

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. XXX. (No. 3)

MARCH, 1916.

NO. 718

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OR

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By **GEORG CANTOR**

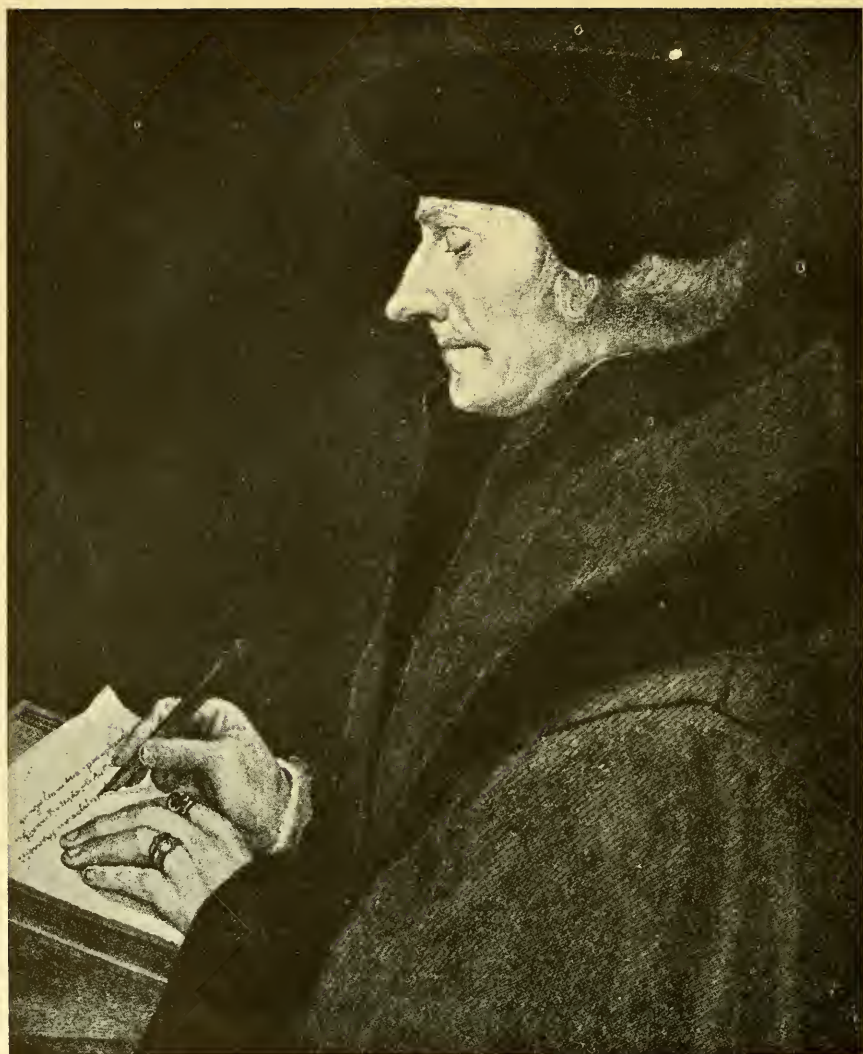
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ERASMUS.
(After a painting by Holbein.)

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THE FOUR-HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PUBLICATION OF THE FIRST GREEK NEW TESTAMENT.

BY BERNHARD PICK.

INTRODUCTORY.

THESE pages are intended to remind the reader of a work the publication of which, four hundred years ago, was of great consequence. We mean the Greek New Testament edited by Desiderius Erasmus and published by John Froben of Basel. The publication of this work one year before the Reformation was timely, and its sale was so remarkable that within twenty years five editions were issued by Erasmus. His second edition was used by Luther in his confinement at the Wartburg, where he made his German translation, whereas the first three editions formed the basis for William Tyndale's English version. The significance of both these translations need only be suggested.

We are concerned here with the first edition of Erasmus's New Testament, a copy of which in the Library of the Union Theological Seminary was kindly put at my disposal. In examining the text of this edition I confined myself mostly to such readings as are found in the Authorized Version but are objected to by modern critics.

The work of examining the text was no easy task, in spite of the otherwise beautiful print. Leaving aside the ligatures which one usually meets with in old Greek books but to which one gets easily accustomed, the examination is made difficult because the text is printed in a continuous manner without any division.¹ It

¹A versicular division was first introduced by Robert Stephens into his edition of 1551.

is true that the Latin translation accompanying the Greek text has in the margin the number of the chapters in Roman letters. But, considering the haste with which this first edition was prepared, even these numbers are often wanting, and thus a collation becomes difficult, not to say tiresome.

The reason why we have only considered such readings as are omitted by the revisers or objected to by modern critics, is to show how much the text of Erasmus influenced the so-called *textus receptus*, the basis of the Authorized Version. From our collation, for which we also examined five different editions besides the Erasmian text, it will also be seen that modern writers are not at all agreed as yet as to the rejection or retention of a reading. Thus, to the high praise which the late Prof. Philip Schaff (*Introduction to the Revised Greek-English New Testament*, New York, Harper and Bros.) bestowed upon the text of the Greek New Testament edited by Westcott and Hort, when he calls it the oldest and purest text of all editions (*hic habes textum omnium editionum anti-quissimum et purissimum*), we must now add the opinion of another critic, the late F. H. A. Scrivener, who, in his preface to the *Novum Testamentum, textus Stephanici, A. D. 1550* etc. (Cambridge, 1887), calls the work of Westcott and Hort "*splendidum peccatum, non κτήμα εἰς ἀεί,*" i. e., "a splendid failure, not a possession for ever." Erasmus was the first editor of the Greek New Testament. Four hundred years have passed, and, considering the present state of the New Testament text, one cannot yet say that everything has been done. In this opinion I have been confirmed by an examination of Codex D or *Bezae*—an authority, as it seems to me, too much neglected—and I hope on some other occasion to be able to lay the results of this study before the student of the New Testament.

1516-1916.

March the 1st, 1916, is the four-hundredth anniversary of the publication of the first edition of the New Testament in Greek, prepared by the famous scholar Desiderius Erasmus (1467-1536), and published at Basel by John Froben. As we remarked above, it was a most timely publication, just one year before the Reformation, and furnished Luther² and Tyndale the text for their vernacular versions, which became the most powerful levers of the Reformation in Germany and England. At the time that Erasmus undertook to

² *Erasmus peperit ovum, Lutherus exclusit*, i. e., "Erasmus laid the egg which Luther hatched," was the saying of bigoted Catholics.

edit the New Testament in Greek, as well as for centuries before, the Latin translation of the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures and the Apocrypha was the sacred book of the church. This, with many slight variations in the manuscripts, was substantially Jerome's version, and it was upon this that the text subsequently authorized by the Council of Trent (April 8, 1546) was founded. To the monks and theologians of that day it was *the Bible*, as if no originals existed. Preachers, teachers, controversialists argued from its texts as if there were no original to appeal to beyond it. It is not surprising, then, that the earliest book printed was the *Latin Bible*, known as the "Mazarine Bible." That was about the middle of the fifteenth century (1456), and before the close of that century several other editions had appeared, among others a neat one in octavo for the poor man, by John Froben, bearing the date 1491. Nor were the modern languages neglected. Before the end of the fifteenth century there were published, ten years after the "Mazarine Bible," a *German* translation of the Bible, in 1466. Five years later, in 1471, an *Italian* Bible followed. Of other versions we mention:

- 1474(?) *French*, New Testament;
- Bohemian*, New Testament;
- 1477. *Dutch* and *Flemish*, the Old Testament;
- 1478. *Catalan*, the Bible;
- 1490. *Spanish*, the Liturgical Gospels;
- 1491. *Slavonic*, the Psalter;
- 1495. *Portuguese*, Harmony of the Gospels;
- Croatian* and *Servian*, the Liturgical Gospels and Epistles.

Nor must we omit to mention that the *Psalter* in Ancient Greek was published in 1481, and the first complete *Hebrew* Old Testament in 1488. But how many in those days cared for Greek, still less for Hebrew? Only a few among the learned had a knowledge of these languages, and to these few belonged Erasmus and his friend John Oecolampadius, who assisted him in the preparation of the New Testament.

Before we speak of the New Testament published by Froben in 1516, we must speak of another piece of Biblical work which was the *causa movens* that induced Froben to engage Erasmus to prepare an edition of the Greek New Testament. The work referred to is the famous Complutensian Polyglot or *Biblia Sacra*. Its full title follows: *Polyglotta, complectentia Vetus Testamentum,*

Hebraico, Chaldaico, Graeco et Latino idiomate, Novum Testamentum Graecum et Latinum, et vocabularium Hebraicum et Chaldaicum.

C.A. I. Rebe. fa. 55. B. He. c. 10. b.	Tranſla. H. B. He. c. 10. b.	Tranſla. B. He. c. 10. b.	Ter. Heb.	Eſſ.	L. A. I.	Tranſla. Heb. C. A. I.
<p>C. A. I. Impulſioſpecto deus celum et terram. Rebe. fa. 55. B. He. c. 10. b.</p>	<p>Tranſla. H. B. He. c. 10. b.</p>	<p>Tranſla. B. He. c. 10. b.</p>	<p>Ter. Heb.</p>	<p>Eſſ.</p>	<p>L. A. I.</p>	<p>Tranſla. Heb. C. A. I.</p>
<p>B</p>	<p>Tranſla. Chal.</p>	<p>Tranſla. B. He. c. 10. b.</p>	<p>Ter. Heb.</p>	<p>Eſſ.</p>	<p>L. A. I.</p>	<p>Tranſla. Heb. C. A. I.</p>

Domini Francisci Ximenes de Cisneros, tituli sancte Balbine, sacrosancte Romane Ecclesie presbyteri Cardinalis, et Hispaniarum primatie ac regnorum Castelle Archicancellarii Archiepiscopi Toletani, etc., etc., 6 vols., large folio. In Complutensi Universitate, 1514-1517.

This splendid Polyglot was executed by the order and at the expense (50,000 ducats, or about \$150,000) of the Spanish Cardinal Francis Ximenes de Cisneros (1437-1517), and is known as the Complutensian Polyglot because printed at Complutum (now Alcala de Henares). The men who assisted the Cardinal in this his Herculean work, which immortalized his name, were Demetrius Dukas of Crete, Achius Antonius Nebrissensis, Lopez de Zuniga (Stunica, or Astunga, known from his controversies with Erasmus), Ferdinand Pintianus, Alphonsus de Zamara, Paulus Coronellus, Johannes de Vergera (the last three converted Jews), Nuñez de Guzman, and others.

The printing of the work was commenced in 1502, in celebration of the birth of Charles V, and completed in 1517, but the work was not published until 1522 when it received the sanction of Pope Leo X.

This now rare work consists of six volumes, large folio. The first four volumes, together with the sixth, were completed at press, July 10, 1517 (the year of the Reformation). The volumes (excepting the sixth) contain the Old Testament text, the Chaldee paraphrase (only to the Pentateuch), the Greek (Septuagint, including the Apocrypha), and Latin. The Hebrew text, which has the vowel points but not the accents, occupies the outside of three columns; the Septuagint, with an interlineary Latin translation, occupies the inside column, indicating that, just as Christ was crucified between two thieves, so the Roman church, represented by Jerome's version, is crucified between the synagogue, represented by the Hebrew text, and the Eastern church, denoted by the Greek version.³ At the lower part of the page are two smaller columns, one containing the Chaldee paraphrase and the other a Latin translation of it.

Turning next to the fifth volume, the printing of which was completed January 10, 1514, we find that it contains the whole New Testament in Greek and Latin (Vulgate) in two columns. A letter

³ Posuimus, tanquam duos hinc et inde latrones, medium autem Jesum, hoc est Romanam ecclesiam collocantes. Haec enim sola supra firmam petram aedificata, reliquis a recta scripturae intelligentia deviantibus, immobilis semper in veritate permansit.

of reference⁴ connects the Greek and Latin texts verbally together, as will be seen from the following specimen of Matt. xxvi. 1:

καὶ β^βἐγένετο ^εὅτε δ^δἔτέλευσεν ^εὁ Ἰησοῦς et ^bfactum est ^ccum ^dconsummas-
^fπάντας ^gτοὺς λόγους ^hτούτους set ^eJesus ^gsermones ^hhos ^fomnes

The volume is preceded by

1. A Greek address to the reader, with a Latin translation ;
2. A Greek epistle of Eusebius ;
3. St. Jerome's Prologue on the four Evangelists addressed to Pope Damasus.

At the end of the volume is the date: *annus MDXIV., diesque X. Januarii.*

The sixth volume contains grammatical and lexical helps. When the last sheet of this magnificent Polyglot was finished in 1517, and a copy was brought to the Cardinal, he raised his eyes to heaven and devoutly offered up his thanks to the Saviour for being spared to see the completion of this good work, which had cost him so much labor and anxiety. Then, turning to those about him, Ximenes said: "Of all the acts which distinguished my administration, there was none, however arduous, better entitled to their congratulation than this." Ximenes died a few months after the completion of his work, November 8, 1517, aged 81.

Which manuscripts of the New Testament were used is still a matter of speculation. Suffice it to say that the Septuagint and the text of the Greek New Testament appeared for the first time in this Polyglot, a copy of which is now among the most treasured possessions of any library fortunate enough to have a copy, the original edition consisting of only six hundred copies.

Since the Complutensian New Testament was the first which was printed, and since we are told that the manuscripts used were "very ancient and correct" (*antiquissima et emendatissima*),⁵ and procured from Rome, for which Leo X is thanked in the preface, an examination of its text would certainly be of interest. Since, however, the late Professor Reuss of Strasburg, in his *Bibliotheca Novi Testamenti Graeci* (1872), has already given a list of the readings peculiar to this Greek Testament (pp. 16-24), the student is referred to this work.

⁴ In the reprint of the New Testament published by P. A. Gratz, Tübingen, 1821, these letters of reference are omitted.

⁵ It is more than certain that Codex B, or *Vaticanus*, which was entered in the earliest Catalogue of the Vatican Library, made in 1475, was not among the manuscripts.

Leaving the Complutensian New Testament, we now come to the work of

Desiderius Erasmus.

As has been stated, the New Testament of the Polyglot was printed, but not published. To anticipate the Cardinal's enterprise, John Froben, the Basel printer, wrote a letter (March 15, 1515) to the famous Desiderius Erasmus (1467-1536), who was then in England, requesting him to prepare an edition of the Greek New Testament. Soon after receiving this news Erasmus was on his way to Basel and commenced his work. He labored with such expedition that within a year the whole, with a Latin translation, was completed and issued (March 1, 1516). Erasmus himself admitted that the edition was "precipitated rather than edited" (*praecipitatum verius quam editum*). The science of textual criticism was not yet born, and the most important manuscripts were not even known. The manuscripts which Erasmus perused were neither very old nor very valuable. The oldest, which contained the whole of the New Testament except the book of Revelation, the so-called *Codex Basileensis* in the university library at Basel, has been assigned to the tenth century, and allowed by the great critics to be of considerable authority. But the others, which included only parts of the canon, were of quite recent date and of comparatively little worth. Among them all there was but one copy of the Apocalypse, and that lacked the last six verses, which, accordingly, Erasmus was obliged to supply from the Latin. This manuscript of the twelfth century was borrowed from Reuchlin, and was lost sight of for a long time. It was, however, found again by the late Prof. Franz Delitzsch in 1861, in the library of the princely house of Oettingen-Wallerstein at Maitringen (Bavaria), as may be seen from his *Handschriftliche Funde*, Parts I and II, 1861 and 1862.

The work which Scrivener refers to as "perhaps the most inaccurate volume ever issued from the press" had nevertheless a very rapid sale. Owing to the fame of the author, the increasing number of students of Greek, the desire to know something of the Scriptures in the original, the friends of Erasmus all bought the book for his sake, or for its own. But his enemies⁶ also bought the book to discover heresies and errors. Considering all the circumstances, and the fact that by an imperial privilege the copyright of the book

⁶ Their animosity may be learned from the fact that they even "perverted his name into *Errasmus* because of his errors, *Arasmus* because he ploughed up old truths and traditions, *Erasmus* because he had made himself an ass by his writings. They even called him Behemoth and Anti-Christ."

was protected for four years, we cannot wonder that the first edition, consisting of twelve hundred copies, was soon exhausted.

The volume before me is in folio, and the size of the original



ERASMUS.

(Reproduced from Emilio Castelar's *La Revolucion Religiosa*.)

title-page is $8\frac{5}{8}$ inches by $4\frac{7}{16}$ inches. The lengthy title reads as follows:

“NOVUM INSTRUMENTUM omne, diligenter ab *Erasmio Rotero-*

damo recognitum et emendatum non solum ad graecam veritatem, verumetiam ad multorum utriusque linguae codicum, eorumque veterum simul et emendatorum fidem, postremo ad probatissimorum autorum citationem, emendationem et interpretationem praecipue, Origenis, Chrysostomi, Cyrilli, Vulgarii, Hieronymi, Cypriani, Ambrosii, Hilarii, Augustini, una cum Annotationibus, quae lectorem doceant, quid qua ratione mutatum sit. Quisquis igitur amas veram Theologiam, lege, cognosce, ac deinde judica. Neque statim offendere, si quid mutatum offenderis, sed expende, num in melius mutatum sit.

“*Apud inclytam Germaniac Basilacam*”

[Here follows Froben's trade-device, two serpents with a dove over their heads.]

“Cum privilegio.

“Maximiliani Caesaris Augusti, ne quis alius in sacra Romani Imperii ditone, intra quattuor annos excudat, aut alibi excusam importet.”

