

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. XXXIII (No. 7)

JULY, 1919

NO. 758

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122 S. Michigan Ave.

Chicago, Illinois

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

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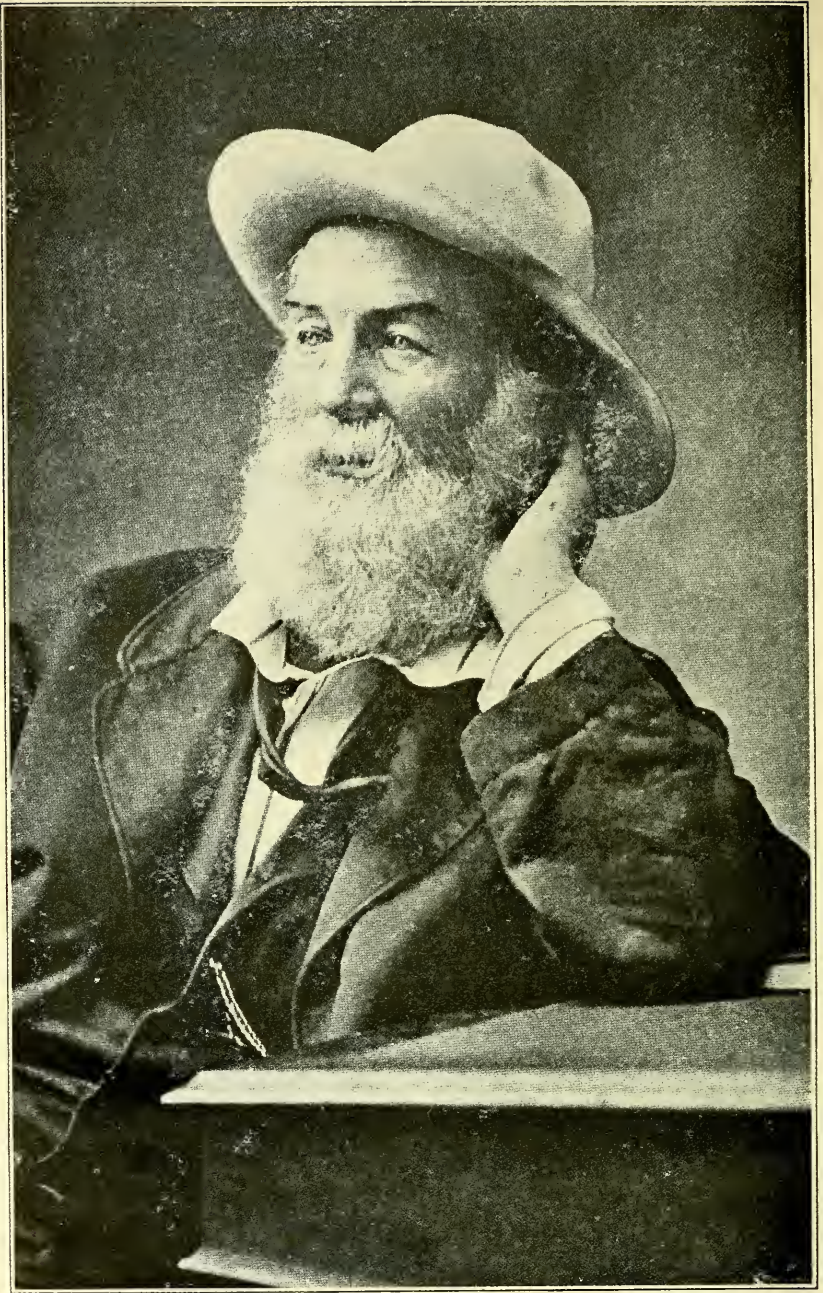
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Walt Whitman

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DEMOCRACY AS A RELIGION.

BY MAYNARD SHIPLEY.¹

"I say that the real and permanent grandeur
of these States must be their religion."

—Whitman.

A TRUE democracy, according to Walt Whitman, is a commonwealth founded upon the beneficent law of love and mutual aid, the law of life, even as the law of hatred is the way of death. Such a society of comrades would naturally develop an ennobling spiritual background, with a new religion,—or at least an old religion made new, the religion of Jesus, a religion in which love, fidelity, social service, and generous comradeship are the passwords of discipleship.

Whitman cared nothing for lip service and mere Puritanical piety, the holiness of not doing certain things, and yet leaving so many things undone. "What blurt is this about virtue and about vice?" asks Whitman. His answer is that—

"What behaved well in the past, or behaves well to-day, is not such a wonder; The wonder is, always and always, how there can be a mean man or an infidel."

Religion in *Leaves of Grass* is very different from the so-called religion of orthodoxy. Whitman declares he can learn more of true religion from a cow than from an ecclesiastic. The animals are so

¹ [Mr. Maynard Shipley is widely known in two diverging lines of literary effort. As a writer on criminal law and criminology, he has contributed monographs to the leading technical journals of this country and Europe, and is the author of a comprehensive work on the history of the death penalty, as yet only partly published. On the other hand, his popular science lectures are well known all over the United States, and he has published articles on astronomy and kindred topics in various scientific magazines. Mr. Shipley's first volume of *From Star-Dust to Aeroplane*, a book on evolution, is expected to be ready for publication early in 1920.—ED.]

"placid and self-contain'd" he could "stand and look at them long and long," taking example from them. Says he:

"They do not sweat and whine about their condition;
 They do not lie awake in the dark and weep for their sins;
 They do not make me sick discussing their duty to God;
 Not one is dissatisfied—not one is demented with the mania of owning things;
 Not one kneels to another, nor to his kind that lived thousands of years ago;
 Not one is respectable or industrious over the whole earth."

Ignoring theologians, Whitman asks,

"Why should I pray? Why should I venerate and be ceremonious?"

He "chants the chant of dilation or pride," declaring that "We have had ducking and deprecating enough." Praying and venerating, fearing hell and dodging the Devil do not make a Christian, nor is religion composed of sermons and Bibles and conformity.

Leaves of Grass proclaims a religion of humanity, based not upon traditions and creeds, but upon the needs and aspirations of an enlightened intelligence, upon the cravings of the human heart itself. Whitman declares that his is "the greatest of faiths and the least of faiths." While rejecting none of the prophets and seers of the past who have contributed in any way to the spiritual uplift of man,

"Taking them all for what they were worth and not a cent more,
 Admitting that they were alive and did the work of their days,"

yet—

"Discovering as much, or more, in a framer framing a house;
 Putting higher claims for him there with his roll'd-up sleeves, driving the mallet and chisel;
 Not objecting to special revelation, considering a curl of smoke or a hair on the back of my hand just as curious as any revelation."

Nor does Whitman reject "redeemers." They, too, are with us always. We are redeemed—

"By the mechanic's wife with her babe at her nipple interceding for every person born,
 Three scythes at harvest whizzing in a row from three lusty angels with shirts bagg'd out at the waists,
 The snag-tooth'd hostler with red hair redeeming sins past and to come,
 Selling all he possesses, traveling on foot to fee lawyers for his brother and sit by him while he is being tried for forgery."

We get here very close to the heart of the Four Gospels, where the religion of Jesus is, in spirit, preserved for humanity.

In reading *Leaves of Grass* we soon learn to feel Whitman's joy in religion as a phase of democracy. For him democracy includes all the essentials of all religions, of all times and places. Religion is not a set of statements to be believed, but a kind of life to be lived. Religion is the sum of our human relations and social activities under the law of love. This is what Whitman means when he cries exultingly—

"My comrade!

For you to share with me two greatneses, and a third one rising inclusive
and more resplendent,

The greatness of Love and Democracy, and the greatness of Religion."

And yet Whitman's religion is not without its elements of faith, a faith that arises from sympathetic comradeship and love just as perfume is breathed forth by the living, growing flower. Man is not only to be compassionate, but he must be full of the "faith that never balks," faith in the power of Nature to turn evil into good, because the earth "has no conceivable failures." "All goes onward and outward, nothing collapses," says Whitman. Did you see the poor wretch in the chain gang, serving sentence for society's derelictions? Did you see the manacled hands at the insane asylum? Did you imagine that these souls were forever crushed and ruined? Whitman finds them only disguised a few moments for reasons. Says he:

"I saw the face of the most smear'd and slobbering idiot that they had at the asylum, and I knew for my own consolation what they knew not;

I knew of the agents that emptied and broke my brother; the same wait to clear the rubbish from the fallen tenement, and I shall look again, in a score or two of ages, and I shall meet the real landlord perfect, and un-harm'd, every inch as good as myself."

The insane, the criminal, the fallen, even the liar and hypocrite, are all included in Whitman's sympathy and love: "The weakest and shallowest is deathless with me," he declares.

"Not till the sun excludes you do I exclude you;

Not till the waters refuse to glisten for you and the leaves to rustle for you,
do my words refuse to glisten and rustle for you."

"Because you are greasy or pimpled, or that you were once drunk, or a thief,
Or diseas'd, or rheumatic, or a prostitute—or are so now;

.

Do you give in that you are any less immortal?"

Knowing how all men are what they are by reason of circumstances mostly fortuitous, the victims of vicious environment on the one hand or the happy inheritors of wealth and boundless opportunities on the other, Whitman sees in the unfortunate merely what he himself would have become under the same conditions of life and heredity. He asks—

“Who am I too that I am not on trial or in prison?

Me ruthless and devilish as any, that my wrists are not chain'd with iron,
or my ankles with iron?”

“If you become degraded and criminal, then I become so for your sake;

If you remember your foolish and outlaw'd deeds, do you think I cannot
remember my own foolish and outlaw'd deeds?”

“Not a mutineer walks handcuff'd to jail, but I am handcuff'd to him and
walk by his side;

(I am less the jolly one there, and more the silent one, with sweat on my
twitching lips.)

Not a youngster is taken for larceny, but I go up too, and am tried and
sentenced.”

Here, then, is true democracy applied, true religion finding expression in the widest and loftiest sympathy and charity,—real holiness, the antidote to weakness, sin, suffering, and shame.

And “the weakest and shallowest is deathless,” declares our poet. Can Whitman prove this to be true? Let us see.

Leaves of Grass appeared at a time when many thoughtful men and women were coming more and more to distrust the tenets of all formal religions, and when the “revelations” upon which belief in immortality was founded were beginning to be subjected to a rigorous scientific criticism. But rejection of the traditional evidences of immortality by no means implied a total negation of immortality itself.

Concurrently with the waning of faith in theological dogma, there was growing up a large body of sincere thinkers who, while accepting the general theory of evolution as formulated by Spencer, Darwin, Haeckel, and others, could not rest content with a philosophy which left unsatisfied the soul's yearning for an interpretation of Nature which included “plan and purpose” in the universe. Rejecting the Bible as containing any special revelation from God to man, believing that proofs of plan and purpose are to be sought in Nature herself, or in the intuitions of the soul, that there never were any more miracles than there are now, the new school of tran-

scandalism based their faith upon the principle that the unseen is proved by the seen, that wisdom is not susceptible of proof, is its own proof, and cannot be passed from one having it to one not having it, as one might buy or exchange merchandise. Undoubtedly the most powerful and convincing exponent of this school of philosophy was Walt Whitman. To him there was nothing more certain than that "The orbs and the systems of orbs play their swift sports through the air on purpose." He asks:

"Have you reckon'd that the landscape took substance and form that it might
 be painted in a picture?
 Or men and women that they might be written of, and songs sung?
 Or the attraction of gravity, and the great laws and harmonious combina-
 tions and the fluids of the air, as subjects for savons?
 Or the brown land and the blue sea for maps and charts?
 Or the stars to be put in constellations and named fancy names?"

Thus, to Whitman, the justification for belief in plan and purpose in the universe is the seeming absurdity of a contrary view: "Did you suppose the cosmic laws were an accident?" he asks.

Whitman neither offers nor needs positive proof of a purposeful progress toward some divine end, much less does he ask for miracles attesting Divine Will behind appearances:

"Why, who makes much of miracles?
 As to me I know of nothing else but miracles,

 I believe a leaf of grass is no less than the journey-work of the stars,
 And the pismire is equally perfect, and a grain of sand, and the egg of the
 wren,

 And a mouse is miracle enough to stagger sextillions of infidels."

Whitman has been called atheist, anarchist, libertine, and what not. But, in reality, he was far from being any of these things, least of all was he an atheist, or "infidel," as all rebels were called twenty-five or more years ago. But he refused to believe that God walked in the gardens or on the mountain tops of the world for any one sooner than for himself, or that He was any more in evidence thousands of years ago than He is to-day. Whitman was, in a sense, a monist, a pantheist, believing that "objects gross and the unseen soul are one," and that God, or the creative and guiding Principle, the Reality that is behind the apparent, is merely the Whole of which we, human individuals, are self-conscious parts, being ourselves creators, redeemers, and miracle-workers of the

very highest order. Considered from this point of view, Whitman is not atheistical nor irreverent in saying:

"What do you suppose Creation is?

What do you suppose will satisfy the Soul, except to walk free, and own no superior?

What do you suppose I would intimate to you in a hundred ways, but that man or woman is as good as God?

And that there is no God any more divine than Yourself?

And that that is what the oldest and newest myths finally mean?"

So Whitman's God is a God without worshipers, without temples, creeds, prayers, Bibles, or punishments, or rewards, without any of the furniture and junk of past ages, minus everything except what waits intrinsically within us:

"When the psalm sings instead of the singer;

When the script preaches instead of the preacher;

.

I intend to reach them my hand, and make as much of them as I do of men and women like you."

In what form, then, does Whitman believe in God as existing? Is Nature herself God, with purpose and omnipotence, and omniscience? How is this possible? It isn't possible. Nothing is possible. Yet the impossible is with us always. It is precisely the impossible that is always being accomplished. In the dispute about God and eternity, Whitman prefers to be silent, declaring only—

"Ah more than any priest O soul we too believe in God,
But with the mystery of God we dare not dally."

Were man to believe only in what he can prove and explain, all mental processes would come to a standstill. Science is humbler to-day than it was fifty years ago. The impossible stands out with more defiant challenge than ever before. It may be just as well, or better, that Whitman has the power to make "downhearted sulkers and doubters" believe with him that there is a self-justified joy in the quenchless faith that man is deathless, and that the orbit of our lives "cannot be swept by a carpenter's compass." "I know I have the best of time and space, and was never measured, and never will be measured," says Whitman.

Finding the earth "rude, silent, incomprehensible at first," Whitman declares that he is not discouraged, reading a message of hope and good cheer in the strange hieroglyphics of sea, sky, and land. What a strange persuasiveness in the following lines:

"The sun and stars that float in the open air,
 The apple-shaped earth, and we upon it—surely the drift of them is some-
 thing grand!
 I do not know what it is except that it is grand, and that it is happiness.
 And that the enclosing purport of us here is not a speculation, or bon-mot,
 or reconnaissance,
 And that it is not something which by luck may turn out well for us, and
 without luck must be a failure for us,
 And not something which may be retracted in a certain contingency."

Leaves of Grass is fragrant with the thought that mere material progress, the accumulation of iron and steel, brick and mortar, palaces and hovels, furniture and bric-à-brac, jewelry and paintings, are all so much junk apart from the spiritual development of the common man:

"Yet again lo! the soul, above all science,
 For it has history gathered like husks around the globe,
 For it the entire star-myriads roll through the sky."

Facts, religions, trades, improvements, all have their parts to play in the drama of life, and are unequivocally real, declares Whitman:

"But the soul is also real, it too is positive and direct,
 No reasoning, no proof has established it,
 Undeniable growth has established it."

The optimism of *Leaves of Grass* is diffusive, boundless, and contagious, because genuine. Through sickness and poverty, the object at once of fervent adulation and of virulent abuse, Whitman's supreme faith, love, and joy remained an unanswerable affirmative that life, affectionately spent, is worth living, proving in his own person the truth of his declaration that it is as great a joy to live as it is to die—

"And to die is different from what any one supposed, and luckier."

"For not life's joy alone I sing, repeating—the joy of death!

The beautiful touch of death, soothing and benumbing a few moments for reasons."

