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WILLIAM OUGHTRED (1574-1660).

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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THE LIFE OF WILLIAM OUGHTRED.

BY FLORIAN CAJORI.

AT SCHOOL AND UNIVERSITY.

WILLIAM OUGHTRED, or, as he sometimes wrote his name, *Owtred*, was born at Eton, the seat of Eton College, the year of his birth being variously given as 1573, 1574 and 1575. "His father," says Aubrey,¹ "taught to write at Eton, and was a scrivener; and understood common arithmetique, and 'twas no small helpe and furtherance to his son to be instructed in it when a schoole-boy." "He was a boy at Eton in the year of the Spanish Armada." At this famous school, which prepared boys for the universities, young Oughtred received thorough training in classical learning.

According to information received from F. L. Clarke, Bursar and Clerk of King's College, Cambridge, Oughtred was admitted at King's a scholar from Eton, on September 1, 1592, at the age of 17. He was made Fellow at King's on September 1, 1595, while Elizabeth was still on the throne. He received in 1596 the degree of Bachelor of Arts and in 1600 that of Master of Arts. He vacated his fellowship about the beginning of August, 1603. His career at the University of Cambridge we present in his own words. He says:²

"Next after Eaton schoole, I was bred up in Cambridge in

¹ Aubrey's *Brief Lives*, ed. A. Clark, Vol. II, Oxford, 1898, p. 106.

² "To the English Gentry, and all others studious of the Mathematicks, which shall bee readers hereof. The just Apologie of Wil: Oughtred, against the slanderous insimulations of Richard Delamain, in a Pamphlet called *Grammologia*, or the Mathematical Ring, or *Mirifica logarithmorum projectio circularis*" [1633], p. 8. Hereafter we shall refer to this pamphlet as the *Apologetical Epistle*, this name appearing on the page-headings.

King's Colledge: of which society I was a member about eleven or twelve yeares: wherein how I behaved my selfe, going hand in hand with the rest of my ranke in the ordinary Academicall studies and exercises, and with what approbation, is well knowne and remembered by many: the time which over and above those usuall studies I employed upon the Mathematicall sciences, I redeemed night by night from my naturall sleep, defrauding my body, and inuring it to watching, cold, and labour, while most others tooke their rest. Neither did I therein seek only my private content, but the benefit of many: and by inciting, assisting, and instructing others, brought many into the love and study of those Arts, not only in our own, but in some other Colledges also: which some at this time (men far better than my selfe in learning, degree, and preferment) will most lovingly acknowledge."

These words describe the struggles which every youth not endowed with the highest genius must make to achieve success. They show, moreover, the kindly feeling toward others and the delight he took throughout life in assisting any one interested in mathematics. Oughtred's passion for this study is the more remarkable as neither at Eton nor at Cambridge did it receive emphasis. Even after his time at Cambridge mathematical studies and their applications were neglected there. Jeremiah Horrox was at Cambridge in 1633-1635, desiring to make himself an astronomer. "But many impediments," says Horrox,³ "presented themselves: the tedious difficulty of the study itself deterred a mind not yet formed; the want of means oppressed, and still oppresses, the aspirations of my mind: but that which gave me most concern was that there was no one who could instruct me in the art, who could even help my endeavours by joining me in the study; such was the sloth and languor which had seized all. . . . I found that books must be used instead of teachers."

Some attention was given to Greek mathematicians, but the works of Italian, German and French algebraists of the latter part of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries were quite unknown at Cambridge in Oughtred's day. It was part of his life-work as a mathematician to make algebra, as it was being developed in his time, accessible to English youths.

At the age of 23, Oughtred invented his "Easy way of delineating Sun-dials by Geometry," which, though not published

³ *Companion to the [British] Almanac of 1837*, p. 28, in an article by Augustus De Morgan on "Notices of English Mathematical and Astronomical Writers between the Norman Conquest and the year 1600."

until about half a century later, in the first English edition of Oughtred's *Clavis mathematicae* in 1647, was in the meantime translated into Latin by Christopher Wren, then a Gentleman Commoner of Wadham College, Oxford, now best known through his architectural creations. In 1600 Oughtred wrote a monograph on the construction of sun-dials upon a plane of any inclination, but that paper was withheld by him from publication until 1632. Sun-dials were interesting objects of study, since watches and pendulum clocks were then still unknown. All sorts of sun-dials, portable and non-portable, were used at that time and long afterwards. Several of the college buildings at Oxford and Cambridge have sun-dials even at the present time.

AS RECTOR AND AMATEUR MATHEMATICIAN.

It was in 1604 that Oughtred entered upon his professional life-work as a preacher, being instituted to the vicarage of Shalford in Surrey. In 1610 he was made rector of Albury, where he spent the remainder of his long life. Since the era of the Reformation two of the rectors of Albury obtained great celebrity from their varied talents and acquirements, our William Oughtred and Samuel Horsley. Oughtred continued to devote his spare time to mathematics, as he had done in college. A great mathematical invention made by a Scotchman soon commanded his attention—the invention of logarithms. An informant writes as follows:⁴

“Lord Napier, in 1614, published at Edinburgh his *Mirifici logarithmorum canonis descriptio*. . . . It presently fell into the hands of Mr. Briggs, then geometry reader at Gresham College in London: and that gentleman, forming a design to perfect Lord Napier's plan, consulted Oughtred upon it: who probably wrote his *Treatise of Trigonometry* about the same time, since it is evidently formed upon the plan of Lord Napier's *Canon*.”

