bathori are commemorated in a canvas of the year 1871, which received a bronze medal at the Vienna Exposition of 1873.

The four-hundredth anniversary of the astronomer of Thorn, who is claimed by both Poles and Germans, was illustrated by *Kopernikus*, 1873. *The Battle of Grünwald* (Tannenberg) received the gold medal of the first class at the Paris Exposition of 1878. This picture



KOPERNIKUS (1873).

recalls the conquest of that portion of German territory which the Poles succeeded in holding from 1410 until 1772. *Sobieski Before Vienna*, in commemoration of the Polish king's great service to Christendom in the defeat of the Turks before Vienna in 1683, was presented by the artist to His Holiness the Pope Leo XIII, who

gave it an honored place in the Vatican and its author the order of Pius IX. *The Maid of Orleans*, 1886; *Albrecht of Brandenburg Doing Homage to Zygmunt I in Cracow*, 1881; *Kosciuszko Before Raclawice*, 1888; *The Constitution of the Third of May*, 1891; and *The Vow of Jan Kasimir*, 1892, complete the list of his best works.

In honor of his illustrious services to his country, Matejko received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, *honoris causa*, from the "Polish University of the Jagiellons" of his native city and he was also made a member of the French Legion of Honor for his picture *The Union of Lublin*. He was a member of the academies of fine arts at Paris, Vienna and Berlin. The *Akademie der schönen Künste* at Prague elected him in 1873 to be their director, but he



SOBIESKI BEFORE VIENNA (1883).

(In the Vatican.)

declined the honor and accepted later on in the year the emperor's nomination to a similar position at the head of the newly organized school of fine arts in Cracow. He died on the first of November in the same house in which he first saw the light of day and which is universally known to-day as the "Matejko House." It contains many memorials of the artist and a Matejko Museum and is situated in the Ulica Floryanska or Florian Street. He was buried on the eighth of November and his ashes rest in the Cracow cemetery.

Magnificence of coloring and passionate movement are the distinguishing characteristics of this true representative of a passionate, proud and excitable people. His critic and biographer Stanislaus Witkiewicz says in his characterization of the artist that Matejko

had by nature a soul filled with sadness. "This appeared not alone as a result of his pessimistic view of history, and in his first pictures he borrowed from history only what was saddest and most tragic, but he was in fact absolutely incapable of reproducing simply and sincerely the bright and happy sides of life."

He is like his subjects who "are to a high degree passionate



SOBIESKI AND DENHOF. (Detail from Sobieski Before Vienna.)

natures, filled to overflowing with deep feeling, gripped to the very depths of their souls by an abnormally strong psychic energy, which is keyed up to the highest pitch and leaves its stamp on the finely moulded features of faces distinguished by clearness and strength, even amid their wrinkles and seams; faces on which seems to rest the burden of whole layers of culture, that has arisen under the highest possible pressure of the tragedy of life." Of all cities,



ASSUMPTION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN (1875).

Cracow, where all the monuments of a glorious Poland are, seems best chosen to realize this confusion and distraction in a Polish soul. This can be discerned even in Matejko's portrait of himself, painted at the age of fifty-four, as well as in the face of the striking



STANCZYK, THE COURT FOOL OF SIGISMUND AUGUSTUS (1862).

painting of the court fool of Zygmunt I, Stanczyk, who was celebrated for the biting truths which he occasionally told to the Polish magnates and even to the king himself.

The representative painter of a nation so fervidly Roman

Catholic as is the Polish could not leave the field of Christian art untouched and we conclude this sketch with the magnificent *Assumption of the Blessed Virgin*, from the year 1875.

A SERMON OF SKARGA'S.

Our frontispiece is an idealistic representation of Peter Skarga Pawenski preaching one of his famous sermons before the King of Poland and the Polish diet, as painted in 1864 by the great Polish painter of national subjects, Jan Matejko, just after the unsuccessful revolution of 1863, which apparently gave Polish liberty its death blow. We may suppose that Skarga is just predicting the sad fate of Poland as directly ascribable to the "sins" of his countrymen, their strife, contentiousness, lack of union, and absolute disregard for national needs, although the picture professedly commemorates a scene from the year 1597.

The *Presbyterium* of the Wawel, the cathedral of Cracow, forms the background of the picture, for it was long erroneously supposed that the diet met here for divine service on the Sundays and holidays from February 10 to March 24, 1597. Our Polish friend explains the position of Skarga (11) as near the coffin of St. Stanislaus, that bishop of Cracow who was murdered in 1079 by King Boleslaus the Bold at the altar of St. Michael's Church before the gates of Cracow. Matejko did not then know that St. John's Cathedral in Warsaw was the real location, nor does this injure the picture. The subject of Skarga's sermon "seems to be the thought of Jeremiah xix: Then I shall utterly destroy you, saith the Lord God."

It must be admitted that some of the figures of the painting were really dead in 1597, but their employment in the picture at least reproduced the spirit of Poland in the last half of the sixteenth century. The king (5) strikes one as absolutely apathetic and weak. Behind him stands his awe-struck son Ladislaus (4) who later succeeded him.

Dowager Queen Ann, (6) of the house of Jagiellon, the wife of King Stephen Bathori, 1576-1586, is deep in prayer. Next to her is the famous Polish beauty, Halszka Ostrogo (7) who married the slayer of her first husband and was then compelled by the king, Zygmunt August, to marry the Wojewod Lukas Gorka of Posen. She and her mother then took refuge in a convent in Lemberg, where she was married to Simeon Olelkowicz, who was introduced within the walls of the cloister as a beggar. In spite of this union, the royal starost captured her and turned her over to husband

number three who threw her into prison when she persisted in her opposition to her unwelcome consort; there she lost her reason and died. She has been made the heroine of many tales and dramas. Stanislaus Stadnicki, (10) called "the Devil of Lancut" by the people because of his robber-knight crimes for which he was not less famous than for his acts of chivalry. Prince Zanusz Radziwill (8) and Nicolaus Zebrzydowski (9) rebelled against the king, nine years later, but were beaten, the last named being pardoned but excluded from participation in public affairs. The other dominant and foil to Skarga is the Chancellor and Fieldmarshall, John Zamojski, (1) to whom the king owed his throne, and Poland much, some say as much as Germany did to Bismarck. In front of him stands his predecessor in office, Peter Dunin Wolski, (3) Bishop of Plock, although he was dead in 1590. The Primate of Poland and Archbishop of Gnesen, Stanislaus Karnkowski, (2) is on the left and Cardinal Stanislaus Hozysz, (12) Bishop of Ermeland, who died in 1579, is kneeling near Skarga.

Quoting Marjan Sokolowski, professor of the history of art at the University of Cracow, Ferdinand Hoesik tells in an article of September 29, 1912, written for the *Jednodniówka*, the story of the origin of Matejko's conception of Skarga's head and especially of his face. The main facts are as follows:

When Jan Matjko had almost finished his picture of Skarga he had trouble in working out the portrait of the hero of the scene, but one day while walking through the streets of Cracow he met a man who possessed a certain resemblance to the famous pulpit orator, and he took pains to gain a lasting impression of the stranger's features, but the man seemed displeased with the attention thus received from an ordinary passer-by, and he tried to escape from this unwelcome attention. The truth was that he was Bronislaus Szwarc, a Polish fugitive from the fortress prison of Schlüsselburg, where Czaristic Russia confined its political prisoners on a rocky isle of the Neva, near St. Petersburg, and he had barely escaped his pursuers. His features were strangely attractive to our artist, and showed that he had passed through great trials in his life. While the object of Matejko's attention tried to escape, the painter was bent on making his acquaintance for the sake of using his portrait for his picture. Thinking that he was discovered by a representative of the Russian secret service, even though he was on Austrian soil, the stranger tried to elude his pursuer and had scarcely escaped to his lodgings when a knock at the door frightened him to the utmost. He said to himself, "here come the

police to arrest me and transport me to Siberia," but how relieved he was when the stranger came in, excused himself for the intrusion, and explained that he was Jan Matejko, well known to every Pole as their great national artist. Szwarcz gladly acceded to his request to sit for his portrait as a model for Skarga, the great Polish reformer, in fact he acknowledged it as an honor to be thought a fit subject for this noble purpose.

PETRUS SKARGA PAWENSKI S. J.

A PROPHET OF POLAND.

BY A FRIEND OF FREE POLAND.

NOTHING in this world is perfect, no thing nor person possesses that fulness of every good which really could and should be possessed. All creation is working unceasingly toward the realization of all its latent potentialities, toward the actualization of a better and nobler reality. No rational being casts a doubt on this fact to-day, nor is he in any position to doubt it, since no creature gives such eloquent testimony to this fact as man himself. The recognition of a true, vital evolution in the cosmic universe is accepted to-day, and with full justice too, as the most important conquest of our science. Man himself assumes an odd position in the process of universal evolution, for we may truly call him the lord of creation. Man it is who, to be sure, succumbs to the laws of nature and must reckon with them, but who in spite of this can command these laws and all the forces of evolution and exploit them for the realization of his wishes and ideals: the creation of a better reality lies within the power of man. It is the most sacred duty not alone of every individual but also of the whole of human society to create more and better being and living.