"The smallest sprout shows there is really no death,

And if ever there was it led forward life, and does not wait at the end to arrest it."

Whitman's faith in immortality never wavered, though he made little or no attempt to reason it out, his belief being, as he said, part of his "untold and untellable wisdom."

Not long before the great bard passed contentedly into the joys revealed by "what we call dissolution," his devoted friend and biographer, Mr. Horace L. Traubel, said to him: "I was asked to-day whether your belief in immortality persisted."

Whitman answered, "What did you say?"

Traubel replied: "I said that if immortality depended upon your or any man's belief in it you could not believe. I said that immortality is seen and felt. I said that you see it and feel it."

Whitman cried, "Amen."

Already in 1855 Whitman had written:

"I swear I think there is nothing but immortality!

That the exquisite scheme is for it, and the nebulous float is for it, and the cohering is for it;

And all preparation is for it! and identity is for it! and life and materials are altogether for it!"

.

"I swear I think that everything without exception has an eternal Soul!"

When science fails to illuminate, to cheer, and to comfort; when the savant has nothing to offer but a modest agnosticism, or some facts or figures inapplicable to the case,—I see now the dearly loved child in the coffin, and the anguished mother close by!—when cold logic fails to convince and the clinched hands of grief clutch spasmodically and reach out for hope, for assurances, I rush thither not with death lilies and poison-scented flowers, but with *Leaves of Grass* in my hand, and sit with the bereaved one long and long, reading of lovely and soothing death, of "Footsteps gently ascending—mystical breezes, wafted soft and low," and "Ripples of unseen rivers—tides of a current, flowing, forever flowing." Whitman confidently whispers:

"I do not doubt interiors have their interiors, and exteriors have their exteriors—and that the eyesight has another eyesight, and the hearing another hearing, and the voice another voice;

I do not doubt that the passionately-wept deaths of young men are provided for—and that the deaths of young women, and the deaths of little children, are provided for;

(Did you think Life was so well provided for—and Death, the purport of all Life, is not well provided for?)

I do not doubt that wrecks at sea, no matter what the horrors of them—no matter whose wife, child, husband, father, lover, has gone down, are provided for, to the minutest points;

I do not doubt that whatever can possibly happen, anywhere, at any time, is provided for, in the inherences of things;

I do not think Life provides for all, and for Time and Space—but I believe Heavenly Death provides for all."

Could the most rigorously scientific critic find fault with such consoling assurances on the ground that it is not true, or not proved? If it is not proved neither is it denied, or deniable. Again we meet the age-old question, "What is truth?" Whitman answers:

"All truths wait in all things;
 They neither hasten their own delivery, nor resist it;
 They do not need the obstetric forceps of the surgeon;

 Logic and sermons never convince;

 Only what proves itself to every man and woman is so;
 Only what nobody denies is so."

Whitman declares that "the earth remains jagged and broken only to him or her who remains jagged and broken, and that for those to whom life has a meaning death also will have a meaning; for what is the significance of life and beauty apart from love and death—love the ameliorator of life, the breath of life, and death the great deliveress? Says Whitman:

"For now it is conveyed to me that you are the purports essential,
 That you hide in these shifting forms for reasons, and that they are mainly
 for you,
 That you beyond them come forth to remain, the real reality,
 That it may be you are what it is all for,

 Death or life I am then indifferent, my soul declines to prefer."

And so, Walt Whitman, taking from no books, nor laboratories, nor "special revelations," his faith, love, and charity; mildly but firmly in rebellion against all man-made creeds and dogmas; defiant of all set rules of conduct, looks out upon the universe afresh, and reads there the proof that love is the law of life, and that "affection shall solve the problems of freedom yet," because "Those who love each other shall become invincible," and that, in the long run, we shall surely see coming—

"Forth from their masks, no matter what,
 From the huge festering trunk, from craft and guile and tears,
 Health to emerge, joy, joy universal."
 "Is it a dream?
 Nay, but the lack of it a dream,
 And lacking it life's lore and wealth a dream,
 And all the world a dream."

FIVE POEMS TO WALT WHITMAN.

BY BAKER BROWNELL.

JOY.

GLAD fury in this man
 Soils the deep vacancy of a soul
 With fervent smoke; sentience
 Burns blindingly, an eager fact,
 A glorious caprice, crowding
 The stillness with joyous flames.

Joy validates the man;
 Joy is the stuff of sense: a fire,
 A shock, a passionate temperature,
 A finger's touch through joy
 Is vindicated being. Blindly
 Soaring, this man tastes sweetness
 In the will's texture—in the urge,
 The passion of a thing to be, the thrust
 Of life, the fiery, blind sweetness
 Of tasted being—joy
 Testifies, joy is enough of being.

Earth will, sweet with wonder,
 A world held in the glowing moment
 Of a touch; a moment's universal touch
 Of earth, deeds, hands, things of all space,
 Vivid with certainty, warm with the will
 Of sensed being: Being, being touches this man!

His fate is joy; chance
 Colors the moments of his touch
 With blinding gladness; upward
 Storms his fury, his all, his joy being,
 A lonely gust of storm across a stillness.

WHERE TRIUMPH?

Where triumph, where your conquering,
 Exultant man,
 Winner of sovereignty?

Man of burning self,
 Are you
 Passion's consciousness?

Devourer, hungerer
 For red experience, are you
 A nodule
 Selfed, whorled, whipped out of the sweep
 Of passionate being?

You win, passion's man,
 Not sovereignty, not control,
 But certainty
 Of passion's experience.

You, Walt Whitman,
 Are passion—your triumph—you
 Are being's triumphant urgency.

An intuition of passionate being,
 Of huge urgency,
 Floats you on.

* * *

Painted circumstance there is,
 A splashing thing,
 A spattered sunset, lost
 On a profound sky.

Ochered, red-rouged things,
 Irresponsible,
 Spill their manyness
 Into colorless depths.

Glint many attentions
 In the jewelled dome of experience
 Hiding the single sun.

Beyond—
 One passion, one experience,
 One knowing that is being—beyond
 Is being.

* * *

Attend, attend to the voice
 Of wordless being.

THE DISTURBER.

Disturber of spaceless quiet, disturber of the sleep surrounding
 peace and war with curtains of stillness! Deeds and deeds
 undone roused from the deep dream of silence into thrilling
 agitation! Whitman, seer of disturbance!

Out of nests in the still sleep of space rise restless things, particu-
 lars, strugglers with time, mute pupils learning the eloquence of
 wordless distance, hungers, disturbers. Out of coolness, out
 of the calm thoughtless soul, rise thought, hot delimitation,
 time eagerness, conflict and man's peace, cramped derivations.
 Derivations of the absolute, Walt Whitman, poet!

VISION.

Man, what do you see, struggling, searching, exulting; what do you
 see hungering there, beyond the satisfied pomp of conventions,
 forms, codes?

Vision, Walt Whitman, vision of simple, sturdy stuff, of the real's
 intensity, vision of man's being!

You suffer experiences of being, delirious sickness, glad shouting,
 "Self have I found. I experience that which I am. Joy, intense
 experience is the color of me."

The being of you, Walt Whitman, is it felt or feeling? Man creature,
 you would know being never by the formal texts of man's
 understanding!

WAR.

Power and the glory of huge motion fill him, fill utterly with massive single sensation. A cup seeking fulness, a glad mirror crowded with burning light, utterness of sense, of realization, hungers in him.

Of hugeness, demonstration, war, this man is glad; glad of its certainty, its massive will, its proof, its storm. War disturbs terribly man's moderations.

BEYOND PROTESTANTISM.¹

BY EDWARD SCRIBNER AMES.

A SURVEY of the changes in the underlying conceptions and convictions of religion suggests that we are in the midst of a vast movement of man's spiritual life, which is fully as profound as the Reformation in which Luther led the revolt against Catholicism, or as the transformation of early primitive Christianity by its acceptance of the instruments and methods of Greek philosophy.

In order to appreciate what is carrying the development of Protestant Christianity beyond the bounds of Protestantism it may be helpful to glance at the Catholicism of the Middle Ages, from which Protestantism arose. There were two important factors in Catholicism. One was the doctrine of the depravity of human nature, and the other was the conviction that the Church and its sacraments offered the means by which man's sinful nature could be redeemed from this wicked world and made fit for heaven above. The Church surrounded the child from infancy and offered its good offices as the means of grace. Through baptism the child experienced birth out of its inherited evil nature into spiritual life. Through confirmation he advanced to mature strength. In the Eucharist or Lord's Supper the inner life was renewed and nourished. Man's nature was held to be so deeply sinful that the cure of his maladies required also penance and extreme unction. Further, special consecration was needed for those who were to bear offspring and this was provided in the sacrament of marriage. The seventh sacrament was that of ordination by which one was given the spiritual qualities necessary to the priesthood and the various clerical duties.

¹ The reader will find the views expressed in this article elaborated in the writer's book *The New Orthodoxy*, just published.

Protestantism as seen in its first great leader, Martin Luther, was a protest against the second feature of Catholicism, against the plan of trying to obtain and develop the spiritual life by these sacraments or good works. Against the first principle of Catholicism, namely, the depravity of human nature, he made no protest but accepted and accentuated it. With him, as with the older system, there was complete agreement as to man's original sin and inherited taint and deformity. Luther's disagreement with the Church was as to the means of salvation. He repudiated the good works, the priestly offices, and the mortifications of the flesh as the way of salvation. For him, salvation was an absolutely free gift of God's grace. "The just shall live by faith" were the words which rang in his soul until he understood them as the real way of deliverance. Man feels himself a helpless sinner, impotent and unworthy, without means of salvation and justification. Then he comes into contact with Christ. "Christ took all our sins upon Him and for them dies upon the cross." When a sinful man sees this innocent Son of God borne down by the sin and sorrow of others, the sinner feels the pangs of his own guilt. Through remorse and contrition he is led to experience faith in Christ and by this faith, he becomes one with Christ. "incorporated in Christ," and all that Christ has is his. From this new life in Christ good works flow as a natural consequence. They are not the source of salvation but the fruits. We perform them not to acquire merit but as the natural, spontaneous expression of our love and faith.

Since this faith is an experience in the heart of the believer, he is not dependent upon priest or pope. Therefore Luther discarded the distinction between the clergy and the laity. He also went beyond Catholicism in holding that a Christian man who has been redeemed from his sinful nature, may enter into the life of society with full consistency. He should marry and engage in business and in affairs of State. Such a life is not inferior to the seclusion of the monastery or the convent. The common pursuits of daily existence are avenues of religious service for a Christian man, for one whose life has been transformed.

After Luther's time, Protestantism approached Catholicism again in its doctrines of authority and of the ordinances. The old dogma of man's inherent sinfulness continued, and more importance was attached to baptism and the Eucharist. One may say that the orthodox Protestant position to-day is that man is impotent in himself, because of his sinfulness, to attain salvation. He needs the aid of a divine Saviour, through whose love and sacrifice he may be

saved. Specific directions for appropriating this saving power of Christ are found in the Bible. Whatever the Bible teaches is to be accepted, whatever it forbids is forbidden, and only where it is silent does man have freedom to follow his own opinion. That opinion, however, is not the judgment of the natural man but of one who has been transformed by divine grace. This explains the deep hostility which orthodoxy feels toward the good moral man who is sometimes an eminent character in the community. He may be an upright and honorable citizen, generous in his charities, responsive to public need and to the call of public duty, a faithful husband and a kind father, but not a member of any church. Abraham Lincoln was of that type. The churches cannot be comfortable in the presence of such a man. They are unable to acknowledge the genuineness and value of his goodness. He is an unconverted man, an unregenerate soul. He has never acknowledged the need of the divine institution of the Church to insure his place in the spiritual kingdom, and therefore he remains outside, a child of the world and under the condemnation of his sinful nature. Such a person is often pointed out as the most subtle and deadly foe of true religion. His very virtues become dangerous because they may influence others to remain in an unsaved state. A vicious, degraded man of the world would be more tolerable for he would at least be repulsive and unattractive.

Just the clear statement of these conspicuous features of Protestantism is sufficient to make men of the modern spirit shrink and withhold their full allegiance. There is doubtless much in and about orthodox Protestant churches which attracts them. There are family ties and congenial social attachments. The philanthropies and social service and spiritual aspirations all make their appeal. But the doctrines are distasteful. They seem remote and unconvincing. The churches appear to nourish certain impossible estimates of human life and of the present world. Religious leaders have not been insensitive to this. They have introduced gymnasiums and amusement parlors and reading-rooms and night schools. They have moving pictures. Gradually they have lessened emphasis upon doctrines and creeds, upon the necessity of conversion and the observance of the ordinances. The candidates for membership are examined less thoroughly as to their "experience," and the number of ministers and members is increasing who are cherishing, consciously or unconsciously, a fundamentally different feeling about religion and the Church. In this quiet, steady process of the secularization of religion Protestantism as a definite body of doctrines

and practices is passing away. That which is coming in its place has scarcely been named. One writer calls it the religion of the spirit, in contrast to the old religions of authority and of the letter. Others call it the new social religion, and still others name it the religion of democracy and the religion of man. A few would like to have it known as the religion of science, or free religion, or simply natural religion.

I shall call it here the religion of the spirit, not forgetting that it is also social and democratic and natural and scientific and free. Neither should it be forgotten that it is, in the best sense, Biblical and Christian.

This religion of the spirit stands in most marked contrast to Protestantism, and to Catholicism as well, in the fact that it feels itself to be natural to man. It accepts the view of modern psychology and ethics, both of which reject the doctrine of the innate sinfulness and evil disposition of the child. It holds that the infant should be regarded as an open possibility for good or for evil according to his environment, his education, and his experience in life. If of normal physique and mentality he may be expected to respond to intelligent, sympathetic direction and instruction. He will be naturally affectionate and imaginative, active and idealistic. Growing up among earnest reasonable Christian people he will see the attractiveness of the character of Jesus and respond to his heroism and to his vision of human brotherhood. He will naturally be drawn into the association of those who cherish the same ideals and who band themselves together in the church to labor for the coming of the gracious kingdom of love and beauty. He will have a divine passion for serving his fellow men as is the case with multitudes of teachers, nurses, physicians, social workers, artists, and scholars who have grown quite naturally into their enthusiasm and lifelong devotion.

Such an individual is not the ruthless superman of Nietzsche. He is conscious of his own limitations and failures and cruel mistakes. Suffering and remorse chasten him, but he seeks strength and courage and wisdom to renew his efforts. The pain of the world pierces his heart, but he does not accept it as wholly inevitable or as entirely beyond human power to correct. Like the patriot and the social reformer, he, too, labors for an incipient and unpopular cause, believing that it will become more powerful and more beneficent.

Modern knowledge of the history of religion strengthens faith in such a religion of the spirit. All peoples, even the most primi-

tive, have their rites and ceremonials which idealize their life and extend the horizon of their world. Sometimes these religions are crude and occasionally they are vicious from the standpoint of more developed civilizations, but the impressive things are their organization and control, their social sympathy and idealization. The missionaries among the more developed cultures of India and China and Japan find many sentiments and customs in the religions of those lands which they can endorse and incorporate in their interpretation of Christianity. Just as family affection and honest dealings within the group and regard for public opinion prevail throughout the world, so it is found that God has not left Himself without witness. When modern Christianity is presented adequately to people in the most diverse places it finds response in the natural sentiments of gratitude and of eager faith. It is beginning to be apparent that in so far as Protestantism has virtually prefaced its appeal to the races of men with the doctrine of depravity it has stood in its own way and wasted measureless energy and emotion. How much more attractive is the figure of Jesus surrounded by the crowd of hardened faces, saying "Let the little children come unto me for of such is the kingdom of heaven." He never administered any purificatory rites to overcome the evil nature of men before they could join his company. On the contrary, he said to them, "Come and follow me," "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me." Human nature has changed since then, but it has not become so depraved and sinful that a new method of joining the company of Jesus is necessary. It was as easy and as natural to become a follower of Jesus in his day as it is to matriculate in a free public school now. The religion of the spirit which is taking possession of the churches in our time repudiates the fundamental Protestant doctrine of original sin and substitutes in its place a vital faith in the idealism and spiritual energy of unfallen human nature.