It will be shown later that Oughtred is very probably the author of an “Appendix” which appeared in the 1618 edition of Edward Wright's translation into English of John Napier's *Descriptio*. This “Appendix” relates to logarithms and is an able document, containing several points of historical interest. Mr. Arthur Hutchinson of Pembroke College informs me that in the university library at Cambridge there is a copy of Napier's *Constructio* (1619) bound up with a copy of Kepler's *Chilias logarithmorum* (1624), that at the beginning of the *Constructio* is a blank leaf, and before this

⁴*New and General Biographical Dictionary* (John Nichols), London, 1784, Art. “Oughtred.”

occurs the title page only of Napier's *Descriptio* (1619), at the top of which appears Oughtred's autograph. The history of this interesting signature is unknown.

HIS WIFE.

In 1606 Oughtred married Christ's gift Caryll, daughter of Caryll Esq., of Tangley, in an adjoining parish.⁵ We know very little about Oughtred's family life. The records at King's College, Cambridge,⁶ mention a son, but it is certain that there were more children. A daughter was married to Christopher Brookes. But there is no confirmation of Aubrey's statements,⁷ according to which Oughtred had nine sons and four daughters. Reference to the wife and children is sometimes made in the correspondence with Oughtred. In 1616 J. Hales writes, "pray let me be remembered, though unknown, to Mistress Oughtred."⁸

As we shall see later, Oughtred had a great many young men who came to his house and remained there free of charge to receive instruction in mathematics, which was likewise gratuitous. This being the case, certainly great appreciation was due to Mrs. Oughtred upon whom the burden of hospitality must have fallen. Yet chroniclers are singularly silent in regard to her. Hers was evidently a life of obscurity and service. We greatly doubt the accuracy of the following item handed down by Aubrey; it cannot be a true characterization:⁹

"His wife was a penurious woman, and would not allow him to burne a candle after supper, by which meanes many a good notion is lost, and many a probleme unsolved; so that Mr. [Thomas] Henshawe when he was there, bought candle, which was a great comfort to the old man."

IN DANGER OF SEQUESTRATION.

Oughtred spent his years in "unremitted attention to his favorite study," sometimes, it has been whispered, to the neglect of his rectorial duties. Says Aubrey:¹⁰ "I have heard his neighbour min-

⁵ Rev. Owen Manning, *History of Antiquities in Surrey*, Vol. II, p. 132.

⁶ *Skeleton Collegii Regalis Cantab: or A Catalogue of all the Provosts, Fellows and Scholars, of the King's College...since the Foundation thereof*, Vol. II, "William Oughtred."

⁷ Aubrey, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 107.

⁸ Rigaud, *Correspondence of Scientific Men of the Seventeenth Century*, Oxford, Vol. I, 1841, p. 5.

⁹ Aubrey, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 110.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

isters say that he was a pitiful preacher; the reason was because he never studied it, but bent all his thoughts on the mathematiques; but when he was in danger of being sequestred for a royalist, he fell to the study of divinity, and preacht (they sayd) admirably well, even in his old age."

This remark on sequestration brings to mind one of the political and religious struggles of the time, the episcopacy against the independent movements. Says Manning:¹¹ "In 1646 he was cited before the Committee for Ecclesiastical Affairs, where many articles had been deposed against him; but, by the favour of Sir *Bulstrode Whitlock* and others, who, at the intercession of *William Lilly* the Astrologer, appeared in great numbers on his behalf, he had a majority on his side, and so escaped a sequestration."

Not without interest is the account of this matter given by Lilly himself:¹²

"About this Time, the most famous Mathematician of all Europe, (Mr. William Oughtred, Parson of Aldbury in Surrey) was in Danger of Sequestration by the Committee of or for plunder'd Ministers; (*Ambo-dexters* they were;) several inconsiderable Articles were deposed and sworn against him, material enough to have sequestered him, but that, upon his Day of hearing, I applied my self to Sir Bolstrode Whitlock, and all my own old Friends, who in such Numbers appeared in his Behalf, that though the Chairman and many other Presbyterian Members were stiff against him, yet he was cleared by the major Number. The truth is, he had a considerable Parsonage, and that only was enough to sequester any moderate Judgment: He was also well known to affect his Majesty [Charles I]. In these Times many worthy Ministers lost their Livings or Benefices, for not complying with the Three-penny Directory."

HIS TEACHING.

Oughtred had few personal enemies. His pupils held him in highest esteem and showed deep gratitude; only one pupil must be excepted, Richard Delamain. Against him arose a bitter controversy which saddened the life of Oughtred, then an old man. It involved, as we shall see later, the priority of invention of the circular slide rule and of a horizontal instrument or portable sun-

¹¹*History and Antiquities, etc.*, Vol. II, p. 132.

¹²*Mr. William Lilly's History of His Life and Times, From the Year 1602 to 1681*, London, 1715, p. 58.

dial. In defense of himself, Oughtred wrote in 1633 or 1634 the *Apologeticall Epistle*, from which we quoted above. This document contains biographical details, in part as follows: "Ever since my departure from the University, which is about thirty yeares, I have lived neere to the Towne of Guilford in Surrey: where, whether *I have taken so much liberty to the losse of time, and the neglect of my calling* the whole Countrey thereabout, both Gentry and others, to whom I am full well knowne, will quickly informe him; my house being not past three and twenty miles from London: and yet I so hid my selve at home, that I seldomly travelled so farre as London once in a yeare. Indeede the life and mind of man cannot endure without some interchangeableness of recreation, and pawses from the intensive actions of our severall callings; and every man is drawne with his owne delight. My recreations have been diversity of studies: and as oft as I was toyled with the labour of my owne profession, I have allayed that tediousnesse by walking in the pleasant and more than Elysian fields of the diverse and various parts of humane learning, and not the Mathematics onely."