This task is not at all easy and for that reason it is no wonder that the leaders of human society along with peoples and states generally put forth vigorous efforts for anything else than the realization of that which we all accept as most sacred. Nor can we even blame these people for their choice of action, for: Do not temporal possessions, material treasures, position, power and physical force make man, and especially peoples, safe from all enemies? Are not economically strong peoples always victors? Thus it seems in reality, but this is only a superficial impression, for history teaches us that those peoples which do not strive for the realization of the

highest ideals have ruined themselves by their own behavior. The Greeks and the Romans, those peoples who so merit our admiration, afford perhaps the most striking illustration of our assertion. The ultimate reason for their ruin lay precisely in their not recognizing the folly of their policies, but persisting in their course. In such moments when a people forgets the fulfilment of its most sacred obligations, there come to the front in every people men who foresee with the insight of genius the true future of their fellow citizens and, spurred on by the spirit of love for people and country, warn their compatriots of threatening dangers. No country has lacked such geniuses and prophets, and yet their fellow citizens, like those of the patriarch Noah in the days of the Flood "were eating, drinking, marrying and giving away in marriage until . . . the flood came, and carried them all away"! (Matthew xxiv, 37-39.) Generally speaking, all warnings of such men were in vain and the majority of them died in dishonor and disgrace, derided and jeered at by those to whom they extended a helping hand.

So it was with the Polish nation. There was no lack of prophets nor of preachers admonishing to penitence and pure living for this people either, but yet all was in vain (they imitated the contemporaries of Noah, made merry at the expense of the "seers" and remained in their evil ways and in sin until the "Flood," the fall of the Polish state, came. To-day we should like to introduce to our readers one of those great seers of the Polish people, a true prophet of this nation, and this man is Petrus Pawenski Skarga, humble monk and priest, a member of the Society of Jesus. How majestic the figure of Skarga was can be perceived from the circumstance that the Dominican Florian Birkowski, who delivered the funeral address, the most prominent pulpit orator of the day after Skarga, chose as the text of his sermon a paraphrase of the words of the apocryphal writer Ecclesiasticus, xlvi. 1: *Et surrexit Elias propheta, et verbum ejus quasi facula ardebat* (and the prophet Elijah rose up and his word glowed like a torch).

Petrus Pawenski was born in 1536 at Grojec, a little town in Masovia. His parents did not belong to the nobility but were of civilian origin and we now know for certain that it was his brother Francis who first received the diploma of nobility with the cognomen Pawenski, from King Zygmunt III. Petrus lost his parents in early youth. After the completion of his course at the Gymnasium, he studied for two years at the University of Cracow, where he received the degree of bachelor of arts in 1554. With this diploma he went to Warsaw where he was appointed rector of the

parochial school belonging to the collegiate church of Saint John. During two years, 1555-1557, he conducted this school with honor, then we see him in Cracow as private teacher of the oldest son of the castellan and senator Tenczynski. In 1560 he accompanied his charge to Vienna, where he remained two entire years. In 1562 he returned to Poland and, following the advice of Paulus Tarlo, archbishop of Lemberg, he resolved to enter the clergy. In 1563 Tarlo ordained him sub-deacon, and in the following year deacon and priest, and appointed the young clergyman to the position of cathedral preacher and canon at the cathedral of Lemberg (Lwow). A little later he received the parish of Rohatyn, which he soon renounced, however, to devote himself entirely to his official duties in Lemberg, a number of whose noble families owe to Skarga their return to the mother church.

In 1569 Skarga went to Rome, joined the Jesuit order and was appointed by Pius V Grand Penitentiary at St. Peters, especially for those of the Polish race. Two years later he returned to Poland and officiated as preacher, first in Pultusk, and from 1573 on in the Jesuit college at Wilna. When Stephen Bathori founded a new Jesuit college at Polock (Polotzk) in 1580, Skarga was the first rector of the institution. In 1584 he was transferred to Cracow as Superior of the Jesuit residence ad Sanctam Barbaram. Here he was tireless in his labors in the confessional and the pulpit and regained many dissidents for the Catholic Church. For the assistance of those too proud to beg when poor and ill, he founded in 1584 the Brotherhood of Mercy (Bractwo milosierdzia), and at the same time established the "pious bank" (Bank pobożny) which was to lend money without interest to the needy on the receipt of a pledge or pawn. Nor did he forget the daughters of respectable but impoverished families, for whom he founded the "Arca Sancti Nicolai" (Skrzynka Sw. Mikolaja), in order to furnish them with a suitable dowery. Thus the social reformer Skarga was a true philanthropist in the best sense of the word. In addition to this his services toward the accomplishment of the union of the Ruthenian Church with the Roman were incontestably of the greatest value.

This extraordinarily active man was also very busy with his pen. The writings of Skarga, some forty in number, may be classed as dogmatic-polemical, historical, homiletic and ascetic. The most important are *Pro Sacratissima Eucharistia contra hæresim Zwinglianam*; *Artes duodecim Sacramentariorum*; *Upon the Unity of the Church* (in Polish, this was burned by disunionists): *Contra Thraenos et Lamentationes Theophili Orthologi, ad Ruthenos Græci*

religionis cautela; Confusio Arianorum; Confusio secunda Arianorum; and Messias novorum Arianorum. The last three works combated Socinianism which had found a refuge in Poland. During his life there were printed nine editions of his *Lives of the Saints*, written in popular style, and the book is still much read among the Polish masses. His *Sermons for Sundays and Holidays* continue to be regarded as models of pulpit eloquence. All of Skarga's writings are very valuable even to-day, for they have had a very great influence on the development of the Polish language, and they contain exceedingly important contributions to the contemporary political history of Poland. This so great Catholic and priest was at the same time a great patriot, full of genuine love for the whole Polish people, for all estates without distinction, for his beloved fatherland.

In January of 1588 King Zygmunt III made Skarga his court preacher in which office he remained active up to shortly before his death in 1612. His *Sermons for the Diet*, which occupy the first rank in point of oratorial style, reveal most clearly and well his genius and bear witness to his patriotism. We should like to acquaint our readers briefly with the contents of these *Sermons for the Diet* since they cast much light upon the political and religious conditions obtaining in Poland at that time.

When Skarga undertook the office of court preacher Poland was a world power, and this fact brought down much misery and misfortune upon this kingdom. We cannot regard the foreign policy of Zygmunt III, of the house of Wasa, as fortunate, it seems to us to-day an uninterrupted chain of endless political mistakes, which entangled Poland in useless wars with other peoples without the slightest advantage to the country. In addition to this the king was headstrong, arrogant, suspicious and amenable to no counsel. Conditions ruling in the interior of the country were no better, the Reformation and the religious strife resulting from it weakened to a very great degree the national life, the power of the state and of the king, national unity and love of country. Such conditions could not but destroy Poland, but unfortunately the majority of the people refused to recognize this wretched state of affairs and even asserted that the kingdom existed through disorder, "*Nierzadem Rzeczpospolita stoi.*" In order to rescue Poland from certain destruction, swift measures had to be taken to relieve existing conditions. The man who undertook this burden was Skarga. Without flattery but with apostolic freedom he declared to king and nobles the Christian truths and principles and pointed out to the Estates of the Realm

the fruits which their actions would mature. This took place especially at the sessions of the Diet and thus his *Sermons for the Diet* came into being. To them, possibly, he owes his cognomen, Skarga, a word which means "accusation," "complaint."

There are eight of these sermons preserved in writing by Skarga and the question arises, When and where were these really delivered? We learn from the Dominican Birkowski that Skarga preached at eighteen diets, and this assertion gave rise to the belief that the sermons which have come down to us were held at different times and at different diets. In course of time the view prevailed that Skarga delivered all at the "Sejm" of 1592 and it was reserved for later and critical historical investigations to bring scholars to the conviction that they had been held at Warsaw in 1597 in the presence of the king and the assembled Estates. Warsaw was the capital of the Polish kings from 1596 on, and Skarga delivered the sermons in the cathedral church of St. John. For the view last expressed the sermons themselves are evidence. It is easy to refute the argument that he would not have had time enough to deliver them at this diet which lasted from the tenth of February to the twenty-fourth of March. At the opening of the *Sejm* Skarga held his first sermon, the next ones on the following Sundays and on St. Matthias day, the last on the twenty-third of March. In any event the opinion that they were delivered in 1597 is to-day almost universally recognized as historically certain.

Let us now hear what this humble priest and monk announced to these haughty, headstrong, uncontrollable men. Every one of us would think the preacher must have been a good flatterer if he desired to get a hearing from such people, but just the contrary was the fact, he demanded repentance and conversion from king and estates and publicly reproached them with sins committed against God and Fatherland, yes, he even threatened them with the destruction and ruin of their country if they did not improve their conduct. That is the substance of the sermons for the diet. Charles Henry Wachtel, who is well known to the Poles as author and poet, has very cleverly excerpted and arranged their most beautiful and powerful passages. The reader who knows Polish can obtain these selections in the *Jednodniówka*, published on the twenty-ninth of September, 1912, in memory of the three-hundredth anniversary of the day of Skarga's death, a very small number of which may be still procured from the *Dziennik Chicagowski*, or "Polish Daily News." It would be a praiseworthy task for some one to translate

this article of Mr. Wachtel into English. In lieu of it our readers will have a short résumé of the Diet Sermons of Skarga.