This new form of Christianity, in the second place, is free. It is free from dependence upon the Church and its sacraments, as Luther held. That is, man does not languish in the bonds of original sin and remain there helpless until brought to the spiritual birth by baptism and the other sacraments of the Church. But neither does he depend upon some supernatural gift of grace as Luther and as Protestantism have taught. The light of divine love and aspiration is in and about every normal human being. "That was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." It is not necessary that a miracle be wrought upon every

soul before it can believe in the love and righteousness of Christ or have saving faith. As Jesus himself knew, the natural human soul, whether child or publican or nobleman or harlot or thief on the cross, had the capacity to hear his voice and to follow him even if it should be at first afar off. He said, "If any man thirst let him come unto me, and drink." It was the old prophetic call straight to the heart of mankind, "Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money; come ye, buy and eat; yea, come, buy wine and milk without money and without price."

The Protestant view despised and pitied human nature; the newer view asserts the value and dignity of man and has faith in his capacity to advance through the unfolding of his native powers, taught by the great teachers of the race. This is the same conviction which has made for the new order in the State. The traditional conviction was that only those who had been divinely appointed and empowered should rule, but the modern State is founded upon the natural and inalienable rights of all men. Democracy rests upon the sense of the power and wisdom and justice potentially present in all citizens. The great political revolutions of recent centuries and those now in progress are the struggles of the masses of men to take possession of their own and to develop their native resources of mind and soul with full freedom and by the authority of their own experience and ideals.

Protestantism in seeking freedom from dependence upon the Church wrought a new bondage to the Bible. The religion of the spirit proclaims freedom here also. The Bible is accepted to-day by thoughtful people of all churches with discrimination. It is recognized that in this vast collection of scripture there is great diversity. It shows differences of culture and of spiritual ideals. In some parts social institutions are enjoined and allowed which in other parts are condemned and prohibited. Animal sacrifice, human slavery, polygamy, war and violence, are sanctioned in some records of the Old Testament and denounced at least in spirit in the New Testament. We have learned to test all sayings by our most enlightened standards. We do not accept everything which the Apostle Paul says as of supreme importance, nor because he wrote some things which seem unimportant, do we therefore abandon him entirely. We are not much concerned about his views of marriage and of woman, but we cherish with genuine appreciation his psalm of love in the thirteenth chapter of Corinthians. Or again the scholars may have proved that the Fourth Gospel, the

Gospel of John, is not so early as the Synoptics and that it is probably a less accurate record of the sayings and deeds of Jesus, but nevertheless we often find it richer and deeper and more persuasive, more satisfying to the heart.

Not only is this religion of the spirit free in its rejection of the authority of the letter of Scripture. It is free also in its appropriation and creation of other literature. Men are still writing psalms and hymns of faith. We use in our devotion the lyric poetry of Tennyson, Longfellow, Whittier, Goethe, and a host of other poets. Their words inspire and illuminate us. Similarly we employ the literature of our statesmen, moralists, and dramatists to refresh our souls and to direct our wills. They are our living prophets, and we have no doubt that they too speak inspired messages.

A third characteristic of the religion which is superseding Protestantism is its relation to the social order. Luther did indeed approve of Christians entering into marriage and into business and industry. But he felt that they were able to do this safely because they had first been "saved" and regenerated. He did not regard society itself as sacred. The present world remained for him a foreign and hostile realm. It was only the special grace of God in the hearts of men which could enable them to participate in this common life.

The newer spirit of religion regards this social order as itself sharing in the divine life. It regards patriotism and labor and art as inherently sacred, sacred because they contribute to the fulfilment of man's larger and nobler life. Existing social institutions are not perfect. They are in the keeping of finite and fallible hands, but they are the organs and instruments of our corporate life. They preserve the finest fruits of the long struggle of the race up from savagery and superstition. The modern Christian therefore takes them in good faith and with full enthusiasm. He is entirely in earnest when he asserts that he has abolished the distinction between the secular and the sacred. To him all life, all occupations, are saturated with ideal meaning, with tender spiritual intimacy and aspiration.

Therefore there is a new *rapprochment* between science and religion. Protestantism was doubtful of the value and validity of science. Even to this day one may find survivals of that old suspicion of learning and of inventions and the arts. But religion is becoming conscious that natural science is the instrument and workman of our wonderful modern social progress. It is destined to include the experimenters, discoverers, and inventors with its apostles,

prophets, and martyrs. It is becoming apparent that modern medicine, especially in foreign lands, is like the healing hand of Christ himself, and that the introduction of sanitation, efficient agriculture, better political systems, together with education and the fine arts is transforming the waste places of Christian and of heathen lands. All of this gives substance and vitality to the spiritual life. It makes objective and commanding the kingdom of brotherhood and of mutual love and service which Christianity has proclaimed. It brings a new unity and an unprecedented assurance and hope into the message and the ideals of Christianity.

The passing order was negative, it was a reaction against the old, while the new is positive and is constructively moving forward to new achievements and creations. The old despised human nature; the new trusts it and labors for its development. The old relied upon external authority and was in bondage to the past and to the Scriptures; the new is free from all authority of that kind and is controlled from within by conscience and reason and the law of love. The old viewed this world as a desert and foreign land to the soul; the new regards human society as the developing kingdom of God, in which the spirit of Jesus reigns more powerfully and more completely.

This religion of the spirit has not emerged in any one organization or party. It is not identical with any of the liberal groups such as the Unitarians, Ethical Culture Society, or rationalistic societies. Much less is it particularly represented by Christian Science or Theosophy or any of the archaic Oriental cults which are sporadic in a mixed and restless population like our own. Rather this coming development of Christianity is that which is already represented in the progressive parties of all the great evangelical bodies. These parties are constituted of those who are possessed of the modern mind either through their education in the schools or by their reading and practical contacts with life. This modern mind is characterized by understanding sympathy with modern natural and social science and with the history of religious and social institutions. Men of this type together with those who are sympathetic and responsive toward their leadership, constitute today a large company in all denominations, and these people have more in common with those of the same temper in the various religious bodies than they have with the traditionalists of their own communions.

But this characterization of the new tendency would be misleading if it gave the impression that we are entering upon a revival

of the older intellectualism or rationalism. While it has of necessity an intellectual aspect, it is something far richer and more human than that term suggests. This new movement has the fervor and piety of evangelical orthodoxy, but it is a social and not merely an individualistic enthusiasm. It is as serious as Puritanism but it is more artistic and cultivates a nobler ritual and liturgy. It has missionary zeal and courage, but it is not merely blind and ruthless toward other faiths, nor does it restrict itself to evangelism alone. It cultivates educational missions and medical missions and industrial missions, and seeks to transmit to the less fortunate of the earth the full cubic contents of our Christian civilization.

This form of Christianity, which promises to identify itself with the twentieth century, is already revitalizing the churches, enlisting devout laymen and eager college youth. It proclaims its message in the language of the time and it meets a response from the soul of the people, which proves that men are beginning to rejoice again in religion as a natural possession and a transforming power.

PRAYER.

BY JOHN DENMARK.

I PRAY every Sunday with my people. As we pray together for fellowship, peace, and faith, there comes upon me the joy of yearning with them for something beyond the pain of to-day. I feel that their hearts respond with mine in a great longing. When I have in my prayer much of tenderness and sympathy, I know that they are better satisfied with the morning's worship. But as I pray for ideals, I know that they are often begging for to-morrow's selfish victory. They believe that God will change the course of the universe to satisfy their wants. Because of my prayer they are failing to look reality in the face. I am a beggar leading beggars.

So I have stopped praying except when I must. I sit in my chair sometimes and try to think to God but I no longer try to find Him upon my knees. I seem to find more of God in the world when I am standing erect.

There is a tender mood that comes upon men when they think of the passing of their lives like a shadow. We have learned to call the mood reverence, and prayer has become its accepted form among nearly all races. It is the formal tribute of man to the Great Unknown that grips the destiny of us all. It is our common way

of expressing the wonder of the Psalmist: "What is man that Thou art mindful of him?"

Even the most cynical of men cannot stifle the wonder that comes into his being when he considers the vastness and intricacy of life. We would be more than human if we did not partake of that wonder. And most of all when the great gift of life itself is about to be taken away and we come for the first time to see the value of our treasure, how our souls are prostrated in an agony of fearful hope! Gethsemane was not and is not a delusion.

But how much of prayer is a delusion and a useless superstition.

An old lady came to my house the other day and, patting me on the shoulder, told me how much she hoped I would succeed in my new church. She promised to pray very earnestly that God would make the work fruitful. I thanked her in an embarrassed way and said good-bye. When she had gone I fell to thinking of the millions of useless prayers which have been offered up by lazy zealots as an excuse for real labor. I thought of the many times when prayer has been used by the chaplains of the rich to stifle the rebellion of the poor.

The case against prayer has been stated again and again by the men who have ceased to pray and by the men who have never prayed. I want to record here the sentiment of a man who still prays—with half a heart.

There are two attitudes which the average preacher may take toward prayer. He may believe that prayer actually changes the course of the universe, or he may believe that prayer is simply a "good spiritual tonic" for a congregation which needs moral exercise.

When a man starts to examine the reality of prayer as a means of changing the course of external life he encounters the most painful chapter in the story of the intellectual degradation of the clergy. In an age of miracles and wonders when every real phenomenon was an inexplicable fact and no such thing as scientific analysis was known, prayer was recognized as the personal request of a favored subject to his Great Warrior or Pet Chieftain. When the scientific awakening of the last century came, the natural conclusion of an intelligent preacher was that prayer had never proved its results and that as an institution of the Church it should be examined with real scrutiny. But the attacks of scholarship were centered upon the Bible and outworn theology, so the preacher was permitted to do as he pleased with prayer. Since the foundations

of Christianity were already trembling from the assaults of higher criticism, he let prayer alone. The result is that men who do not dare to believe in the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch still gather in great conventions and pray for the physical health of a missionary in China.

Now the proposition that the appendix of a certain missionary in China will become less inflamed if five thousand people in an American city ask God for his relief is one which is open to scientific analysis. If the parties in the case would submit to experiments the facts might be readily discovered. The doctors in China might arrange a clinic to take place simultaneously with the prayer-meetings in America and observe the effect of prayer-waves upon the afflicted missionary.

But, so far as I know, the members of a certain convention which met several years ago in a Western city and offered up prayers with me for the health of a missionary in China never inquired whether their prayers accomplished any physical result. They knew that their assumption of power to change physical facts was a lie.

They knew that the old promise, "Ask and it shall be given to you," as applied to most of the worth while things of life is a *lie*.

They would be unwilling to pay a postage stamp for a patent medicine which has failed to accomplish its promised results in as large a proportion of cases as prayer has, but they continue to class their credulity in the physical efficacy of prayer as "faith." They put this faith on a higher level than the gullibility of those rural audiences who spend hard-earned savings for tapeworm medicine sold by Demosthenic grafters. But I do not appreciate their distinction.

If prayer is to have recognition in the physical world, it must submit to physical tests. Three-cent gasoline, it was said, was recently invented by a Boston lawyer, but the automobile investors of the city did not pay any attention to the claim until it was scientifically experimented with. Then it was proved to be a failure.

Is the reconstruction of the universe by personal petition so unimportant an undertaking that no one need investigate it? Can the gigantic swindle of purgatorial and sick-get-better prayers which command so large a proportion of the money and loyalty of American Catholics and Protestants be passed over by the clergyman with a few words about "faith in the Unseen"?

The claim made by defenders of prayer as a physical transformer is that prayer is on a "spiritual level" distinct from three-

cent gasoline. Some prayer is. But the level of prayer is no higher than its aim, and when men spend time in interceding before God in the attempt to accomplish the results of medicine and muscle without resort to anything else, they must submit to comparison.

And comparisons are odious. They show that prayer as a physical transformer and restorer is more truly based upon superstition than any patent medicine on the market. Where prayer heals one, patent medicines heal five. The results must speak for themselves. Ten million prayers a day arise unanswered to God. During the war there were prayers for the soldiers of Europe by sympathetic Americans; there were prayers for the eternal conquest of the German arms by a million German mothers; there were prayers for the conquest of Russian, French, American, English, and Turkish murdering machines; there are prayers for a passing mark in examinations by schoolchildren; there are prayers for success in gambling on the stock-market; there are endless prayers for rain, for dry weather, and for salvation from the lightning. . . .

Why should we attempt to classify these prayers into "superstitious" and "intelligent"? In not a single case can it be proved that intercession before God affected His direction of the forces of war, lightning, or plague. The dilemma of the old reasoners is unanswerable: if God is an omnipotent and wise Father, then he does not need our personal pleadings to make Him realize the needs of mankind; if He is not such a Father, then the prayer is directed to an imaginary mind. If the universe is built upon the plan of conventional Christian theology, why pray at all?

The *failure* of prayer is a subject which is taboo among the clergy. We have learned to evade the real issue of the worthwhileness of a prayer for so long that we take ourselves seriously when we tell some afflicted sister who is about to lose her only son with tuberculosis: "If it is God's will, your prayers will be answered; never cease to pray." That is an evasive half lie. What we mean in our hearts is that the prayer will comfort the mother and do no harm to the son. The son will die if the physical laws of life make it inevitable.

I am saying these things at the risk of repeating very stale truths because I am repeatedly astonished by the number of people who still take intercessory prayer seriously. I meet sane, clear-headed business men, hard-working and cynical laboring men, who have failed to look the facts about prayer as a physical transformer squarely in the face. They would not allow a book agent to take up ten minutes of their time with a theory that has so little real

evidence in its support as the theory of personal intercessory prayer. But they allow velvet-voiced preachers to prey upon their superstitions without a murmur.

The story of these velvet-voiced ones is uniform. We have not had our prayers answered because we have not known *how* to pray. (As if the Lord God our Father were not Himself responsible for the lisping intellect of His creatures.) We should learn to pray simply and trustfully. Men have always prayed to God our Father; therefore we should pray to Him as our Father. He may not always answer us according to our wishes, but out of the abundance of His wisdom He will do what is best for us. It may not seem best to us at the time, but if we will trust in Him, our way will be made clear. So we have in the prayer-meeting that optimism born of selfish desire which deliberately creates a universe contrary to all the facts of life because men are more interested in happiness than they are in truth. Men do not always want to *know*. They want something to believe. They have but a short time to live and a very small portion of that time to devote to the things of religion and ultimate destiny. The easy faith of the fathers with its magic priestcraft is offered to them. Faith, the preacher tells them, is beyond reason anyway. Why listen to the skeptic? Simple trust brings that peace of intellectual death which fills the collection box and enables men to go on with the more important tasks of earning a living.

But in spite of the faith of the prayer-meeting in the power of changing the universe by personal prayer, the great masses of men are no longer able to believe in that kind of prayer. They compromise by believing in prayer as a means of making men more holy and Christian. Prayer, they are willing to believe, is a great spiritual tonic. Through prayer, we come into communion with God, even if He does not change the universe to suit our desires.

Whether we can accept this belief depends upon our hard-headedness. People might be divided roughly into the hard-headed, the mystical, and the soft-headed. I am among the hard-headed. Not that I do not enjoy poetry, a symphony orchestra, or a spring landscape. My critical reason is predominant over my imagination and emotion to a somewhat larger degree than among other men. I have been converted twice in revival meetings and have found profound emotional experience in prayer, but the effectiveness of those emotional crises was destroyed when I calmly considered their meaning and value. Never in my whole life have I been certain that I have communed with anything higher than my

own emotional aspirations. When God has met me on Sinai, He had always hidden his face.

Now the soft-headed man labels his great emotional moments "communion with God" because the world tells him to. He has never made any honest attempt to analyze his own reactions and discover whether the assumption of anything supernatural in his religious experience is true. His mother has taught him at her knee to call the self-revelation of childhood prayer, communion with God. Under the influence of that tradition and the hypnotic power of a great revivalist he hears the "call of God." It is a very real call from the highest moral traditions and ideals of his experience. He puts that experience into the storehouse of his memory and perhaps gives definite shape to it by adding the description of some great religious leader. Now he has a God to pray to. He believes in communion through prayer.