Before going any further, the reader's attention is called to a sufficiently glaring and rather ridiculous blunder, which betrays the great haste with which the work was finished. In the list of the Fathers mentioned on the title-page, whose works had been used in the preparation of the text, a certain Vulgarius is mentioned, a writer no one had ever heard of before. Mr. Drummond, a biographer of Erasmus, explains this thus: “Erasmus had a copy of Theophylact on Matthew, with this title: Τοῦ Θεοφιλεσιᾶτου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Βουλγαρίας κυρίου Θεοφυλάκτου ἐξήγησις εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον Εὐαγγέλιον; in his haste he took Θεοφυλάκτου for an epithet, while for Βουλγαρίας he must have read Βουλγαρίον, which he converted from the name of a country into the name of a man, and translated “Vulgarius”: and under this name Theophylact was quoted in his notes. To make matters worse, he attributed to Vulgarius a reading which is not to be found in Theophylact, and in one place grossly misconstrued him.”

The verso of the title-page contains a notice of Froben to the reader, from which we learn that John Oecolampadius of Weinsberg, a famous theologian, acquainted with three languages (*insignis theologus, triumque linguarum egregie peritus*) assisted Erasmus in the preparation of the work. Erasmus dedicated his work to Pope Leo X. In his dedication, dated February 1, 1516, in which the author calls himself “*theologorum infimus*,” he reminds the pope of his duty to “make known to the Christians again the

commandments of their Master out of the evangelical and apostolic writings themselves."

This dedication is followed by a general introduction, consisting of three treatises: 1. *Paraclesis ad lectorem*; 2. *Methodus*; 3. *Apologia*. All three, besides inviting to the serious study of the Scriptures, contain excellent points on how such study, in opposition to the common scholastic manner, can be made fruitful and become the foundation of a new living theology. Thus in his *Paraclesis*⁷ he strenuously opposes those who object to the reading of the Scriptures by the laity; he wishes that the Scriptures might be translated into all tongues, so that even Turks and Saracens, to say nothing of Scotchmen and Irishmen, yea, all little girls (*omnes mutierculae*) might read them, and Christians take from them the subjects of their daily conversation. The letters written by a friend, we keep, kiss, carry about us, and read them over and over again. Yet there are thousands of Christians who do not once in their life read the evangelical and apostolical books. The Mohammedans observe their dogmas; the Jews to this day study their Moses from their childhood; why do not Christians do the same? The Benedictines, Augustinians, Franciscans, strictly observe the rules laid down by men, but can there be anything more sacred than the rules given to all by Christ?

If any one displays the robe of Christ, or the impression of His footsteps on the ground, we are down on our knees, we worship, we cover it with kisses. Yet, though we were to bring to light all the wardrobe and furniture (*supellectilem*) of Christ, there is nothing that can recall and express and represent the Christ more vividly, more truly and more completely than the writings of the Evangelists and Apostles.

In his *Methodus*, or essay on the right method of the study of the Scriptures, Erasmus maintains that the first requisite for their study is a knowledge of Greek, Latin and Hebrew.⁸ He tells us that he himself, though within a year of fifty, returned to the study of Hebrew whenever he had an opportunity. He also inculcated

⁷ An English translation of the *Paraclesis* appears as a preface to certain early editions of Tyndale's English version of the New Testament; thus, in the edition of 1536, also in one of 1549. None of these I have been able to see.

⁸ With the exception of Jerome, and perhaps of Origen, none of the early Christian writers appear to have possessed any knowledge of Hebrew worthy of the name. In the Middle Ages some knowledge of Hebrew was preserved in the church by converted Jews, as for example Paulus Burgensis (died 1435), and even by Christian scholars, of whom the most notable were the Dominican controversialist Raymond Martini (died 1284), and the Franciscan Nicolaus de Lyra (died 1341), whose *Postillae Perpetuae in Universa Biblia* (Rome,

the advantage of having as much general knowledge as possible, especially of the objects named in Scripture, so that the student may not, like some ignorant commentators, make a quadruped of a tree, or a fish of a precious stone (*ex arbore faciant quadrupedem, e gemma piscem*). Nor were poetry and good letters to be despised. Christ clothed all his teachings in parables, and that was poetry (*parabolis omnia pene convestivit Christus, id quod poetis est peculiare*). Paul quoted from the poets (*ipse Paulus poetarum est usus testimoniis*), and there is nothing in his writings to remind one of Aristotle and Averroës. It is difficult for those who are imbued with the scholastic philosophy to appreciate the simplicity of the Scriptures, but if it be maintained that without it one cannot be a theologian, Erasmus could console himself with the example of many famous men, Chrysostom, Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, Clement, nay, of Peter and Paul, who were utterly ignorant of it, and even condemned it (*quod si quis damnabit absque his non esse theologum, equidem consolabor meipsum tot insignium virorum exemplis, Chrysostomi, Hieronymi, Ambrosii, Augustini, denique Clementis, imo Petri et Pauli, qui ista non solum non calluerunt, verum etiam damnant aliquoties*). Better to be less of a sophist than to be unacquainted with the writings of the Gospel evangelists and Paul. Better not to know some of the teachings of Aristotle, than not to know the commands of Christ. I would rather be a pious theologian with Jerome than a hero with Scotus (*malim cum Hieronymo pius esse theologus quam cum Scoto invictus*). Whoever finds 1471, 5 vols., fol.), largely influenced Luther's interpretation of Scripture, whence the couplet on Luther's exegetical labor by Pflug, Bishop of Naumburg:

"Si Lyra non tyrasset
Lutherus non saltasset."

[If Lyra had not harped on profanation,
Luther had not planned the Reformation.]

Neither the refusal of orthodox Jews to teach those who were not of their faith, nor the bigotry of ignorant churchmen who desired nothing better than the entire suppression of Jewish learning, could damp the ardent desire of those who wished to add a third language to Latin and Greek. The first Christian to compose a Hebrew grammar, *De modo legendi et intellegendi Hebraeum* (Strasburg, 1504), was Conrad Pellicanus (died 1556). A facsimile reprint of this grammar was published by E. Nestle, Tübingen, 1877. Two years after Pellicanus the famous John Reuchlin (1455-1523) published his *Rudimenta linguae hebraicae una cum Lexico* (Phorcae, 1506). Reuchlin taught Hebrew at Heidelberg, Ingolstadt and Stuttgart. Here John Oecolampadius attended his lectures. A pupil of Reuchlin was Johann Böschenstein (1472-1530), also an author of a Hebrew grammar.

Erasmus was not the only one who insisted upon the necessity of a knowledge of Hebrew. In this respect he was of the same opinion as Luther and Melancthon, the "*praeceptor Germaniae*." The student who is interested in that subject will find more particulars in Pick, art. "The Study of the Hebrew Language among Jews and Christians," in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, July, 1884, 1885.

pleasure in scholastic disputations, let him follow that which he has received in the schools. He is a great doctor who teaches nothing but Christ (*abunde magnus doctor est, qui pure docet Christum*).

The *Methodus* was afterwards considerably expanded and printed as a separate work, under the title of *Ratio verae Theologiae* (in *Erasmi Opera*, V, 57 ff.), and was not repeated in the later editions of the New Testament. The *Ratio* was dedicated to Cardinal Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz (1519) in a preface full of complaints about the evil times of violent controversy, which destroyed charity and the peaceful cultivation of learning and practical piety.

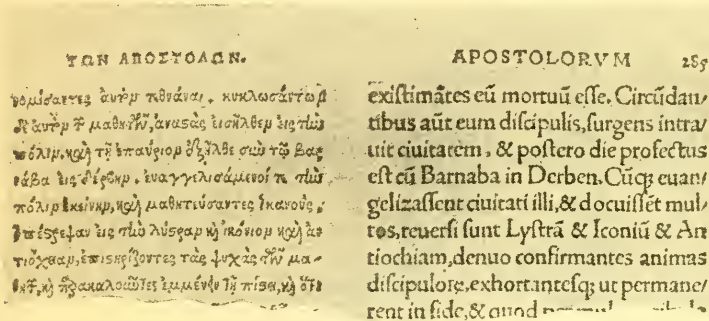
The third part of the introduction is entitled *Apologia* and is intended for those who objected not only to his publication of the Greek Testament but also to his Latin translation. To those who thought that Jerome's version was good enough, he tried to prove that his work was meant for the better understanding. To the cry of his opponents that "solecisms are not offensive to God," Erasmus replied, "true, but neither are they pleasing to Him" (*non offenditur deus soloecismis, at idem non delectatur*). For his translation Erasmus claims not so much elegance of style as lucidity and correctness and a true rendering of the original sources, which, if we except the Gospel of Matthew and the Epistle to the Hebrews, were not written in Latin but in Greek. To those who feared that the authority of the sacred Scriptures might be called in question, if any variations from the received standard should be acknowledged, he replied that for more than a thousand years there had been no complete agreement either in the Greek or in the Latin copy (*jam annos plus mille, neque Latinorum neque Graecorum exemplaria per omnia consensisse*). To the vociferation of some who were ignorant and impudent enough to say that it was an intolerable crime (*facimus esse non ferendum*) for any one to presume to correct the Gospels (*ut quisquam corrigat evangelia*), Erasmus retorted: "Is every fool, then, to be permitted to corrupt the manuscripts of the Gospels, and is it an impiety to restore what has been corrupted?" (*fas est nebuloni cujusvis evangelii codices depravare, et nefas crit quod depravatum est restituere?*).

The introduction is followed by βίαι or *Lives of the Four Evangelists from the Synopsis of Dorotheus the Martyr and Bishop of Tyre* (Greek). In a convenient form these lives and those of other apostles and disciples are found in *Prophetarum vitae fabulosae indices apostolorum discipulorumque Domini Dorotheo, Epi-*

phanio, Hippolyto aliisque vindicata, edited by Prof. Theodor Schermann, Leipsic (B. G. Teubner), 1907.

We now come to the New Testament proper. The Gospels and the Acts occupy pages 1-322; the epistles follow, pages 1-190, each preceded by a Greek hypothesis, i. e., summary; pages 190-224, the Apocalypse, but without an hypothesis; pages 225-675 are taken up by the *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum*; page 676 contains a note of Oecolampadius to the reader; pages 677-678, *errata et corrigenda*. The last page has the colophon: *Basileae in aedibus Joannis Frobenii Hammelburgensis, mense Februario. Anno M. D. XVI. Regnante Imp. Caes. Maximiliano P. E. Augusto.*

Then follows the trade-device of Froben, the two serpents and the dove. The upper and lower parts have the saying of Matt. x. 16



FIRST EDITION BY ERASMUS OF NEW TESTAMENT, 1516.

A portion of Fourteenth Chapter of Acts.

in Greek; on the left is a saying in Latin; on the right a saying in Hebrew.

Habent fata sua libelli. The truth of this saying Erasmus also was to experience. About a year after the first appearance of the New Testament, Edward Lee, chaplain and almoner to Henry VIII, and eventually Archbishop of York, took up arms against this publication. Erasmus, who says of him that "a creature more arrogant, ignorant and venomous the world had never seen," writes, in a letter to Capito: "At last the British viper has broken loose! Edward Lee, the everlasting disgrace of that famous island, has come forth into the light. . . . I would describe the monster to you, but I am afraid posterity would not believe that such a beast ever wore the form of humanity."⁹

⁹ Jerome called his ignorant opponents "the two-legged asses" (*bipedes aselli*).

Lee's criticisms were not only textual but also dogmatical. He especially laid stress upon the fact that Erasmus had omitted from his text what is now called the *Comma Johanneum*, i. e., the passage of the three heavenly witnesses in 1 John v. 7. But Erasmus had not found the passage in any of the manuscripts which he had examined, and he doubted whether any such manuscript could be produced containing that passage. To his surprise he learned that there existed such a manuscript. Whether the manuscript now known as *Codex Montfortianus*,¹⁰ and which turned up at this particular juncture, was written under the direction of Lee, we know not. Erasmus, who did not see the *Codex Britannicus*, as he calls it, was easily satisfied; and having on former occasions expressed his willingness to insert the testimony of the three witnesses if a single manuscript could be produced containing it, and shrinking from the clamor that was raised against him on all sides, he inserted the spurious words in his third edition, which appeared in 1522, but did not consider it genuine, and admitted it only from policy, *ne cui foret ansa calumniandi*.

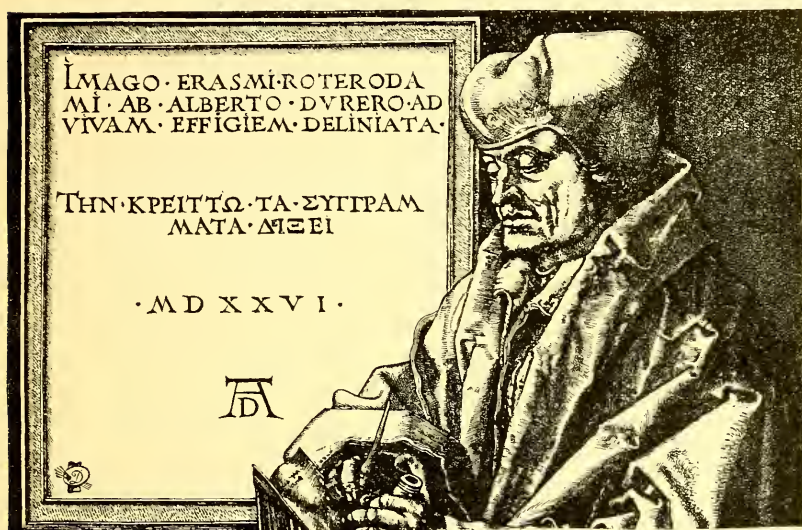
Another antagonist was the Spanish theologian, James Lopez Stunica, whom we mentioned before in connection with the Complutensian Polyglot. He published a series of criticisms in *Annotationes Jacobi Lopidis Stunicae contra Erasmum Roterodamum in defensionem Tralationis Novi Testamenti* (in aedit. Complut. 1519), in the preface of which he treats Erasmus with high disdain, as a man of letters who had gained some reputation; but in a note on Gal. iii he speaks also of him as so "steeped in the beer and butter of his country" (*ut Erasmus butiro et cerevisia patria obrutus somniaverit*) as to be incapable of clear thought. Without entering into the details of this controversy, which turn upon similar points to those advanced by Lee, we will mention that Erasmus replied in *Apologia respondens ad ea quae Jacobus Lompis Stunica taxaverat in prima duntaxat Novi Testamenti aeditione* (Lovan. 1520; in *Erasmi Opera*, IX, 283 ff.).

It may seem strange that Stunica's attack was only published three years after the appearance of the first edition of the Greek Testament. Stunica explains this delay from the fact that the new translation was some time in reaching him. But Erasmus gives a

¹⁰ The *Codex Montfortianus*, which is now deposited in the library of Trinity College, Dublin (Trinity A. 4. 21.), or the "codex apud Anglos reperlus," according to Nestle was probably written by the English Franciscan monk, Roy or Froy, who inserted the passage from the Vulgate. On this codex comp. Schaff, *Companion to the Greek Testament and English Version*, 4th ed., New York, 1883, pp. 136 f.

very different account of the matter. According to him Cardinal Ximenes was highly pleased with his edition of the New Testament, and when Stunica expressed his surprise at the Cardinal's appreciation of a work teeming with errors, the Cardinal replied in the language of Scripture: "Would that all were such prophets! Go thou and do better if thou canst, but disparage not another man's labor" (*Opera*, IX, 284D). This accounts for the delay of the publication till after the Cardinal's death.

It is interesting to learn that sometimes, in the hands of ignorant monks, the attacks upon the New Testament of Erasmus



ERASMUS.