Even the opponents of Delamain must be grateful to him for having been the means of drawing from Oughtred such interesting biographical details. Oughtred proceeds to tell how, about 1628, he was induced to write his *Clavis mathematicae* upon which his reputation as a mathematician largely rests:

"About five years since, the Earle of Arundell my most honourable Lord in a time of his private retiring to his house in the countrey then at West Horsley, foure small miles from me (though since he hath a house in Aldebury the parish where I live) hearing of me (by what meanes I know not) was pleased to send for me: and afterward at London to appoint mee a Chamber in his owne house: where, at such times, and in such manner as it seemed him good to employ me, and when I might not inconveniently be spared from my charge, I have been most ready to present my selfe in all humble and affectionate service: I hope also without the offence of God, the transgression of the good Lawes of this Land, neglect of my calling, or the observed scandall of any good man. . . .

"And although I am no *mercenary man*, nor make profession to teach any one in these arts for gaine and recompence, but as I serve at the Altar, so I live onely of the Altar: yet in those interims that I am at London in my Lords service, I have been still much frequented both by Natives and Strangers, for my resolution and instruction in many difficult poynts of Art; and have most freely and lovingly imparted my selfe and my skill, such as I had, to their

contentments, and much honourable acknowledgement of their obligation to my Lord for bringing mee to London, hath been testified by many. Of which my liberality and unwearied readinesse to doe good to all, scarce any one can give more ample testimony than R. D. himself can: would he be but pleased to allay the shame of this his hot and eager contention, blowne up onely with the full bellowes of intended glory and gaine; . . . they [the subjects in which Delamain received assistance from Oughtred] were the first elements of Astronomie concerning the second motions of the fixed starres, and of the Sunne and Moone; they were the first elements of Conics, to delineate those sections: they were the first elements of Optics, Catoptrics, and Dioptrics: of all which you knew nothing at all."

These last passages are instructive as showing what topics were taken up for study with some of his pupils. The chief subject of interest with most of them was algebra which at that time was just beginning to draw the attention of English lovers of mathematics.

Oughtred carried on an extensive correspondence on mathematical subjects. He was frequently called upon to assist in the solution of knotty problems,—sometimes to his annoyance, perhaps, as is shown by the following letter which he wrote in 1642 to a stranger, named Price:¹³

"It is true that I have bestowed such vacant time, as I could gain from the study of divinity, (which is my calling,) upon human knowledges, and, amongst other, upon the mathematics, wherein the little skill I have attained, being compared with others of my profession, who for the most part contenting themselves only with their own way, refuse to tread these salebrous and uneasy paths, may peradventure seem the more. But now being in years and mindful of mine end, and having paid dearly for my former delights both in my health and state, besides the prejudice of such, who not considering what incessant labour may produce, reckon so much wanting unto me in my proper calling, as they think I have acquired in other sciences; by which opinion (not of the vulgar only) I have suffered both disrespect, and also hinderance in some small perferments I have aimed at. I have therefore now learned to spare myself, and am not willing to descend again in arenam, and to serve such ungrateful muses. Yet, sir, at your request I have perused your problem. . . . Your problem is easily wrought per Nicomedis conchoidem lineam."

¹³ Rigaud, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 60.

APPEARANCE AND HABITS.

Aubrey gives information about the appearance and habits of Oughtred:¹⁴

"He was a little man, had black haire, and black eies (with a great deal of spirit). His head was always working. He would draw lines and diagrams on the dust". . . .

"He [his oldest son Benjamin] told me that his father did use to lye a bed till eleaven or twelve a clock, with his doublet on, ever since he can remember. Studyed late at night; went not to bed till 11 a clock; had his tinder box by him; and on the top of his bed-staffe, he had his inke-horne fix't. He slept but little. Sometimes he went not to bed in two or three nights, and would not come to meales till he had found out the *quaesitum*."

"He was more famous abroad for his learning, and more esteemed, than at home. Severall great mathematicians came over into England on purpose to converse with him. His countrey neighbours (though they understood not his worth) knew that there must be extraordinary worth in him, that he was so visited by foreigners". . . .

"When learned foreigners came and sawe how privately he lived, they did admire and blesse themselves, that a person of so much worth and learning should not be better provided for."

"He has told bishop Ward, and Mr. Elias Ashmole (who was his neighbour), that 'on this spott of ground,' (or 'leaning against this oake' or 'that ashe') 'the solution of such or such a probleme came into my head, as if infused by a divine geni^us, after I had thought on it without successe for a yeare, two, or three'. . . .

"Nicolaus Mercator, Holsatus. . . .went to see him few yeares before he dyed."

"The right honble Thomas Howard, earle of Arundel and Surrey, Lord High Marshall of England, was his great patron, and loved him intirely. One time they were like to have been killed together by the fall at Albury of a grott, which fell downe but just as they were come out."

Oughtred's friends convey the impression that, in the main, Oughtred enjoyed a comfortable living at Albury. Only once appear indications of financial embarrassment. About 1634 one of his pupils, W. Robinson, writes as follows:¹⁵

¹⁴ Aubrey, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 107.