As has been stated, Skarga delivered the sermons in 1597 before the session of the Diet which was a complete failure. It was opened on Monday, February 10, with the mass in the cathedral church of St. John at Warsaw. From 1588 on, Skarga had been preaching regularly before each diet and was in this way compelled to be a witness of the ever more and more increasing anarchy in Poland. Voices were heard on various sides saying: "We are headed for ruin!" Even before Skarga there were people who foresaw the danger threatening Poland and directed the attention of the Polish government to this by pamphlets, sermons and speeches. This condition of affairs reached its culmination in 1597 and fixed Skarga's determination to deliver his sermons. Let us make a brief survey of the causes of this growing anarchy.

In all candor we must acknowledge the introduction of the Reformation into Poland as the first cause of confusion. Incessant riots against those of the opposite faith, started by Catholics as well as Protestants, partisan religious writings diffusing mutual hatred, and other reasons made a unified national life simply impossible. Zygmunt did not know how to win the confidence of the dissidents, nor was he esteemed or much of a favorite with the Catholics. The *szlachta*, or nobility, did not like him because of his devotion to alchemy, painting, goldsmithing and lath-turning and passionate fondness for ball playing. The masses disliked his marriage with the Austrian princess. The king's efforts toward absolute rulership deprived him of the sympathies of the party of the chancellor, Jan Zamojski, indubitably one of the greatest politicians and statesmen of Poland. The chancellor did not like the House of Habsburg, and the king based his policy on an alliance with the kaiser. The diets were another source of confusion. The diet was the ruling power. From 1572 on we notice that everything was consistently done to weaken the authority of the diet. The provincial diets, or *Sejmiki*, wished to assume all the powers of government, to have the last word in all affairs of state, and to seize the control of courts, financial administration and even of the army. In 1591 this hangman's work was completed and the death-blow given to the Diet, for after eight weeks the provincial diets were to be held, in the possession of powers, which gave the decrees of the royal diet entirely into the hands of this convention.

It is in order to give a few facts to show how matters went in the royal diets. An electoral reform was proposed in the year

1589, but the proposal was not accepted. In the year 1590 a poll tax was adopted in order to raise money in case of war with the Turks. This law was declared null and void by the provincial diet in Kolo. But later on the worst was yet to come in this whole affair: the royal diet, opened in 1590, confirmed the statutes of the provincial diet at Kolo! Things were no better at the diet of 1592: here it came to open blows between the party of the king and that of the chancellor Jan Zamojski. The king abased himself even to such a degree that he lost all regard in the eyes of the whole *Szlachta*. The "chancellorists" were not even willing to kiss the king's hand! On November 25, 1592, the father of the Polish king died and Zygmunt was compelled to depart for Sweden in order to be crowned there as king of Sweden. The royal diet also had to give its consent to the trip of the king. The Sejm was opened on the fourth of May with a dispute as to who was really marshal (*marszałek*) of the diet. It took more than ten days before they hit upon the "corresponding" person in Danilowicz, a young man who had scarcely left school. Not until the last day was permission granted to the king to proceed on his journey to Sweden. The diet of 1595, where the question of joining the league against the Turks, formed by Emperor Rudolf and other princes, was at issue, also failed of results, for the matter of joining the league was referred to an extraordinary diet. Matters were still better at the diet of 1596, at which we find deputies chosen unlawfully or through violence. *Propter bonum pacis* ("for the sake of peace") these gentlemen were allowed to take part in the sessions of the body which quarreled about trifles during its whole session and left the Sejm without results.

For all these reasons Skarga regarded it as his sacred duty to save his dear country at any price and to warn his erring countrymen of mistakes which were ruining them. Poland was threatened with war by Turks, Wallachians and particularly by the Tartars, the last named sending an embassy to the diet which demanded satisfaction for the injuries and rapine suffered by them at the hands of the Cossacks. Hence the situation of Poland at this time was not at all favorable. At the opening of the diet of 1597 we see Skarga in the pulpit, and the text of his first sermon were the words from the Epistle of St. James i. 5. "Ye have come together here in the name of the Lord," so the preacher declares it to be the purpose of the assembling of the deputies, "to prevent the danger threatening the crown, to support the tottering fabric of the state, to repair injuries, to heal wounds, to join anew what had fallen

apart, and as chiefs of your people, as watchmen of the sleeping, as leaders of the ignorant and beacon of those sitting in the dark, as fathers of simple children, to take counsel for their welfare." In order to perform this office conscientiously, one needs an unusual dose of wisdom, at least in these so difficult times. A multitude of dangers threaten the dear country, there is no unity in the country, no reciprocal love, no trust, envy is everywhere rampant, people cheat each other, there is no lack of troublemakers and grumblers, decency and order are absolutely non-existent, selfishness is the moving spirit of the entire public life, the diets pass their time without results and in addition, the worst thing is the fact that the danger of war with the Tatars and Turks threatens the land. To this disunion of the political nature there has been added as a source of various disorders and distractions, religious discord, which is the source of the decay of kingdoms in accordance with the declaration of the Lord in Luke xi. 17. All these misdeeds are committed under the cloak of noble freedom, appealing to the privileges of the *Szlachta* (the nobility). As the preacher ironically exclaims, "Isn't that a beautiful liberty which is distinguished for obstinacy and immorality, thanks to which, the strong oppress the weaker, transgress and do violence to the laws of God and man, refuse to accept punishment from the king or any other office, and all are without decency and without leaders like the children of Belial!! You know I am speaking only of what all men see." He warns them that they need much wisdom in order to devise the necessary means for the abolishment of these abuses. But there are two kinds of wisdom, one gained by experience and one the gift of God. He demands that those presents shall derive every advantage from homely good sense, and where this is not sufficient, that they shall implore God to reveal his Divine Wisdom.

The subject of the next discourse was love of country. As his text he chose John xv. 12 and xiv. 27, "There is nothing permanent under the sun" (Ecclesiastes ii. 11). "Not alone houses and families pass away, but also kingdoms and monarchies and one people succeeds another. Every people which perishes owes this fate to its political ills, which it did not cure in time. Poland suffers from six such ills, of which unfavorableness to the country (*nieżyczliwość*) is the first. "External dangers such as war and spoliation by hostile neighbors can be easily withstood if the internal ills of the country are cured, for how shall a sick man defend himself if he cannot even stand on his own feet? Therefore before all else heal your sick mother, our dear country!"

In lofty words the preacher declares to his hearers that it is God's will and law to love their country. We shall love our fatherland because we owe to it the greatest blessings of this temporary world. Our country in the full sense of the word is our mother, it has given us all manner of blessings and presents; to it we owe the Catholic faith, the beautiful golden liberty of not having as a people to serve tyrants, property and wealth,—yes all are well-to-do, only our mother alone of all is poor. "O dearest Mother, thy children are in a riot of gluttonous living, putting their property to bad use, it serves them only for sin, immorality, profligacy, vanity! This mother, our country, gave us life in peace, martial glory and the respect of all peoples, our king is honored by embassies from the West and the East.... (in the year 1595 from the Empire, the Papacy, Hungary, Transylvania, Moldavia, and others). What more could our mother do for us? Why then should you love her with all your heart, protect her and be ready in case of need to lose everything in order to keep this dear mother sound and alive? By loving your country you love yourself, by abandoning it you commit treason to yourself. The saints loved their country, of which Moses, Samson, Nehemiah, Zerubbabel, Matathias, Judith and Esther are witnesses. Patriotism was foreign not even to the Gentiles. O, my lords, love your country,.... be not selfish and avaricious, seek not your private comfort as of first importance! Is it not first and foremost avarice which renders all sane and wise counsel actually impossible? And more too, one estate oppresses the other." Skarga concludes his second sermon with an appeal to his hearers to cure this malady and act virtuously.