(After an engraving by Dürer.)

assumed a decidedly comic aspect, and Erasmus has not failed to record one or two instances of this in his usual humorous style. Following Mr. Drummond's statement, we are told that "there was, for example, a certain Dr. Standish, Bishop of St. Asaph—St. Ass, Erasmus calls it—who was terribly distressed because Erasmus, following Laurentius Valla, had substituted the masculine word *Sermo* for the neuter *Verbum* in the first chapter of St. John's Gospel! On a certain occasion he was preaching in St. Paul's churchyard, and having begun a sermon on charity, all of a sudden he broke out into a furious attack upon Erasmus, declaring that the Christian religion must be ruined unless all new translations were

Verbum which had been the reading of the church for so many centuries had corrupted the Gospel of St. John by putting *Sermo* in the place of *Verbum* which had been the reading the church for so many centuries. Then he began to appeal to the feelings of his audience, bewailing his own unhappy lot, to think that he who all his life had been accustomed to read, *In principio erat verbum*, must henceforth read, *In principio erat sermo*, and finally he appealed to the mayor, the aldermen, and the whole body of citizens to come to the rescue of Christianity in this its hour of peril. No one, however, took notice of his rodomontade except to laugh at it. It happened the same day that Standish was to dine at the palace, and two of his hearers—one of whom was a bachelor, and profoundly versed in the scholastic philosophy as well as in the modern learning, the other a married man, but of the most heavenly mind (no doubt, as Knight conjectures, Master Richard Pace and Sir Thomas More) were to meet him. They were no sooner seated than one of them remarked how glad he was to find he had been reading the Commentaries of Erasmus. Standish, perceiving that a trap was laid for him to compel him to confess that he had been attacking a book which he had not read, replied bluntly, 'Perhaps I have read as much as I chose to read.' 'I have no doubt you have,' replied the other. 'Pray, may I ask on what arguments or authorities does Erasmus rely, that he has ventured to change the common reading in John's Gospel?' To this question, of course, the Bishop was unable to make any reply. He said he was content with the authority of Augustine, who affirms that *verbum* was a better word than *ratio* as an appellation of the Son of God. 'Yes,' said More, 'than *ratio*; but what has that to do with *sermo*?' 'Why, they are the same thing.' 'Nay,' replied his tormentor, 'they are very different; and it is not very wise of you to attack a man who has rendered such good service to the cause of letters, without having either read the passage you criticize, or made yourself master of the subject.' Some time afterwards, no wiser by his defeat, Standish surprised the court by dropping reverently upon his knees in the presence of the King and Queen and a large assembly of the nobility and learned men. Every one was eager to hear what so eminent a theologian had to say, supposing it must be something of great importance. He began by pronouncing a eulogium, in English, upon the ancestors of the King and Queen, for having ever defended the Catholic church against heretics and schismatics, and he then proceeded to exhort and adjure their Majesties to follow in the footsteps of their progenitors, warning them that most dangerous times were at hand,

and that unless the books of Erasmus could be suppressed, the religion of Christ was ruined. Then, raising his hands and eyes to heaven, he prayed that Christ would condescend to aid his spouse if no one on earth would come to her defense. While he was still on his knees one of his two tormentors on the previous occasion (Sir Thomas More) stepped forward, and, having said how much he admired the pious harangue of the reverend father, begged that, as he had alarmed their Majesties so much, he would now be good enough to point out what it was in the books of Erasmus from which he apprehended such terrible consequences. He replied he would do so at once, and, reckoning on his fingers, proceeded: 'First, Erasmus denies the resurrection. Second, he makes the sacrament of matrimony of no account. Lastly, he is unsound on the Eucharist.' More commended the clearness of his statement, and observed that nothing now remained but that he should prove his assertions. 'Certainly,' replied the other; and, beginning with his thumb, 'First,' said he, 'that he denied the resurrection, I prove thus: Paul, in the Epistle to the Colossians (he meant Corinthians) writes thus: "We shall all rise, but we shall not all be changed" (the reading of the Vulgate); but Erasmus has altered the reading of the church, and from his Greek copies reads as follows: "We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed." It is clear that he denies the resurrection.' Presently the poor Bishop was led into a still greater absurdity, if that were possible, and said that Jerome had restored the true reading from the Hebrew; till at length the King took pity on his incurable stupidity, and diverted the conversation to some other subject." (*Epistola clxvi*).

three years there was a demand for another edition, and this also

The publication of the New Testament was a success. Within was speedily exhausted, although the two together amounted to 3,300 folio copies. The second edition appeared in the beginning of 1519, and is interesting because it forms the basis of Luther's German translation. A third edition appeared in 1522, and is remarkable because it was the first edition to contain the so-called *comma Johanneum*, i.e., 1 John v. 7, the testimony of the three witnesses. A fourth, and much improved, edition appeared in 1527; and a fifth in 1535, the year before the editor's death.¹¹

Biblical science will ever recognize the merits of Cardinal Ximenes for having planned the Complutensian Polygot, in which the New Testament was printed by the beginning of the year 1514. But to Erasmus belongs the honor of having been the first to edit,

¹¹ The titles of the Erasmian editions are given in Reuss, *Bibliotheca*, p. 26.

print and publish the Christian Scriptures in their original tongue. Imperfect as his text was, because prepared with great haste, it became the forerunner of the so-called *textus receptus*, and readings which modern critics and the revisers reject are found in the Erasmusian text.

The New Testament text is followed by Annotations on the same. The preface is dated 1515; the colophon at the end has the date 1516. The notes betray the scholarly attainments of Erasmus. The Old Testament quotations he gives in the original Hebrew. Which Hebrew text he used we know not. In his day he had the choice of the Soucinian Bible, the first and complete Hebrew Bible published at Soucino in 1488, and Gerson's edition, published at Brescia in 1494, and remarkable for being the one from which Luther's German translation was made.¹² As far as I have been able to examine a number of these quotations, they agree with the latest editions of the Hebrew Bible. The text is everywhere the same, because we have only the so-called masoretic, i. e., traditional text. Even the *Biblia Hebraica*, edited by R. Kittel (3d ed., Leipsic, 1913) is nothing but the masoretic text. Interesting as were the notes on the New Testament, they were by no means confined to questions of textual criticism. There was other matter in them, and the notes were made the vehicle for conveying the opinions of the writer upon the manners of the time and the abuses in the church. He has the boldness to deny the primacy of Peter, and in his note on the famous text, Matt. xvi. 18, "Upon this rock I will build my church," he expresses his surprise that any should have so perverted the meaning as to refer the words exclusively to the Roman Pontiff (*proinde misor esse, qui locum hunc detorqueant ad Romanum pontificem*).

The statement in Acts ix. 43, that Peter lodged "with one Simon a tanner," calls forth the exclamation, "Oh! how great a guest—the very chief of apostles—to lodge with so humble an entertainer! In our days three royal palaces scarce suffice to receive Peter's vicar." (*O quantus hospes et apostolici culminis princeps apud cujusmodi diversatur hospitem? Nunc trium regum palatia vix sufficerent excipiendo Petri vicario.*)

His boldness and freedom of criticism Erasmus shows when, e. g., he states that Luke's style is purer than that of the rest of the Evangelists, owing to his acquaintance with Greek literature (*ob Graecarum peritiam literarum*). He rejected the Pauline origin

¹² The copy of the Hebrew Bible which Luther used is to be found in the Royal Library at Berlin.

of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The epistle, he says, breathes the spirit of Paul, but it is not at all in his style (*stilus ipse et orationis character, qui nihil habet affinitatis cum phrasi Paulina*). He doubts whether the Apocalypse be the work of John the Apostle, and to Chap. I, 4 he remarks: it must be honestly conceded the Greek has no meaning whatever (*ingenue fatendum est Graecum sermonem nihil omnino significare*).

These few specimens may suffice to call attention to this work of Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam, who died July 12, 1536, and was buried in the Protestant cathedral at Basel. From a Protestant point of view we may regret his position against Luther, thereby injuring both his own reputation and the progress of the movement among scholars. But we can never forget the immense debt of gratitude which we owe to the first editor of the Greek New Testament, who enabled Luther and Tyndale to make their translations of the word of life from the original, and to lead men to the very fountain of all that is most valuable and permanent in the Reformation. This edition, though hastily prepared, became the basis of the popularly received text. His exegetical opinions still receive and deserve the attention of the commentators. "To him we also owe the first scholarly editions of the Fathers, especially of Jerome, with whom he was most in sympathy. From these editions the Reformers drew their weapons of patristic controversy with the Romanists, who always appealed to the fathers of the Nicene age rather than to the grandfathers of the apostolic age. . . . He never was a Protestant, and never meant to be one. Division and separation did not enter into his program. From beginning to end he labored for a reformation within the church and within the papacy, not without it. But the new wine burst the old bottles. The reform which he set in motion went beyond him, and left him behind. In some of his opinions, however, he was ahead of his age, and anticipated a more modern stage of Protestantism. He was as much a forerunner of rationalism as of the Reformation" (Schaff).

DESIDERIUS ERASMUS.

AND HIS SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE REFORMATION.

BY C. K. OGDEN.

IT is a great tribute to a writer's intellectual insight that the twentieth century should be able to forget an intervening five hundred years and recognize him as a "modern." Our way of looking at things is so radically different from that of our predecessors that we often seem debarred from communion with them. In science, as Dr. Carus has pointed out, "a genuine truth (i. e., a formula describing the genuine features of a definite set of facts) if once proved to be true, will remain true for ever. We may see old truths in a new light, we may better and ever better learn to understand their significance and also the relation between several truths; but a truth will always remain true." Of the truths of science as recognized to-day the vast majority have been established in comparatively recent times, moreover we now see a great number of older scientific truths "in a new light." But in matters of human nature, where science is less at home, the reverse is often true. It is we who are led to see our own problems in "a new light" when we study those great masters of bygone days whose works are for all time. Among those who help us to understand ourselves as they speak to us out of the past, if Plato is one, Erasmus is assuredly another.

"Plato," Erasmus remarks somewhere, "wrote with a diamond upon marble": and his own words might well be applied to the profoundest thinker of the age of the Renaissance and the Reformation. Over and over again, as we turn over the pages of the serried volumes of the *Opera*, we are aware of the flashes of insight which annihilate the centuries that separate his *floruit* from ours. There were divines in Erasmus's day no less than in ours: They

fence themselves in with so many surrounders of magisterial definitions, conclusions, corollaries, propositions explicit and implicit, that there is no falling in with them; or if they do chance to be urged to a seeming *non-plus*, yet they find out so many evasions that all the art of man can never bind them so fast but that an easy distinction shall give them a starting-hole to escape the scandal of being baffled. . . . They are exquisitely dexterous in unfolding the most intricate mysteries: they will tell you to a tittle all the successive proceedings of Omnipotence in the creation of the universe; they will explain the precise manner of original sin being derived from our first parents; they will satisfy you in what manner, by what degrees, and in how long a time, our Saviour was conceived in the Virgin's womb, and demonstrate in the consecrated wafer how accidents may subsist without a subject. Nay, these are accounted trivial, easy questions; they have yet far greater difficulties behind, which notwithstanding they solve with as much expedition as the former; as namely, whether supernatural generation requires any instant of time for its acting? whether Christ, as a son, bears a specifically distinct relation to God the Father, and his virgin mother? whether this proposition can be true, that the first person of the Trinity hated the second? whether God, who took our nature upon him in the form of a man, could as well have become a woman, a devil, a beast, a herb, or a stone? and were it so possible that the Godhead has appeared in any shape of an inanimate substance, how he should then have preached his gospel? or how have been nailed to the cross? whether, if St. Peter had celebrated the eucharist at the same time our Saviour was hanging on the cross, the consecrated bread would have been transubstantiated into the same body that remained on the tree? whether in Christ's corporeal presence in the sacramental wafer his humanity be not abstracted from his Godhead? whether after the resurrection we shall carnally eat and drink as we do in this life? There are a thousand other more sublimated and refined niceties of notions, relations, quantities, formalities, quiddities, haecceities, and such like abstrusities as one would think no one could pry into except he had not only such cat's eyes as to see best in the dark but even such a piercing faculty as to see through an inch-board and spy out what really never had any being."¹

Thus in a few words has Erasmus characterized the professional

¹ *In Praise of Folly*, 1509, pp. 130-132. I quote from the very convenient shilling reprint issued with Holbein's designs by Allen & Unwin in their "Sesame" Library.

theologians of all ages, and the passage also serves to introduce us to his significance as the great literary precursor of the Reformation. Erasmus was the humanist *par excellence*. He hated the barren verbalism which had barred intellectual progress on every side, the spirit of medievalism weighing heavily on true learning. With equal indignation he loathed the hypocritical ceremonialism which was its monastic counterpart,—“Can anything be more witless than the practice of attending the things without, things that have no bearing on your soul at all, while you ignore completely the working of your own heart and the things that vitally concern you?” Of the monks themselves Erasmus makes Folly say: “While men of this class are so execrated by every one that the casual meeting of them is considered a bad omen, I yet cause them to stand very high in their own estimation and to be fond admirers of their own happiness. First, they think they give a very plain proof of their piety by having nothing to do with learning, so that they can scarcely ever read. Next, while in their churches they bray out like asses the psalms which they count indeed, but do not understand, they think that God listens, well pleased, to their melody.” Reference is made to the filthy condition of mendicant friars—“very delightful men who are remarkable only for their dirt, their ignorance, their clownish manners and their impudence” and pretend that they are the genuine successors of the Apostles. “What gives them greater pleasure than to regulate their actions by weight and measure, as if their religion depended on the omission of the least point?” Small wonder then if Luther and the Reformers thought they had in Erasmus a champion after their own heart.

In March, 1519, we find Luther writing in terms of warm approval to Erasmus, who is regarded as reigning in the hearts of all who love literature. Erasmus in reply advises the *via media*, and attacks not on persons but on abuses. But a very short time afterward we find mistrust arising, and Erasmus writes to Wolsey full of grave fears that the progress of learning may be impeded by injudicious agitators: “As to Luther he is altogether unknown to me, and I have read nothing of his except two or three pages—not because I dislike him but because my own studies and occupations do not give me leisure to do so. But yet as I hear, some persons say that I have assisted him. If he has written well, the praise must not be given to me, and if he has written ill I ought not to be blamed, since in all his writings there is not a line which came from me. His life is universally commended; and it is an argument in his favor that his character is unblamable. I was once against

Luther because I was afraid that he would bring an odium upon literature, which is already too much suspected of evil; for I know full well how invidious it is to oppose those opinions which bring so plentiful a harvest of gain to the priests and monks."

The earlier letters of Luther to and about Erasmus are full of hope and admiration, but he was to be sadly disappointed. And in order to understand more clearly why the disappointment was inevitable let us turn to the life of Luther's critic and see what manner of man he was. And first of all we must note that this Desiderius Erasmus who was born at Rotterdam in 1467 and was not less at home in England, France, Germany, Italy and Switzerland than in his native country, was not the creature of any ordinary conditions or environment. That he was born out of wedlock is only one of the features which distinguished his earliest days from those of other mortals, and his very name tells a literary tale. In an age of classical revival children were thus afflicted by turgid appellations. His father's simple name, Gerhard ("beloved"), was translated by a cumbersome combination of tautologous solecisms. Against the pedantry and ignorance here typified it was the great scholar's mission to struggle for the rest of his life. At the age of thirteen, when he lost both his parents, he had already lived in Rotterdam, Gouda, Utrecht and Deventer. As in the case of so many other great minds it is doubtful whether the loss was not without its advantages; for to judge by the action of the three guardians into whose hands he now fell, his father must have been a man in some ways singularly devoid of judgment and discretion. Like nearly all highly-strung persons Erasmus always looks back upon his early years, his schooldays and his guardians with a shudder. After wasting three years at a seminary in Bois-le-Duc subsequent to his removal from the Deventer school, he came for the first time into conflict with organized religion in the shape of a conspiracy to force him into the monastic life. To this affair we owe one of the most delightful pieces of autobiographical reminiscence, in the form of a letter to his friend Grunnius. Erasmus and his brother are beset by their guardians who visit them in turn. The first hears their refusal in a spirit very far from Christian—"He became red with anger, as if a blow with the fist had been given to him; so that although he always seemed to be a man of somewhat gentle disposition, now he had no power to control his anger, and shame alone prevented him from striking him. Regarding Florentius with a look of utter scorn, he called him an idle, spiritless rascal; resigned his guardianship; refused any longer to guarantee them the means

of subsistence; told them that nothing was left, and that they must provide for themselves. With these and many other cruel and bitter reproaches he loaded the younger of the two, which drew from him a few childish tears but did not cause him to alter his purpose. 'We accept,' he said, 'your resignation of the guardianship, and release you from your charge.' Thus they separated. When the guardian saw that he had gained nothing by threats and reproaches he summoned to his aid his brother guardian, a man of wonderfully insinuating manner and pleasing address. The meeting took place in a summer-house; the boys were told to sit down; and wine-glasses were produced. After some agreeable conversation they proceeded to business more carefully and in a different manner. They were very bland, told many lies; held out to them great expectations from it; and added entreaties. The elder brother, worked upon in this manner, found his resolution giving way and forgot the oath which he had taken more than once to be firm. The younger adhered to his determination. In short, the faithless Antonius, betraying his brother, took the yoke upon him, having first stolen whatever he could lay his hands upon—not at all a new proceeding with him. With him indeed everything went prosperously. For he was a man of sluggish mind, of a strong constitution, careful about his worldly interests, cunning, a hard drinker, much given to fornication; in short, so unlike the younger that he almost seemed like a supposititious child."

There is not a little conceit here, but Erasmus was too great a man not to be as conscious of it as his readers. The sequel gives further autobiographical details of the greatest interest, and we see how early and how well Erasmus came to understand the religious practices against which he inveighs. At length he succumbed to pressure and entered the monastery of Stein where he "acted like those who are shut up in prison." He solaced himself as far as possible with his studies. This work he "must do privately though he might be intoxicated openly." In another letter he reiterates his dislike—"I never liked the monastic life, and I liked it less than ever after I had tried it; but I was ensnared in the way I have mentioned."

It is instructive to note the lines which his objection takes. It is always that of the cultured scholar, the man of taste who cannot bear to have his interests cramped, and whose soul rebels against boorishness, formality and narrowness. There is none of the fire of the iconoclast. Given freedom to complete his intellectual development, one feels that Erasmus would perhaps have been ready

to condone the moral failings of the church against which Luther rose in arms. Indeed a story told of this period of his life by Le Clerc has a decided ring of reality about it. The scene is laid in the garden of the monastery, in which the Superior reserved to himself the luscious fruit of a pear tree which was a special temptation to monkish palates. Some of the pears, having found their way to the interior of Erasmus, were duly missed. The Superior rose early and Erasmus was up the tree. His intellect saved him at the expense of his morals: for, nimbly descending, he imitated the limp of a lame lay brother in the monastery, and, well aware that he was being observed from a distance, thus gained safety for himself and a severe penance for the innocent owner of the limp.

At length relief came in his twenty-ninth year, when the bishop of Cambrai provided him with the means of prosecuting his studies at the Montaigu College at Paris. Here insanitary conditions told on his health: "Some sleeping apartments," he says, "were on the ground floor, having mouldy plaster walls, near pestilential latrinae. All who lodged in them were sure to die or to have a bad illness." Erasmus contracted the latter, though apparently not before he had had time to make the acquaintance of the allurements of the Latin Quarter. Moreover the bishop's support could no longer be relied upon. A fresh patron had to be found, and in the quest there was nothing to which Erasmus would not stoop. In one letter his friend James Battus, who was endeavoring to round up the Marchioness de Veere for this purpose, is reminded that Erasmus has bad eyesight. "Coax her with the neatest words you can command into sending me a sapphire or some other gem that is good for weak eyes." Fortunately for Erasmus sapphires and other gems, or their monetary equivalent, were forthcoming; not always from the lady in question, but eventually from one who enabled him to visit England, his pupil Lord Mountjoy.