¹⁵ Rigaud, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 16.

“I protest unto you sincerely, were I so able as some, at whose hands you have merited exceedingly, or (to speak more absolutely) as able as willing, I would as freely give you 500 pounds per ann. as 500 pence; and I cannot but be astonished at this your age, wherein self and dross is made their summum bonum, and the best part of man, with the true ornaments thereof, science and knowledge, are so slighted. . . .”

In his letters Oughtred complains several times of the limitations for work and the infirmities due to his advancing old age. The impression he made upon others was quite different. Says one biographer:¹⁶

“He sometimes amused himself with archery, and sometimes practised as a surveyor of land. . . . He was sprightly and active, when more than eighty years of age.”

Another informant¹⁷ says that Oughtred was “as facetious in Greek and Latine as solid in Arithmetique, Astronomy, and the sphere of all Measures, Musick, etc.; exact in his style as in his judgment; handling his Cube, and other Instruments at eighty, as steadily, as others did at thirty; owing this, he said, to temperance and Archery; principing his people with plain and solid truths, as he did the world with great and useful Arts; advancing new Inventions in all things but Religion. Which in its old order and decency he maintained secure in his privacy, prudence, meekness, simplicity, resolution, patience, and contentment.”

ALLEGED TRAVEL ABROAD.

According to certain sources of information, Oughtred traveled on the European continent and was invited to change his abode to the continent. We have seen no statement from Oughtred himself on this matter. He seldom referred to himself in his books and letters. The autobiography contained in his *Apologetical Epistle* was written a quarter of a century before his death. Aubrey gives the following:¹⁸

“In the time of the civill warres the duke of Florence invited him over, and offered him 500 li. per annum; but he would not accept it, because of his religion.”

A portrait of Oughtred painted in 1646 by Hollar and inserted

¹⁶ Owen Manning, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

¹⁷ *New and General Biographical Dictionary*, London, 1784 (John Nichols), Art. “Oughtred.”

¹⁸ Aubrey, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 110.

in the English edition of the *Clavis* of 1647, contains underneath the following lines:

"Haec est Oughtredi senio labantis imago
Itala quam cupiit, Terra Britannia tulit."

In the sketch of Oughtred by Owen Manning¹⁹ it is confessed that "it is not known to what this alludes; but possibly he might have been in *Italy* with his patron, the Earl of Arundel." It would seem quite certain, either that Oughtred traveled in Europe or that he received some sort of an offer to settle in Italy. In view of Aubrey's explicit statement and of Oughtred's well-known habit of confining himself to his duties and studies in his own parish, seldom going even as far as London, we strongly incline to the opinion that he did not travel on the continent, but that he received an offer from some patron of the sciences—possibly some distinguished visitor—to settle in Italy.

HIS DEATH.

He died at Albury, June 30, 1660, aged about 86 years. Of his last days and death, Aubrey²⁰ speaks as follows:

"Before he dyed he burned a world of papers, and said that the world was not worthy of them; he was so superb. He burned also several printed bookes, and would not stirre, till they were consumed. . . . I myselfe have his Pitiscus, imbelished with his excellent marginall notes, which I esteeme as a great rarity. I wish I could also have got his Bilingsley's Euclid, which John Collins sayes was full of his annotations. . . ."

"Ralph Greatrex, his great friend, the mathematical instrument-maker, sayed he conceived he dyed with joy for the coming-in of the King, which was the 29th of May before. 'And are yee sure he is restored?'—'Then give me a glasse of sack to drinke his sacred majestie's health.' His spirits were then quite upon the wing to fly away. . . ."

In this passage, as in others, due allowance must be made for Aubrey's lack of discrimination. He was not in the habit of sifting facts from mere gossip. That Oughtred should have declared that the world was not worthy of his papers or manuscripts is not in consonance with sweetness of disposition ordinarily attributed to him. More probable was the feeling that the papers he burnt—possibly old sermons—were of no particular value to the world.

¹⁹ Rev. Owen Manning, *The History and Antiquities of Surrey*, Vol. II, London, 1809, p. 132.

²⁰ Aubrey, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, 1898, p. 111.

That he did not destroy a large mass of mathematical manuscripts is evident from the fact that a considerable number of them came after his death into the hands of Sir Charles Scarborough, M.D., under whose supervision some of them were carefully devised and published at Oxford in 1677 under the title of *Opuscula mathematica hactenus inedita*.

Aubrey's story of Oughtred's mode of death has been as widely circulated in every modern biographical sketch as has his slander of Mrs. Oughtred by claiming that she was so penurious that she would deny him the use of candles to read by. Oughtred died on June 30, the Restoration occurred on May 29. No doubt Oughtred rejoiced over the Restoration, but the story of his drinking "a glass of sack" to his Majesty's health, and then dying of joy is surely apocryphal. De Morgan humorously remarks, "it should be added, by way of excuse, that he was eighty-six years old."²¹

²¹ De Morgan, *Budget of Paradoxes*, London, 1872, p.451; 2d ed., Chicago and London, 1915, Vol. II, p. 303.

THE PERSIAN RIVAL TO JESUS, AND HIS AMERICAN DISCIPLES.

BY ROBERT P. RICHARDSON.