The subject of the third sermon is the second disease of Poland: domestic disunion, for which he drew his text from the words of the Apostle of the Gentiles in 1 Corinthians i. 10. "Unity and Unanimity is a thing willed by God. To this our Lord and Saviour first joined us through his sacred religion. The same faith, the same sacraments, the offering of the same sacrifice, participation in the same communion of the body and of the blood of the Lord, these are the bonds by which the Lord binds us to a unity of faith. But there are also other bonds of a non-religious nature which bind us into the unity of the same country. The same land, one king, the same laws and diets, the same kingdom, all these are bonds which make a unity of us." Skarga regrets that these means to unanimity are either not used at all, or else perversely for the injury of national unity. This lack of national unity brings countless injuries to the people, makes the rescue of the country absolutely

impossible; the realm must lose its freedom in spite of all diets and all counsels. In prophetic mood Skarga cries out to his hearers: "An enemy neighbor will arise, clinging like a rapid growing vine to your disunion, and he will say, 'Your hearts have become divided, now they shall be destroyed.' He will exploit this moment, so fortunate for him, so unfortunate for you. Why, he who wishes you evil is but waiting for this: 'Aha, aha!' he will say, 'let us now destroy them, ye know their foot hath slipped and they can no longer escape us' (Psalm xxxv. 21 etc.). This strife of yours will bring you into captivity, your liberties here will be lost and become a subject of universal mockery, and it will be as the prophet describes in Isaiah xxiv. 2: 'For ye will all groan in the hands of your enemies with what ye possess, subject to those who hate you.' Lands and principalities which have been united to this realm and have become one body, will secede and must disintegrate, and this, thanks to your discord, and yet your hands might be powerful and strong, but terrible to the enemy. . . . Ye will be like a childless widow; ye rulers of other peoples will be an object of scorn and mockery to your enemies. Ye will lose your language. . . . and your nationality. . . . and like other peoples you will change into a foreign people who hate yourselves. You will also be not only without a sovereign of your own blood and the right to elect such an one, but also without a country and kingdom in the true sense of the word: exiles, everywhere in poverty, despised, poor, vagabonds who will be kicked in those very places where you were formerly honored. How then will you acquire a second country, in which you may enjoy such glory, such wealth, treasures and prosperity? Will a second such mother be born to you? If you lose this mother, then you can think of no other.

"You will serve your enemies in hunger, thirst, nakedness, and all possible privations, they will put a yoke of iron upon your necks, for you have not willingly served your Lord and God when you had everything in abundance as it is said in Deuteronomy xxviii. 48. . . . Your strife and contentiousness will bring you to such losses and curses. War and the robber attacks of your hostile neighbors would not ruin you so soon as your wretched dissensions."

After these truly prophetic words which were fulfilled, point by point, the preacher discusses the causes which produced disunion and contention in Poland. Heresies, contempt of royal power, avarice, arrogance and wealth, and in addition mutual jealousies, all united with hypocrisy and sins, conjured upon Poland her greatest misfortune, namely discord. If Poland is not to cease to exist

as a free country, then all must become better, unity and charity must prevail, all must be in reality one body and one soul, in which the different estates conscientiously perform their patriotic duties.

Skarga regards the Catholic religion as the best support for that unity which is so necessary to the Poles. He attempts to show this in his fourth and fifth sermons. When we read such assertions they seem to us educated in a modern age exaggerated, but when we read Poland's history, we must admit the absolute truth of Skarga's assertion that the Protestant Reformation was a real misfortune for Poland. We will omit the proof of this proposition, for it does not come within the scope of this article.

As a text for the fourth sermon, which was probably held on the day of Saint Matthias, Skarga chooses the words of Exodus xix. 6, "Ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and a holy nation." He takes the Jewish people as an example. God freed them from the yoke of the Pharaohs, but he put them under the restraint of His own sacred law. On the first tablet were commandments referring to God, and then on the second those which are necessary for the political existence of a people. Consequently the priesthood is the foundation of kingdoms and the king must act in harmony with the priesthood if order and quiet are to rule in the land. Kings are duty bound to defend religion since they receive their power from God through the priest for Christ has installed a royal priesthood in the New Testament. Besides history shows that all kingdoms have been based and built up on religion. So it was in Poland for six hundred years, now, alas, heresies had come and these most threatened the existence of Poland. Only the Catholic religion is capable of guarding realm and people from decay and destruction.

The preacher elaborates this idea in his fifth sermon, citing 1 Samuel xii. 20 and 21, "Serve the Lord with all your heart and run not after vanities which cannot help you." Unity and concord are a great blessing for any state, and it is the Catholic faith which keeps people best in unity and concord. Heretics are deprived of unity in faith and where there is no unity in faith there can be absolutely no question of its presence in political affairs, for in the case of strife between Catholics it is not difficult to restore peace, because they are accustomed to submit to an umpire in such moments, but with non-Catholics there is not merely lack of unity in faith, but in addition no umpire. According to Skarga's conviction, lack of unity in faith makes true friendship impossible, awakens mutual distrust between citizens, and produces barren strife among children of the same people. To speak plainly, heresy causes a

separation of minds and disunion in the realm and renders the rule of justice impossible. Skarga thinks heretics cannot possibly be sincere and virtuous, since false doctrine knows no true virtues, for only the Catholic religion is capable of making out of men good and honorable citizens who love virtue and their country. Catholics are accustomed to obedience, non-Catholics to the assertion of their obstinacy everywhere. Disobedience is something quite peculiar to them. In conclusion the preacher says that God blesses peoples which increase His honor, and the Almighty generally punishes apostasy by the sword of the heathen.

Criticize this reasoning of Skarga as we may, value his arguments as you please, be even outraged by the fanaticism of the preacher, always remembering that the sixteenth century cannot be judged by our standards, one fact stands out clear: these arguments dictated to Skarga his love of God, of his neighbor, of his people and of his country. "Not sophistry, not cunning argumentation, but deep conviction, dictated these words to Skarga," says Prof. Ignatius Chrzanowski of the University of Cracow, on page 60 of the Preface to his edition of the *Sermons for the Diet*, Warsaw, 1903, Gebethner and Wolff.

A vigorous government is the fourth foundation stone of the state. In Skarga's eyes the best of all forms of government is the monarchy, the *absolutum dominium*. To prove this is the purpose of his sixth sermon. "Constituere nobis regem, ut iudicet nos, sicut et universae habent nationes." 1 Samuel viii. 5, are the words chosen by Skarga for the text of this sermon. "In every body," as he says, "there are two very important members which give life and strength to it, that is to say, heart and head. So it is also in the state where the hierarchy constitutes the heart of the state, while the king is the head. The weal of the state depends on the soundness of these members. But the natural state of the body shows us that in every body only *one* head rules." From this Skarga deduces the necessity of there being the same order in the state and for that reason a monarchy is the best form of government. We find this form of government among the ancient Jews, for God who is also a monarch in the fullest sense of the word has himself so ordained. Even Christ established the monarchical form of government in his Church. History shows us that monarchies have maintained themselves longest in a political sense, as long as they remained monarchies in a strict sense. In Poland, too, the kings were true monarchs in the beginning, it was the priests who interpreted the law of God to the monarchs and in this way guarded rulers from

abuse of their power. Later the limits of royal power were bounded by statutes and laws in order to render it impossible for the monarch to become a tyrant, and to provide sufficient protection for personal safety. But certain persons have nevertheless abused the liberty belonging to them.

Skarga finds three kinds of liberty good and praiseworthy, first, not to serve the devil; second, to be free from the yoke of heathen rulers; and third, to serve no king who is a tyrant. However there is a fourth liberty which is a product of hell, something absolutely devilish, and this consists in acknowledging no authority at all, in not yielding obedience to a legitimate king, and in wanting to weaken the royal power as far as possible. Many abuses contribute in a high degree to the weakening of the royal power, especially disobedience to king and law, the dishonest administration of royal and national estates. The deputies to the diet do not perform their duties and make it simply impossible for king and senate to realize the best plans, those of advantage to the state. "Just see," the preacher reproaches his listeners, "to what turmoil you have come, thanks to your indecent behavior and almost childish, actually ridiculous conduct, into which you allow yourselves to be plunged at the diets."

Next, Skarga assails the choice of deputies: during the times of election the rich and those possessing sufficient boldness do as they please; certain lords even elect themselves; others manage so they are deputies for life; but many manage to have only their own candidates elected. Matters are not better in the assembly of deputies, where quarrels, contention, screaming, tumult and even recourse to arms obtain to such an extent that one must blush for shame if one should tell it to anybody. "Then too, the election of the various officers of the house of deputies is a regular disgrace. The election of marshall of the diet, (*marszałek Sejmu*), lasts for several days, and as I remember, you once quarreled about it for two weeks and a half." Skarga here alludes to the marshall-election of 1593, in which eighteen days of quarreling were spent. (This was the first diet in which Szczensny Herburt of Dobromil introduced the motion that only those resolutions should be legal for which there was the unanimous vote of all members.) At last they elected Danilowicz, a young man who had but just come from school! The whole tendency of these lords was "to manage everything so that the king should have nothing at all to say, and should only be a spectator of how the estate of nobles (*szlachta*) rule through their deputies." "My lords," admonished Skarga, "make no German

free city of the kingdom of Poland! Make no painted holder of an empty honor, as has been done in Venice, for you have not the sense of the Venetians at all, nor do you remain continuously in one and the same city. . . . In states, where all want to share the government, every good counsel is vain, even diets miss their goal. As an illustration of my assertion, let the last few diets serve, which made it absolutely impossible to help this kingdom in its so great and urgent distress!! What shall be the end of this if the diets waste their time without results? Have you any better means to save our country than through the agency of the diet? If not, then tell me why you use this sole means for your own ruin and make of it an object of ridicule and scorn among all foreign peoples. What is the purpose of meeting if you only accomplish discord, strife and tumult? You are down, lost, if God does not have mercy on you, if he shall not incline your hearts to repentance and so change them that you bear in mind not a riotous and false liberty, but your real welfare, the preservation of your health, and the possession of your houses and estates.”—“Yes, but Poland was strong! Curtain lecture! Good for old women, Jesuitical balderdash, that is of a narrow-minded, fanatical ‘heretic-eater’! Crazy talk!” Such were the thoughts of probably the most of his listeners, and they probably made sport of the figure of the humble preacher of penitence, since Poland of course can not possibly fall because “it is so strong!” But history justified the words of the preacher.