* * *

The visit of Erasmus to England in 1499 was a turning point in his career and of the deepest significance for his relations to the Reformers. The story of his life at Oxford and his friendship with Colet, More, and other liberal-minded Englishmen is too well known to require further mention here. England pleased him greatly: "Besides, there is a custom here in vogue which cannot be overpraised. Visitors are greeted with a kiss. It is thus you are saluted on arrival, it is thus leave is taken of you at your going: should you return kisses and go where you may find kisses—kisses

everywhere." Again, "The climate is agreeable and healthful, and this scholarship of its learned men is not in the least peddling or shallow." In 1500 Erasmus left this delightful isle for Paris, Orleans, Brussels and Tournemens, improving his style and his knowledge of Greek and publishing voluminously. Of these earlier efforts the *Adagia* and the *Enchiridion* were an immediate success.

In 1505 Erasmus paid a brief visit to Cambridge, and the next three years, 1506-1509, he spent in the midst of the humanistic revival in Italy, and satisfied himself as to the predominantly temporal ambitions of the pope. Italy was in a state of military turmoil, and Erasmus makes the shrewd comment: "When princes purpose to exhaust a commonwealth they speak of a 'just war.'" In Humanism itself Erasmus opened a new period. The generations which had discovered and classified the new materials had passed away. Gone too were the giants who congregated round Cosmo de Medici, and gone the more academic stylists like Ficino and Poliziano. To Erasmus it was left to cull the choicest fruits of humanism and hand them to a wider literary public than had as yet been reached. To him it was left to battle with the supreme enemy, ignorance. This was his mission, and on its fulfilment he set his heart. The Reformers misunderstood his ideals and claimed him too eagerly as one of themselves. A reaction was inevitable, but before we pass to this later phase let us record that in 1510 Erasmus acceded to Mountjoy's request that he should return to England. The *Encomium Moriae*, written in More's house, was an immediate literary result, and Erasmus then proceeded to Cambridge to undertake his great work, the collation of the Greek text of the New Testament.

But there is another reason why Erasmus's sojourn in Cambridge may be considered in greater detail, for these words are written scarcely a hundred yards from the turret of red brick at the southeast angle of the small court in Queens' College known as the court of Erasmus. In a lecture delivered in Cambridge in 1890 by Sir Richard Jebb, then Regius Professor of Greek, occurs the following passage: "His study was probably a good-sized room which is now used as a lecture room; on the floor above this was his bedroom, with an adjoining attic for his servant. . . . [Not far from the rooms there is a walk on the west side of the river known still as the walk of Erasmus, though the locality has undergone many changes since the early sixteenth century, when it was probably not even laid out.] . . . His first letter from Cambridge is dated December, 1510, and this date must be right, or nearly so. He says

himself that he taught Greek here before he lectured on theology, and also that after his arrival the commencement of his Greek teaching was delayed by ill health. . . . It is interesting to think of him—now a man of forty-four, but prematurely old in appearance—moving about the narrow streets or quiet courts of that medieval Cambridge which was just about to become the modern—a transformation due in no small measure to the influence of his own labors. Eleven of our colleges existed. Peterhouse was in the third century of its life; others were also of a venerable age.”²

Erasmus was elected Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge in 1511, a chair now filled by Dr. Bethune-Baker as successor to Dean Inge. The mutual influence of Erasmus and Cambridge is of great importance; for then, as now, Cambridge took pride in being in the van of intellectual progress. In 1516 his pupil Bullock wrote: “People here are devoting themselves eagerly to Greek literature.” In 1520 Erasmus himself declared: “Theology is flourishing at Paris and at Cambridge and nowhere else, and why? Because they are adapting themselves to the tendencies of the age, because the new studies, which are ready if need be to storm an entrance, are not repelled by them as foes but received as welcome guests.”

Erasmus tells a story in the *Colloquies* which probably belongs to this period and which is of special interest to-day in view of its bearing on the Angels of Mons. With his friend Pole and others he was riding one day to Richmond. Among the party, says Erasmus, “there were some whom you would call discreet men. The sky was wonderfully serene; there was not the appearance of a cloud upon it. Pole, looking with fixed eyes upwards, made the sign of the cross on his face and shoulders; and composing his features so as to express the feeling uppermost in his mind, uttered an exclamation of wonder. When those who rode next to him asked him what he saw, again marking himself with a larger cross, he exclaimed, ‘May a most merciful God avert from us this prodigy.’ When they pressed upon him, eager to know what was the matter, fixing his eyes upon the sky, and pointing to a particular part of it, he said, ‘Do you not see there a large dragon, armed with fiery horns, having his tail twisted into a circle?’ When they told him that they could not see it he told them to look fixedly toward it and often showed them the exact place. At length one of them, fearing that he should seem to be short-sighted, declared that he also saw it. His example was followed first by one, then by another;

² Jebb, *Erasmus*, p. 24.

for they were ashamed not to see what was so very plain. In short, within three days the report was spread all over England that this wonderful sight had been seen. It is surprising how much popular report added to the story. Some gave a serious interpretation to this prodigy. He who had invented it laughed heartily at their folly."

* * *

Certainly Erasmus did not share the superstitions of his age, and he gives an amusing account of a visit made in the autumn of 1513 from Cambridge to the shrine of our Lady of Walsingham. Menedemus and Ogygius are conversing:

"*Men.*—Where then does she reside?

"*Og.*—In the church which I have described as unfinished there is a narrow wooden chapel, with a narrow wicket on each side for the admission and departure of the pilgrims. There is scarcely any light in it excepting from wax tapers. A fragrant odor is diffused through it.

"*Men.*—All this harmonizes well with religious worship.

"*Og.*—If, Menedemus, you look inside, you will say that it is an abode worthy of the saints; for it is resplendent with jewels, gold and silver. . . . In the innermost chapel, which I have called the shrine of the Blessed Virgin, a canon stands near the altar.

"*Men.*—For what purpose?

"*Og.*—To receive and guard the offerings.

"*Men.*—Do those give who are unwilling to do so?

"*Og.*—Certainly not. A kind of pious modesty actuates some, who will give if any one be near, or will give rather more than they intended, but who will give nothing if there is no one to see them.

"*Men.*—That is a natural feeling, and one not altogether unknown to me.

"*Og.*—Nay, there are some so devoted to the most holy Virgin, that while they pretend to put an offering on the altar, they take away with wonderful dexterity what some one else has placed upon it. . . . We are told that the fountain is sacred to the blessed Virgin. The water is very cold, and is of service for the headache and stomach-ache.

"*Men.*—If cold water should serve as a cure for pains of this description we may hereafter expect oil to extinguish fire.

"*Og.*—You are hearing of a miracle, my good man. If this cold water could only quench our thirst, there would be nothing

miraculous in it; and this is only one part of the story. . . . The fountain is said to have suddenly sprung forth from the earth at the command of the most holy Virgin. As I was carefully looking round at everything, I asked how many years ago that little house had been brought to that place. The answer was, 'Several centuries.' 'But the walls,' I said, 'do not show any signs of age.' He did not deny it. 'Nor,' I continued, 'do these wooden posts.' He admitted that they had been lately placed there, and indeed the thing spoke for itself. 'Then this roof and thatch seem to be new.' He agreed with me. 'Even these cross-beams, too, and the rafters on which the straws rest, seem to have been fixed not many years ago.' He nodded assent. When I had thus disposed of every part of the house, I asked him, 'How does it appear that the house has been brought from a great distance?'

Men.—Oh, tell me how he got out of this difficulty.

Og.—Why, he showed us a very old bear-skin fixed to the rafters and almost laughed at our dulness because we did not see this convincing proof of the truth of what he said. Convinced in this manner, and admitting that we were dull indeed, we turned to the heavenly milk of the blessed Virgin.

Men.—The mother in truth seems to be exactly like the Son. He left a large quantity of His blood in the world; she has left far more milk than you could suppose that a woman who has brought forth one child could produce, even if the infant had drunk none of it.

Og.—They make the same pretense respecting the wood of the cross, which is shown in public and private in so many places. If all the fragments were brought together they would seem a proper load for a merchant ship, and yet our Lord carried the whole of His cross.

Men.—Does not this appear strange to you?

Og.—It may be said to be something new, but scarcely strange, since the Lord, who increases it at His pleasure, is omnipotent.

Men.—You give a pious explanation of the matter, but I fear that many of these things are invented for gain.

Og.—I do not think that God will allow any one to mock Him in this manner. . . . But now hear what I have to say to you besides. That milk is kept on the high altar in the middle of which is Christ, with His mother on the right hand, at the post of honor. For the milk represents the Virgin Mother.

Men.—It can, then, be seen?

Og.—Yes, in a crystal vessel.

Men.—It is, then, liquid?

Og.—How can you suppose it to be liquid when it is more than 1500 years old? It is concrete, and looks like beaten chalk tempered with the white of an egg.”

* * *

We have touched on the main influences in the life of Erasmus up to the year 1514, when he left England, aged forty-seven, at the height of his powers and of his influence. From this time onward we may date that later period of his life which is agitated more particularly by the problems of the Reformation. His departure from Cambridge was hastened by an outbreak of plague in 1513 which altered the life of the university hardly less than the present war. Silence reigned in the cloisters; and by the end of the year Erasmus had decided for this and other reasons to leave the place. In February, 1514, there are still references to the danger, in a letter to Gunnell. “In England just now to change one’s locality is only to vary the danger, and not to escape it.” But an even more alarming disaster was impending, and Erasmus is threatened by the economic effects of war itself. We possess an extraordinarily interesting letter in which his personal views on war are set forth for the benefit of Antony of Bergen, Abbot of St. Bertin. England begins to disappoint him. Preparations for war are quickly changing the genius of the island. Prices are rising every day, and liberality is decreasing. “It is only natural that men so frequently taxed should be sparing in their gifts. And not long ago, in consequence of the scarcity of wine, I was nearly killed by stone, contracted out of the wretched liquor that I was forced to drink. Moreover, while every island is in some degree a place of banishment, we are now confined more closely than ever by war, insomuch that it is difficult even to get a letter sent out. And I see that some great disturbances are arising, the issues of which are uncertain. I trust it may please God mercifully to allay this tempest in the Christian world.”

And then with wonderful power he declares his belief in the incompatibility of Christianity and war: “I often wonder what thing it is that drives, I will not say Christians, but men, to such a degree of madness as to rush with so much pains, so much cost, so much risk, to the destruction of one another. For what are we doing all our lives but making war? The brute beasts do not all engage in war, but only some wild kinds; and those do not fight among themselves, but with animals of a different species. They fight too with their natural arms, and not like us with machines,

upon which we expand an ingenuity worthy of devils. For us, who glory in the name of Christ, of a master who taught and exhibited nothing but gentleness, who are members of one body, and are one flesh, quickened by the same spirit, fed by the same sacraments, attached to the same Head, called to the same immortality, hoping for that highest communion, that as Christ and the Father are one, so we may be one with Him,—can anything in the world be of so great concern as to provoke us to war, a thing so calamitous and so hateful that even when it is most righteous no truly good man can approve it. Think, I beseech you, who are those employed in it. Cut-throats, gamblers, whoremongers, the meanest hireling soldiers, to whom a little gain is dearer than life,—these are your best warriors when what they once did at their peril they do now for gain and with applause. This scum of mankind must be received into your fields and into your cities in order that you may wage war; in fact you make yourself a slave to them in your anxiety to be revenged on others.”

Then Erasmus comes to the full indictment of the horrors of war: “Consider too,” he bursts out, “how many crimes are committed under pretext of war, when, as they say, In the midst of arms, laws are silent; how many thefts, how many acts of sacrilege, how many rapes, how many other abuses which one is ashamed even to name; and this moral contagion cannot but last for many years, even when the war is over. And if you count the cost you will see how even if you conquer you lose much more than gain. What kingdom can you set against the lives and blood of so many thousand men? And yet the greatest amount of the mischief affects those who have no part in the fighting. The advantages of peace reach everybody; while in war for the most part even the conqueror weeps; and it is followed by such a train of calamities that there is good reason in the fiction of poets that War comes to us from Hell and is sent by the Furies. I say nothing of the revolution of states, which cannot take place without the most disastrous results.”

Why then do men slaughter one another? For the phantom of glory? “If the desire of glory tempts us to war,—that is no true glory which is mainly sought by wrongful acts. It is much more glorious to found than to overthrow, states; but in these days it is the people that builds and maintains cities, and the folly of princes that destroys them. If gain is our object, no war has ended so happily as not to have brought more evil than good to those engaged in it; and no sovereign damages his enemy in war without first doing a great deal of mischief to his own subjects. And

finally, when we see human affairs always changing and confused, like the ebb and flow of Euripus, what is the use of such great efforts to raise an empire, which must presently by some revolution pass to others? With how much blood was the Roman empire raised, and how soon did it begin to fall. But you will say that the rights of sovereigns must be maintained. It is not for me to speak unadvisedly about the acts of princes. I only know this, that *summum jus*,—extreme right, is often *summa injuria*,—extreme wrong; there are princes who first decide what they want, and then look out for a title with which to cloak their proceedings. And in such great changes of human affairs, among so many treaties, that have been made and abandoned, who, I ask you, need lack a title?"

Who will stop the folly? Who will arbitrate? "There are popes, there are bishops." Julius had power enough to raise the tempest—"Will not Leo, a learned, honest and pious pontiff, be able to calm it?" To-day we are asking a somewhat similar question. And he concludes on an even more effective note: "If you look a little closely you will find that it is generally the private interests of princes that give occasion to war. And I would ask you, do you consider it consistent with humanity that the world should be at any moment disturbed by war when this or that sovereign has some cause of complaint against another, or perhaps pretends to have one?"³ It is truly wonderful that Erasmus, for centuries almost alone in his far-sighted detestation of war, should have stated the problem so clearly.

* * *

Here we may pause for a moment to consider Erasmus in the flesh, for with the aid of tradition and Holbein's famous portrait we are able in some measure to realize his personal characteristics. It would be hard to improve on Sir Richard Jebb's delineation: "Erasmus was a rather small man, slight, but well built; he had, as became a Teuton, blue eyes, yellowish or light brown hair, and a fair complexion. The face is a remarkable one. It has two chief characteristics—quiet, watchful sagacity, and humor, half playful, half sarcastic. The eyes are calm, critical, steadily ob-

³ Nichols, *The Epistles of Erasmus*, 1904, Vol. II, p. 125. This excellent translation is invaluable to all who wish to go behind the meagre indications of the personality of Erasmus to which even the best biographies are confined. They enable the English reader to estimate the truth of Luther's judgment: "In the epistles of Erasmus you find nothing of any account except praise for his friends, scolding and abuse for his enemies, and that's all there is to it." For the complete works the Basel edition of 1540 or the Leyden edition of 1703 must still be consulted.

servant, with a half-latent twinkle in them; the nose is straight, rather long and pointed; the rippling curves of the large mouth indicate a certain energetic vivacity of temperament and tenacity of purpose; while the pose of the head suggests vigilant caution, almost timidity. As we continue to study the features they speak more and more clearly of insight and refinement; of a worldly yet very gentle shrewdness; of cheerful self-mastery; and of a mind which has its weapons ready at every instant. But there is no suggestion of enthusiasm—unless it be the literary enthusiasm of a student. It is difficult to imagine those cool eyes kindled by any flow of passion, or that genial serenity broken by a spiritual struggle. This man, we feel, would be an intellectual champion of truth and reason; his wit might be as the spear of Ithuriel, and his satire as the sword of Gideon; but he has not the face of a hero or a martyr.”

And the message of the face is a true one in this last respect, for it was essentially here that Erasmus differed from the zealots who led the Reformation movement. By training and by temperament, as we have already seen, Erasmus was the advocate of other methods than those adopted by the men who took up the work he had so largely inaugurated. To disperse the mists of ignorance, not to do battle with the ecclesiastics of his own generation, was the task he had set himself. To this end alone he published his Greek Testament at a time when to know Greek was the next thing to heresy. His earlier works, such as the *Enchiridion*, were aimed at corruption in the church—but corruption always as the enemy of true knowledge and literary development. Like many other polemical writings however it was only after the monks had anathematized his efforts that a ready sale was secured for them. Erasmus indeed was the first “higher critic” and one of the few “higher critics” who have been anxious for his conclusions to reach the multitudes: He desired the Scriptures to be in the hands of all: “I long,” he says, “that the husbandman should sing them to himself as he follows the plough.” Here however he speaks as a Christian, for he never really swerved from his allegiance to Rome, though an able French critic, M. Amiel, has rightly found sufficient toleration and liberality in his utterances to justify the title *Erasmus un libre penseur du XVIIe siècle*. Though some of his writings are certainly pious enough, he has succeeded in incurring the displeasure of not a few representatives of orthodoxy. “He thought it unnecessary,” says a clerical biographer⁴ whose attitude on the subject is typical,

⁴ *The Life and Character of Erasmus*, by the Rev. A. R. Pennington, with a preface by the Bishop of Lincoln, London, 1875, p. 373. This is an

"to attribute everything in the Apostles to miraculous teaching. Christ, he said, suffered the Apostles to err, and that, too, after the descent of the Paraclete; but not so as to endanger the faith. He remarks that the Epistle to the Hebrews is not entirely in the style of the Apostle Paul. He doubts whether St. John the Apostle wrote the Apocalypse. He often accuses the Evangelists of lapses of memory, and I regret to say that a rationalistic spirit constantly appears in his writings."