ONE of the most interesting of Oriental cults is a comparatively modern religion, Bahaism, its origin going back only to the middle of the nineteenth century. Although so recent, this religion has spread from its birthplace, Persia, to the furthest ends of the earth. Not alone in the Oriental countries, Persia, Turkey, Egypt, India and Japan, have the Bahais found proselytes. There are thriving Bahai centers in France, Germany and England, while in the United States and Canada the work of conversion has met with even more success. Here Christians by the thousand have deserted the banner of Jesus for that of Baha'u'llah, and the work of proselytism is still being pushed onward with unabated zeal in the hope of making America Bahai. In thirty American cities Bahai meetings are held each week, and Bahai pamphlets are being unobtrusively but effectively circulated. A monthly periodical, half in English and half in Persian, is published in Chicago, and a Bahai temple is soon to be erected on the shores of Lake Michigan. Each year there gather together, at a quiet summer resort, representative Bahais from the United States and Canada, bringing with them the friends who are on the road toward conversion, and retreats are held at which eloquent Bahai speakers urge the claims of the new religion. Not seldom the European and Asiatic talent of the sect is called upon, and the *chargé d'affaires* of the Persian legation at Washington, Ali Kuli Khan, is usually a prominent figure at these meetings which extend through the months of July and August.

The present writer was brought by chance into contact with a number of Bahai converts, and the interest thus aroused finally led to an investigation of the history of Bahaism. Some of the material gathered together was very illuminating and furnished ground for an excellent view of certain aspects of sectarian re-

ligion. An account of these aspects in the history of Bahaim together with the impressions gained by personal experience among the American Bahais is what is here presented the reader.

The Bahais trace their origin to the preaching of Mirza Ali Mohammed of Shiraz, who in 1844 inaugurated a religious movement known as Babism, though in point of fact Bahaim is an offshoot rather than a legitimate outgrowth of the Babi cult. To the student of religions Babism and Bahaim offer this great advantage that, owing to the recency of the times in which they arose and the interest taken in them by certain Europeans (notably Count de Gobineau, Prof. E. G. Browne of Cambridge and Baron Rosen), materials are at hand from which may be drawn an impartial and tolerably complete history of these movements.

Ali Mohammed, the founder of Babism, was the son of a merchant of Shiraz, and in his early manhood took up this same vocation at Bushire, where for some five years he combined piety and business as so many shopkeepers do. His religious practices are said however to have degenerated into austerities not very conducive to either mental or physical vigor, one especially detrimental habitude being the exposure of his uncovered head to the rays of the sun for hours at a time. Finally he left his shop and made a pilgrimage to Nejef and Kerbela whence he returned in 1843 to set up in business anew as a professional reformer. His first efforts were directed, not toward founding a new religion, but toward rescuing Mohammedanism from the corruption into which it had fallen. In Shiraz he delivered a series of sermons in the Mosque of the Smiths, the chief characteristic of these sermons being bitter denunciation of the established Mohammedan clergy. About this time the leadership of a dissident Mohammedan sect, the Sheykhis, became vacant, and Ali Mohammed seized the opportunity to offer his services. The account of how he gained his first footing as leader among the Sheykhis is not without interest. Some time after the death of the leader of that sect a prominent member, Mulla Huseyn, paid a visit to Ali Mohammed at Shiraz. In the course of their conversation Ali Mohammed asked whether it was not time for the Sheykhis to select a new spiritual ruler to replace the one who had passed away five months before, and requested his guest to give an account of the marks by which the sect expected to recognize the person appointed by God as their leader. Huseyn described the signs by which the divinely appointed Master might be recognized. Ali Mohammed listened attentively, and when Huseyn was through said modestly: "Do you observe these

signs in me?", to which Huseyn bluntly replied: "I see in you none of these signs whatsoever." The next day Ali Mohammed again opened the subject, and repeated the same question. Again Huseyn replied in the negative. The would-be leader did not for the moment pursue the matter further, but the next day and the next day and the next he again took up the subject, and by dint of his pertinacity and the impression made by his masterly commentary on "The Tradition of the Handmaiden" and his other exegetical treatises on points of theological doctrine, he finally gained Mulla Huseyn as his first convert.

A portion of the Sheykhis accepted this new leader and became Babis, Ali Mohammed declaring himself the Bab or Gateway to Knowledge of the Divine. Another section, however, refusing to accept the innovations of the Bab, took as leader Mohammed Karim Khan whose descendants still rule the Sheykhi sect. In the struggle for leadership the Bab exhibited all of that kindness characteristic of sectarian religion, and gave to his rival the courteous title of The Quintessence of Hell-Fire. It was not alone among the Sheykhis that the Bab found adherents; many converts were gained among the orthodox Mohammedans. One very prominent proselyte was a beautiful woman, Kurratu'l-Ayn, who left her husband in order to preach Babism to the people. When attempts were made to reconcile her with her husband she complacently replied to the peacemakers: "He, in that he rejects God's religion, is unclean, while I am pure; between us there is naught in common." When the disciples of the Bab took such an attitude it was not unnatural that animosity should arise between the Babis and the conservative Mohammedans who derided the pretensions of Ali Mohammed to speak with more than human authority. By the vilification of his opponents the Bab had made numerous enemies, and persecution soon began to rage. Many Babis were tortured and slain, the Bab himself being executed by the Persian government in 1850. It is the custom so to paint the character of martyrs as to conceal all traces of imperfection, but though we pity the Babis in their sufferings and condemn the barbarity of their enemies, history forbids us to regard the former as sheep and the latter as wolves. The first killing in the warfare between the two parties was made by the Babis, not by their persecutors, and was the cold-blooded murder of a Mohammedan Mulla.