Just laws are the best foundation of every state. But *Vae*, to those, as the prophet Isaiah says, x. 1 and 2, “qui condunt leges iniquas: et scribentes, injustitiam scripserunt: Ut opprimerent in judicio pauperes, et vim facerent causae humilium populi mei.” This was the text chosen to bring home to the consciousness of the diet the injustice of the laws prevalent in Poland. After introductory remarks on the various kinds of laws, such as natural, positive, divinely ordained, and canonical, Skarga attempts to show that the best status in the world is where the monarch promulgates the laws for citizens and realm. Without these written statutes no state can exist. But the executive power requires officials and judges. The laws do absolutely no violence to personal liberty, and they must not, otherwise they would cease to be laws. They indicate the way of justice. A true law must be just, advantageous to all, make upright persons and good citizens of subjects, spread the fear of the Lord and defend and advance the honor of God, the welfare of the state and the people. However, laws need persons whose duty it is to see to their proper observance, for without a proper executive

even the best of laws become a dead letter. The transgressors of the law must be punished.

The fifth malady of Poland results from the injustice of a number of laws and the fact that just laws lack executive officials. These are the reasons for the evil condition of Poland: many and terrible sins are committed purely and simply for the reason that such things can be done in Poland with impunity. The preacher takes under his especial protection the country folk who were bound in serfdom to the lords. "I should now like to touch upon the unjust law which makes veritable slaves of poor farmers and free men, Poles, believing Christians and poor subjects, as if these unfortunate people were prisoners of war or purchased *mancipia*. Their masters do what they please with them and with their property and life, and no forum troubles itself about the injustice done these people." Skarga cites the first Christians who restored real slaves to freedom. "We should be ashamed of such a law in sight of the whole Christian world. How shall we be able to appear in the presence of God with our souls stained by such tyrannical injustice? How can we help fearing that the heathen will treat us similarly in punishment for our sins?" Wonderful words from the lips of one living in the sixteenth century, worthy of a Skarga! Professor Chrzanowski is entirely right in adjudging this one of the most beautiful and wisest passages (p. 69 of the preface of his edition of the Diet Sermons).

It would take us too far to describe all that was done in the beginning of the seventeenth century with those who were bound to the land, and how these honest and industrious people were exploited. Skarga was mistaken in asserting that such things could only take place in Poland, for it is a well-known fact that the matter of "manorial bondage" in neighboring Germany was in no wise better. Without fear he urges his hearers, "the headstrong, earthly 'Gods,'" to proceed to an immediate reform of the law, "so that instead of bringing advantage the laws may not cause great damage." God himself has changed his laws when it was necessary, as can be proven by the Old Testament. Besides there is no tyrant as cruel as a bad law and amelioration is the most sacred duty of every intelligent being, since only the fool voluntarily remains in filth and perishes of his own fault.

The eighth and last sermon, delivered on the twenty-third of March, is the most wonderful and was especially distinguished for its prophetic character. It is a recapitulation of the sins treated in the previous discourses, followed by a prophecy of the future fate

of Poland with a demand for repentance. There is not the slightest doubt that other prominent men foresaw the downfall of Poland. Krzycki, Modrzewski, Kromer, Stanislaus Gorski, Solikowski, Rej and a host of others repeated in other words and in other form the words of Orzechowski: "If you were to cut my heart to pieces, you would find in it only the words: we are ruined, we perish." The greatest Catholic and Protestant preachers of that century, men like Clement Ramult, Malcher of Moscisk, Luke of Lemberg, Gregory of Tarnowiec and also the poet John Kochanowski; two of the most famous preachers of Poland, Sokolowski and Powodowski, preached along these lines before Skarga, but neither of these latter, if I may express my personal conviction, knew how to bring home to his hearers that love of God and love of country belong together and constitute two essential components of the law of God as given to us. Professor Chrzanowski's statement on page 107 rightly cites with approval the assertion of Mickiewicz that Skarga was the creator of political pulpit eloquence, of which the sermons of Sokolowski and Powodowski were the forerunners.

It is certainly no exaggeration, nor overestimate, to regard the eighth sermon as unique of its kind. We feel tempted to translate the whole of it so that the reader may gain a clear conception of the powerful, exalted, patriotic and prophetic figure of the man Skarga, who was absolute devotion to God's will. Citing the apocryphal Ecclesiasticus x. 8: "The kingly power is transferred from people to people on account of unjust doings, injuries, insults and various deceits," he treats the sixth malady of Poland, namely public sins, "which cry aloud to God for vengeance," which so stain the earth that it wants to devour the malefactors as the Prophet Isaiah says: "The earth is infected from its inhabitants, because they have broken the laws, upset right, cast to the winds the eternal covenant; on account of this a curse will devour the earth. . . ." (Isaiah v. 5, 6). Continuing with the quotation of verses 8-10 of chapter xxiv, Skarga thunders, "The bad part of the whole business is that such sins are allowed to go unpunished in Poland, therefore, I, your unworthy and humble prophet, will to-day express my sentiments to you roundly on the wrongs, deceits, calumnies and treason in which this kingdom and its citizens have involved themselves, unwilling to abandon them for a better life: sins for which the earth will throw you out and God will people it with different people. . . . He will give it to your enemies, but he will destroy you and your sons, *if you do not become better*, exactly as he did with the seven Canaanitish tribes in the Holy Land" (Deuteronomy ix).

After this brief introduction the preacher assumes the role of the public conscience of the Polish people and enumerates all the crimes committed in the land with impunity and which call to God for vengeance. Among these he denounces the blasphemies of the New Arians and Anti-Trinitarians; the plundering of churches and church property; the entire paralysis of the ecclesiastical execution of the sentences of ecclesiastical courts; the postponement of judgment in cases at law which are subject to the jurisdiction of the Diet, where the oppressed poor, who appealed to the Diet, had to wait years for a verdict and most often lost all their property; unpunished murder and manslaughter; the incessant sufferings of hounded subjects, who are often robbed of all their property by furious landlords who kill their miserable tenants at will and go scot-free in absolute tranquility; conscienceless usury; avarice; luxury and abuse of wealth; the absolute disappearance of mercy and charity, involving the lavish use of money for everything else, but none for national expenses; the unpunished theft of state property and even of doweries and inheritances from orphans, by guardians; and even then Skarga is not through with his catalog.

After this so scathing indictment Skarga laments: "What shall I do with you, wretched kingdom?" But he was too keen a student of men, not to know that the accuser cannot be the judge at the same time, so he sums up the various counts of his indictment in the single sentence, "Who of those observing you . . . could dream of the sacrileges and sins rampant in this land?" and leaves the verdict to the prophet. Full of grief he cries: "Oh, if I were Isaiah, I would go about barefoot and half naked (Isaiah xx. 2) and call to you rakes and lascivious women, to you transgressors of the law of God, 'Thus they will plunder you and you will display your naked calves. . . . (Isaiah xx. 4), when God, the Lord, shall lead enemies down upon your heads and hand you over to this great disgrace' (Isaiah xx. 2-4). Therefore shall this iniquity be to you as a breach that falleth and is found wanting in a high wall. For the destruction thereof shall come of a sudden, when it is not looked for, and it 'shall be broken small, as the potter's vessel is broken all to pieces with mighty breakings: and then there shall not a sherd be found of the pieces thereof, wherein a little fire may be carried, or a little water be drawn out of the pit' (Isaiah xxx. 13, 14). The breaches in the wall of our country are continuously increasing and you answer, 'Nonsense, never mind; Poland exists just on account of anarchy.' And just at the moment when you do not suspect it, she will fall and crush you all."

"Oh, were I Jeremiah, I should bind my feet with bonds and put chains about my neck and proclaim to you sinners, as he proclaimed: Thus they will bind your masters and drive them before them like rams to foreign climes (Jeremiah xxvii, Lamentations 1). I should like to show you a tattered and filthy garment, then I would shake it and when it had become dust I would say to you: so shall your glory depart, dissolve into nothing but dust and with it all your property and riches (Jeremiah xiii). And I would take a 'potter's earthen bottle' (Jeremiah xix. 1) and after I had called you all together I would hurl the bottle against the wall (xix. 10) and say: 'Even so will I break you, thus saith the Lord of hosts; as the potter's vessel is broken which cannot be made whole again' xix. 11)...."