The hard-headed man looks on at this religious experience of the soft-headed man with lack of sympathy and sometimes contempt. He does not understand it very well. But the mystic does. The mystic is a man of imagination and insight who reaches the conclusion that "the mystery of things" is *personal* and that man can reach that Person through direct communion. The mystic is not an intellectual infant, although he often associates with such. Now I am a hard-headed man, so I cannot discuss the mystic with any fair appreciation, for I have striven hard after the mystic's experience and have never been able to find anything personal in religious experience outside of the yearnings of my own soul and the traditions of experience.

The painful truth about the position of the mystic within the Church is that his belief is taken up by all sorts of undiscerning people and applied to every imaginable superstition. I do not believe that one man in ten is able to comprehend the mystical point of view, but the preacher soon finds that it is a great advantage to define his own religious experience in these mystical terms. It sets him apart as a spiritual leader. So we often see the strange phenomenon of a congregation of hard-headed and anxiously selfish seekers after salvation creating their religious experience in the reflected light of their preacher's experience: and when the truth is known, the preacher is not a mystic but an imaginative descriptive artist, who has learned to paint his religious experience in colors which his congregation can admire.

The responsibility for sham religious experience and false evaluation of prayer falls upon the clergy. They have thought

loosely and spoken recklessly. They have defined the aspirations of their hearts with a definiteness which the facts do not support. When they quietly analyze their experience in prayer, they are willing to admit that the voice of God which they heard in prayer may have been the voice of conscience and nothing else. For those few men who, when they have carefully and critically analyzed their own minds, feel the presence of God coming to them in prayer, I have nothing but envy. I would like to be one of them—but God has never blessed me with the sign.

What, then, is left of the reality of prayer?

Prayer to me is nothing but a simple expression of human desire. There are times in our lives when we need to forget the small troubles and quarrels of the scramble we call life. Then it clears our vision for some one to express with us the higher hopes of universal service and brotherhood. That is why I still pray with my congregation for higher motives and ideals. I want to teach them through prayer something of higher aspiration.

And does not prayer have a real function as an expression of noble desire? Out of the darkness we have come and into it we will go. Everywhere is Death. The Mystery gives back no answer when we cry. The brave man looks into the darkness unafraid: he is terrified by no threat of the future but he would claim the Unknown for himself. He stretches out his hands to gain greater fullness of life. Priests and fear-mongers bring answers to his prayers. He scorns them for he is not asking for their answer. He is yearning for Life: he is on the great search which has no goal.

THE ETHICS OF PROHIBITION.

BY A. V. C. P. HUIZINGA.

I.

IT is a curious coincidence that just at the time that the slogan of "self-determination" is adopted as a panacea for the nations, even to straighten out their tangled international relations, the prohibition movement engulfs with its amendment to the Constitution of the United States the hundred million inhabitants of "the land of the free and the home of the brave." Legal restraint is thus deemed necessary for the free and the brave in this great republic to the extent of employing the very Constitution, designed as a

charter for the liberty of the people, as a police measure to regulate personal conduct. Whether the basic idea and purpose of the Constitution, as relating specifically to the fundamental principles of government to protect life, liberty, and property within the nation, is thereby not perverted to a questionable police regulation, which with its paternal assumption reduces personal liberty by circumscribing it, remains within the domain of legal experts, and for them to decide.

On this point Judge Alton B. Parker and ex-President Taft are agreed. Judge Parker declared: "that now and here in our land the time has come when conditions demand that the liberties and the form of government which constitutes their foundation be guarded with jealous care. . . . There is every indication that both the court and the tribunes are to be kept busy. There are innumerable proposals flying about our ears like missiles in battle for human betterment at the expense of human freedom."

Ex-President Taft observes: "The reaching out of the great central power to brush the door-steps of local communities, far removed geographically and politically from Washington, will be irritating in such States and communities, and will be a strain upon the bonds of the national union. It will produce variation in the enforcement of the law. There will be a loose administration in spots all over the United States and a politically inclined national administration will be strongly tempted to acquiesce in such a condition. . . . For these reasons, therefore, first because the permanent national liquor law in many communities will prove unenforceable for lack of local public sympathy; second, because attempted enforcement will require an enormous force of federal policemen and detectives, giving undue power to a sinister and partisan subordinate of the national administration; and third, because it means an unwise structural change in the relations between the people of the States and the central government, and a strain to the integrity of the Union, I am opposed to a national prohibition amendment."

Vehement denunciations are heard against the Southern States for abuse of their political responsibility in supporting the measure. It is asserted that the South has lynched Jeffersonism. For Thomas Jefferson it has substituted the Anti-Saloon League lobby. In supporting this measure, it is argued, the South has wrecked the whole structure of State rights, obliterated the police powers of the States, without which they have no political excuse for existence, and destroyed the personal liberty which has hitherto been a bulwark of American freedom. Centralization supplants liberty. The South

has lynched the Jeffersonian theory of government, now let it take the consequences.

It is generally admitted that the old-time Prohibition party has had little to do with the present result, while the Anti-Saloon League has had a great deal to do with it. Without considering here the merits or demerits of prohibition as such, it should be emphasized that this circumstance constitutes the most ominous feature of the procedure and way in which the result has been accomplished. For one certainly cannot now say—prohibition in itself be desirable or not—as does Mr. W. E. Emory in the *Boston Transcript*, writing under the witty caption “A short review of the big topic of the day that may place the soda fountain in hotels and other places that were ‘barred.’” He says: “Prohibition has gone beyond a party issue. It is largely a matter of education and evolution, and it is one on which the politician in Congress and in State legislatures is free to act like a statesman without incurring the displeasure of any considerable element of the voters. None knows better than the practical politician that the safest thing he can do is to vote for a moral reform and, indeed, that not to do so when he is out in the open is political suicide.” Mr. Emory assuredly proclaims here the moral reform movement of human nature by law with a vengeance, and betrays in these same few words its inadequacy.

It would seem that the severe arraignments of the prohibition movement as Anti-Saloon League are not without point, for since the Webb-Kenyon Act was declared constitutional the States had the power to control fully the use, sale, transportation, and manufacture of liquors, etc., each within its own limits, but now the proposed prohibition amendment forces its provisions upon those States that do not want it, forcing all individuals to conform their conduct to its regulation. Judge Cullen of the New York Court of Appeals is quoted in the *Connecticut Report* as saying that “in his career as lawyer and judge, he has witnessed the assaults on personal liberty starting with the assumption in prohibition laws of a right in A, and B, to pass a law that C shall not be allowed to drink for fear that D may allow himself to get drunk, gaining in force and volume until they have reached that height of legislative folly in eugenic laws which forbid men and women to marry except upon concurrent permission of a physician and a priest.”

There is then no question that this law goes far in the direction of restricting personal liberty, nor is the claim made that it does not interfere with private liberty, while by its centralizing of power in the Federal Government it is destructive of local civil right. Yet,

precisely the sumptuary laws—if administered at all—require to be administered locally for evident and generally recognized reasons. Prussian paternalism applies this permanent federal liquor law to every State, and imposes it upon those States that do not want it as well.

Mr. Gerald Chapin's article in the *New York Sunday Times* is interesting. He expects a reaction, if only the enthusiasts are permitted to enact their extreme restrictive measures. He opines that then the Amendment will soon become a dead letter in most unsympathetic States. He says: "We must keep in mind the fact that the country is in an abnormal state of mind," and expects a cure by letting the prohibition fanatics have full sway. In this he depends, as he declares, "on the sane psychology of reaction." Perhaps it might come about, but not till a deplorable object-lesson has been paid for. Mr. Chapin's adopted attitude is certainly logical, but logic is not always wisdom, and it is as sound psychology to look for insane reaction upon extreme measures at this time. To this Mr. Chapin points, when he says: "The present Amendment marks only the beginning of a series of infringements of personal liberty." Surely, why should not tobacco follow suit? Why—if adequate publicity for "postum" is kept up—should public opinion not be convinced that "there is a reason" also for the prohibition of coffee? Indeed, to what length will prohibitory measures not go, when man is once made to "live under law," because his responsibility is denied. I cannot help recalling here how some one said some years ago at the occasion of a half-drunk Indian in a trolley-car in Western New York: "Indians cannot have any liquor, because they are 'wards of the nation.'" Guardianship has been extended far since then.

The California Grape Productive Association obtained a restraining order forbidding Governor Stephens to certify the ratification to the Secretary of State, and it wants a large sum appropriated by the State legislature to recompense the wine grape growers of the State. It would seem they might rather ask Uncle Sam, who holds the final decision and responsibility, for eventual indemnity.

Just as it is urged by the opponents that the Anti-Saloon League lobby has hurried up unduly the prohibition movement into legal enactment, so it is claimed that the prohibition amendment itself is not properly passed by the majority of a quorum, instead of by the majority of the full membership of both houses. This is the view of the State Bar Association of Connecticut, which in a "Report of a Special Committee on the Prohibition Amendment

to the Federal Constitution" argues this case at some length, but concedes that in the House and in the Senate in the *ordinary* business of the legislative branch of the government precedent not only exists, but it is regular practice to regard the members in session as the "houses." They consider the proposed amendment as *extraordinary* business, conceding here, however, also precedent, but they contend that at these precedents there was at the time no disagreement and the point was therefore not raised, and conclude that "failure to raise the question concerning an amendment in favor of which there was practically unanimity of opinion cannot be held a waiver of the right to raise the objection nor an acquiescence in the precedent claimed to have been established." It would seem to be a question what legal weight this precedent should be accorded, for without consideration of the legal weight of precedent, the argument presented seems to favor the view of a majority of "full houses." The report makes also a strong attack on the wording in Section 2 of the Amendment: "The Congress and the several States shall have 'concurrent power' to enforce this article by appropriate legislation." They argue that "concurrent power" is clearly wrong, and would render the enforcement of the law confusing and ineffective. The Connecticut report does not make mention of the claim made elsewhere that there are fifteen States where the action of the State legislature may be carried to the people on a referendum, which would, if successfully carried out, annul the amendment. There are more than that number of States in which amendments to their own State constitutions must be referred to the people and in many cases any action of the legislature is subject to popular review. It is, however, asserted that "the United States Constitution provides that its amendment may be accomplished by act of Congress, which must be ratified by three quarters of the total number of States in one of two ways—either by action of the State legislature or by action of a convention called in each State for that purpose. Congress chooses which of these methods shall be used and in this case, as in nearly all others, the former was designated. There is therefore no hope in the referendum claim for the opponents of prohibition, except a possible delay of its enforcement. The opposition of prohibition finds also of little avail Article X of the Constitution, which provides that powers not delegated by the Constitution to the Federal Government or by it prohibited to the States shall be reserved to the States. In connection with the federal income tax some years ago the Supreme Court held that individual States had a perfect right to delegate to the Federal Government

any powers which they possess, as they have been doing at one time and another ever since the United States became a nation. Many claims are heard on every hand, the opposition evidently bestirring itself in the conviction of the imminence of their legal defeat. Some even expect Congress not to act upon the Amendment, which would turn the legal attempt at moral reform into the great joke, which they assert it is, and anyhow, 'better a great joke than a great calamity.'"

Nebraska evidently put the Amendment over on January 16, when the State of the peerless leader, the picturesque, first and foremost figure in the recent prohibition movement, ratified the Amendment as the thirty-sixth State. It is interesting to remember how only a few years ago William Jennings Bryan failed to raise prohibition to a national issue by adopting it in the Democratic platform, when we find ourselves now already with prohibition as an accomplished legal fact. No wonder that the cry goes up enthusiastically to proceed to make the whole world dry, bone-dry!

II.

We must, however, consider that legal enactments are not the whole story, that all law after all is but instrumental, creature and servant of ethical ends. We therefore leave these technical matters, pertaining to the legal machinery, to the legal profession and the courts, and turn to the ethics of prohibition, because we believe that all law should function ethically. Law may indeed generally be regarded as social ethics precipitated into written statute with this understanding that the law requires only the minimum and exacts this minimum under penalty. If law be thus precipitated into written statute from ethical sentiment of the social milieu over which it functions, it goes without saying that such legislation must bear a natural ethical relation to the people who enact it, and who are to stand guardians over it by enforcing it generally. This at least is desired in legislation. If law is not thus expressive of the moral tone of the community its functioning is bound to assume an artificial character, and its efficacy is doomed. This question, whether prohibition does really prohibit, comes within the domain of social ethics but is mainly viewed with a utilitarian bias, that is, with a view to its effect upon society rather than upon man. We need to consider man in society, but should give ethics there an individual, concrete bearing, as the rule of life is carried individually in the world's market-place. Hence we shall have to fall back here, as in most other cases, on the individual as our starting-point.

Moral reform is not from without but from within. The law cannot replace the ethical mandate which addresses itself personally to each individual. The law may aid in protecting whatever moral standards are prevailing in a community or nation, but the law as such cannot add one cubit to its moral stature. Both Woodrow Wilson and his opponent in the presidential campaign are in perfect agreement on this point. Woodrow Wilson said before the American Bar Association at Chattanooga, Tennessee: "The major premise of all law is moral responsibility, the moral responsibility of individuals for their acts, and no other foundation can any man lay on which a stable fabric of equitable justice may be reared." And he emphasized in this connection that the people ought to be cured of the appetite for law as the remedy for all ills. Hughes declares: "I do not sympathize very much with schemes of moral regeneration through legislation. We can accomplish a great deal by wise laws, but the impetus of moral movements must as a rule be given by the voluntary work of citizens who, with the force of conviction, press their views upon the people and secure that public sentiment according to which alone any true moral reform can be accomplished. I also have very little sympathy for an ambitious scheme for doing away with all evil in the community at once." As I tried to show in an article "Social or Individual Regeneration" in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, January, 1912, moral reform must begin within man, the leverage of all civilization and moral progress forever starts with the individual man. It is a sad testimony to the churches that they have allowed themselves to fix attention unduly upon surroundings, conditions, and external things, instead of engaging, as was their wont, the man, for after all it is the man who controls, creates, makes, and unmakes these "conditions," and also makes and breaks the customs. The magic word "environment" has subtly poisoned the modern mind into flabby fatalism of materialistic flavor. We are all set adrift upon the evolutionary currents with the vague hope that somehow the evolving is upward and onward, though some wrecks and much driftwood on life's ocean alarm us. We are evidently not naturally floating to the haven of destiny. We need compass, chart, and above all—we need to steer ourselves.

Professory Perry puts this clearly in *The Moral Economy* (p. 130): "The external environment of life is in some respects favorable, in others unfavorable. Now, strangely enough, it is the unfavorable rather than the favorable aspect of the environment that conduces to progress. Progress, or even the least good, would, of course, be impossible, unless the mechanical environment was

morally plastic. The fact that nature submits to the organization which we call life is a fundamental and constant condition of all civilization. But there is nothing in the mere compliance of nature to press life forward. It is the menace of nature which stimulates progress. It is because nature always remains a source of difficulty and danger that life is provoked to renew the war and achieve a more thorough conquest. Nature will not permit life to keep what it has unless it gains more." I will quote two more professors of Harvard who have given this subject special attention. Professor Peabody declares: "Better methods (as wiser laws) may simplify the social question, it can be solved by nothing less than better men." Professor Münsterberg observes in *American Problems* (p. 21): "The whole radicalism of the prohibition movement would not be necessary if there were more training for self-control. To prohibit always means only the removal of the temptation, but what is evidently more important is to remain temperate in the midst of a world of temptation. The rapid growth of divorce, the silly chase for luxury, the rivalry in ostentation and in the gratification of personal desires in a hundred forms cannot be cured if only one or another temptation is taken out of sight. The improvement must come from within. The fault is in ourselves, in our prejudices, in our training, in our habits, in our fanciful fear of nervousness."