The story of this murder, as told by the Babi historian Mirza Jani, is by no means an edifying one. Mulla Mohammed Taki was the uncle and also the father-in-law of Kurratu'l-Ayn and was an

orthodox Mohammedan who indulged in public tirades against the dissenting sects of Sheykhis and Babis, and disparaged the holy men whom the sectaries held sacred. Whether, in his denunciation of the Bab, Mohammed Taki equalled or surpassed the bitterness with which the Bab habitually attacked the orthodox Mohammedan mullas we have no means of ascertaining. But at all events the Babis became enraged, and one of their number stabbed Mohammed Taki while he was saying his prayers in the mosque; this, as the Babi historian unctiously tells us, being brought to pass "by the Lord" in order that Mohammed Taki "might no more speak insolently of the saints of religion." A spirit quite unlike that of the Babis was shown by the murdered Musulman on his death-bed, since (according to this same Babi historian) he declared with his dying breath that he forgave his murderer. The latter escaped and, as the historian puts it, "joined himself to the people of God," that is to the Babis of Mazandaran province, who apparently felt no compunction at sheltering a murderer. However, two other Babis suspected of having a hand in the crime were captured and killed, and these were the first Babi martyrs of whom history has any record.

Kurratu'l-Ayn was suspected of having instigated the murder of her uncle, and she too found it advisable to flee from her home and take refuge with "the people of God." It was not long before the Babis of Mazandaran were an armed body of outlaws in conflict with the Persian government. Scandal says that Kurratu'l-Ayn so exercised her physical charms as to gain many soldiers for the cause. Though she never took part in the actual battles, by the devotion she inspired in the camp she became to the Babis something of a Joan of Arc. Undue self-depreciation, be it noted, was not among her faults. Upon one occasion, when Mohammed Ali of Barfarush, a shining light among the outlaws, turned toward the customary "Kibla" to say his prayers, she modestly requested him to turn toward *her* as she was the Kibla.

The Babi bandits of Mazandaran, who were led by Mulla Huseyn, the Bab's first disciple, had in view a descent upon Teheran, and had even selected a place of burial for the ten thousand Mohammedans they expected to slaughter in the capital. This pious expectation was not however realized, and the outlaws were finally suppressed by the Persian government though not until they had performed many valorous exploits. Again and again they defeated the government troops in battle. One glorious feat was the sacking and burning of the Musulman village of Farra; none of the in-

habitants were spared by the Babis who butchered men, women and children indiscriminately. Still more memorable was the victory at Daskes, where the Babis glorified God by throwing their wounded enemies into the flames of the burning houses, adjuring these Mohammedans to burn as penalty for their impiety.

Another revolt broke out in the province of Zanjan, and it is in large measure to these two revolts—revolts so serious that they were not quelled until the government had brought into play all the resources at its command—that we must ascribe the execution of the Bab. His condemnation cannot be looked upon as wholly due to religious bigotry, but was in great part a political measure due to the apprehensions excited at the Persian Court by the insurrections of Mazandaran and Zanjan. To what extent these outbreaks had their origin in the maltreatment of the Babis by the Persian officials and the Mohammedan mullas and to what in the aggressiveness of the Babis themselves it is hard to say. We know however that, once begun, the warfare was carried on with the usual Oriental barbarity on both sides. The religious regeneration brought about by Babism did not avail to make the disciples of the Bab less inhuman than their unconverted opponents. We have already noted the inhumanities committed by the Mazandaran Babis in the name of religion. The Zanjan insurrectionists indulged in like cruelties; they would divert themselves by slowly burning a prisoner with red hot irons; stopping his agony only as he was just about to expire, when they would cut off his head and throw it into the camp of his friends. Inhumanities like these are not cause for wonder; they are precisely what one would expect of Persians in the middle of the nineteenth century. But they show us that we must not be too sanguine in estimating the force of the religious movement inaugurated by the Bab in the regeneration of the Oriental character. Modern admirers of this movement put on roseate spectacles, not only in viewing Bahaism, the cult that has grown out of Babism, but even in considering early Babism itself. To them the Babi martyrs appear as models of meekness. Thus M. H. Dreyfuss, in his *Essai sur le Behaïsme*, referring to the troubles that culminated in the death of the Bab, says that there was “everywhere unheard-of refinements of cruelty on one side and on the other courage and the resignation evinced by faith”—a statement with an implication that is, to say the least, not justified by the facts which we learn on turning to more serious and authoritative writers.