"Oh, were I Ezekiel, I would shear hair and beard and then divide my hair in three. One part I would burn, the second chop fine, but I would scatter the third to the winds (Ezekiel v. 1 and 2), and then declare to you: 'a third part of you shall be consumed with famine, and a third part of you shall fall by the sword; and a third part of you will I scatter into every region of the world' (Ezekiel v. 12). 'And I shall go out of my house neither by the door, nor by the windows, but I will dig through the wall (xii. 5) and really fleeing, I would call to you: so shall it be with you, no castles nor fortresses will have power to protect you, all your enemies will crush you and destroy you.'"

"O were I Jonah, I would go about all the streets and cry out to you: 'Yet forty days, and Nineveh that is your kingdom shall be destroyed' Jonah iii. 4). Have a fear of these warnings! I have, to be sure, not received a divine revelation foretelling your destruction, but I am sent with an errand from God to lay bare to you your misdeeds and to proclaim to you the penalty awaiting you in case you do not repent. Before their fall all kingdoms have had such divine envoys and preachers, who publicly reproached them with their sins and warned them of approaching destruction. So with the Jews before the Babylonian captivity, of which the Holy Scriptures tell us, 'and the Lord, the God of the fathers sent to them, by the hand of his messengers, rising early, and daily admonishing them; because he spared his people and his dwelling place. 'But they mocked the messengers of God [saying, you have been threatening us for so long a time and up to now, thank God, nothing has been fulfilled!] and despised his words, until the wrath of the Lord arose against his people, and there was no remedy.' (2 Chronicles xxxvi. 15 and 16.)"

Skarga distinguishes three kinds of divine warnings. The first is attended by no consequences if people do penance for their sins. The second have serious consequences only for the posterity of those sinning. The third cannot be evaded and are soon carried out because although God foresees the deeds of men bring them certain destruction, He will not change the course of events since He is unwilling to violate human freedom. Thus Jeremiah revealed to his people God's decree for Israel's certain destruction (Jeremiah xviii. 11). "I do not know, my Lords, with what sort of threats God has sent me to you, but this much I do know, that the threatened consequences of one of the three kinds of warnings will certainly strike you. My dear brethren, I wish the first for my people and for my dear country, so that the God of warning may also give you the grace of conversion. . . . so that we may not perish, but that terrified by these warnings we may strive in all our actions and thoughts to be reconciled to God."

The preacher now summons his hearers to penance since God will certainly omit the threatened punishment if we repent. "Therefore let us do penance and return to our Lord and God, and He will heal us. He will wound our hearts with genuine repentance for our sins and heal our wounds as the prophet says: 'He will revive us after two days, on the third day he will raise us up' (Hosea vi. 2). Let the first day be devoted to repentance and confession, the second be a day of improvement and reparation which are essential components of every true penitence, but the third shall be our justification. Who is a God like Thee who takest away iniquity and passest by the sin of the remnant of Thy Christian peoples in the North and of Thy inheritance? Thou wilt send Thy fury in no more because Thou delightest in mercy. Thou wilt turn again and hast mercy on us. Thou wilt put away our iniquities and Thou wilt cast all our sins into the bottom of the sea. Thou wilt perform the truth to us for the sake of Thy beloved Son, Jesus Christ, and His innocently shed blood and His death, who rules with Thee and with Thy Holy Spirit, one God for ever and ever, amen."

And what was the result, what were the fruits of all this so wondrously beautiful, true and extraordinary eloquence, which gripped hearts by powerful words, of these sermons so distinguished for lofty thought and enthusiasm? On Monday, the twenty-fourth of March, the day immediately following the eighth sermon, the Diet had to be dissolved without results. For fifteen years Skarga continued to warn the estates. In the year 1610 he repeatedly urged

everybody to do penance by his tract, composed in Polish, *Summons of the Inhabitants of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to Repentance*. In 1611 he retired to the Jesuit Monastery at Cracow where he died in the odor of sanctity on September 27, 1612, and his body was consigned to rest in the church of St. Peter. His voice died away as of one calling in the wilderness. His voice was heard, but to no avail, people did not repent, which must have caused acute pain to the heart of one who loved God, his country and his people with all his heart. To view deeds which are certain to dig a sure grave for the fatherland cannot but be a never failing source of inexhaustible sorrow for such a soul.

Not only that, but he had to hear that it was not fitting for a priest to interfere in politics. "Yes," Skarga would answer, "he not only interferes, but it is even his duty to interfere, not in financial matters but in such a way that their sins do not ruin the people and that their souls may not perish. Do we not hear the words of God speaking to Jeremiah: 'Lo, I have set thee this day over the nations and over kingdoms, to root up and to waste and to destroy and to pull down [sins and wickedness] and to build up and to plant' reverence, sacred virtues, good works and repentance, so that our kingdom may escape the wrath of God and our politics may not destroy us" (*Invitatio ad poenitentiam*, page 14 and Jeremiah i. 10).

The preface to the first volume of his sermons bears the completest witness to how and what Skarga suffered from those criticisms. He wrote this preface on the first of August 1595, on the festival of "Saint Peter in Chains," addressing Him whose servant he was: "O Lord and Redeemer, I have proclaimed thy message to the Royal Council, the Senate. . . . to the nobility. . . . and to the royal and provincial diets. I have adjured them to yield a common tender and faithful love to their two mothers, the Church of God and their country, lest they perish from their very liberties and conjure down upon their heads the yoke of foreign rulers. Lord, I have urged them to make better laws and to procure a speedier dispensation of justice against horrible sins. . . . I have threatened them with thy anger, O Lord, just as thou hast commanded, with ruin and destruction at the hands of the enemy, with the desolation and surrender of this land to their enemies. I have shown to them the sword of the heathen hanging over their heads . . . so that they may remember their sins which will surely not be passed by unpunished, and rise above them. What more could I do for them, O Lord? Thou knowest I only desired their conver-

sion and salvation. I would gladly sacrifice everything if their welfare and that of the country needed it. . . . I know not how it is that thy message and my implorations are of no avail; rarely does any one repent: heavy labor has already tired the ox, and his labor has not even left a trace in a good harvest. The clever fishes escape thy nets and are not caught. . . . Who then is to blame? for thy judgments, O Lord, are terrible. I perhaps? Am I destroying thy harvest by my fear, despondency, negligence and lack of wisdom? . . . But, O Lord, receive my excuses, the explanations of thy messenger. . . . Pardon me and do not punish, O Lord, I did admonish them and make all manner of daily sacrifices for them; my prayers and implorations in their behalf never ceased. Therefore, O Lord, I beg thee, do not sit in judgment upon me and upon them who hear me. . . . bring it to pass that we walk in thy law and never cease to be thy people that thou remainest our GOD for ever."

History relates how all these prophecies were fulfilled. It was truly not Skarga's fault that his voice was not heard. But he has even to-day a message for all peoples, and to the governments of the present he conveys the lesson that every people or every power that from blind confidence in its strength believes itself given permission to do what it pleases, is headed for ruin as certainly as the former glorious Polish kingdom. As a penalty for decadence Greece fell; for want of self-control and order, Poland; and ancient Rome fell as the result of a policy of ruthless aggression, as Hermann Schell aptly puts it on page 114 of *Christus*, Mainz 1916, "she fell from sheer failure of her powers. It could not be otherwise because all force directed against the outer world produces the ultimate fruit of the despotism of an overman and debases the masses to spiritual slavery. The energy of a ruthless culture of personality destroys its subject, of that, Rome, once mistress of the world, is an example. . . . The cult of selfishness," he says a few lines before, "is the cult of death, the nursing of decay. . . . It is true the civilization of the world flatters the strong and the arrogant, but it calls into being only to destroy from within as well as from without." The wages of sin are always death. Charity, justice, morality and their observance are still to-day the source and the development of an eternal life, of the kingdom of God here on earth.

While Skarga foretold the fall of Poland, he also foresaw the political regeneration of this so glorious realm. The people of Poland really suffered much and terribly after its fall, but it also became thereby morally and religiously, as well as politically and

nationally, strengthened. Therefore let us hope that the prophet Hosea's third day is about to dawn for a new Poland. May Skarga's prophecy be fulfilled and a future Poland become a jewel of West-European culture and civilization. May this future Poland recognize most completely its debt to its Savonarola and, by everywhere forming strong personalities and true spiritual values, produce and increase true life. If this takes place, then Skarga has not lived in vain, and his lofty spirit will be in future the warning voice, the teacher and guardian of his people, which he loved so dearly and for which he would have been so willing a sacrifice. A figure like that of Skarga, Father Peter Semenenko C. R. (1813 to 1886), one of the greatest Polish minds and thinkers, calls to his countrymen, "O Polish People, you have a message from God, God tells you it himself! Do not fear, you do live! . . . Be but true to God and you shall live. Do not believe your own fears when it shall appear that you are dying,—no, you are living, you shall live, yes, you must live! You are immortal since you have a message from God. Just be true, and the truer you are the more quickly will that come to pass which has been told to you." (Page 99 of his Polish work on *God's Ideal in Polish History*, Cracow, 1892.) To which we shall add in conclusion his words from page 32: "For the Lord hath graced Poland with a wreath and aureole of sacrifice and martyrdom—and thus consecrated and chosen her as his servant."