A point that should not be lost sight of in connection with these legalistic tendencies, is that they make their strongest showing on the least positive moral strength. It is a truism to say that as moral virtue languishes people will naturally lean more strongly on the law, or the conventional verdict. Hence conventional and legal morality, which at best cultivates negative virtues, has become often of ill repute. It has led people to conceive prevalingly of morality and religion as restraint, not as inner conformity to right, as a life responsive to and expressive of a positive principle within. The monumental exhibit of legal morality in the religious sphere stands branded in the Pharisees. Read in Schurer's work *The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ* the chapter "The Life Under the Law," realize the monstrous result when ethics and theology were swallowed up in jurisprudence, and you will pause at the folly to acquire temperance through prohibition. Rather the hysterical appeal for prohibition is itself proof of intemperance. Is not the leading appeal and argument on the ground of prevailing weakness and consequent abuse of liquor an explicit and implicit declaration of the moral bankruptcy of the nation? Scripture insists that Christian liberty is nowhere allowed to be forced. In

the whole Bible the prohibition fanatics search in vain for sanctions for their crusade. Christ turned water into wine. "And He called the multitude, and said unto them, Hear and understand. Not that which entereth the mouth defileth the man." The argument when Paul urges that the strong (those who do not abuse it) become weak to the weak (those who actually abuse it, or are liable to do so) can of course never come within the range of law, as it is necessarily a voluntary, individual act to abstain in behalf of the weaker brother. Yet, Billy Sunday, who should know Scripture, indulges in the following characteristic diction at the ratification of the prohibition amendment: "The rain of tears is over; the slums will soon be a memory. We will turn our prisons into factories, our jails into storehouses and corn-cribs. Men will walk upright now, women will smile, children will laugh, hell will be for rent." Without depreciating Billy's evangelistic endeavors the query forces itself forward: Can Billy really believe such extravagant statements? Does Billy not realize that his own evangelistic efforts aim with powerful emotional, histrionic, and dramatic effect at the will of his hearers, and unless that will is reached, and is (with or without grace) strong enough to break the baneful habit, his appeal goes for naught? Is Mr. Sunday not aware of the fact that prohibition only limits a man's choice by eliminating liquor as an object evil in itself or leading to evil consequences, but that the weak or depraved will, thus barred, is ever ready to find other objects? Still, Billy fills a niche all his own, his thundering people away from the temptation of drink into abstinence is readily seen to move on a higher plane than having possible temptations removed by the police measures of prohibition. Contrast Billy's thunder against the liquor traffic with the resolution of the Massachusetts Federation of patriotic societies and good-government clubs, held at Malta Hall in Cambridge, and one cannot fail to rate Billy's rampant denunciations as wholesome by the side of utterances of these alleged patriots of good-government clubs. Billy never smells unctuous, he is in fact the exact opposite of those whose fatal pride is inflated with the sense of their own excellence. These people urged commemoration of the 300th Anniversary of the Landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth along with the resolution "that we exert every influence and labor unceasingly to make as a contribution by 1920 a decisive and complete victory over the greatest enemy of all times." How many of these people realize what an entirely different conception these Pilgrim Fathers, whom they wish to commemorate, had of "the greatest enemy of all times," over whom they certainly

could not gain "a decisive and complete victory" by a mere legal prohibitory enactment. How many of these people are aware that Robinson and Brewster, when the leaders of the Puritans at Leyden, obtained there special privileges to buy enough wine and beer without tax to supply most of the congregation, and that the beer which the pilgrims of the Mayflower had was sold off to pay their debts to their harsh English creditors! The Pilgrim Fathers had "disciplined hearts," but this prohibition movement is born of intemperance. This Massachusetts Federation of patriotic societies should be reminded of the fact that the Bay State itself annulled the prohibition law nearly two generations ago after having been dry for some twenty years, its leading men and best citizens sustained public opinion in a general protest against it. We might point here also to Cotton Mather's sermon on the Bostonian Ebenezer, where he says: "And, oh! that the drinking-houses in the town might once come under a laudable regulation. The town has an enormous number of them; will the haunters of those houses hear the counsels of heaven? For you that are town-dwellers, to be oft or long in your visits of the 'ordinary,' 't will certainly expose you to mischiefs more than ordinary. . . . But let the owners of those houses also now hear our counsels. Oh! hearken to me, that God may hearken to you another day! It is an honest, and a lawful, though it may not be a very desirable employment, that you have undertaken: you may glorify the Lord Jesus Christ in your employment if you will, and benefit the town considerably. There was a very godly man that was an innkeeper, and a great minister of God could say to that man in 3 John 2, 'Thy soul prospereth.' Oh, let it not be said of you, since you are fallen in this employment, 'Thy soul withereth'. . . . There was an inn at Bethlehem where the Lord Jesus Christ was met withal. Can Boston boast of many such? Alas, too ordinarily it may be said, 'There is no room for him in the inn.'"

We raise in this connection the question whether the prohibition movement itself is wholly guiltless of the excesses of the drink evils, when it forced the liquor traffic, which needs to be so carefully guarded, by its violent, persistent attacks into careless and reckless hands? Cardinal Gibbons is quoted as describing the Prohibition Amendment as a blow at the Christian religion, and predicts the invasion of American homes by federal officers "with the authority of policemen and the violence of burglars." This accords fully with Mr. Taft's statement, and is left for truly-good-government clubs to reflect upon.

PEACE AND THE MEANS TO PEACE.

BY GILBERT REID.¹

“And if I by Beelzebub cast out devils
.....”—Matt. xii. 27.

THE great Teacher, of humble origin, one of the people, refused to cast out Beelzebub by Beelzebub. He used divine power in a divine way. He would not do evil that good might come. To be righteous, as He thought it, was the best way to achieve righteousness among all generations of his fellow men. To be a Christian in these days of testing is to catch the spirit of Christ and imbue thereby the problems of the nations.

It has remained for a High-Church Anglican, the Lord Bishop of Oxford, to attest to the virtue of moral aims in waging war and effecting peace, such as President Wilson time and time again has urged on all belligerents of both sides in the world war, especially before the actual Peace Conference. Bishop Gore, on arrival in New York, used these words of spiritual clearness and dispassionate broad-mindedness: “The mere determination to beat Germany is apt to absorb all else. Whereas, in fact, we might defeat Germany and at the same time absorb so much of what is false in the spirit of the war as to defeat our professed aims in entering upon it. That is what makes me ready to do anything that lies in my power to keep the right moral principles of the war to the fore.”

The Fourteen Points of President Wilson’s address to Congress, January 8, of last year, have been called by some “war aims.” He himself announced them as “the program of the world’s peace.” The major part relates to treatment to be meted out to the two Central Powers; the minor part applies to all the world. In his address on opening the Fourth Liberty Loan campaign, September 27, he dealt mainly with universal principles and to a less degree with enemy governments.

All these principles and all this program were adopted, marvelous to say, first by the spokesmen of the Central Powers, and later by the Versailles Inter-Allied Conference. Have the subsequent secret negotiations at Paris solidified or nullified these high principles, proclaimed as they were “on the housetop”?

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Some want to cast out Beelzebub—all wrong ideas and methods incident to the war—by righteous means and in a Christ-like spirit; others cling to fellowship with Beelzebub to crush Beelzebub, and in the crushing process to overthrow him who is innocent as well as the spirit that seeks for the highest and the best in the interrelations of nations and peoples.

What is important just now is that in the settlement of peace no aid shall be sought at the hands of Beelzebub.

Let us note a few places where Beelzebub might be able to creep in, if, indeed, he has not already crept in.

1. The natural impression went forth months ago that President Wilson and the prevailing American spirit refused, though in association with the Entente Allies, to approve everything they had done and planned since war began in 1914, but were supporting and fighting for aims which were more just,—equal opportunities to all in the future reorganization of the world. Because President Wilson seemed to occupy an advanced position as to the ultimate goal—lasting and universal peace—the enemy countries were emboldened to apply to him first of all to bring about armistice and peace. It was naturally supposed that if they could be induced to accept his program hostilities would cease without unnecessary shedding of human blood. Leading Britons had given encouragement to this supposition. Even the British Premier in July of last year stated that if “the Kaiser and his advisers are prepared to accept” the President’s conditions, “he can have peace not only with America but with Great Britain and France.”

It was not supposed that any card was “held up the sleeve.” President Wilson had himself stated as one of the conditions of peace that “diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.”

Now, how will the moral character of this new diplomacy be affected if one after another of the peace conditions be subjected to modification according to the good pleasure of just one side, or if any of the great principles be toned down or allowed to slip away? For instance, though “the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine should be righted,” as first most justly declared, the view-point of France, seconded by Great Britain and also apparently by the rest of the “Big Five,” has been that Alsace-Lorraine must be “restored to France,” in spite of the fact that this much-disputed territory has not always belonged to France and no plebiscite is to be taken.

What, then, of all other territory seized through conquest since 1871 by all the great Powers of the world on all the five continents?

The all-important point of freedom of the seas is another illustration. Naturally President Wilson's form of statement and America's original interpretation, were not acceptable to the British. The whole dispute is now relegated into annihilation by forming a League of Nations which is to allow no such thing as neutral nations, but by making all of them potentially belligerent, effectively does away with the whole problem of neutral rights. This looks like playing at diplomacy.

Will the American ideal succumb to passion or politics in harmony with one's desires? Shall the Fourteen Points be shelved while a League of Minority Nations is being formed as in a "close corporation"? Has the Beelzebub of Bias and imperial aggrandizement been given a place at the Peace Table?

2. Probably the supreme object in waging war against the Central Powers has been the overthrow of militarism. It is commonly spoken of as "Prussian," as if no other country had been dominated by militarism. The result has been that Prussia, and even every German, has been more hated than militarism. To match the force of Germany the temptation has been, quite naturally, to arrange a combination, not of mere spiritual ideas, but of superior military force, and in so doing we have weakened the strength of our arguments against militarism. For what, after all, is militarism but the will to conquer through force of arms? It is the military spirit, governing all else, on land or sea.

If it be true that the American purpose has been victory on the field of battle, it must also be acknowledged that with not a few the ultimate end has never been lost sight of, viz., lasting peace. So President Wilson in calling upon Congress to declare a state of war with the German government, said that he had "exactly the same thing in mind" that he had in mind when he previously announced his policy of mediation between the warring nations. His object still was "to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world."

But with too many the ambition has grown to have America henceforth military, to rely on war measures rather than on negotiation, to scorn peace societies and dub pacifists disloyal, and to continue to force men into army or navy by the usual method of conscription. So Bishop Gore, speaking in Boston, said: "Are we in no danger of militarism? I can conceive of no disaster comparable with this that we should win a great victory and be able to

dictate to the military autocracy of Germany a peace the most desirable that we could imagine; that we should have them under our feet, defeated before all Europe, and that then we should return to our several countries ourselves having imbibed that very disease from which we were seeking to deliver the world." He then declares that our chief moral aim "is that this is a war against war," but if we revert to the old "balances of power," "we are in view of the collapse of civilization." Shall we welcome to the Peace Table the Beelzebub of Militarism?

3. More than once has the American policy been described by President Wilson as opposed to all interference in the internal affairs of other nations, even of Germany and Austria-Hungary. To adopt such a policy of interference in any sovereign nation is contrary to the spirit of international law, and especially to the policy of the Wilson administration. In the President's address of January 8 last year he used the words: "Neither do we presume to suggest to her any alteration or modification of her institutions." At the same time he pointed out a necessary change of leadership. "But it is necessary, we must frankly say, and necessary as a preliminary to any intelligent dealings with her on our part, that we should know whom her spokesmen speak for when they speak to us, whether for the Reichstag majority or for the military party and the men whose creed is imperial domination."

In a previous address, of December 4, 1917, he also said: "We intend no wrong against the German Empire, no interference with her internal affairs." As to Austria-Hungary his tenth condition of peace originally read thus: "The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development."

But what has happened? Have not the victors openly set out to destroy the governments of the Central Powers by the Beelzebub of Revolution? Has not the orderly democratic element been handicapped by a Beelzebub of blockade and outside oppression? It has been stated by wise observers that if anarchy should spread from Russia to Germany and Austria-Hungary, it is likely to spread to Italy, France, and Great Britain, and, if there, then also to the United States. While the overthrow of autocratic rule seems desirable for the sake of democracy, is it not incumbent that we move cautiously, lest the reaction from autocracy or even monarchy be not democracy or even a republic, but anarchy and lawlessness?

Marquis Okuma is reported as saying: "Though all other

thrones in the world should totter and fall, you may be sure that the Imperial House of Japan would survive." Are we so sure? Will the anarchy resulting from antagonism to monarchical rulers and constitutional government stop with the continents of Europe and America? Might it not spread like an epidemic to Asia, and particularly to the two remaining empires of India and Japan?

4. Hatred is another Beelzebub being welcomed at the Peace Table. Perhaps we should use the milder term of lack of fairness and of conciliation.

In January of last year President Wilson said: "We have no jealousy of German greatness, and there is nothing in this program that impairs it. We grudge her no achievement or distinction of learning or of pacific enterprise, such as have made her record very bright and very enviable. We do not wish to injure her or to block in any way her legitimate influence or power."

In his great address of September he outlined a Peace of Nations as "the most essential part of the peace settlement" of which this principle stands first: "The impartial justice meted out must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those to whom we do not wish to be just. It must be a justice that plays no favorites and knows no standard but the equal rights of the several peoples concerned."

The Junker element in the nations opposed to the Central Powers has been crying out that the representatives of even the *people* of these two Powers should have no voice in the peace settlement, but should make complete surrender just as in the terms of armistice. How, then, can a League of *all* Nations be safely formed at the peace settlement? Are the peoples of these two nations to have no rights at all, and have no chance to defend their rights by appeal to reason? If Prussia's treatment of France in 1871 was too harsh and unjust, shall the Allied nations and the United States, aiming to organize a model world "consistent with the common interest of all," lend their influence to a peace settlement even more harsh and more unjust than that imposed by Prussia on France?

5. Another Beelzebub is the persistent violation of the spirit of international law, in the special matter of seizure or sequestration of private property of enemy subjects.

The English authority, Hall, says such action "would be looked upon with extreme disfavor." He continues: "It is evident that although it is within the bare rights of a belligerent to appropriate the property of his enemies existing within his jurisdiction, it can very rarely be wise to do so." Once again: "The absence of any instance

of confiscation in the more recent European wars, no less than the common interests of all nations and present feelings, warrant a confident hope that the dying right will never again be put in force, and that it will soon be wholly extinguished by disuse."

The lofty character of American motives in entering the war has received a shock in the rather ruthless way in which the Alien Property Custodian has disposed of property belonging to Germans. Certainly this department can do as it pleases, that is, be arbitrary, but unless such action hastens the defeat of German militarism, it seems to ordinary mortals that it would be more honorable to follow the modern trend of international law.

Right at the time that both Central Powers made overtures for peace and the armies of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, and the United States were assured of victory, the announcement was made that the Alien Property Custodian was taking "control of property valued at more than \$21,300,000 which had previously been owned by, or held in trust for, descendants of wealthy American families, most of whom are now in possession of German and Austrian titles."

Mr. A. Mitchell Palmer, speaking in Philadelphia, lately gave his view-point: "Germany must be made to understand that her plan has failed in the industrial field as in the military. Industrial disarmament must come along with military disarmament," i. e., for Germany, but for no other country.

Again, while men everywhere were talking peace, the Allied Ministers in Peking, six of them, complained to the Chinese Government because it had delayed, as it had the right to delay, in interning German subjects in China and in breaking up German business houses, an object that not a few Britons had had in mind from the autumn of 1914.

All this, moreover, is contrary to the lofty principle stated by President Wilson in his speech of last September. He said: "Special alliances and economic rivalries and hostilities have been the prolific source in the modern world of the plans and passions that produce war. It would be an insincere as well as an insecure peace that did not exclude them in definite and binding terms."

It looks as if to the high-handedness of ruining private individuals of a belligerent nation, the victors would now form a league to carry forward the baneful policy of economic rivalry. Better the appeal of Lord Robert Cecil: "Let us erect the superstructure of a new international order, which will substitute international cooperation for international competition."