At this point our ecclesiastic waxes reflective—"It is scarcely possible not to observe that the mind of Erasmus was essentially sceptical. He had doubts about almost everything except the existence of God and the obligation of the moral law." Some people would consider that this was going a good long way; but the Rev. gentleman rightly opines that Erasmus wished the articles of faith to be brought within a very narrow compass, and shows that in the introduction to his edition of St. Hilary occurs the following passage: "The sum of our religion is peace, which cannot easily be preserved unless we define very few points; and in most matters leave every one to form his own judgment." For the most part it is the views Erasmus expressed on the Trinity which provoke his biographer's displeasure. The Arian heresy is scented: "We cannot fail to come to the conclusion, notwithstanding his assertion to the contrary, that, with the church's consent, he would gladly have professed that creed which nullifies Christianity, by denying our Lord's consubstantiality with the Father."

* * *

As regards orthodox Christianity, then, Erasmus was and is a heretic. We have already seen how he regarded the superstitions of his age, and in writing to Andreas Critius he says: "They tell horrid stories of saints who, in many instances, punished persons for using profane expressions; insomuch that I cannot but wonder that not one out of so many should revenge himself on the authors of this prodigious devastation. As to the mildness of Christ and the Blessed Virgin, I am not at all surprised at it." In general however his particular concern was for the progress of knowledge and the spirit of free inquiry. "I am reminded that the ancient

interesting and painstaking estimate of which I have been able to make use on several occasions above. The Lives by Jortin (3 vols., 1808) and Drummond (2 vols., 1873) contain most of the available material. Froude has given us a characteristic picture-study (1894). Knight (1726), like Jebb, is concerned largely with the Cambridge period. Of recent studies, that in the Little Biographies (Capey), and Dr. Emerton's able account in Putnam's Heroes of the Reformation series, can be recommended.

translators were men of learning and that their version is sufficient for all practical purposes. I answer that I have eyes of my own and choose to use them in preference to borrowing the spectacles of others, and further, that much yet remains to be done when the gains of scholarship have been reckoned up at their highest figure." This attitude—so natural to the scholar, the book-lover, the stylist, the intellectual—the Reformers with their burning indignation and righteous zeal could not understand. In all ages the contrast has been the same between the two spirits—the advocate of revolution and the believer in peaceful penetration—between the champions of direct action and the adherents of adjustment and mutual concession. We do but witness other forms of the divergence of temperament in the distinction between Atheist and Agnostic (Haeckel and Huxley), Marxist and Fabian, Syndicalist and State-Socialist. Erasmus was the man who thought that all things should be done decently and in order. At first he had hopes of Luther; but he soon saw that the methods of the revivalist could not be his own methods. He was not charitable in his judgments, and he certainly saw all Luther's weak points. The directness and courage of the Reformers seem however to have made little impression. Nevertheless Erasmus on several occasions went out of his way to defend Luther. In 1519 he wrote to the Archbishop of Mainz: "I was sorry when Luther's books were published; and when they began showing about some of his writings I made every effort to prevent their publication lest they should become the cause of any disturbance. Luther had written to me in a very Christian tone, as I thought; and I replied, advising him incidentally not to write anything of a factious or insulting nature against the Roman pontiff, nor to encourage a proud or intolerant spirit, but to preach the gospel out of a pure heart with all meekness. I did this in gentle language in order to make the more impression; and I added that there were some here who sympathized with him, which has been very foolishly explained to mean that *I* sympathize with him; although my object evidently was to induce him to consult the judgment of others, and I am the only person who has written to give him advice. I am neither Luther's accuser, nor advocate, nor judge; his heart I would not presume to judge—for that is always a matter of extreme difficulty—still less would I condemn."

"It cannot be denied," he goes on, "that the most odious clamor has been raised against him here by persons who have never read a word he has written. It is certain that some have condemned what they did not understand. For example Luther had written that

we are not bound to confess mortal sins, unless they are manifest, meaning by that known to us when we confess. Some one interpreting that as if manifest meant openly perpetrated, raised a most astounding outcry, simply from not understanding the question. It is certain that some things have been condemned in the books of Luther as heretical, which in those of Bernard or Augustine are regarded as orthodox, if not as truly religious. I advised these men at the first to abstain from such clamors, and to proceed rather by writings and by arguments. I urged in the first place that they should not publicly condemn that which they had not read—nay which they had not considered—for I will not say they did not understand; secondly, that it was unbecoming to divines, whose judgment ought ever to be most grave, to attempt to carry anything by tumult; finally, that one whose conduct was universally admitted to be blameless was no fit object for blind denunciation."

Fair though he endeavored to be, Erasmus was clearly ill at ease. He feared that the cause he had at heart might suffer in the eyes of thinking men if in any way contaminated by attacks on individuals or violence of propaganda. "I would," we read in another letter, "that Luther had followed my advice and abstained from those violent and opprobrious writings. More would have been gained and with less odium. The death of one man would be a small matter; but if the monks should succeed in this attempt there will be no bearing their insolence. They will never rest till they have utterly abolished linguistic studies and all polite literature."

He steered the course which he calculated would best preserve the ship of Christian humanism whose helmsman he rightly conceived himself to be. And in his letters, as we have already seen in the case of that to Cardinal Wolsey, he usually began by carefully explaining that his knowledge of Luther and his doings was the vaguest. He was busy; he had not read the book. . . . "I have no acquaintance with Luther," he declared in an epistle to the pope written from Louvain in 1520, "nor have I ever read his books, except perhaps ten or twelve pages, and that only by snatches. From what I then saw I judged him to be well qualified for expounding the Scriptures in the manner of the Fathers—a work greatly needed in an age like this, which is so excessively given to mere subtleties, to the neglect of really important questions. Accordingly I have favored his good, but not his bad qualities, or rather I have favored Christ's glory in him. I was among the first to foresee the danger there was of this matter ending in violence,

and no one ever hated violence more than I do. Indeed I even went so far as to threaten John Froben the printer, to prevent him printing his books."

A curious sentence occurs later in the same letter: "...If any one has ever heard me defending Luther's dogmas even over the bottle, I shall not object to be called a Lutheran." Erasmus is only too anxious to wash his hands of the whole business. He foresaw that his name would be coupled with Luther's by ignorant enemies. This indeed came to pass when the bull was issued. Luther, it was said, was a pestilent fellow, but Erasmus was far worse, for it was from his breasts that Luther has sucked all the poison of his composition. "Erasmus," cried others, "laid the egg, and Luther has hatched it." Everywhere they were preached against and prayed for. Prayers were offered that as Paul from a persecutor had become a teacher of the church, even so Luther and Erasmus might be converted. At Bruges a drunken Franciscan, in a public harangue, bellowed for hours against Luther and Erasmus, calling them beasts, asses, cranes and clods.⁵

Erasmus was miserable. The honor was one he had not coveted! His mistrust of the Reformers, developed into dislike. Naturally the blunt honesty of the men of action was shocked. Erasmus seemed to them a timorous hypocrite. Luther did not make his disappointment public; but Ulrich von Hutten could not contain his fury. With the instinct of a soldier he rushed his *Expostulatio* into print: "Your insatiable ambition for fame, your greed for glory which makes it impossible for you to bear the growing powers of any one else; and then the lack of steadiness in your mind, which has always displeased me in you as unworthy of your greatness and led me to believe that you were terror-stricken by the threats of these men." These, he tells Erasmus, are the weaknesses which have caused his backsliding—"Finally I explain it to myself by the pettiness of your mind, which makes you afraid of everything and easily thrown into despair, for you had so little faith in the progress of our cause, especially when you saw that some of the chief princes of Germany were conspiring against us, that straightway you thought you must not only desert us but must also seek their goodwill by every possible means."

Erasmus was thoroughly roused and published his *Spongia* to wipe off the mud whereby he had been bespattered. His defense is a monument of linguistic skill. It is typical of the literary man with a love for legal niceties, and with no really vital interest in

⁵ Drummond, *Erasmus*, II, 51.

the problem he is discussing. But even more typical of the academic temperament is the choice of *casus belli* with Luther. He embarks on the eternally barren speculation concerning the freedom of the will. With great ceremony and learning he inveighs against the Augustinian doctrine of predestination—only to decide, as Dr. Emerton has well put it, “that the question has two sides to it, but without giving that kind of decided utterance which the critical moment demanded.” Luther replied with a defense of commotion and violence, and a frank and vigorous statement of his exact belief. The Lutherans continued the battle with the weapons Erasmus had put into their hands; Erasmus stood aside, feeling, as he wrote to Bishop Fisher in 1524, that he was encircled by three groups of foes—the pagan humanists, the obscurantists, and the Lutheran fanatics. Luther in his *Table Talk* even went so far as to describe his opponent as “the vilest miscreant that ever disgraced the earth.” Picturesque vituperation was however a failing of Erasmus also, and Luther was generally repaid in his own coin.

Sir Richard Jebb has selected as typical of the difference between the two men the story of Luther being awakened in the night by a noise in his room. He lit a candle but could find nothing; then he became certain that the invisible Enemy of his soul was present—and yet he lay down and went calmly to sleep. “There is the essence of the man—the intensely vivid sense of the supernatural, and the instinctive recourse to it as an explanation—and the absolute faith. Erasmus was once in a town where a powder-magazine exploded and destroyed a house which had harbored evil-doers: some one remarked that this showed the divine anger against guilt; Erasmus quietly answered that, if such anger was indeed there, it was rather against the folly which had built a powder-magazine so near a town. The man who said that could never have fought at Luther’s side.”

Yet the part played by Erasmus in the struggles which allowed the successful culmination of the Lutheran agitation was a very important one. No one, in an age of earnest men, did more to call the world to the serious study of fundamental problems; few in any age have done so much to advance the cause of enlightenment and to instil a reverence for sincerity and truth. His untiring energy from boyhood to a ripe old age was incredibly productive, in spite of his weak constitution and continuous illness. A curious glimpse of the private troubles of Erasmus, and of the sprightly vigor which distinguishes all his correspondence, is found in the

following letter written from Cambridge to his benefactor, Archbishop Warham.

"Your Erasmus," he says, "has a dangerous and terrible fit of the stone, which has cast him into the hands of doctors and apothecaries, that is, of butchers and harpies. I am still in labor; I feel the pangs within me. . . . I think that this pain is owing to the drinking of beer which for several days I have been forced to use instead of wine. These are the unhappy fruits of a war with France." To this the archbishop whimsically rejoined: "I hope that you are purged of your gravel and stones, the rather because the Feast of the Purgation of the Virgin Mary is lately over. What mean these stones in your body? What is it you would build upon this rock? I cannot think that you design a noble house or any edifice of this kind. And therefore, since you have no occasion for your stones, pray part with them as soon as you can and give any money to carry them off. I would gladly give money to bring them to my buildings. That you may do so more easily, and not be wanting to yourself, I have sent you by a London goldsmith's son thirty nobles, which I would have you change into ten legions, to help to drive away the distemper. Gold is a good medicine and has a great deal of virtue in it. Apply it to the recovery of your health which I would be glad to purchase for you at a higher price. For I know that you have a great many excellent works to publish which cannot be finished without health and strength." Though in many respects, as the reader will infer, they bear the marks of the age in which they were written, the letters of Erasmus are among the most interesting correspondence extant. Erasmus has an epistolary style which is all his own, combining the quaintness and charm of the eighteenth century with the freshness and breadth of outlook which forms so pleasing a feature of the age of awakening and discovery.

* * *

Let us conclude by returning to the one great topic of to-day as an appropriate theme for the "modernity" of Erasmus—here so modern that he may still be regarded as many years ahead of the times. Erasmus, as we have already seen, was one of the most eloquent opponents of the folly of war. His "What, is cross pitted against cross, Christ at war with Christ?" might well serve as a text for Christian princes to-day. Yet he makes an appeal not to Christians alone but to humanity.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century a conference of

potentates had been planned—to consist of Maximilian, Francis I, Henry VIII and Charles. They were to enter in the most solemn manner “into mutual and indissoluble engagements to preserve peace with each other and consequently peace throughout Europe,” but, says Erasmus, “certain persons who get nothing by peace and a great deal by war, threw obstacles in the way and prevented this truly kingly purpose from being carried into execution.” Full of indignation he penned the *Querela Pacis*.⁶ Peace is made to speak in her own person: “If I, Peace, am extolled at one and the same time by God and man, as the fountain, the source, the nurse, the patroness, the guardian of every good thing in heaven and earth, if apart from me nothing anywhere prospers, nothing is safe, nothing is pure or holy, nothing is either delightful to man or well-pleasing to God; if on the other hand war is briefly a veritable ocean containing evils of any and every kind; if at its coming things that were flourishing began to wither, things that were developing are arrested by decay, things that were established totter to the fall, things that were made to endure utterly perish, and things sweet at length become bitter; if war is an unhallowed thing to the extent that it is the deadliest bane to all piety and religion; if there is nothing more deleterious to men or more abhorrent to heaven, I ask in the name of the ever-living God, who can believe that those rational creatures possess any soundness of mind at all who expend such vast wealth, waste such enthusiasm, enter upon undertakings so great, expose themselves to so many perils in the endeavor to drive me away from them and to purchase at so high a price so appalling an array of sorrows?” If dumb creatures regarded her as an object of hatred, Peace could pardon their ignorance seeing that they are denied the powers of mind necessary to the recognition of her unique gifts. “But it is a fact at once shameful and marvelous that though Nature has formed only one animal endowed with reason, capable of the thought of God, one that is innately benevolent and sympathetic, yet I can more readily find tolerance among the wildest of wild beasts and the most brutal of brutes than among men.”

More than five years previously, in 1511, Erasmus had written of war as “a thing so fierce and cruel as to be more suitable to wild beasts than to men, so impious that it cannot at all be reconciled with Christianity.” Nevertheless even the Christian pontiffs make it the one business to which they give their attention: “Among them

⁶ *Querela Pacis undique gentium ejectae profligataeque*; 1516. An English translation by T. Paynell was published in London in 1559, and again in 1802.

you may see decrepit old men display the energy of a youthful spirit, deterred by no cost, fatigued by no labors, if so they can turn laws, religion, peace and all human affairs upside down. Nor are there wanting learned flatterers who to this plain insanity give the name of zeal, of piety and of fortitude, having devised a way in which a man may draw his sword and sheath it in his brother's body without any violation of Christian charity." And in the remarkable letter to Antony of Bergen, which we have already quoted in part, he asks pointedly, "What do you suppose the Turks think when they hear that Christian princes are raging with so much fury against each other."

To-day we can no longer appeal even to the Turks. But one day the humanist ideal for which Erasmus stood, will triumph, and we shall regard him not only as the protagonist of the conflict between the new knowledge and the old, between formalism and life; but as the symbol of a practical internationalism which the men whose civilization had still a bond of union in the Latin language could perhaps envisage more clearly than the warring nations of to-day.

THE DANGER TO CIVILIZATION.

BY BERTRAND RUSSELL.

IN the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, men commonly congratulated themselves that they lived in an era of enlightenment and progress, very far removed from the ignorance, superstition and barbarity of the dark ages. Progress in civilization came to seem natural and certain, no longer needing deliberate effort for its realization. Under the influence of a fancied security, men gradually came to value less consciously the effort after mental advancement. But history gives no justification for the sense of security, and the present war, to those who view it as an historical event, not simply as a vehicle for their own passions, affords grave reason for fear that the civilization we have slowly built up is in danger of self-destruction. This aspect of the war has been too little considered on both sides, the fear of defeat and the longing for victory have made men oblivious of the common task of Europe and of the work which Europe had been performing for mankind at large. In all that has made the nations of the West important to the world, they run the risk of being involved in a common disaster, so great and so terrible that it will outweigh, to the historian in the future, all the penalties of military defeat and all the glories of military victory.

Over and over again, in the past, the greatest civilizations have been destroyed or degraded by war. The fighting which Homer has taught us to regard as glorious swept away the Mycenaean civilization, which was succeeded by centuries of confused and barbarous conflict. The speech of Pericles to the Athenians at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war has been thought worthy of a place among recruiting appeals in the London Underground Railway; yet the war which he recommended by recalling the greatness of Athenian civilization proved in fact to be its end, and Athenians born after the war added almost nothing to the world's permanent

possessions. It is impossible to imagine a more sinister precedent than that war, in which the most fruitful and splendid civilization the world has known was brought to an end for ever by pride of power and love of battle. The Roman civilization which succeeded it, though less productive, might have seemed secure by its great extent, yet it perished almost completely in the barbarian invasion. The remnants out of which the modern world has grown were preserved, not by the men who fought against the barbarians, but by monks who retired from the strife and devoted their lives to religion. And in modern times, the Thirty Years' War had an influence, impossible to overestimate, in brutalizing the German character and making the level of humane feeling lower than that of nations less subject to the degrading influence of invasion and rapine.

When we consider the world in a broad historical retrospect, it is what nations have added to civilization that makes us permanently honor them, not what they have achieved in conquest and dominion. Great conquerors, such as Attila, Timur and Zenghis Khan, trample across the pages of history full of noise and fury, signifying nothing: like an earthquake or a plague, they come and pass, leaving only a record of destruction and death. The Jews and Greeks, the Roman, and the modern nations of Western Europe have contributed almost everything that has been added in historical times to creation and diffusion of what is permanently valuable in human life. The Romans spread throughout their empire what had been created by the Jews in religion, by the Greeks in art and science; on this foundation, after a long interval of barbarism, the Italians, the French, the English and the Germans built the world in which we have hitherto lived. The progress in which we have rejoiced has not grown up by itself: it has been created and sustained by individual and collective effort. What great men have done in literature, in art, in natural knowledge, has been made available to large numbers by education. Private violence has been suppressed: the rudiments of learning have become more and more accessible to all classes; and mental activity has been continually stimulated and broadened as the progress of science liberated more and more men from the need of manual labor.