HEBREW EDUCATION IN SCHOOL AND SOCIETY.

BY FLETCHER H. SWIFT.

II. WOMAN AND THE EDUCATION OF GIRLS.

"House and riches are an inheritance from fathers:
But a prudent wife is from Jehovah."—Proverbs xix, 14.

"A worthy woman who can find?
For her price is far above rubies."—Proverbs xxxi. 10.

THAT woman held a relatively higher status in earlier than in later times seems evident from the custom, then in vogue, of tracing the descent through the mother⁸⁵ and from the part played in public affairs by such women as Deborah,⁸⁶ Jael,⁸⁷ by the "wise woman"

⁸⁵ The descent of Esau's children is traced through their mothers, Gen. xxxvi. Abraham married Sarah the daughter of his father, but not of his mother.

⁸⁶ Judges iv and v.

⁸⁷ Judges iv. 18-24.

of Tekoa⁸⁸ and by the wise woman of Abel.⁸⁹ But even in the period of nomadism woman was distinctly a chattel and a servant, first of her father and then of her husband who bought her from her father. Progress in civilization which brought an ever enlarging intellectual sphere to man confined woman more and more to narrow fields of religious and domestic duties, and in each of these fields placed upon her restrictions which stamped her as man's religious, intellectual and social inferior.

It is impossible to say when these restrictions began. Some of them probably date back to tribal days and customs. Among the most conspicuous restrictions of later times were those debarring women from wearing the phylacteries, from reciting the shema, from entering the main space of the synagogue.⁹⁰ Any consideration of the religious restrictions and privileges of women must take into account the principle which finds later development in the Talmud that women are excused from fulfilling all positive commandments the fulfilment of which depends on a fixed time or season. The reason for the exemption is obvious. Woman, on account of domestic and physical conditions, would at certain times, be incapacitated for performing rites the observance of which is dependent upon a particular time.

Peritz maintains that these restrictions were distinctly a later development. He writes: "The Hebrews. . . in the earlier periods of their history, exhibit no tendency to discriminate between man and woman so far as regards participation in religious practices, but woman participates in all the essentials of the cult, both as worshiper and official; only in later time, with the progress in the development of the cult itself, a tendency appears, not so much, however, to exclude woman from the cult, as rather to make man prominent in it."⁹¹

Even if Peritz's view be accepted, the fact remains that in the home as well as in the synagogue the position of woman was a subordinate one. The father was given the chief place in religious services and rites. The training and instruction of the sons from their earliest years were in his hands. The mother might assist in the education of the sons but only as a subordinate; her primary

⁸⁸ 2 Samuel xiv. 1-23.

⁸⁹ 2 Samuel xx. 16-22.

⁹⁰ Carl H. Cornill, *The Culture of Ancient Israel*, p. 99.

⁹¹ I. J. Peritz, "Woman in the Ancient Hebrew Cult," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XVII, 114d. Peritz opposes the commonly accepted views of Stade, Benziger, Nowack and others. It is doubtful whether the evidence he presents will be considered convincing at all points.

duties were the education of the members of the inferior sex, her daughters, and the care of her household.

Daughters were less esteemed and less welcome than sons: "In the Talmud we find three times the saying: 'Well to him whose children are boys, woe to him whose children are girls.' In the Old Testament there is nothing like this directly expressed, but without doubt this is what the Israelite of old thought."⁹²

It must not be supposed, however, that love and respect were lacking. Many passages reveal the love and tenderness in which wife and mother were held. A loving wife is declared to be a gift from Yahweh,⁹³ and a worthy woman is more precious than rubies.⁹⁴ To express the highest degree of sadness the poet writes, "I bowed down mourning, as one that bewaileth his mother."⁹⁵

The following extract from Proverbs xxxi contains the most complete formulation of the ancient Hebrew ideal of womanhood.⁹⁶

"A worthy woman who can find?
For her price is far above rubies.

"The heart of her husband trusteth in her,
And he shall have no lack of gain.

"She doeth him good and not evil
All the days of her life.

"She seeketh wool and flax
And worketh willingly with her hands.

"She is like the merchant-ships;
She bringeth her food from afar.

"She riseth also while it is yet night,
And giveth food to her household,
And their task to her maidens.

"She considereth a field, and buyeth it:
With the fruit of her hands she planteth a vineyard.

"She girdeth her loins with strength,
And maketh strong her arms.

"She perceiveth that her merchandise is profitable;
Her lamp goeth not out by night.

"She layeth her hands to the distaff,
And her hands hold the spindle.

⁹² C. H. Cornill, *The Culture of Ancient Israel*, p. 97a.

⁹³ Proverbs xix. 14.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, xxxi. 10.

⁹⁵ Psalms xxxv. 14; C. H. Cornill, *The Culture of Ancient Israel*, p. 93.

⁹⁶ Proverbs xxxi. 10-31.

"She spreadeth out her hand to the poor;
Yea, she reacheth forth her hands to the needy.

"She is not afraid of the snow for her household;
For all her household are clothed with scarlet.

"She maketh for herself carpets of tapestry;
Her clothing is fine linen and purple.

"Her husband is known in the gates,
When he sitteth among the elders of the land.

"She maketh linen garments and selleth them;"
And delivereth girdles unto the merchant.

"Strength and dignity are her clothing;
And she laugheth at the time to come.

"She openeth her mouth with wisdom;
And the law of kindness is on her tongue.

"She looketh well to the ways of her household,
And eateth not the bread of idleness.

"Her children rise up, and call her blessed;
Her husband *also*, and he praiseth her, *saying*:

"Many daughters have done worthily,
But thou excellest them all.

"Grace is deceitful, and beauty is vain:
But a woman that feareth Jehovah, she shall be praised.

"Give her of the fruit of her hands;
And let her works praise her in the gates."

In the above passage, the home is represented as woman's highest sphere. There is not the slightest hint of the recognition of any need for higher intellectual development. This is all the more significant as the passage belongs to the Greek period. The most extolled virtues of the woman here described are piety, mercy, industry, foresight, thrift, sound practical judgment and devotion to her husband's interests. She spins and weaves wool, linen, silk and tapestry. She carries on commercial enterprises such as buying a field and selling linen garments. She superintends her household and is devout in the performance of her religious duties.

The home was *par excellence* the institution where girls received their education. The schools, elementary and higher, were open to boys and men only. In some instances girls may have received advanced instruction through private lessons given in the home, but if such cases occurred at all they were undoubtedly rare. Festivals,

the temple and the synagogue were the chief institutions which exerted an educative influence upon girls and women outside the home. Although women were not counted as members of the synagogue and were not permitted to lead in any of its services, nevertheless they were zealous attendants at its services. Many recorded incidents bear witness to the familiarity of the Jewish women with the Scriptures. The term *mater synagogae* appear as a title of honor beside the term *pater synagogae* among inscriptions found in southern Italy.⁹⁷

Woman's chief functions were to honor God, care for her home, train her children, serve and please her husband. The aim of girls' education was to produce efficient and industrious homemakers, obedient, virtuous, godfearing wives and daughters. The details of girls' education varied from generation to generation with changes in habitat, modes of living, social and religious institutions and laws, but the principles determining its scope and limits were to a large extent unchanging. From earliest times it included domestic duties, music, dancing, industrial occupations, religion, manners, and morals. The importance of many of these activities and the nature and method of the instruction and training has been sufficiently set forth in preceding paragraphs to make any further presentation here unnecessary. The sex division of labor and the exclusion of women from many religious duties and responsibilities resulted in many differences in the education of boys and girls. The domestic and industrial occupations of girls and women included cooking, spinning, weaving, dyeing, caring for flocks, guarding vineyards, gathering harvests, grinding grain, caring for children and managing slaves.

Later times added in some cases at least reading, writing and enough knowledge of reckoning, weights, measures and money to enable the prospective wife to carry on the business of her household. It is impossible to state how early and to what extent a knowledge of the three R's became prevalent. The fact that Queen Jezebel is stated to have written letters in Ahab's name to the elders of Naboth's village⁹⁸ might seem an argument for a knowledge of these arts by the women of the monarchical period. But as has already been pointed out, Jezebel may have employed a scribe, and the facts that she was a queen and that she was a foreigner, a Phoenician, forbid any general inferences.

⁹⁷ W. Bacher, "Synagogue," *Hasting's Bible Dictionary*, IV, 640b.

⁹⁸ 1 Kings xxi. 8.

MISCELLANEOUS.

MORALITY BY REGULATION.

IN ANSWER TO C. E. SPARKS.

One of the characteristics of fanaticism is exaggeration. Without knowing it I should not hesitate to say that the author of the article "Religious Education in the Public Schools," is also an enthusiastic Prohibitionist. In his article he displays many of the peculiar earmarks of that amiable body. For instance, the Prohibitionists say a person who drinks is of the scum of the earth. Yet all the great men in American history from Washington to the present were drinking men excepting, of course, such very great men as Rutherford B. Hayes and the distinguished ex-secretary of state from Nebraska.