6. This war, at least American participation therein, is to liberate weak nations, oppressed peoples, and persecuted individuals. The essential idea of democracy is human freedom.

President Wilson in the fourth of his five principles for world-wide application—a modern Sermon on the Mount—asks: “Shall there be a common standard of right and privilege for all peoples and nations or shall the strong do as they will and the weak suffer without redress?”

This liberation primarily is for the Balkan peoples, for the peoples of Russia, for those under Turkish rule and in the once Empire-Kingdom of Austria-Hungary, and even for the people of the German States. May it not be applied to the diverse races and peoples dwelling within the bounds of these United States and of all our possessions?

Will it not soon be clear that oppressive methods have been used far too much on conscientious American citizens and on those who have fled from European tyranny to “the land of the free and the home of the brave”? Has the conscientious objector fared as well under the Stars and Stripes as under the Union Jack? Has the American opposed to war or to the entrance of his own country into the war, received as considerate treatment as men of similar mind have been accorded in the United Kingdom, to say nothing of Ireland? Has criticism of the Administration at Washington or of any American officials been tolerated to the same degree as criticism of the British Government and Lloyd George or even criticism of the German Imperial Government, and of the Kaiser himself? Is it not dangerous for every insignificant man to express his own thoughts, especially when his thoughts are erroneous in the eyes of the majority, or when he expresses himself in broken English? In a word, has not our great country lost much in not holding to the fundamental principles embodied in our Constitution and shown forth in the proud record of American institutions, liberal and just?

We wanted to overthrow European autocracy; has any American been autocratic? Has the Beelzebub of Autocracy been given a seat among the Big Five?

We lament the harshness of the Brest-Litovsk treaty; will we countenance something more harsh in heaping retribution on Germany and Austria-Hungary?

We point the finger of scorn at the oppressive domination of German military rule; has any American tasted oppression since Good Friday, 1917?

We feel sorry that so many in Europe are not free; are all Americans free?

We used to trace lawlessness and riots in Central and Eastern Europe to arbitrary officialdom; to what must we trace lawless and riotous conduct in this country?

Shall we make use of methods which we condemn in others?

St. Paul itemized the sins of the Gentiles, but, lest the Jews be puffed up with vain glory, he asked: "Thou that makest thy boast of the law, through breaking the law dishonorest thou God?"

ANDREW D. WHITE—NEUTRAL.

BY ROLAND HUGINS.

THE duration of the world war coincided with the last years of Andrew Dickson White. He died on November 4, 1918. If he had lived three days more he would have come to his eighty-sixth birthday. If he had been granted seven days more he would have lived until the signing of the armistice with Germany. So the final span of this great American's life overlapped almost exactly the period during which was fought the greatest battle of history.

Naturally Dr. White was intensely interested in the great conflict. The attention of practically every one in the world was absorbed by it. But not only that: he had an especial reason for interest, because of the fact that he knew personally many of the diplomats and generals who were responsible for the breaking of the flood-gates, and understood the inside diplomatic history of Europe during the last generation. He had served as Minister to Germany and to Russia, and later again as Ambassador to Germany. After his retirement in his seventieth year, he came to live in his spacious residence on the Cornell Campus. There he kept open house for members of the faculty and undergraduates. Those who came into contact with Dr. White in this period knew how stimulating and elevating was his influence. He brought something of Olympus to Ithaca.

In the summer of 1915 a little book of mine appeared under the title *Germany Misjudged*, printed by the Open Court Publishing Company. It was scarcely more than a lengthy pamphlet. It contended that America should keep out of the world war. Although tinged with a mild pro-Germanism, it was really pacifist in tone and intent, and might just as well have been entitled "The Duty of

Neutrality." That would have proved, as events unfolded themselves, a more discreet choice of title. At any rate, the War Department placed this book on its prohibited list for Army camps last year,—an attention which I take as an undeserved compliment to my persuasiveness.

One afternoon after the book had appeared Professor George Lincoln Burr of the History Department, who has endeared himself to many successive generations of Cornellians, stopped at my house to deliver a message from Dr. White. He said that Dr. White had read *Germany Misjudged* and that when he had found it to be written by an instructor in the University, expressed a desire to have me pay him a call. Upon presenting myself the next evening, Dr. White greeted me with gracious courtesy. We had a long talk before his library fire.

Dr. White said that he thought that I had made a number of good points in the book but there were numerous things with which he could not agree. He had marked passages from which he dissented. He said that he took particular exception to two statements. In the first place he said I had made a mistake in attempting to gloss over, even faintly, the German invasion of Belgium. That was not only in his mind a crime against international law and a small nation, but it was a military and political blunder. He thought that the Germans in their campaign with France should have advanced along the old routes used in 1870. He contended that, despite the fact that the frontier between France and Germany was much more strongly fortified than in previous days, the Germans would have ultimately strengthened their position, military and moral, at the expense of a slight initial strategic sacrifice, had they struck straight at Verdun. In the second place, he declared, I had not realized the enormity of the German policy of frightfulness. He quoted Emperor William's speech at the time of the Boxer Rebellion. He said that such a policy, openly avowed and ruthlessly pursued, could not fail in the end to bring down upon Germany world-wide condemnation and possibly new enemies.

What praise he had of the book he phrased in general terms. He said that much of my criticism of France, Russia, and England was well taken. He was glad to see that the younger members of the faculty were taking an interest in public affairs and were seeking to interpret them. He hoped that I would look further into the perplexities of international politics.

After that night I called now and again at Dr. White's house. He was always charming and responsive and never in the least

condescending. He had a graciousness that is rare to meet, blended with a perfect dignity. Dr. White in these conversations did most of the talking. His age showed itself only in one respect: he was fond of reminiscence. He would tell of incidents in which he had participated during the Civil War and during his sojourns in Europe; but his mind did not dwell exclusively on the past. At the conclusion of an anecdote about Bismarck or Disraeli he would pick up from the desk the latest copy of the *London Saturday Review* and read to me a paragraph that he approved or disapproved. Dr. White drew a very sharp line between truth and falsehood. He did not hesitate to designate prominent men as blackguards. I remember that one evening he showed me a book, I think it was *Delane of the Times*, on the pages of which he had been penciling comments, as was his habit. He had made such notations as "This gives the exact truth," or "This is an outrageous lie," or "Utterly false."

To Dr. White the war, coming at the eve of a long diplomatic life, brought less astonishment than to most Americans. He viewed it as history even while it was going on. He had seen too many wars in his life, and too many narrow escapes from conflict, to imagine that any millennium was just around the corner. He did not indulge in any exaggerated hopes that the outcome of this war, whatever it might be, would bring mankind suddenly to an era of perpetual peace. Up to the time that America entered the war Dr. White believed that Germany could not be defeated crushingly, and that the war would end in a negotiated peace on the basis of a draw. His attitude toward the whole conflict up to 1917 was aloof. But his neutrality was not the neutrality of indifference or ignorance. I have heard him say a half a dozen times that Germany had suffered many genuine grievances from her neighbors, Russia, France, and England. I have also heard him half a dozen times condemn in strong terms the conduct of the Prussian Junkers. Although he was by no means a partisan of President Wilson, he supported the policy of neutrality that Mr. Wilson pursued up to the time of his second election.

Dr. White was never a whole-hearted admirer of England, although he saw many fine things in the British civilization. He said once, "I have received the best treatment and the worst treatment that I have ever encountered, in England." Yet he thought that English business men were more honest than those of the Continent and that French business men were more honest than German. He told his experiences in buying furniture at one time or another for

his ministerial residences to support these estimates of European tradesmen. Dr. White was in England as a young man during our Civil War; and the profound impression that anti-American feeling and misrepresentation produced upon him at that time was never quite eradicated. His subsequent experience inclined him to the view that the Tories and Junkers of all countries are very much alike.

The predominant emotion that the world war aroused in Dr. White was therefore not one of partisanship for either side, but of deep regret that such a calamity should ever come upon the world. He feared that the war, if too long protracted, might ruin European civilization. Dr. White had been the presiding officer of the American Delegation to the First Peace Conference at the Hague; and throughout his life he had labored incessantly for the promotion of international good will. The war therefore appeared to him as the frustration of high hopes and endeavors.

In politics Dr. White was more of a conservative than a radical. He set a very high estimate on David Jayne Hill, a successor of his as Ambassador to Berlin; and he frequently told me that he regarded Mr. Hill's book on *The People's Government* as a masterpiece. He was really a Liberal of the old-fashioned school, a school that seems to be gradually becoming extinct. He was not only the advocate but the embodiment of the best American traditions. He was high-mindedness incarnate. Although he never hesitated to condemn what he thought false or low, he was a man of generous admirations. He often spoke in terms of praise of Americans of both parties, of Cleveland and Wilson, of John Hay, Roosevelt, and Taft. He esteemed a man for his character and not for his opinions. He did not consider it an affront that a man should differ with him.

The day after war was declared by the United States early in April, 1917, I encountered Dr. White on the sidewalk of State Street, down-town in Ithaca. He was just about to enter his automobile. I asked him what he thought of the declaration. He said: "I think we should have been wiser to have stayed out. But now that we are in we must remember that we are Americans and all stand together." From that day forward, I am sure, he supported the American Government in every possible way. But he knew, with Lord Morley, that "The world is traveling under formidable omens into a new era."

THE BOOK OF NAHUM IN THE LIGHT OF ASSYRIOLOGY.

BY H. W. MENGEDOHT.

AMONG the various books of the Bible which can be elucidated by the help of Egyptian or Assyrian monuments, there is one which is especially associated with Nineveh, that is the short prophecy of Nahum; and it is of interest to see what light the monuments recovered from Assyrian and Babylonian mounds throw upon the date and authenticity of that work. The book is a very remarkable one and has greatly exercised the minds of the critics of both the higher and lower schools of criticism, but the flood of light from the monuments which has been shed upon it, has done much to remove scholarly suspicions.

The first chapter, to be sure, stands apart from the succeeding portion—the chapters ii and iii, which especially relate to Nineveh—and many still hold the opinion that it is the work of a later hand, the existence of an acrostic psalm in chap. i. 2-9 being considered to indicate a post-Exilic date. The discovery, however, of a number of acrostic psalms in the clay tablets from the Royal Library of Nineveh of a date coinciding with that of Nahum, makes it more than possible that this peculiar form of writing was especially employed as being in the Assyrian style.

The next point on which we have important monumental evidence is that of the date when the prophecy was uttered. This date is clearly indicated by the writer. He refers in chap. iii. 8-9 to an important event in Assyrian history, the capture of Thebes by Assurbanipal.

He says:

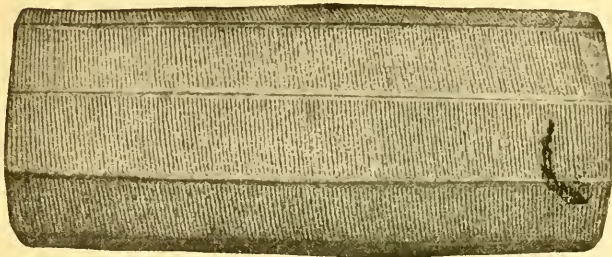
“Art thou better than populous No,¹ that was situate among the rivers, that had the waters round about it, whose rampart was the sea, and her wall was from the sea?”

“Ethiopia and Egypt were her strength, and it was infinite. Put and Lubim were thy helpers.”

Here the writer displays a great knowledge of the history of Egypt and Assyria in the seventh century B. C. Thebes was captured by Assurbanipal in 664-663 and, as he tells us in his great

¹ No-Amon, i. e., Thebes, the city of Amen-Ra.

ten-sided cylinder inscription, an immense spoil was carried away to Nineveh. The prophecy then must have been uttered after this important event, and the accuracy of the writer in speaking of

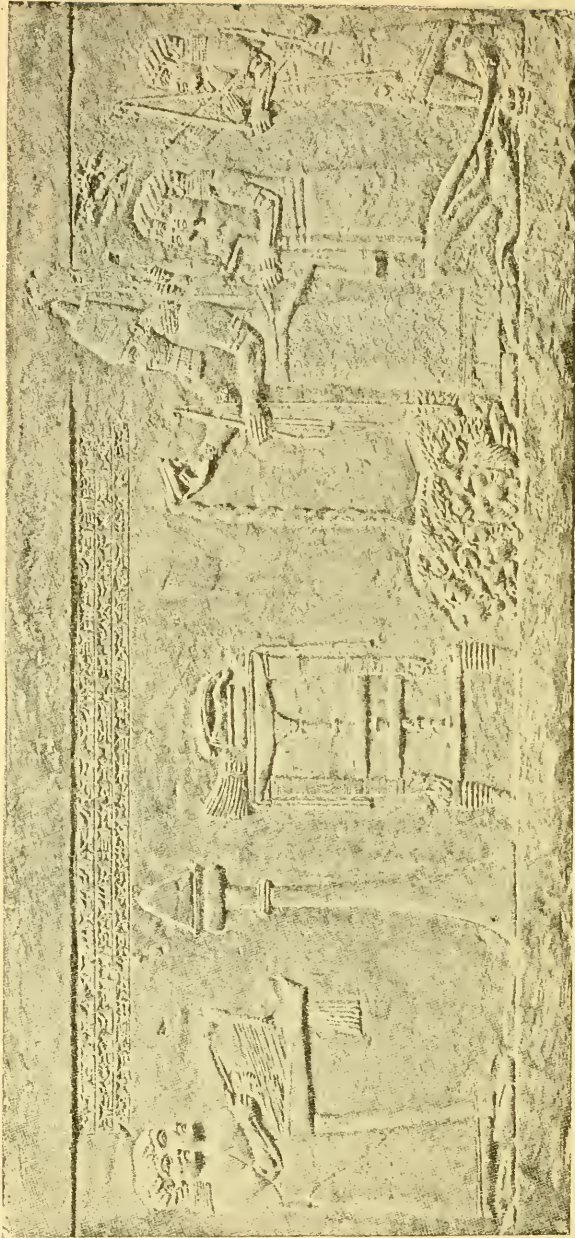


ASSURBANIPAL'S TEN-SIDED CLAY PRISM.
(From Fr. Delitzsch, *Babel and Bible*, Chicago, 1906.)

Ethiopians as well as Egyptians ruling in Thebes, is confirmed by the fact that at the time an Ethiopian king was actually on the throne of Egypt, a king whose Ethiopian name was Tanut-Amon, and who was entirely defeated by the Assyrians.

The directness with which the writer refers to, and practically describes, the destruction of Nineveh, would show that the limit of his horizon must be the capture and burning of the city by the Medes. The date of this important event can be fixed with great accuracy. In 1895, there was discovered at Babylon by Dr. Scheil a black basalt column inscribed with a long inscription of Nabonidus, the last of the Neo-Babylonian kings, who ruled 555-538 B. C.

The inscription is the coronation proclamation of the king and gives a summary of the events which led to his being appointed by the god Merodach to rule the kingdom. In this important text the king describes how the god Merodach called upon the aid of the Medes against the Assyrians to avenge the terrible and sacrilegious destruction of Babylon and the carrying away of the statue of Marduk to Assyria by Sennacherib. The king also gives the date of the destruction of the great temple of the moon-god at Kharran, which he rebuilt in 553 B. C., saying that the Medes destroyed the temple fifty-four years before, that is, in 607 B. C. As this was the same invasion which terminated in the fall of Nineveh, the date of that event may with certainty be fixed as 606 B. C. This was also the year when the Assyrio-Babylonian general Nabopolassar seized the throne of Babylon and proclaimed the new Babylonian empire. The date of Nahum, then, must be about 628-624 B. C., near the



ASSURBANIPAL POURING OUT A LIBATION OVER FOUR DEAD LIONS.*
 (British Museum, reproduced by permission of the Trustees.)

* Translation of the three-line Assyrian inscription over the libation scene: "I am Assur-bani-pal, king of nations, king of Assyria, whom Ashur and Belit have given strength, [who] slew four lions. The mighty bow of Ishtar, lady of battle, over them I held, I poured a libation out over them."

end of the reign or shortly after the death of Assurbanipal, a period of great luxury and splendor in Nineveh, when the nation was waxing idle from the wealth of world-wide conquest and when it most certainly best fits the description of the prophet as being full of silver and gold and an unlimited store of treasure.