It is this achievement, imperfect as it has hitherto been, which chiefly entitles the Western nations to respect. It is the furtherance of civilization which makes us admire the Roman Empire more than that of Xerxes, or the British Empire more than that of China. It is this service to mankind that is being jeopardized by the present war. Whether, when it ends, the English, the French, or the Ger-

mans will have the energy and will to carry on the progress of the past, is a very doubtful question, depending chiefly upon the length of the war and the spirit fostered by the settlement. Of all the reasons for desiring an early peace, this is, to my mind, the strongest. The danger, great and pressing as I believe it to be, is obscured amid the clash of national ambitions, because it requires us to fix our attention on individuals, not on States. There is some risk of forgetting the good of individuals under the stress of danger to the state: yet, in the long run, the good of the state cannot be secured if the individuals have lost their vigor. In what follows, I shall ignore political issues, and speak only of the effect on separate men and women and young people; but a corresponding effect on the state must follow in the end, since the state lives only by the life of its separate citizens.

This war, to begin with, is worse than any previous war in the direct effect upon those who fight. The armies are far larger than they have ever been before, and the loss by death or permanent disablement immensely exceeds what has occurred in the past.¹ The losses are enhanced by the deadlock, which renders a purely strategical decision of the war almost impossible. We are told to regard it as a war of attrition, which means presumably that victory is hoped from the gradual extermination of the German armies. Our military authorities, apparently, contemplate with equanimity a three years' war, ending only by our excess of population: when practically all Germans of military age have been killed or maimed, it is thought that there will still remain a good many English, Russians and Italians, and perhaps a sprinkling of Frenchmen. But in the course of such destruction almost all that makes the Allied nations worth defending will have been lost: the enfeebled, impoverished remnants will lack the energy to resume the national life which existed before the war, and the new generation will grow up listless under the shadow of a great despair. I hope that the men in authority are wiser than their words; but everything that has been said points to this result as what is intended by those who control our fate.

The actual casualties represent only a small part of the real loss in the fighting. In former wars, seasoned veterans made the best soldiers, and men turned from the battlefield with their physical and mental vigor unimpaired. In this war, chiefly owing to the nerve-shattering effect of shell-fire and continual noise, this is no

¹ According to Mr. Balfour, Great Britain, which has suffered far less than France, Russia, Germany or Austria-Hungary, has had more casualties in the first year than Germany had in the war of 1870.

longer the case. All troops gradually deteriorate at the front: the best troops are those who are fresh, provided they are adequately trained. In all the armies, a number of men go mad, a much larger number suffer from nervous collapse, becoming temporarily blind or dumb or incapable of any effort of will, and almost all suffer considerable nervous injury, causing loss of vitality, energy, and power of decision. In great part, no doubt, this effect is temporary; but there is reason to think that in most men something of it will be permanent, and in not a few the nervous collapse will remain very serious. I fear it must be assumed that almost all who have seen much fighting will have grown incapable of great effort, and will only be able, at best, to slip unobtrusively through the remaining years of life. Since the fighting will, if the war lasts much longer, absorb the bulk of the male population of Europe between 18 and 45, this cause alone will make it all but impossible to maintain and hand on the tradition of civilization which has been slowly acquired by the efforts of our ancestors.

We are told by advocates of war that its moral effects are admirable; on this ground, they say, we ought to be thankful that there is little prospect of an end to wars. The men who repeat this hoary falsehood must have learnt nothing from the reports of friends returned from the war, and must have refrained from talking with wounded soldiers in hospitals and elsewhere. It is true that, in those who enlist of their own free will, there is a self-devotion to the cause of their country which deserves all praises; and their first experience of warfare often gives them a horror of its futile cruelty which makes them for a time humane and ardent friends of peace. If the war had lasted only three months, these good effects might have been its most important moral consequences. But as the months at the front pass slowly by, the first impulse is followed by quite other moods. Heroism is succeeded by a merely habitual disregard of danger, enthusiasm for the national cause is replaced by passive obedience to orders. Familiarity with horrors makes war seem natural, not the abomination which it is seen to be at first. Humane feeling decays, since, if it survived, no man could endure the daily shocks. In every army, reports of enemy atrocities, true or false, stimulate ferocity, and produce a savage thirst for reprisals. On the Western front at least, both sides have long ceased to take prisoners except in large batches. Our newspapers have been full of the atrocities perpetrated by German soldiers. Whoever listens to the conversation of wounded soldiers returned from the front will find that, in all the armies, some men become

guilty of astonishing acts of ferocity. Will even the most hardened moralist dare to say that such men are morally the better for their experience of war? If the war had not occurred, they would probably have gone through life without ever having the wild beast in them aroused. There is a wild beast slumbering in almost every man, but civilized men know that it must not be allowed to awake. A civilized man who has once been under the domain of the wild beast has lost his moral self-respect, his integrity and uprightness: a secret shame makes him cynical and despairing, without the courage that sees facts as they are, without the hope that makes them better. War is perpetrating this moral murder in the souls of vast millions of combatants; every day many are passing over to the dominion of the brute by acts which kill what is best within them. Yet, still our newspapers, parsons, and professors prate of the ennobling influence of war.

The war, hitherto, has steadily increased in ferocity, and has generated a spirit of hatred in the armies which was absent in the early months. If it lasts much longer, we may be sure that it will grow worse in these respects. The Germans, hitherto, have prospered, but if the tide turns, it is to be feared that their "frightfulness" in the past will be child's play compared with what will happen when they begin to anticipate defeat. They have already aroused among the Allies a hatred which is the greatest danger that now menaces civilization; but if the war lasts much longer, and if the Germans are driven by fear into even greater crimes against humanity than they have hitherto committed, it is to be expected that a blind fury of destruction will drive us on and on until the good and evil of the old world have perished together in universal ruin. For this reason, if for no other, it is of the first importance to control hatred, to realize that almost all that is detestable in the enemy is the result of war, is brought out by war, in a greater or less degree, on our side as well as on the other, and will cease with the conclusion of peace but not before. If the terrible deeds that are done in the war are merely used to stimulate mutual hatred, they lead only to more war and to still more terrible deeds: along that road, there is no goal but exhaustion. If universal exhaustion is to be avoided, we must, sooner or later, forget our resentment, and remember that the war, whatever its outcome, is destroying on both sides the heritage of civilization which was transmitted to us by our fathers and which it is our duty to hand on to our children as little impaired as possible.

When the war is over, the men who have taken part in it will

not easily find their place again among the occupations of peace. They will have become accustomed to act under the strong stimulus of danger, or in mere obedience to orders; and they will be physically and mentally exhausted by the terrible strain of life in the trenches. For both reasons, they will have little will-power, little capacity for self-direction. It will be hardly possible to find room for them all in the labor market, and the first impulses of patriotism in their favor will probably soon die down. We cannot hope that very many of them will ever again be as useful citizens as they would have been if the war had not occurred. The habit of violence, once acquired, however legitimately, is not easily set aside, and the respect for law and order is likely to be much less after the war than it was before. If this state of mind concurs, as is likely, with serious distress and labor troubles ruthlessly repressed by a government grown used to autocratic power, the effect upon the national life will be disastrous and profound.

In the minds of most men on both sides, the strongest argument for prolonging the war is that no other course will secure us against its recurrence in the near future. In the opinion of Englishmen and Germans alike, their enemies have such a thirst for war that only their utter overthrow can secure the peace of the world. We are an essentially peace-loving nation—so both contend—and if we had the power, we should prevent such a war as this from occurring again. On this ground, it is urged by both that the war must continue, since both believe that their own side will ultimately be completely victorious.

I believe that in this both sides are profoundly mistaken. I shall not discuss the question from a political point of view, though I believe the political argument is overwhelming. What I wish to urge is the effect of war upon the imaginative outlook of men, upon their standard of international conduct, and upon the way in which they view foreign nations. Individual passions and expectations in ordinary citizens are at least as potent as the acts of governments in causing or averting wars, and in the long run it is upon them that the preservation of peace in future will depend. It is commonly said that punishment will have an effect that nothing else can have in turning the thoughts of our enemies away from war and making them henceforth willing to keep the peace. This argument assumes, quite falsely, that men and nations are guided by self-interest in their actions. Unfortunately this is not the case, and the motives which do guide them are often worse than self-interest. It is as clear as noonday that no one of the nations involved

in the present war would have fought if self-interest had been its principle of action. Pride, prestige, love of dominion, unwillingness to yield a triumph to others or to behave in a way which would be thought dishonorable, these are among the motives which produced the war. Each motive, no doubt, wove a myth of self-interest about it, since people do not wish to think their actions harmful to their own interests; but if self-interest had been genuinely operative, the nations would have made friends and cooperated in the works of peace. And if self-interest has not prevented this war, why should we expect that it will prevent future wars? Yet it is only by an appeal to self-interest that punishment can hope to be effective.

It is peace, not war, that in the long run turns men's thoughts away from fighting. No doubt when a great war ends there is a weariness which ensures a number of years of peace and recuperation; however this war may end, and, if it ended to-morrow, no matter on what terms, it would not break out again at once, because the impulse to war is exhausted for the moment. But for the future every additional month of war increases the danger, since it makes men increasingly view war as a natural condition of the world, renders them more and more callous to its horrors and to the loss of friends, and fills their imagination, especially the imagination of those who are now young, with war as something to be expected and with the thought that some foreign nations are so wicked as to make it our duty to destroy them.

If the war is brought to an end by reason, by a realization on all sides that it is an evil, it may be possible to combat the imaginative outlook which it is engendering and to bring about an effective will to peace. But if only exhaustion ends the war, any revival of energy may lead to its renewal, especially if the positive ideals which make for peace have perished meanwhile in the universal death of all humane and civilized aspirations.

Through the effects of the war upon education, the mental calibre of the next generation is almost certain to be considerably lower than that of generations educated before the war. Education, from the highest to the lowest, is in constant danger of becoming a mere mechanical drill in which the young are taught to perform certain tasks in the way that is considered correct, and to believe that all intellectual questions have been decided once for all in the sense declared by the text-books. The education inspired by this spirit destroys the mental activity of the young, makes them passive in thought and active only in pursuing some humdrum ambition. It is this spirit which is the most insidious enemy of progress in an

old civilization, since it inculcates constantly, with a great parade of knowledge and authority, a Byzantine attitude of superstitious respect for what has been done and contempt for the credit of what is attempted in our own day. The mental life of Europe has only been saved from complete subjection to this spirit by a small percentage of teachers, more full of vitality than most, and more filled with a genuine delight in mental activity. These men are to be found almost exclusively among the younger teachers, the men whose hopes have not yet faded, who have not yet become the slaves of habit, who have enough spring of life to take lightly the weariness and expense of spirit in their daily task. It is this comparatively small number of teachers who keep alive the mental vigor that leads to new discoveries and new methods of dealing with old problems. Without them, there would be no progress; and without progress, we could not even stand still. What is known bears now such a large proportion to what our own age can hope to discover that the danger of traditionalism is very great; indeed it has only been averted by the continual triumph of the men of science.

After the war, the number of teachers with any power of stimulating mental life must be enormously diminished. Many of the younger teachers will have been killed, many others incapacitated; of those who remain, most will have lost hope and energy. For a number of years, teaching will be much more in the hands of the old and middle-aged, while those teachers who are still young in years will have lost much of the spirit of youth in the strain of the war. The result will be that the new generation will have less expectation of progress than its predecessors, less power of bearing lightly the burden of knowledge. It is only a small stock of very unusual energy that makes mental progress; and that small stock is being wasted on the battle-field.

What is true in the purely intellectual sphere is equally true in art and literature and all the creative activities of our civilization. In all these, if the war lasts long, it is to be expected that the great age of Europe will be past and that men will look back to the period now coming to an end as the later Greeks looked back to the age of Pericles. Who then is supreme in Europe will be a matter of no importance to mankind; in the madness of rivalry, Europe will have decreed its own insignificance.

All the difficulties of restoring civilization when the present outburst of barbarism has passed will be increased by economic exhaustion. Hitherto, in England, most men have hardly begun to feel the economic effects of the war, and if peace were to come

this autumn it is possible that the economic effects in this country would not be very profound or very disastrous. But if the war drags on after the period of easy borrowing is past, great and general impoverishment must result. Those who still have capital will be able to exact a continually increasing rate of interest; probably it will become necessary to borrow largely in America, and the interest will represent a perpetual tribute which Europe will have to pay to America as the price of its indulgence in war.

The enormous production of munitions will either cease suddenly with a violent dislocation of the labor market, or will be continued out of deference to vested interests, causing a constant stimulus to new wars and to mutual suspicions and fears on the part of the rival states. The reabsorption of the men who have been fighting will be difficult, especially as their places will have been largely taken by women at lower wages, and casualties will have increased the number of widows and single women anxious to earn their own living. The men who return from the front will have grown accustomed to a higher standard in food than that of the ordinary workingman, and will feel themselves heroes; both causes will make it difficult for them to settle down to a poorer living than they had before the war, yet it is almost certain that that is what they will have to do. The government, having grown accustomed to almost absolute power during the war, having unlimited soldiers under its orders, and having no organized opposition to fear, will be far more ruthless than it has hitherto been in suppressing strikes and enforcing submission. This will probably lead to much revolutionary feeling, without the energy or the ability that could make revolution successful.

In these circumstances, there will be little money available for education or the promotion of art and science. In order to be able still to keep up huge armaments, the governing classes will diminish expenditure on the objects they consider least important, among these, education is sure to be included. Their object will be to produce a proletariat unskilled in everything except shooting and drill, docile through ignorance and formidable through military discipline. This must result in either apathy or civil war. Unless the war ends soon, it is apathy that will result; but in either event our civilization is imperiled.

There are some who hold that the war will result in a permanent increase in the rate of wages. But there are several broad grounds for thinking that this view is mistaken. To begin with, many young and vigorous workers will have been killed or disabled

in the war, and the population will contain a larger proportion than before of old men, women and children. The more productive sections of the population will be diminished, and the production of goods per head will be less than it was when the war broke out. As there will be less to divide, some one must suffer. The capitalist is not likely to suffer, since the demands of war enable him to secure a good rate of interest now, and the reconstruction of what the war has destroyed will cause a great demand for capital for some time after the war. It is unlikely that the land-owner will suffer, since he will be able to impose tariffs on the plea of revenue and protection against German competition. It seems inevitable that the loss must fall upon wage-earners. In bringing about this loss, capitalists will find the growth of cheap female labor during the war a great help, and this opportunity will be improved by the enormous numbers of discharged soldiers and munitions workers seeking employment. I do not see how this situation can result otherwise than in a great fall of wages.

To sum up: the bad results which we have been considering do not depend on the question of victory or defeat: they will fall upon all the nations, and their severity depends only upon the length and destructiveness of the war. If the war lasts much longer, very few healthy men of military age will have failed to be injured physically to a greater or less extent in any of the nations involved; the moral level everywhere will be lowered by familiarity with horrors, leading, in most men, to an easy acquiescence; the mental efficiency of Europe will be greatly diminished by the inevitable deterioration of education and by the death or nervous weakening of many of the best minds among the young; and the struggle for life will almost certainly become more severe among all classes except the idle rich. The collective life of Europe, which has been carried on since the Renaissance in the most wonderful upward movement known to history, will have received a wound which may well prove mortal. If the war does not come to an end soon, it is to be feared that we are at the end of a great epoch, and that the future of Europe will not be on a level with its past.

Is there any conceivable gain from the continuation of the war to be set against this loss? It is difficult to imagine any gain which could outweigh so terrible a loss, and none of the gains which are suggested can compare with it for a moment. But in fact even the gains which are suggested are illusory. It is fairly clear now that neither side can hope for the absolute and crushing victory which both expected at the outset, except at a cost which cannot be seriously

contemplated. Sooner or later, negotiation will have to end the war. The claims of Belgium, which are for us an obligation of honor, will, it is known, be recognized by Germany in return for compensation elsewhere.² The argument that, if we do not crush Germany, we cannot be safe from a recurrence of the present war in the near future, is probably the one that carries most weight. But in fact it will not bear a moment's examination. In the first place, most military authorities are agreed that it is impossible to crush Germany. In the second place, there have been wars before in which Germany was not our enemy, and there may be such wars in future: unless the spirit of rivalry is checked, the removal of one rival is only the prelude to the growth of another. In the third place, if the war lasts much longer we shall incur now all the evils which we might incur in the future if the war broke out again, and the present evils are certain while the future war is open to doubt. Germany has suffered appalling losses, and is in a very different mood from that in which it began the war, as may be seen by the growing condemnation of the Hymn of Hate. A peace now, giving no definite victory to either side, would probably leave Germany, for many years, determined not to go to war again; and no peace can insure us against wars a generation hence. In continuing the war, we are incurring great and certain evils for a very doubtful gain. The obligation of honor toward Belgium is more fully discharged if the Germans are led to evacuate Belgium by negotiations than if they are driven out at the cost of destroying whatever they have left unharmed. Both on their side and on ours, the real motive which prolongs the war is pride. Is there no statesman who can think in terms of Europe, not only of separate nations? Is our civilization a thing of no account to all our rulers? I hope not. I hope that somewhere among the men who hold power in Europe there is at least one who will remember, at this late date, that we are the guardians, not only of the nation, but of that common heritage of thought and art and a humane way of life into which we were born, but which our children may find wasted by our blind violence and hate.

² See e. g., *The Times*, Sept. 4, 1915.

THOU THAT HEAREST PRAYER!

BY HELEN COALE CREW.