In line with the Prohibitionists' attitude let me quote from his article as follows: "Some have thought it possible to teach morals apart from religion. Such attempts have proven failures. Now it is almost universally recognized that there is such a vital relation between morals and religion that the two cannot be separated."

Here is a typical exaggeration born of a fanatical turn of mind. Could Mr. Sparks furnish any proof of the failures? Have we any reason to be ashamed of the morality of the American people? Do we not measure up to the highest national standard? Yet we have never taught religious morality in our schools. Such a crass and sweeping condemnation is the height of arrogance and a gratuitous insult to American civilization.

This is like the Prohibitionists' claim that we are a besotted nation and although we have developed the highest civilization the world has ever known, and in a little over a hundred years, the United States has become the richest, the most powerful, the most influential and best Christianized nation in the world. Can a besotted, rum-drinking, beer-guzzling, whiskey-boozing nation do what we have done and are doing right now in this war? But the voice of history means no more to the Prohibitionist than it does to Mr. Sparks.

His religious morality is the panacea for all national ills, just as prohibition is the cure-all for every national disorder from prisons to alms-houses.

Another characteristic of the fanatic is the *a priori* assumption of all facts necessary to prove the subject under consideration. Thus Mr. Sparks, to prove his theory, at least four times in his interesting article reiterates the assertion in variant forms that "the people are demanding in no uncertain terms that it (the public school) perform the work (religious teaching) that has been entrusted to it." The author assumes, because he is of that mind himself, that all other persons whose opinions amount to anything, agree with him that religious training should be a part of public school teaching. He takes for granted since he is himself cock sure right, that the rest of the people are of the same mind. As he thinks so the world thinks, as the world should think in order to fall in with him and his ideas, so it is promptly assumed it does think. As a matter of fact the number of persons who want religious training in public schools is still a safe minority, and the proof of this is that religious

training in public schools is not yet an accomplished fact. The clamor of this minority is not heard, and if heard it is borne with as a nuisance but no heed is given to it.

The Prohibitionist is going to bring on the millennium ahead of God's purpose. By Mr. Sparks's methods all men and women will live "lives of spotless purity, being honest and truthful in all their relations with their fellow-men, and being clean and honorable in thought as well as in word and deed." One cannot say much more about the Son of God, and few men not of the Sparks's order of the *genus homo* ever expect to attain such absolute perfection.

The author speaks of the Decalogue and the Sermon on the Mount as all sufficient for the purpose of religious teaching in public schools. The content of the Decalogue is incorporated in every one of the seven world religions extant to-day, and the Sermon on the Mount would not be acceptable either to the Jew or the free thinking Gentile. Moreover, I must take issue with the assumption that the Bible is the fountain head of all moral law and that, therefore, Bible morality should be taught in public schools. There are stories in the Bible which are not fit for young minds to read, and which it must embarrass the male teacher to teach a mixed class of young men and young women. There are aspects of the moral law in the Bible which if applied and followed to-day would make of us a nation of liars, murderers, thieves, polygamists and adulterers.

As a tax-payer I should strenuously object to have any of my money spent on Bible-made morality. Of course, this is only a personal view point and need not be heeded, for it will not influence Mr. Sparks or those who think as he does.

He speaks truly when he says "the jealousy of the religious bodies toward each other has a tendency to arouse suspicion toward any proposal emanating from one of them." This is a sad arraignment of the morality to be gleaned from religious bodies who, drawing their own morality from the same Bible, look upon each other's special brand with suspicion. It is just this jealousy that kept God out of the Constitution of the United States.

If these religious bodies grow jealous of each other as soon as their conflicting moralities come in contact with each other what kind of religious morality shall we get in the public schools? If these religious bodies cannot agree as to the real simon-pure morality how will the authorities arrive at a satisfactory selection? The author opposes sectarian morality but approves religious morality. What is the difference between the two? Is not religious morality *ipso facto* sectarian? If he means by morality that general line of conduct which when followed will produce the greatest good to the greatest number, and called by the nineteenth century moralists the utilitarian, than I have no objection to its introduction into our schools. That kind of morality is known as ethics and may well be taught in schools or homes with profit to both teacher and pupil.

What the author and his co-religionists want and dare not openly demand is an hour a day devoted to Bible study and to catechism just as is done in the public schools of Germany. Nothing labelled "made in Germany" is likely to be very popular to-day, however unjust such a sweeping condemnation may be in fact.

One of the principles which helped to make this nation great is the separation of Church and State. In this European nations have slowly but surely

joined in the procession, and whenever the change was made liberty thrived and civilization advanced. Let us not be lured into a fool's paradise. Religious training in public schools is not any more the great panacea for all shortcomings than prohibition is the solution of all our problems in criminology.

Let those who cannot behave properly without the sanction of the Bible law stick to the Bible and become and stay good by the fear of hell and the lure of heaven; and let those who can be and remain law-abiding citizens by any other means have their choice of moral compulsion.

The following is of a kind with the rest of the author's extraordinary reasoning: "Knowledge of the laws of God and a reverent respect for His authority makes it necessary for the rights of others to be enforced through the agency of the policeman's club." There never was a religion known, not even that of Mohammed, in the promulgation of which so much gray matter was exhausted, so large an amount of good paper was used, and such vast stores of money were spent as there were in the one which, according to the author's tacit suggestion, represents better than any other religion the laws of God. And yet has there ever been a moment since the world tragedy on Calvary when we were able to dispense with the policeman's club? And does the author really think religious training in public schools will make of that useful weapon a mere ornament, and the policeman's job a jolly sinecure? In this we see again the twist peculiar to all forms of fanaticism. The Prohibitionist proclaims loudly that drink is the great curse of the world, that it disintegrates the human brain, degrades moral fibre and destroys the human soul. And yet what great nation from Babylon to our own did ever a prohibitionist nation create? Was there ever a nation without strong drink? It is this same sort of mind that arrogates to religious training in public schools the power to exterminate the law breaker and abolish the useful policeman's stick.

If I were suggesting an improvement for our public school system I should advocate a special course in will culture. The will is as much a function of the brain as is memory, perception, etc. We develop all these by scientifically selected studies but not a thing is done to develop and strengthen the human will. My idea of a well-regulated mental machine is this: When reason says a thing should be done the will must instantly respond by doing it. If a temptation is to be overcome because reason says it should be, the trained will immediately enters upon whatever action is necessary or stops a tendency to do in inaction. Will training is no more part of religious training than baseball is of Euclid. One does not need Bible texts to develop memory if one prefers some other instrumentality, nor does one need the Decalogue to teach the will that it is unwise and therefore wrong to steal a neighbor's property. We neglect will training entirely and substitute religion and prayer to help us overcome temptation. We are taught to pray "lead us not into temptation," thereby confessing our weak wills to resist. If our wills were in good working order and reason were functioning properly, we should not need to look for external help to keep us out of mischief. It is a confession of mental weakness to look for a God to keep us out of jail. Reason plus will are a safer combination than faith and prayer. Our religious friends want us to continue children even though we are old and gray, and as such we must continue to move about in this world and at the end of leading strings. Religious training may have been necessary before man discovered that he had the faculties of

will and reason under his hair. But now that he knows he possesses these two mighty powers for good it is only necessary to teach him how to use them and religious training will cease to be necessary.

In the last analysis a strong, well-regulated will that can master passion at command is a safer reliance than faith in prayer, for external help may not arrive until the mischief is done, and more prayer and a lot of repentance are necessary to restore the mental equilibrium. And is not a sense of forgiveness a sort of auto-hypnotism due to the anguish consequent on a wrong done? We say after shedding penitential tears and getting our hearts full of the right kind of contrition that God has forgiven us. What actually happens is that we have forgiven ourselves and by saying, "we will go forth and sin no more," get back the lost mental poise.

That may or may not be so but this much I know, I congratulate the American people that Mr. Sparks has worked out "A Tentative Plan" in such hopeless unworkableness that there is no danger of it ever being adopted by anybody with any sense of proportion left in his head.

And therein lies the great joy in Mr. Sparks's article.

ARTHUR J. WESTERMAYR.

BOOK REVIEW.

PLATONISM. By *Paul Elmer More*. Princeton University Press: Princeton, 1917. Pp. 307. Price \$1.75 net.

Paul Elmer More has written a book on *Platonism*, in which he concentrates himself on the ethical significance which dominates all of Plato's discussions and may be regarded as the mainspring of his philosophy. Though our author thinks that "for the present at least, the dogmas of religion have lost their hold, while the current philosophy of the schools has become in large measure a quibbling of specialists on technical points of minor importance, or, where serious, too commonly has surrendered to that flattery of the instinctive elements of human nature which is the very negation of mental and moral discipline," he presents his views on Plato because he trusts that "only through the centralizing force of religious faith or through its equivalent in philosophy can the intellectual life regain its meaning and authority for earnest men.

He bears in mind that Plato formed the origins and the early environment of Christianity, and in this spirit he offers to the reading public his book.

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