The splendor of Nineveh in the age of Nahum is graphically presented by Sennacherib in an inscription on a six-sided cylinder now in the British Museum, in which he describes his building, or rather rebuilding, of certain portions of Nineveh. He says:

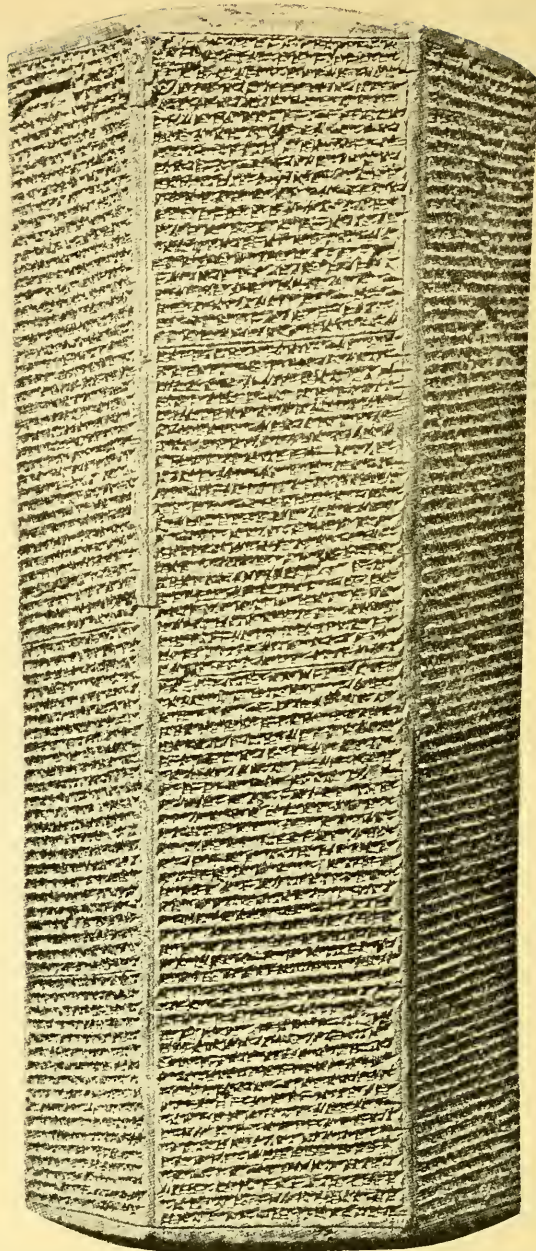
“Nineveh, the exalted town, the city beloved of Ishtar,
Wherein are all the shrines of the gods and goddesses,
The everlasting foundation, the eternal establishment,
Of which the design was in ancient times [like] the design of heaven
and thus fashioned,
Whose structure shone brightly,
The beautiful place, the dwelling of the oracle,
Wherein are all works of art, all shrines and treasures.”

It is to be noted that the king calls the city “the city beloved of Ishtar,” the Assyrian Venus, the Ashtaroth of the Phœnicians, and we shall see that it is against this goddess that the prophet directs his most vehement remarks, for he regards her as the personification of the city itself.

One remarkable feature of the light here thrown on the Book of Nahum, is that it reveals the extraordinary knowledge the prophet had of the history and topography of the Assyrian capital.

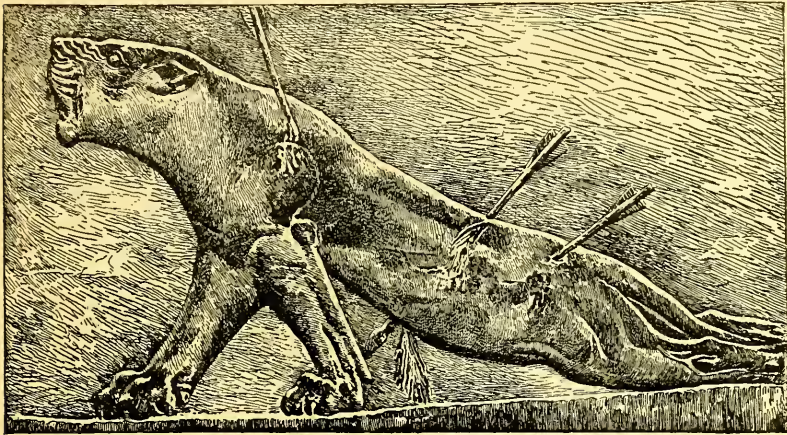
In chap. ii. 8 we read: “But Nineveh is of old like a pool of water.” This statement gains further meaning when we find that the name of Nineveh, “the city of Nina,” contains the name of the old Sumerian or Babylonian goddess of the fish-ponds and marshes, and the Assyrian city of Nineveh was probably a colony founded in ancient times from some Babylonian city or district in which the fish-goddess Nina was worshiped. Another interesting point in this connection has been made by the discovery of a number of tablets from Telloh, the ancient Lagash on the Shatt-el-Hai in southern Babylonia, and we learn from these that it was customary to offer fish to this goddess in the temples. It is this association of Nineveh with the fish that also led to the well-known story of Jonah when on his mission to Nineveh, though that work cannot boast of the wealth of support from the monuments which is obtainable for the Book of Nahum.

Not only is the prophet acquainted with the origin of Nineveh



SENNACHERIB'S SIX-SIDED CLAY PRISM.
(British Museum, reproduced by permission of the Trustees.)

but he is familiar with the patron deity of the city, the goddess Ishtar, and he denounces the goddess and her cult in no measured terms. He calls her by a name which has long been a puzzle to critics, "Huzzab," which, however, we are now able to explain with the assistance of the Assyrian inscriptions. This word is the equivalent of the Assyrian *esibu*, meaning "abandoned" or "divorced." Again the prophet waxes bitter in the following passage, chap. iii. 4: "Because of the multitude of the whoredoms of the wellfavored harlot, the mistress of witchcrafts," etc. This passage finds a complete explanation from a tablet in the British Museum



THE DYING LIONESS OF NINEVEH.

(From Fr. Delitzsch, *op. cit.*)

which formed part of the great Babylonian epic, the story of Gilgamesh or Nimrod. The goddess Ishtar, jealous of the victorious hero Gilgamesh, desires to marry him, saying "Thou shalt be my husband and I will be thy wife." But the hero is afraid of her and refuses, and then taunts her with the fatal outcome of her former notorious amours:

"On Tammuz (Adonis), the spouse of thy youth,
 Thou didst lay affliction each year.
 Thou didst love the Allahu-bird,
 Thou didst smite him and break his wing.
 He stands in the forest and cries 'Oh my wing.'
 Thou didst love a lion perfect in strength,
 Seven times didst thou dig snares for him.
 Thou didst love a horse, glorious in war,
 Bridle, spur, and whip didst thou lay upon him.

Thou didst gallop him for seven *kasbu*,²
 Trouble and sweat didst thou force him to bear,
 On his mother Silili thou didst lay affliction.
 Thou didst love Tabulu the shepherd,
 Who did continually pour out libations for thee
 And each day slaughtered kids for thee.
 But thou didst smite him and change him into a leopard
 So that his own shepherd-boy hunted him
 And his own dogs tore him in pieces," etc.

We have here a character study of the goddess which quite bears out the denunciations of the prophet. It also bears a striking resemblance to the Greek Circe, while the last episode recalls the Greek legend of Actæon being torn to pieces by his own dogs.

In another fragment of the epic we have a passage exactly parallel to the simile of Nahum in chap. ii. 7: "Her handmaids shall lead her as with the voice of doves, tabering upon their breasts." In a description of the destruction of Erech, the sacred city of Ishtar, we read:

"The asses tread down their young,
 Cows turn from their calves,
 Maidens mourn like doves."

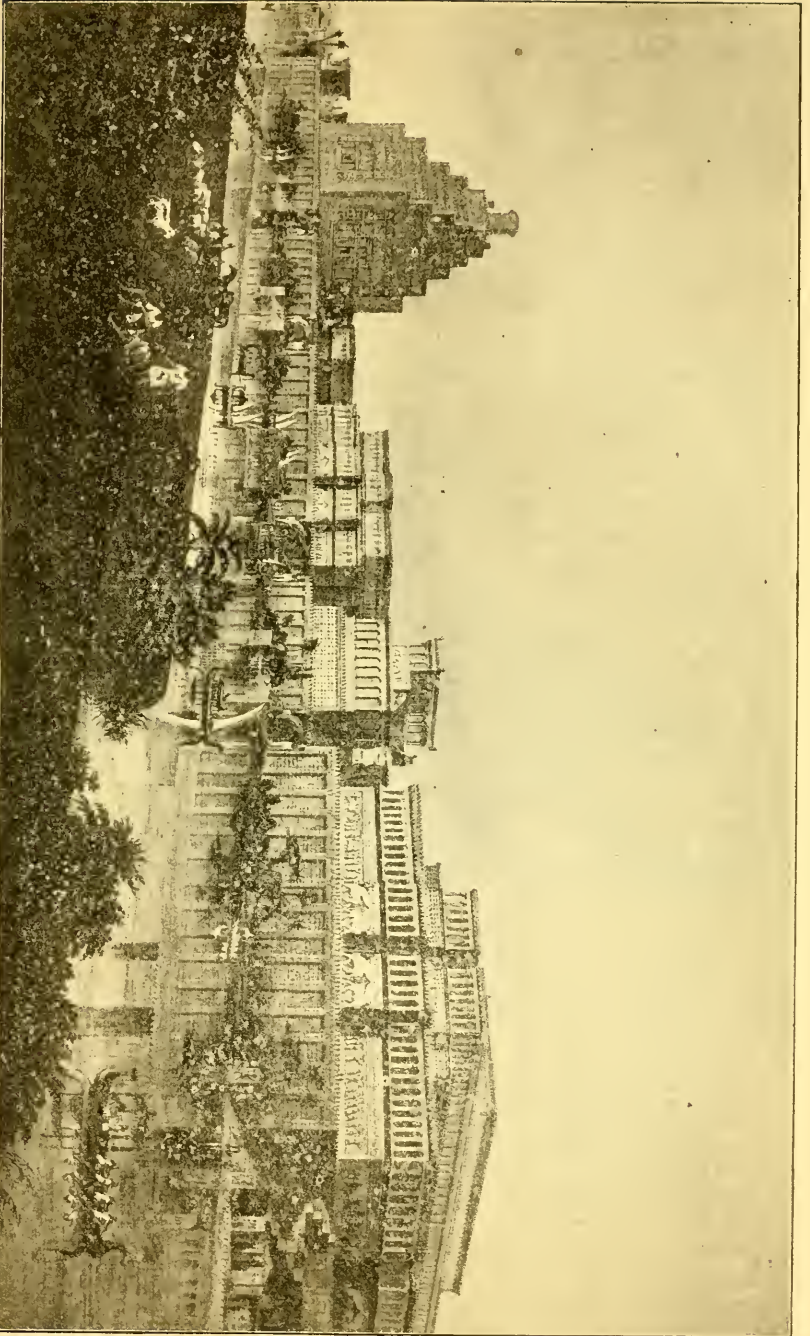
The simile applies to the two female attendants of Ishtar, Kharimat and Samkhat, the personifications of pleasure and lust.

Again, in the same chapter, verse 11: "Where is the dwelling of the lions, and the feedingplace of the young lions, where the lion, even the old lion, walked, and the lion's whelp, and none made them afraid." This has reference to the royal park which Sennacherib laid out and which Assurbanipal enlarged, and in which the latter is represented hunting lions in the famous basreliefs now in the British Museum. This park lay between the palace and the north gate of Nineveh and was called Melulte, a word which can only be translated by "paradise."

The writer of the book evidently knew the city well when he refers to the streets and broad ways. Sennacherib tells us he laid out wide streets and Esarhaddon says in his inscriptions that, on his return from the capture of Sidon, he marched his Phœnician captives through the squares and broad places (*eributi*) in triumph.

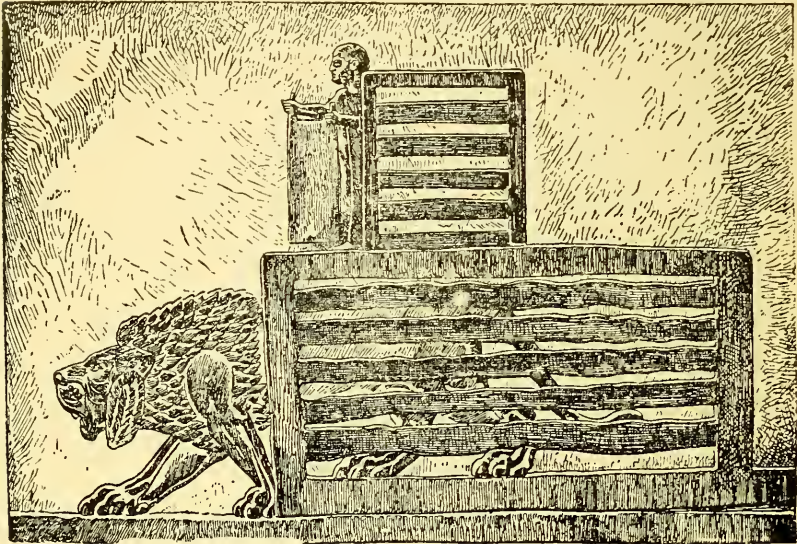
The destruction of Nineveh appears to have been in a great measure brought about by the diversion of the river Khosr, for as Nahum says, chap. ii. 6, "The gates of the rivers shall be opened, and the palace shall be dissolved." These words find a curious

² About 49 miles.



THE PALACES OF NIMRUD.* Imaginative restoration. (From a sketch by James Ferguson. Layard.)
* Assurbanipal resided here at least for a time. The river shown is the one referred to by Nahum (s. v. chap. ii. 6.)

parallel in one of Sennacherib's cylinders describing the destruction of an old palace which had been built long before his time. The passage reads: "The river Tibiltu," a violent stream which since ancient days⁴ had come right up to the palace, and during the time of flood had caused havoc to its substructure and had destroyed the foundations thereof, of that river Tibiltu I diverted the course." The Medes, no doubt, when they besieged the city, diverted the river Khosr and caused the palace quarter to be flooded. The story of the destruction of the old palace above referred to may have



CAGED LION SET FREE FOR THE CHASE.

(From Fr. Delitzsch, *op. cit.*)

been known to Nahum and he used it as a simile for the coming destruction.

There is no need to pursue this subject further, sufficient striking examples have been cited to show how accurate even in minute details the prophet is and how fully his statements are borne out by the monuments. Thus the value of Assyriology as an aid to Biblical study has again been attested.

³ The reading of this name is doubtful.

⁴ In Assyrian *yumi sukuti*, lit., "days long distant."

THE MYSTICISM OF LAO-TZE.

BY EARL F. COOK.¹

IN books dealing with the religions of China the words "mystic," "mystical," and the like, frequently appear near the name of Lao-tze. Usually no further explanation is made, and the reader is left to deduce his own conclusions. The object of this exceedingly brief, and therefore crude, paper is to arrive at a more definite understanding of what lies beneath such vague and much abused terminology.

William James says that there is no personal religious experience which does not have its roots in mystical states of consciousness.² Dependable data about the life of Lao-tze are lacking, so it is impossible to make any extended observations about his religious experience. What data we do have, however, combined with the small deposit of his thought in the *Tao Teh King*, point clearly toward such experience and can be called mystical. In fact, it is doubtful if Lao-tze can be fully intelligible apart from this interpretation.

Environment always has a great deal to do with the appearance of various types of people and thought. Especially is this true of mystics. Wherever there is chaos and distress, persons tend to seek internal adjustment rather than external adjustment, so that some degree of certainty and comfort may be secured. A reconciliation of opposed and antagonistic factors is sought in the mind for the sake of peace. The outside world offers no substantial support, consequently the disturbed person seeks security elsewhere; generally in what is thought to be the groundwork of all things.