As to the teachings of the Bab himself, it cannot be said that

they erred on the side of inculcating too kindly a feeling toward those of other creeds. The present-day Bahais represent the Bab as "a fearless protester against despotism and fanaticism," "an instinctive and passionate believer in freedom," but in fact the conception of religious liberty was quite foreign to Babism. In the sacred writings known as the *Bayan* the Bab laid down that when his people came into power no unbelievers were to be allowed to dwell in the five principal provinces of Persia, while everywhere else the unbeliever was to be subjected to restrictions and kept in a position of inferiority. Anticipating religious wars in which his followers would be victorious, the Bab was careful to arrogate to himself a share of the loot. One-fifth of all the spoil taken from infidels, together with whatever is incomparable in value or beauty (beautiful women presumably included) belongs to the Bab. Another token of the Bab's cast of mind is found in his decree that the public authorities shall destroy all books on logic, jurisprudence and philosophy. Quite an elaborate scheme for the government of Babi communities was formulated by the Bab. Each community is to have its affairs regulated by a council of nineteen members which levies a yearly tax upon the inhabitants. And the Bab expressly lays down, as the chief method by which this council may enforce its decrees, the interdiction of marital relations between husband and wife for a longer or shorter period; the assumption, of course, being that one of the couple is not likely to be contumacious, but will remain faithful to the church. If a certain Christian sect is not belied by its enemies, this mode of enforcing discipline has been made use of in the Occident, and the devoutly religious nature of the women of the sect has made its results most gratifying. As then the men are to be kept in subjection through their wives, it is not surprising that early marriage is insisted upon. After the age of eleven marriage is compulsory, and widowers and widows must remarry, under penalty of a fine, ninety and ninety-five days respectively after the death of the spouse. The Mohammedans claim that the Babis held up as an ideal, communism, not merely of goods but even of women. And it does seem to be true that there were those among them who dreamt of a time when, under the rule of the expected Imam Mahdi (whose advent at some indefinite time in the future was looked for by the early Babis as well as by the Shiite Mohammedans), "men will go to the bazars, invoke blessings, and take as an equivalent whatever they please from the shops." The justification of such a procedure was the theory that all goods were the property, not of their apparent own-

ers, but of the Imam Mahdi, while likewise all women were "His handmaidens whom He giveth to whomsoever He pleaseth, and taketh from whomsoever He pleaseth." And it was thought that practice would follow theory with women as well as with goods, since, as one Babi hopefully urged, there was a tradition to the effect that the Imam Mahdi would change wives and husbands, precisely as the Bab (he said) had already done in taking Kurratu'l-Ayn away from her husband and giving her to another man.

A year before his execution the Bab appointed as his successor a young lad of nineteen, Mirza Yahya, who is known to history under the title assumed by him: Subh-i-Azal, i. e., Dawn of Eternity. There arose however, after the death of the Bab, a second claimant to leadership in the person of Asadu'llah of Tabriz, a man of some prominence in the sect, his coreligionists having distinguished him by the title of Dayyan (the Supreme Judge). Fortunately there were a number of Babis awake to the importance of preserving for this "great spiritual movement" the blessing of unity. These Babis pursued the false prophet, and succeeded in hunting him down near the Turkish frontier. Attaching heavy stones to the neck of Asadu'llah, they led him to a convenient river, the Shat-ul-Arab, and threw him in. He sank to rise no more, and thus the Babi brethren attained, at least for a time, peace and freedom from the horrors of schism.

An attempt made by certain Babis to assassinate the Shah, two years after the death of the Bab, led to new persecutions, and Azal and those of his adherents that could get away fled from Persia to Bagdad in Turkey whence the Turkish government removed them to Constantinople and later to Adrianople. For fourteen years Azal was the nominal leader of the Babis. But he was not suited for the leadership of a militant religious sect. Professor Browne, who knew him, describes him as "a peace-loving, gentle soul, wholly devoted to the memory of his beloved Master, caring little for authority, and incapable of self-assertion." Intent upon the spiritual needs of his flock, he left much of the administrative work that is incumbent upon the heads of a religious organization in the hands of his half-brother, Mirza Huseyn Ali, a man thirteen years his elder, to whose thoughtful care, as certain Babis tell us, was due the timely taking off of Asadu'llah. This Huseyn Ali was of a very different temperament from Azal; with astuteness and resolution he combined an ambition that soon made him a prominent figure in the sect, and put into his hands all the hidden wires of Babi intrigues. The post of administrator of temporal affairs for

his brother was not enough to permanently satisfy Huseyn Ali; he aspired to absolute domination, but for some years he patiently bided his time. At last, in 1866, he announced himself to be a new manifestation of the divinity. The other Babis, Azal included, were called upon to recognize Huseyn Ali as supreme, and to accept as divine the revelations he proceeded to promulgate.

Huseyn Ali, who now took the name of Baha'u'llah (Splendor of God), had well judged his power over the Babi organization. Spirituality rarely prevails, in this mundane sphere, over temporal ability. Active and astute emissaries were dispatched in all directions announcing the new order of things. The greater part of the Babis, having probably been gradually prepared for the change by Baha who had kept in his own hands the threads of communication with the Crypto-Babis of Persia and with the Babi communities in Egypt and other outlying countries, accepted Baha as their new prophet and became Bahais. The claim to prophetic power was doubtless an aid to Baha in his pretensions, the Babis, it would appear, having reached a point where they were thirsty for new revelations. Azal had modestly ranked himself as the mere guardian of the divine message sent to man through his beloved master the Bab. Baha, on the contrary, put the Bab in the background, and amended and abrogated his ordinances. The Bab was now held to be a mere forerunner like John the Baptist, the true Messiah being Baha himself. That the Bab regarded himself in this light, Professor Browne (the highest authority on the history of Babism and Bahaism, and one who errs, if at all, only by a too sympathetic treatment of Baha) characterizes as "devoid of historical foundation." The Bab's nomination of Yahya [Azal] as his successor was "explicit and notorious," and the Bahais, who take as prophetic the utterances of the Bab as well as those of the greater prophet Baha, are faced with the difficulty of explaining how the herald whom they say announced the coming of Baha'u'llah, was not aware that Huseyn Ali was this Messiah, but relegated the coming dispensation which was to supplant his own to some indefinite time in the future, and cast his eyes upon an Anti-Christ (as the Bahais deem Azal) in selecting the future shepherd for his flock.