NO unknown God art Thou!
Nay, sweet and familiar in the days of my childhood;
A warm hand in dark and empty places;
A touch of healing on the wounded heart of youth.
Like as a father, Thou,
And I was comforted of Thee in my weeping.
Now that I have upreached to the stature of a man,
Behold, Thou hast stooped to the stature of a man out of Thy God-
head.

Thy feet beside mine in the grass of the woodways,
Thy footsteps with mine in the dust of the highways,
As the feet of a brother.
Thy breathing is near and warm as the breath of the flocks in the
pasture.

I may turn and laugh with Thee when I will,
As the pool laughs, crimpling in the wind,
For the joy of laughter is Thine, and Thou hast the grace of tears.

I feel Thee in the swarming of the grassblades,
The myriad, green-tongued fire of April.
I hear Thee in the golden flood of noontide
That beats and breaks in a shining wave upon earth's bosom.
I see Thee where the Pleiads broider the heaven's edge,
At twilight, when the sheep are folded from the chilling mists
That roll along the orchard floor before the feet of the new-born
night.

Thy beauty is a sharp savor upon my lips at the unspeakable, sea-
cold mystery of the dawn.
When the garden quickens and brings forth roses,

Then art Thou, O Ancient of Days, as lovely as Apollo at morning,
As bright as Balder when spring ripples into the meadows!
But in dim city-ways, in all the deep-worn paths of pain and fear
and sin;

By blackened hearths, in trampled wheatfields, in ruined sanctuaries,
in red trenches;

There art Thou terrible as an army with banners, and I am over-
whelmed by Thy merciless justice.

I cannot understand.

But as Thou hast forgiven me, so forgive I Thee.

Ah, and when Death lifts the veil of his tenderness;

When Birth is bright-terrible in its majesty;

When a child laughs;

When my young love, my darling, flame-souled and heaven-eyed,

Comes through the dusk shyly to me waiting;

Then earth reels and heaven shatters into a thousand lights,

Throbbing, pulsing.

It is Thou! It is Thou revealed!

Thou that hearest prayer!

Thou unto Whom all flesh shall come!

MISCELLANEOUS.

BRITISH TREATMENT OF GERMAN MISSIONARIES.

A circular has reached us, edited by the Rev. W. Stark and published under the auspices of the Evangelical Pressverband of Germany at Berlin-Steglitz, which contains extracts from depositions made by American, German and Swiss missionaries concerning English treatment of Christian missionaries in German South Africa during the present war. The opening sentences of the circular are as follows:

"But a few months ago England was considered to be the nation most interested in the cause of missions, and the English government did all in its power to spread the Christian religion and culture among the heathen. The English Bible and missionary societies were famous and held in high esteem throughout the world. Her missions were looked upon as models.

"Now this same England is charged with having ruined for a long time to come the flourishing mission stations of German as well as Swiss and American mission societies by her method of warfare in the colonies. English soldiers and officers have stained the reputation of the white race among the blacks; they committed thefts, broke open safes, ill-treated defenseless white women in presence of the negroes, unjustly imprisoned American citizens, and paid rewards for the capture of Germans by the blacks..."

In the following we quote extracts giving in part some of the depositions of eye-witnesses.

Missionary A. Orthner, who recently returned from Cameroon where he had been for years active in the cause of the Baptist Mission relates: "The station Nyamtang was attacked by the English on November 6. We were just returning from dinner. When we stepped out on the veranda dozens of rifles were pointed at us and we were dragged down from the steps by soldiers. The wife of Missionary Wolff was treated in the same manner. We stood in the fierce tropical sun and were not even permitted to put on our sun helmets... We were now permitted to enter our house which was, however, surrounded by soldiers. But they took our goats, chickens, and what other things we had... We now began to pack up. I made seven packs of 50 pounds each, and we were then conducted over Jabassi to the coast. It soon appeared that of my seven packs the three most important, containing my papers, letters and 1555 marks in silver, as well as the necessary clothing, were gone... I was now deprived of money and necessary clothing. Our own food supplies had been confiscated and we were fed on bad 'corned beef' and 'fresh herring,' the latter having been taken from the negroes.

"Two weeks we were confined in the prisoners' camp at Duala. The house where we were interned was surrounded by a high fence and was

guarded. On the veranda of the second story in which we were confined six soldiers kept guard while two others were stationed at the entrance. Whenever we went into the yard we had to wait until a negro soldier deliberately took up his gun and followed on our heels. The ladies had their quarters elsewhere but received no better treatment. Some of them underwent experiences which cannot be recounted here and show that the English officers are the responsible parties and that they are mean characters. We were subjected to all manner of insults. One officer said if he had his way we should simply be shot down so that we and all Germans might be wiped off the face of the earth. On November 22 we were ordered to get ready; each one was permitted to take 50 pounds of luggage. In the presence of the natives we were compelled to carry our own packs, which is here looked upon as a great disgrace. With wives and children we were taken on board the steamer Appam. A certain Mrs. Schwartz, though she was *enceinte* and the physician considered her condition serious, was compelled to clamber up the side of the ship which lay in the harbor. Twenty-four hours later the child was born.

Rev. Orthner relates further that he was given to understand the conditions of his imprisonment might be ameliorated if he would consent to write a report of "German Atrocities." Missionary Wolff was actually offered his freedom on condition that he would write such an article. But these men knew of no German atrocities and openly said so, and Mr. Wolff sent them an article about English barbarities. It may be mentioned here that the latter was taken prisoner in spite of his American citizenship.

The full report of the plundering of the station of Nyamtang was first published in the *Detroit Evening Post*. It was verified by the missionary Valentine Wolff, United States citizen and fellow worker at the Mission of Nyamtang.

Missionary Wolff tells in his report how the English and their black troops of about 10,000 negro soldiers attacked and plundered Nyamtang; how the soldiers rummaged through the missionaries' rooms and packed everything available in the way of money, watches, and valuables into their knapsacks. In his deposition he says:

"When, soon after, a colonel and a few other officers appeared and I expressed my surprise that the English should thus attack a mission station, and complained of the ill treatment I had received at the hands of the English soldiers, he retorted: 'War is war.' On calling his attention to the fact that we were American citizens, he replied that he had orders to take prisoners all white persons without exception and that we would have to be ready to depart the next morning.... The English who had remained on the grounds after our departure had broken down the doors, broken open all chests and drawers and taken everything of value or sold the things to the natives. At first we could not believe this, but the news was confirmed from various sides....

"We also made the painful discovery that nine of our packs were missing. One of the Englishmen comforted me with the remark that they had no doubt been taken by mistake to the Government hut. But when, on the next day, on continuing our journey we saw them in the possession of English soldiers we knew that we had again been robbed....

"After my arrival in Duala I was summoned to appear before the commanding staff and asked to write something about German atrocities. I refused and was dismissed. Soon after came a second summons; and again

this outrageous request. After I had declared my readiness to write down what I had seen, I was permitted to go. The report which I handed in told of the shameless treatment which had been accorded me and the other missionaries. Hereupon I was again called up and sharply reprimanded because what I had written was a complaint against the English and French soldiers and cast suspicion on the whole staff. They had the impudence to go a step farther and suggest the prospect of being released in case I fulfilled their wish and wrote and sent in a report of the atrocities committed by German troops! Of course, that was out of the question. Under the charge that I as a United States citizen had not acted in accordance with the duties of a citizen of a neutral state and supported the German government in its aims and intentions my wife and I were brought to England as prisoners of war. Fortunately I, as an ordained missionary, was finally released and permitted to go to Germany."

Among the missionaries who were ill treated were several women. Charlotte Schüler writes:

"On Sunday, September 27, our missionaries were ordered out of the house by English and French, and lined up in the yard....On Wednesday we were brought on board the small English steamer 'Bathurst.' The men had to stay on deck day and night, whereas the women were given cabins. These were, however, in such a condition that it was almost impossible to sleep in them. At midnight we were awakened and searched for money....No one bothered about getting food for us. The first two days we received nothing at all! On the third day some provisions were distributed. One man got a glass of ground pepper, I a piece of soap, and many others stuff not to be eaten. On the fourth day each one received two ships' biscuits and a salted herring. Later we were given salt meat and rice. The broth made of it was often green and the maggots floated on the surface....A large enamel pan had been given us and served about 22 persons as dish, dishpan and washbasin. Eighteen persons soon became ill because of this treatment. We were transported to the Gold Coast. Pelted with stones and spat upon by the natives, the women and children were taken away in large dirty auto-trucks. On Monday, December 7, we were taken on board the English steamer "Appam." All whites in the colony, Germans as well as the neutral Dutch, Swiss, and Americans, who were treated as prisoners of war, had been brought thither. We arrived in Liverpool, Monday, December 28....To our great delight several gentlemen of the U. S. Consulate came later and undertook to attend to our transportation to London. On the way from the "Appam" to the hotel we saw how some Liverpool street boys rolled a dead rat in the mud and threw it in the face of one of our ladies. We were also pelted with mud and stones."....

The missionaries of the Basel Mission, a Swiss and thus neutral mission, who worked in Cameroon, were treated in just as shameful a fashion. The director of this mission, Dr. Oehler, wrote in the official organ of the society, *Der evangelische Heidenbote*, with reference to the reports of the missionaries published in the *Basler Nachrichten*:

"These facts are serious charges against Great Britain, her policy and method of warfare. Without any necessity whatever England has carried the war into the colonies and thus spread this war of the nations over the whole earth. England has made the war a fight against the innocent and the women;

they were taken prisoner, dragged into captivity and treated with inconceivable brutality. The labor of peace of the mission was sacrificed to a warfare directed not only against state and army but also against private citizens, a method of warfare opposed to all fundamental principles of civilization."

This declaration, printed later in the *Basler Nachrichten*, caused the British Minister at Berné to protest. He said:

"In Cameroon the missionaries were treated with all possible courtesy. They were taken to England because it was considered more humane to intern them in a milder climate. The assertion that they met with brutal treatment is without foundation whatever."

To his bold protest of the English Minister unsupported by facts Dr. Oehler, the director of the Mission, made an unequivocal reply which appeared in the *Basler Nachrichten* of February 25:

"I stand by my words in spite of the denial of the English Minister. . . .

"In support of my statements and opinion I mention first the persons interviewed by myself, the two women Link and Hecklinger, the ordained missionaries Lutz, president of the Cameroon mission, Hecklinger, member of the board of governors, missionary Gutbrod, Wittwer, Bärtschi and Wöll. I am ready to name 20 or 30 more witnesses, some of them living in Switzerland, for any one who considers further proof necessary. The witness of the Basel Missionaries is confirmed by that of the German Baptist missionary, Märtens. His sick wife, after she had gone through experiences like the above in Cameroon, died in a hospital on the Gold Coast, heartlessly treated by an English nurse, but humanely by a negress. The dying woman was denied a visit of her husband until her senses began to leave her."

Dr. G. Vöhringer testifies in a deposition that in Lagos German civilians were taken prisoners and packed so closely in a transport that the men could neither sit nor lie down. . . . Not only all their money but their last cigar had been taken from them. At one time the drinking water was actually poured into a slop pail and then offered them. When they complained a British officer declared: "It is all one and the same if the German pigs have water or not." . . .

"The wife of one missionary had become deathly ill from exhaustion. Her urgent request that she be allowed to speak once more with her husband was not granted. When she was dying and no longer able to talk he was allowed to come and stay with her until death set in.

"The toilet arrangements were so bad that. . . . This was an existence made unbearable by shame and rage. . . ."

Pauline Kessler of the German Baptist Mission at Cameroon reports:

"The beginning of December a soldier of the colonial troop was murdered at Lohat, 4 or 5 hours journey from us; one of his hands was cut off and, together with his rifle, brought to the English. A reward is said to have been paid. Soon after some workmen who had been employed by the German government but were now dismissed, were attacked, robbed and murdered. Their hands, too, were brought to Duala. On December 23 a negro soldier from Jubassi was traveling together with a missionary scholar from Nyamtang to Ndogongi to bring us a message. On December 24 he and the mission scholar were found murdered near our station. Rifles and hands were in this case, too, delivered to the Englishmen. We saw both soldier and scholar lying dead and mutilated near our station."

That English soldiers offered the blacks money for the heads of Germans is proved beyond doubt by a deposition made by the American missionary Valentine Wolff. A reward up to 50 shillings was placed by the British government on the head of every German.

"As the result of this," says Reverend Wolff, "sailor Nickstadt and Quartermaster Schlichting, both belonging to the steamer 'Kamerun' lying in the harbor of Duala, were attacked and murdered by the natives. Nickstadt was drowned and Schlichting hewn to pieces with bush knives."

Rev. Director Stark sent a telegram to missionary Chr. Gehr, at Calw, Württemberg, requesting confirmation of this statement by wire, and received the following reply:

"Stark pressverband für Deutschland evanpresse berlinsteglitz.

"I confirm that the merchants Erich Student and Nikolai, also seaman Fischer were fearfully mauled by the natives on the Sanaga and that Nickstadt was drowned and Schlichting murdered. Merchant Student saw a circular according to which 50 shillings were set on the head of every German by the English. Missionary Chr. Gehr."

"After comparison I attest that this answer has not been garbled.

(Signed) Chr. Gehr, Missionary."

OUR THERMOMETER.

BY THE EDITOR.

It is a peculiar phenomenon in history that the different nations have measured temperature by thermometers invented by men not of their own nationality, and the explanation of this also throws light on the mental make-up of the respective peoples. The English, most conservative of all, cling to the first method of measurement and still measure temperature by the thermometer as first used by its inventor, a German professor of physics at Königsberg. Fahrenheit placed zero at the temperature of the very coldest day he had experienced in his own city of Königsberg, and this zero is still the zero for every English mind. The degrees in which he measured were accidental, and the freezing point fell on the degree 32. His invention was practical, and so the English government introduced it into the navy for official measurement of temperature. This settled the question, and no change has occurred down to the present day, for if the English mind accepts one method of action it will stick to it until the end of time. The English have clung to the Fahrenheit scale although there are some very obvious criticisms to be made concerning it. The zero point is purely accidental, and the temperature-points which are of special importance in the field of natural phenomena fall on integral degrees, these points being distributed over the scale in the haphazard fashion characteristic of the Fahrenheit system. The two temperature-points of greatest significance for life on this earth are certainly the freezing-point of water and the point at which water boils under normal conditions. It was a Frenchman, Réaumur by name, who had the practical sense to adopt as his basal temperatures the freezing-point and the boiling-point of water. He called the freezing-point zero and fixed the boiling-point at 80 degrees. As soon as his obviously well-designed reform was made, Germany adopted his system and it was soon in general use in that country.

But there is one point in Réaumur's system which is not practical. He divided the most important portion of his thermometer-scale into 80 degrees,

while at present the decimal system is used in all forms of measurement. For example, the French divided their coins—the unit being the franc—into centimes or hundredth parts of the franc, and in like manner the Americans divided the dollar into cents. In 1871 the Germans followed suit by establishing the mark as a unit and dividing it into one hundred pfennigs, and the Austrians likewise divided their monetary unit, the crown, into one hundred hellers.

About 1742 a Dane by the name of Celsius proposed that Réaumur's 80 degrees be replaced by 100 degrees, and the French, who are always prone to accept the most recent method and do not hesitate to change old systems, accepted it at once, and so for a long time the English, in their more conservative habit, followed the earlier German system, the Fahrenheit; the Germans followed the French method; and the French followed the Danish method, the most recent innovation.

There is no doubt that to Fahrenheit belongs the honor of having invented the thermometer; all the essentials of temperature measurement were invented by him, and we shall never forget that he was the pioneer in this field. The later changes are insignificant as far as the essential characteristics of the invention are concerned, though they are undoubtedly improvements, and it is strange that Fahrenheit himself did not anticipate them. If his attention had been called to them he would no doubt have accepted them at once. But he was a professor and a learned man who was out of touch with practical life. His invention was before the general introduction of the decimal system in other fields of measurement, and for scientific purposes it is quite indifferent where the zero is placed. But we must recognize that the improvements introduced by Réaumur and Celsius make the thermometer much simpler and ought to be introduced without quibbling.

We Americans, being very strongly under the influence of English traditions, follow the English Fahrenheit fashion, and it has remained our system to the present day. That America has so long followed the English conservatism is only a sign of our lack of independence. In scientific circles the centigrade system has been in general use for quite a long while. It is time that the United States took the step now being advocated by Mr. Albert Johnson, who is fathering a bill in Congress having for its object the replacement of the Fahrenheit scale of temperature in United States government publications by the Centigrade scale. There is not the slightest doubt that it will ultimately be accepted. If it is not adopted now it will be in the near future, and the rising generation will feel ashamed that we have been so slow in advancing along the path of unequivocal progress.

MR. MANGASARIAN MISUNDERSTANDS.

Under the caption "God and the War," Mr. M. M. Mangasarian, the lecturer of the Independent Religious Society, published the following comments (December 6, 1915):

"Question. What are the foremost Christian nations doing at this moment?

"Answer. They are engaged in annihilating one another.

"Q. Whose help are they invoking in this work of mutual destruction?

"A. The help of God.

"Q. You mean each nation is praying to its own God?

"A. No, they are all calling upon the same God.

"Q. Is it possible! Is every one of the belligerent countries calling upon the same God to fight on its side?

"A. Except France. The French government refused to sanction official prayers for victory. France, the only belligerent country in which church and state are separate, is the one nation that is not trying to drag the Deity into the war.

"Q. Tell me, if the Christian powers are asking God to help them kill each other,—then they must think that the Deity wants most of the Christians killed?

"A. That conclusion seems inevitable. If God fights with the Germans, it must mean the destruction of all the Russian, English, French, Serbian, Belgian and Montenegrin belligerents, which will prove that God wants the majority of Christians killed. If He fights with the Allies, then He must want the destruction of Protestant Germany and Catholic Austria, the former being one of the foremost Christian nations in Europe.