Lao-tze lived in a situation that produces such adjustment. His life and work were at the Imperial Court in Chau. Corruption apparently prevailed there. Men were incessantly using evil means to secure selfish ends. The dynasty itself was rapidly decaying. Elaborate ceremonialism and externalism were crushing the cherished qualities of human relationship. Historic fact reveals this and the internal evidence of the *Tao Teh King* manifests some such conditions. Various passages obviously could not have been written unless the government was bad, unless men were more interested

¹ Meadville Theological School.

² *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 379.

in achieving their own ambitions than aiding good government. Then, there are references to the past state of man when he was simple and pure, and lived in harmony with Tao; and these are, more often than not, an indication of untidy affairs.³ He meditated upon its nature and produced a mysticism not fully developed.

Like many Christian mystics, when faced by intolerable conditions, Lao-tze found a simple solution. He said, "Get into harmony with Tao," while they said, "Get into harmony with God." At bottom both suggestions are really of the same experiential stuff. "Get into harmony" is the sum and substance of the teachings, all else is but an expansion of this fundamental principle.

The very simplicity of the principle has made it terrifying to some minds. No wonder Confucius with his insatiable love of detail and organization was bewildered by his conference with the old master. Too many have expected abstruse metaphysics to be hidden in the sayings of Lao-tze and frequently have made obvious remarks become profound utterances. The conciseness and brevity of the *Tao Teh King* have added to the confusion, but the five thousand characters in the little book are really repeating the same thoughts constantly. However, the well-known stiffness of the language has naturally compelled the finer aspects of mystical knowledge to receive poor expression. Moreover, the mystic's delight in paradox was not wanting in Lao-tze, for he says himself, "Words that are strictly true seem to be paradoxical."⁴ And the lack of emotional phraseology so usually characteristic of religious minds further complicates, strangely enough, the effort to penetrate the nature of his ideas and feelings.

Be this as it may, however, he repeats a familiar phrase of the mystics when he says, "He who knows the Tao does not care to speak about it; and he who is ever ready to speak about it does not know it" (56, 1), and frightens many away from trying to understand what is really meant by knowing the Tao. Lao-tze himself, nevertheless, immediately proceeds in the attempt to describe the knowledge. He dispels any fear of complexity by saying that his doctrine is very easy and simple to know and to practise; but adds that it is just because of this that "no one in the world" seems able to grasp it (53, 2; 70, 1). There is an originating and all-comprehending principle that expresses itself in immutable law. To penetrate this is to be at ease. The principle, of course, is Tao. It is the source and root of all creation. Its power

³ Legge's translation, *Sacred Books of the East*, Chapters 17, 19, 62, 65, 80.

⁴ Legge's translation, *loc. cit.*, Chapter 78, 4.

is endless and eternal. It silently and modestly produces and nourishes being. "What there was before the universe was Tao. Tao makes things what they are, but it is not itself a thing. Nothing can produce, yet everything has Tao within it, and continues to produce it without end." Thus it is absolute, and like the Absolute generally in mystical utterance, is inscrutable to sense-perception (21), or to man's worldly knowledge (20, 1), or to any of his ways of reasoning. It cannot be named and any attempt to name or describe it will end in incompleteness. Man's supreme concern, however, is to seek it, for if he finds it, every besetting problem will be solved. It will be an ever present help in time of trouble. It is the root, the essence of life, and if one can reach it, all will be well. He will be "helping the natural development of all things" (64, 4), and this development is good. Lao-tze's problem was also that of the Western mystics.

To know the Tao, everything that is opposed to its way of action is swept aside. Every barrier standing between the person and the Great One is broken down. Undivided attention is given to it. The imagination is cleansed and becomes without flaw (10, 1). The impure is completely overcome. Acts that damage the best qualities in life are forgotten. Thoughts resulting in unethical effects are purged out. The mind is purified. An elimination of the bad takes place, so that the good alone is existent. This is simplification—a point that Lao-tze stresses. It is returning to the root, to primordial stillness. It is the abolition of man's destructive ways and the substitution of Tao's constructive ways (74, 2). And Tao is absolutely virtuous, being the source of virtue.

But Tao contains the best ethical wisdom of the Chinese in the sixth century B. C. It is synthesized and functions as a unit. Thus, the mind by concentrating attention upon the good as a lump, naturally crowds out the bad, and moral action is an obvious resultant. There is a repeated accumulation of the precious attributes of the Tao, and with this accumulation every obstacle of the return to Tao's simplicity is subjugated (59, 2).

Those who try to hold Tao in their grasp lose it (29, 1), maintains Lao-tze. They are exerting their own wills and are not letting Tao act. Instead, they must become passive so that the great principle can use them completely. They renounce all. They become dead; only Tao is alive. Striving ceases in the ordinary sense of it (15, 3-4). Tao comes and uses you. The mind and body work and move, but your self is gone. Tao is using your self and thereby your body and mind. You stop being full of your self.

It has nothing to do. It is quiet, still, in "a condition of rest." You become possessed by the Great One; it permeates you, unhampered by your desires. Your will does not move (64, 4). You are nothing but a passive instrument of Tao's ceaseless beneficent action. You possess no will nor purpose of your own; you have emptied yourself of all desire (37, 3); you have discarded *your* benevolence and *your* righteousness (19, 1). Simplification has taken place. You continue diminishing and diminishing until you arrive at a condition of being wherein you do nothing on purpose (48, 2). The state of emptiness, of hollowness, of non-action, of humility has been attained. Now there is nothing which you yourself can do, yet there is nothing which you do not do (48, 2); that is, Tao has seized you and works out everything through the instrumentality of you. You are at one with Tao, the Absolute. "This is," says William James, "the everlasting and triumphant mystical tradition, hardly altered by difference of clime or creed."⁵

This elimination of *self-will* naturally bred a tendency toward the ascetic in Lao-tze, the same as it has in so many mystics. The pleasures of the senses are not highly respected, for they are likely to lead a person away from Tao. They are inclined to replace the immaterial by the material, and it is the former that have worth (53). Lao-tze, however, does not carry asceticism to a point of disease. What he really wishes is moderation (59, 1). The wants of the body must neither be suppressed nor allowed to become rampant but satisfied simply. They must not intervene between the person and Tao.

The effort to attain harmony and be at one with Tao does not seem to be marked by what is frequently called "the dark night of the soul." The sufferings of heart and body that have characterized the writings of some mystics do not show forth clearly in the *Tao Tsch King*. The scourging of self does not appear. There is no elaborately planned process of the successive steps to be taken before knowing the Tao. If you do not know it, there is pain and suffering and corruption. If you do know it, these evil things fade into nothingness. Concentrate on their opposites, was Lao-tze's only suggestion. Like his people, he was too pragmatic and practical to let sensitiveness develop fully within him. Moreover, his asceticism did not renounce the body to the extent that unsatisfied passion would aid "dark nights of suffering". It is evident that he was not forced to find sexual gratification by any other means than the customary. He says that Tao proceeds by contraries (49, 1), and

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 419.

this might let one infer that there were periods of fatigue and recuperation, of rise and fall, of exhilaration and depression, or what many like to call rhythm, in Lao-tze's experience. But the inference would be weakly supported. He is stingy in this aspect of mystical consciousness. It belongs to those who are more autobiographical and introspective.

After a person has come to know the Tao, however, the effects are very bountiful. In Chapter 54, Lao-tze says:

"Tao when nursed within one's self
His vigor will make true:
And where the family it rules
What riches will accrue!
The neighborhood where it prevails
In thriving will abound;
And 'tis seen throughout the state.
Good fortune will be found.
Employ it the kingdom o'er,
And men will thrive all around."

Evidently the experiencing of Tao energizes one to action. Actual quietism, so often connected with Lao-tze, is wanting. There is, as has been said before, inaction and passivity on the part of a person's will, but this really was only an unconscious means to still greater ends. Evelyn Underhill's contention that mysticism is active and practical, not passive and theoretical,⁶ goes well with Lao-tze's attitude. He continually talks of worldly and governmental affairs, and how one possessed by Tao conducts himself in them. As in the case of St. Catherine of Siena and Ignatius Loyola, the knowing of the Great Source apparently resulted in greater spendings of energy, in giving oneself still more to work. And the more one gives, the more he has (81, 2). Consequently, there is little contemplation and meditation for their own sake. Tangible results, the creation of a better social life, is the main object—a social life, of course, that to us means backwardness. Mental peace produces such, as a seed produces fruit.

To achieve this result, Lao-tze does nothing more than call right action the action of Tao. He suppresses the lower side of man's nature and lets the upper side function alone. The best experience of his race, the general will or mind replacing the individual will or mind, naturally has powerful effect. At the risk of modernizing, one might say that perhaps Lao-tze blindly recognized this when he wrote: "The sage has no invariable mind of his own; he

⁶ *Mysticism*, p. 96.

makes the mind of his people his mind" (49, 1). Leuba's formula,⁷ that mystical death is a functional anesthesia falling upon particular regions of consciousness, applies well here. The evils and pains born of governmental life are subjected to death. They are ignored and the position they formerly held in the mind becomes empty, as it were, and is occupied by the good, by the pure—Tao.

To have comfort in the mind and in the government, Lao-tze proposed the reform measure of having the sage or king and those under him possessed by the Tao (37). This had been experienced by him and consequently was concrete and firm, but, to the ordinary person, it was vague and ambiguous. The knowing of Tao makes it possible for one to direct affairs, to be skilful at saving men and guiding them in the way of perpetual unity and peace (27, 1). Man's knowledge must not rule the State, because that is the reason for its pitiful condition, but Tao's knowledge must rule (65). This is a sure guarantee of health. When Lao-tze uses such a phrase as "be stupid," he means be stupid in the way of man but not in the way of Tao. To be a fool before men is to be wise with Tao (20). A skilful master of Tao has a penetration so exquisite and deep that it eludes men's knowledge (15, 1). He is able, therefore, to govern a State efficiently. He has given himself up to the natural development of things—Tao—and hence cannot fail. He is ruling with a greatness not his own.

It is in the references to the Tao that the unmistakable signs of mysticism emerge. The very opening sentences of the *Tao Teh King* reveal that quality of mystical experience that James calls "ineffability." And it continues finding expression throughout the book. "The Tao that can be trodden is not the enduring and unchanging Tao. The name that can be named is not the enduring and unchanging name. Conceived of as having no name, it is the originator of heaven and earth." Or,

"Who can of Tao the nature tell?
Our sight it flies, our touch as well,
Eluding sight, eluding touch..." (21).

It is an impossibility to give a name or discover the precise nature of this power over all. Speech cannot carry knowledge of it. Even he who knows it cannot talk about it (56, 1). Lao-tze attempts, however, to give a description of the experiencing of the Absolute, the Tao.

⁷ "The State of Death," *American Journal of Psychology*, Vol. XIV.

"The Tao when brightest seen, seems light to lack;

.

Its greatest beauty seems to offend the eyes;

.

Loud is its sound, but never word it said. . . ." (41).

Like all mystics struggling to outline this experience, he is forced to use symbolic language. Yet this is inadequate and does not catch the flavor. Tao remains hidden and indescribable (41, 3). It is bright, still it is not bright; that is, brightness is not large or great enough to express what is known and felt. Its beauty is likewise beyond language. The harmony is complete and so perfect that it hurts. The experience is more than that of perception, or of conception. It is feeling perfect unity (14, 1). The disharmonious and the discontinuous have been eliminated by simplification and a bundle or lump of like sentiments seize the mind at once. There is a perfect fit among them all. It is the glory of the mind functioning without collision. "It is a way of being." It is knowing eternity in time.

By this experience Lao-tze believed that he had penetrated the secret of being, that he had reached a knowledge greater than that of learned men. Tao was the source of virtue and he had reached it. People were too interested in the by-ways and hence were led away from the stillness and simplicity that is true knowledge (20-21). Obviously this aspect of the experience James would call "noetic," and others would call it illuminative.

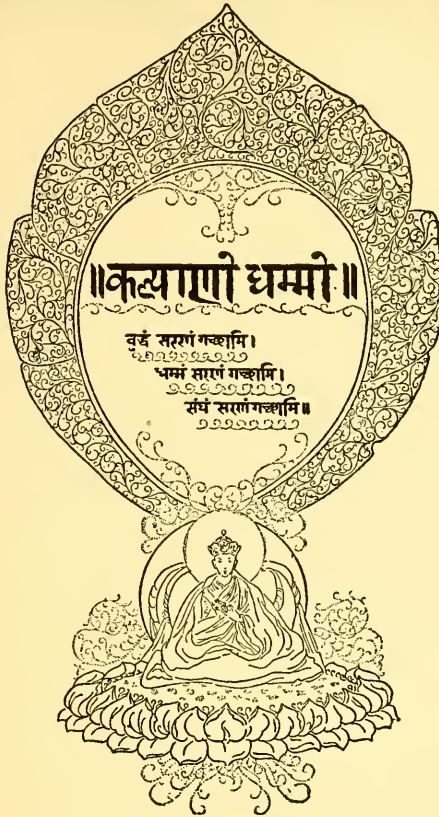
This kind of experience is the culmination of the mystic's efforts. It is the goal that is sought and cherished. Lao-tze apparently reached it but he did not linger about it the same as the usual mystic. He caught a glimpse of what he believed to be Reality but did not let all his energy be absorbed in the sight. It was the conception of Tao as impersonal and not personal that undoubtedly had something to do with Lao-tze not laying greater stress upon the experiencing of the Tao itself. To him Tao was thought of as highly ethical and not as a person possessing some desirable attributes. This eliminated the high coloring and beauty in language common to the West where God has been conceived as personal and where Jesus and the Virgin Mary exist. In Lao-tze's teaching the sex-instinct was not suppressed but moderated, hence the lack of embellishing phrases, and the constant hovering near the object of desire. Moreover, he was much interested in the use to which the possession of the Tao could be put. He says, "The use of Tao is

inexhaustible." He does not become greatly elated over Tao as a thing in itself but rather in the results that Tao can produce. Tao tends to be sought more as a means to an end than as an end. Christian mystics have made union with God the supreme thing, while Lao-tze has tended to negate this end by gazing too long at the valuable results of the union. It is this tendency that makes his mysticism more or less imperfect. Furthermore, while he sought internal peace he did at the same time seek to use this peace as an instrument to attain external peace. Consequently the subjectivism and introspection of a fully developed mystical system is wanting. "Inwardmindedness" was recognized (47) but it had little chance to express itself. And it is the lack of this quality that accounts for no extended remarks on the way one follows to attain Tao. A description of the successive steps to the union are clearly absent, likewise the experience during the ascension of these steps—the dark nights. Lao-tze hints at this quality but nowhere gives a description. It is the absence of these things that leads to the conclusion that Lao-tze developed an imperfect mysticism.

BOOK REVIEWS.

AN INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY. By *H. P. Farrell*. London and New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1917. Pp. vii, 220. Price 3s. 6d. net.

This is a short text-book whose purpose, as the author states in the Preface, is to explain to the beginner the nature of political philosophy, "and then to lead the student gently on to the study of the classical writers by presenting to him an epitome of their ideas with such explanatory comments and criticisms as are deemed necessary." The author expounds at some length the political views of Plato and Aristotle, the social-contract theorists, and the analytical and historical schools of political philosophy. He indulges not only in exposition but also in criticism. A list of books for further reading is provided and there is a good index. For the purposes stated in its title, this little book may be recommended as quite useful. Δ



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The special purpose of the present volume is to give examples of the service which the general, as opposed to the highly specialized, scientist may perform in the criticism of old theories and the discovery of new laws. The author rightly holds that psychology, for instance, cannot properly be understood without reference to physics, and that sociology in turn depends upon psychology. It is such bridges as these that he is particularly concerned to supply. One becomes skeptical only when he undertakes to supply so many of them in his own person. The case for the synthetic mind, which compares and analyzes the results obtained by the direct experiment of the specialist, is a good one. Perhaps the modern scientific world has too violently repudiated Bacon's magnificent, if impossible, declaration: "I have taken all knowledge to be my province." The counter-appeal for scientific breadth of

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