"Q. Would that encourage the heathen to embrace Christianity, or to love the Christian God?

"A. The missionaries say—

"Q. Never mind what *they* say. Are the heathen nations killing one another too, as fast as they can?

"A. Some of them are helping to kill Christians.

"Q. What pulled *them* into the war?

"A. Their association with Christian nations.

"Q. Explain that point.

"A. 'Yellow' Japan was compelled to enter the war because of her alliance with *Christian* England; and the "Unspeakable Turk" drew the sword because of his association with *Christian* Germany.

"Q. Explain also what is meant by 'holy' war.

"A. When a war is more fierce, more bloody, more indiscriminately and pitilessly cruel, and greedier of victims than usual, it is called 'holy.'

"Q. Do you mean that whenever religion [religion based upon a supernatural revelation] takes hold of a fighter, he becomes a fiend?

"A. Yes, the religious wars, Christian or Moslem, have been the fiercest.

"Q. But do not Mr. Bryan and others contend that religion is the only power that can make the nations love one another?

"A. Let religion try first to make Catholics, Protestants and Orthodox Greeks cease *damning* one another before offering to teach the nations how to love one another."

It is easy to ridicule the belief in God. It seems to me quite natural that every one who believes in God should call upon him in distress, and, with honest people on both sides of the struggle, this means self-criticism and clearance of one's conscience. If God stands for anything he means truth and justice, and the main thing in a war will ever be to have these on one's side.

Under the date of Sunday, December 26, 1915, Mr. Mangasarian takes the subject of God up again, and this time directs his ridicule against me under the caption "God is Neutral." He says:

"Word comes from Dr. Paul Carus that "God is neutral." In his discussion of the European war the good Doctor says this: "God is neutral; but I am convinced that, being impartial, he will stand by Germany in spite of the odds that count against her." How he got that interesting intelligence he does not explain. And since he does not divulge the name of his informant, nor offer any evidence to establish the neutrality of the Deity, we venture to suggest that he may not only be misinformed, but that he is also in danger of being sued for libel.

"To begin with, neither the Czar of Russia, nor the King of England, nor the three Kaisers, of Germany, Austro-Hungary and Bulgaria, will agree with Dr. Carus that God is neutral. On the contrary these eminent men have information quite as reliable as the Doctor's, that God is pro-Russian, or pro-British, or pro-German. Why are not their assertions as believable as that of the Doctor?"

"Again, in all controversies there is a right and a wrong. To say that God is neutral is to accuse him of indifference. Can a God afford to be neutral when truth or right is being murdered? What would a neutral God be worth to the cause of civilization or humanity?"

"Once more, if God is neutral is it from inability to know which side is in the right, or from policy? Is he afraid of losing his prestige with the side he decides against? It would be interesting to know the motives which make the Deity neutral. We hope, however, that it is not because he does not care.

"Again, Bible history squarely contradicts the claim that God is neutral. In the wars of the Jews, was God neutral? In those of the great religions, was he neutral? During the French Revolution, or the German Reformation, was he neutral? Why then should he be neutral now when the greater part of his world is tumbling over his head?"

"And again, to say God is neutral is to say that there is no God. What is the difference between a God who does nothing, since he is neutral, and one who does not exist? Who would pray to or worship a neutral God? Who would build churches to a being who does not care what happens or who wins or loses? The grass would grow on the altars of a God who is neutral. Dr. Carus himself does not care for a neutral God, for in the same curious sentence he denies that God is neutral. He says: 'God will stand by Germany in spite of the odds against her.'

"But is it not regrettable that a man of the intelligence of Dr. Carus should add to the fog of the mind by the use of so metaphysical a phrase as the one we have quoted from his article in the Open Court? The men who have done more to retard the wholesome progress of thought—of clear thinking and honest expression, than the 'Billy' Sundays, the Moody revivalists, or the popish priests, are the so-called 'liberals' who stoop to conquer. We are sorry to see a man of the parts of Dr. Carus lend his support, even though indirectly, to the cause of intellectual obscurantism.

"Should Dr. Carus favor us with an explanation we promise to print it on this page."

I will make only a few comments on Mr. Mangasarian's caustic criticism:

It is difficult to understand how Mr. Mangasarian could misinterpret me. In reading over the whole passage from which he quotes, I find that my meaning is not obscure, and it would have been sufficient if he had quoted my

words in their context. I will here repeat what I said, with the risk that I may again be misunderstood :

"There is an invisible power in this world which may be called destiny, or, to use a vague anthropomorphic term, Providence, or in religious language, God. Frederick the Great used to say that God is not neutral, he is always on the side of the stronger battalions, and that as a rule is true, but sometimes he sides with the weaker against the stronger, as for instance at Marathon and Salamis. God favors the weaker side if it is led by intelligence and, as it were, promises to promote by its victory the cause of mankind. In the present war the Germans have proved themselves worthy of victory not only by their indomitable courage in battle, being ready to conquer or to die, but also by remarkable foresight in making up for their needs by new inventions. In the moment of dire need the busy Bertha appears unexpectedly before the hostile forts, the German submarines accomplish feats of great daring which heretofore could not be accomplished, and agriculture is improved to such a degree as to make Germany practically independent of the importation of cereals.

"God is neutral ; but I am convinced that, being impartial, he will stand by Germany in spite of the odds that count against her."

There are probably as many views of God as there are persons using the word, and I hope that my readers know what I mean by the term. God is not an individual, not a creature, not a bodily existence, not an ego entity. God is the All-Being ; He is the norm of existence ; He is the law and order of the world. Thus He is the directive principle of the universe. He is neither matter nor energy, but that third and more important factor of existence, the determinant. All laws of nature are parts of God ; they are the eternal thoughts of God ; but among the laws of nature those which constitute the moral world order should be regarded as characterizing God's nature most truly.

I have written a book on God, but Mr. Mangasarian cannot have seen it, otherwise he would have understood what I mean when I say that God is neutral. But being as absolutely neutral as is for instance the law of gravitation, "He will stand by Germany in spite of the odds that count against her." Why? Because the Germans are superior to the Allies in energy, efficiency and foresight—indeed in every respect except numbers ; and quality is always decisive, not quantity.

If Mr. Mangasarian were pro-German he would perhaps not have misunderstood me ; but he is a native Armenian, hence he is anti-Turk ; and the "unspeakable Turk" being an ally of Germany, he is anti-German, and so he does not try to understand me. He believes he has caught me in a contradictory statement, and accuses me of obscurantism. He promises to print in his leaflet my answer to his criticism, but if he does not deem it acceptable I absolve him of obligation.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

A remarkable little volume of German war songs, of which Hanns Heinz Ewers is the author, has been published by *The Fatherland* of New York. The first poem represents the Germans as saying :

"We have been silent in the council of the world
Once, twice and again.
We stood aside and avoided the deed,
Once, twice and again.

We have never, no never, been in a hurry
 When the earth was divided away;
 We heard the others hoarsely cry,
 We wanted peace, we stood aside,
 Once, twice, thrice and again.

There is another poem dedicated to U. 16 and Z. 3, glorifying the German aerial and submarine warfare. The third poem in the collection has three verses; the first begins, "We must conquer"; the second, "We will conquer"; and the third, "We shall conquer."

Another poem describes the poet's home on the banks of the Rhine. It has been converted into a hospital, and the vivid description of the patients, in the poem, reflects German patriotism.

Other songs are dedicated to the good ship Emden and the three Counts Spe, three German naval heroes of the war; another one is addressed to Sweden, and expresses the belief that she will join the Germans in their war on Russia. Another song is written in the happy style of folk poetry, with the refrain, "Comrade, whence dost thou come?" One of them answers, "Come from Poland," describing how bloody the fight; the second, "Come from the Wasgen woods"; the third, "Come from the Carpathians"; the fourth, "Come from Mazuria"; the fifth, "Come from the North Sea, swam on the Blücher"; and finally the question is asked, "Comrade, whither wilt thou go?" and he answers,

"Into the enemies' land,
 As soon as my wound is healed
 Will fight again, in blood we must stand,
 In war we must walk in blood
 Above our shoes."

In the appendix of the book are translated some American Yiddish and Irish poems into German. The first is the Irish Hate Song addressed to England; another poem is addressed to William II, the Prince of Peace, and in addition there are songs in which the Jew addresses Russia, ending with the fulfilment of the curse which lies on the Muscovite Empire—the curse of the long-suffering Jews—and their curse will be Russia's doom.

The poet is not yet much known, but he has published a few works which seem to be original and interesting. They are all written in German and are indicative of a promising poetical genius. The poet is apparently a German by birth and an American by naturalization.

An intensely interesting and important book has been printed in New York by Robert M. McBride & Company, on *American Rights and British Pretensions on the Seas*. The book contains the facts and the documents, official and other, and bears upon the present attitude of Great Britain toward the commerce of the United States, and has been compiled with an introductory memorandum by William Bayard Hale.

The work contains chapters on the following subjects: The First Encroachments; The Summit of Arrogance; Ships and Cargoes Stopped at Sea; The Case of Cotton; Indirect Interference with Trade; Interference with Communication; Our Larger Interests; List of Ships Detained; Quotations Pertinent to the Issue; Official Documents; and Diplomatic Correspondence.

The book shows the British policy and its claims which are without any recognition of international law. It is strange what the United States has submitted to. The list of ships detained in British harbors spreads over ten pages of large quarto! While our commerce suffers, the British Empire reaps all the advantages of having the United States as a source of supply for its munitions of war. Subservience to Great Britain is now regarded in America as patriotism.

The book is for sale at book-stores and news-stands for one dollar.

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Bertrand Russell, lecturer and fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, is the second son of the late Viscount Amberley, and grandson of the famous Lord John Russell, whose name stands prominently among the champions of civil and religious liberty in England during the 19th century.

The Reform Bill of 1832 giving universal male suffrage to Englishmen is one of the many successful measures due to his influence. He was the prime minister of England 1846-52 and 1865-66.

Bertrand Russell, author of the present book, is well known in the United States by his books and lectures on philosophy. He received the Butler medal from Columbia University last year for having done the best work in philosophy during the past five years.

His work entitled "Our Knowledge of the External World as a Field for Scientific Method in Philosophy" was unanimously pronounced by the London press to be "THE book of the year." It embodied the Lowell lectures for 1914.

Mr. Russell visited Harvard, Chicago, and Michigan Universities in 1914.

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WAR AND NON-RESISTANCE

Three Motives for Armament

Why has Germany invaded France? Because the French have an army. Why has England attacked Germany? Because the Germans have a navy. Yet people persist in thinking that the French army and the German navy contribute to national safety. Nothing could be more obvious than the facts; nothing could be more universal than men's blindness to them.

The second reason for keeping up the armies and navies of the world is love of dominion. The Germans, in the Morocco controversy, announced that nothing of importance was to happen anywhere without their being consulted. We regarded this as monstrous arrogance; but for two centuries we had advanced the same claim as a matter of course. The matters about which diplomatists raise a pother are usually of only microscopic importance to the welfare of ordinary citizens: they are matters involving national "prestige," that is to say, the power of the State to prevent other States from doing as they wish.

Love of Dominion

This power is sometimes partly based on money, but in the main it rests on **armies and navies**. If our navy had been smaller, we should not have been able to defeat the German desire for an Atlantic port in Morocco. It would have done us no harm if the Germans had acquired Casablanca, but we enjoyed the thought that our fiat kept them out. The procuring of such pleasures is the second purpose served by armies and navies.

The third purpose of armaments—indeed their primary and original purpose, from which all others are derivative—is to satisfy the lust for blood. Fighting is an instinctive activity of males, both

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animal and human. Human males, being gregarious, naturally fight in packs.

The shedding of human blood is still considered the most glorious thing a man can do, provided he does it in company with the rest of his pack. War, like marriage, is the legally permitted outlet for a certain instinct. But the instinct which leads to war, unlike the instinct which leads to marriage, so far from being necessary to the human race, is wholly harmful among civilized men. It is an instinct which easily becomes atrophied in a settled community: many men have hardly a trace of it. Unfortunately, as men grow older, their affections and their powers of thought decay. For this reason, and also because power stimulates the love of power, the men who have most influence in government are usually men whose passions and impulses are less civilized than those of the average citizen. These men—the great financiers, the Ministers, and some editors of daily papers—use their position, their knowledge, and their power of disseminating misinformation, to arouse and stimulate the latent instinct for bloodshed. When they have succeeded, they say that they are reluctantly forced into war by the pressure of public opinion. Their activities are exactly analogous to those of men who distribute indecent pictures or produce lascivious plays. They ought to be viewed in the same light; but because of the notion that a wish to kill foreigners is patriotic and virtuous, they are honored as men who have deserved well of their country. They provide an outlet for the impulse to homicide. To gratify this impulse is the third and ultimate purpose of armies and navies.

All these three motives for armaments—**cowardice, love of dominion, and lust for blood**—are no longer ineradicable in civilized human nature. All are diminishing under the influence of modern social organization. All might be reduced to a degree which could make them almost innocuous, if early education and current moral standards were directed to that end. Passive resistance, if it were adopted deliberately by the will of a whole nation, with the same measure of courage and discipline which is

now displayed in war, might achieve a far more perfect protection for what is good in national life than armies and navies can ever achieve, without demanding the courage and waste and welter of brutality involved in modern war.

Nevertheless, it is hardly to be expected that progress will come in this way, because the imaginative effort required is too great. It is much more likely that it will come as the reign of law within the State has come, by the establishment of a **central government of the world**, able and willing to secure obedience by force, because the great majority of men will recognize that obedience is better than the present international anarchy. A central government of this kind will command assent, not as a partisan, but as the representative of the interests of the whole. Very soon, resistance to it would be seen to be hopeless, and wars would cease. Force directed by a neutral authority is not open to the same abuse, or likely to cause the same long-drawn conflicts, as force exercised by quarreling nations each of which is the judge of its own cause.

Although I firmly believe that the adoption of passive instead of active resistance would be good if a nation could be convinced of its goodness, yet it is rather to the ultimate creation of a strong central authority that I should look for the ending of war. But war will only end after a great labor has been performed in altering men's moral ideals, directing them to the good of all mankind, and not only of the separate nations into which men happen to have been born.

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SOCRATES

By William Ellery Leonard

An editorial on this book by Dr. Frank Crane

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Of all the souls that ever dwelt with human bodies, among all the billions that in the stretch of time have appeared on earth, not one, with the exception of Jesus, was greater than Socrates.

There is, therefore, O youth, no man you should more study to know. The more you make him your familiar the more successful you will be. I use the word "successful" carefully.

Read all you can about him. Read Plato, and Xenophon, who report him. You do not need to know Greek, though that helps; there are good English translations. If they do not interest you the first time, read them twice, thrice, twenty times, till you come up with them.

Here are some facts about him which it is hoped will pique your curiosity.

He was born of the common people, like Lincoln and Leonardo. He was the incarnation of humanity.

He never held office (but once, a minor one, temporarily). He did not seek preferment, or riches, or luxury, or Getting On. He was independently poor. Not caring for the world's gifts, he could not be bribed.

He was without fear, especially the worst fear of all, the fear to do right.

Like Jesus, he utterly trusted the higher laws of the universe, and hence refused to take any hand in "establishing righteousness by force," the persistent delusion of ignorant sincerity.

So he did not resist evil, and thought he could do more by dying beneath it than by contending against it. He, too, was a soldier of the cross. The loftiest souls have ever known that while the Sword triumphs for an hour, the Cross triumphs through the centuries.

Like Jesus, he constructed no system of thought, founded no cult, formed no organization, no institution. These came after him.

Life is strange, complex, contradictory, fluid. You cannot box it into a creed. He was like life. He walked and talked, with the great and the small, with philosophers, harness-makers, rich men, beggars, the refined and cultured, and the prostitutes. "The life of Socrates was one long conversation, as Mohammed's was one long harangue."

Yet he belonged to a narrow circle, though it be open to all comers, the circle of the enlightened. "Down through the years the ancestral clan of the enlightened has been the smallest organization on the planet."

He was dangerous, as all enlightenment is dangerous. "The absurdest superstitions may house the sturdiest ethics, and the destruction of the former is too likely for a time to turn the latter out of doors."

He is one of the chief figures, if not the chief figure, in the real history of the race, which is the history of intelligence, as opposed to that history which is but "a record of human vanities and insanities"—war.

He called himself a "midwife," because he went about to deliver people of their own ideas. He did not impart information, he made others think for themselves.

He defined virtue as knowledge. "To be just is to know what is due men, to be courageous is to know what is to be feared and what is not; to be temperate is to know how to use what is good."

He was not Hebrew, and hence did not teach that character is perfected by struggle; he was Greek, and held that character comes from the finely poised soul.

Knowledge to him was the essential. But not knowledge of mathematics, or languages or science; rather, knowledge of one's self and of moral values. A great life is impossible without great and truthful thought as its foundation. It is a fictitious grandeur that rests on non-facts or hoecus-pocus, no matter how devotedly believed.

The virtue (Greek, arete) Socrates urged meant not the negative thing often implied by our word "goodness," it meant efficiency, efficiency in perfecting self-expression for the individual, and full opportunity and equity for all citizens.

Xenophon says his formula of prayer was, "Give me that which is best for me." There can be no better.

Socrates is not obsolete. "The things he deemed good, we deem good; the righteousness he fulfilled is the same we seek to fulfill. He is the first incarnation in Europe of the moral law."

These notes I have set down after reading W. E. Leonard's "Socrates, Master of Life" (Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago), a book you would do well to own. The quotations are from him.

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