Azal quite naturally refused to submit to his brother's authority, and there still adhered to him a body of believers, small in number but comprising some of the most eminent of the Bab's disciples. Argument proving unsuccessful, the Bahais resorted to the *ultima ratio religionis*, assassination. One by one the prominent Azalites were stabbed or poisoned, at Tabriz and Kerbela, at Bagdad and

Adrianople. Azal survived, but the Azalites accuse Baha of having attempted to poison him. In the language of their tale, Baha brought to his brother "a dish of plain food with one side of which he had mixed some poison, intending to poison his Holiness." Fortunately however Azal declined to eat. The Bahais tell the story somewhat differently; according to them it was Azal that put the poison in the dish, intending to poison Baha. However, leaving matters of dispute to one side, we know at least that a number of Azalites were killed by Bahais, and that Baha'u'llah, as his writings show, regarded the murder of these men by his own disciples not with abhorrence but as divine judgments upon his foes. This Baha, we may remind the reader, is he whom the Americans and Europeans that have accepted the Bahai religion accept as their Messiah in place of Jesus; Jesus, Moses and Mohammed being by them equally ranked as minor prophets.

The strife at Adrianople moved the Turkish government to insist upon a separation of the two factions. Baha and most of his followers were sent to Acre, while Famagusta in Cyprus was the place fixed upon as the residence of Azal and the Azalites. Four Bahai families were however sent with Azal to serve as unpaid spies for the government, and it was likewise designed to send four Azalites and their families to Acre. The Bahais promptly murdered one of the four Azalites and only three of the families started for Acre with the Bahais. Azal was not so bloodthirsty, and the four Bahai spies reached Famagusta safely and dwelt there unharmed.

The letter from the Turkish government commending the Bahais to the care of the governor of Acre described them as "thieves and murderers." They were apparently anxious to justify this description of themselves, for as soon as the authorities at Acre relaxed their vigilance and allowed the Bahais to range the streets of the city, a band of the disciples of Baha'u'llah went to the house where dwelt the Azalites that had come to Acre and slaughtered them in cold blood. This at least is the story as told to Professor Browne not by an Azalite but by a fervent Bahai who was in a position to know the truth. And the apologists for the Bahais find the best face they can put upon the matter is to contend that certain Bahais went to the house in which dwelt the Azalites, intending, not to kill them, but merely to threaten them with death if they did not cease their derogatory talk against Baha, and that the result of their mission was a fight in which three Azalites and one Bahai were killed. At all events, the men who killed the

Azalites were not in the least conscience-stricken but openly avowed their deed and glorified themselves for it. And the Turkish authorities, who as Mohammedans had no liking for either Azalites or Bahais, instead of executing the men, contented themselves with meting out more or less rigorous imprisonment to Baha and his followers. This imprisonment—which was probably due more to fear of what the Bahais might do to Mohammedans and Mohammedan rule in Turkey than to any care for the surviving Azalites—lasted some time, but in the latter portion of his stay at Acre the situation of Baha was much like that of the present pope in his “imprisonment” at Rome. The Bahais look upon the exile of their prophet at Acre as a “martyrdom.” An unprejudiced Occidental however may think it just as improper to apply this term here as to speak of the “martyrdom” of a commonplace criminal who, as penalty for instigating twenty murders, serves a term in jail and then is forced to remain the rest of his life under the eye of the police in some particular locality.

Baha remained in exile at Acre from 1866 until his death in 1892. Notwithstanding the impediments put by the Persian and Turkish authorities in the way of the Bahai propaganda, this went on with undiminished vigor. From Acre, Baha ruled the Bahai world which each year grew to more and more imposing proportions. In the East assassination is not regarded as unworthy of a prophet. The thought that Baha, the Blessed Perfection, as he was fondly called, must be, in some measure at least, responsible for the death of the murdered Azalites would not prove a stumbling-block to a prospective convert from Mohammedanism to Bahaism. Thousands of pilgrims flocked from every quarter to see Baha and obtain his blessing. Many Bahais indeed gave up their homes and settled near Acre devoting their lives to the services of their Master. Soon gardens arose where before all had been barren sand, and it was not long before Baha was living in a veritable villa on the outskirts of Acre surrounded by the orange groves of his adherents.

Baha put forth many revelations of his own. He showed himself to be an astute opportunist, setting aside the stringent ordinances of the Bab wherever this would make easier the path of the convert. Thus the interdiction upon tobacco was removed and the Bahais allowed to smoke, though this had been forbidden to the Babis. Upon one point however he, like other sectarian leaders, was firm; faith in the Bahai doctrines is of paramount importance. He that is without faith, says Baha'u'llah, is “of the people of

error, even though he produce all manner of good deeds." This admonition has not fallen upon deaf ears. Professor Browne, himself a sincere Christian but no bigot, on telling his Bahai friends that as between "a Jew and a Christian, the former merciful, charitable, humane, pious, but rejecting and denying Christ; the latter cruel, selfish, vindictive, but accepting and reverencing him," the Jew ought to be esteemed the better man, received as reply: "God forbid! The Christian is without doubt the better." God, the Bahais said, was merciful and forgiving, and might pardon sin, but unbelief could not be pardoned. The modern Bahais however are not quite so plain spoken in this matter as were the early Babis. Mirza Jani, the Babi historian, records, with apparently no inkling that it is at all unedifying, a conversation between himself and Seyyid Yahya of Darab, a Babi celebrity. Jani, on one occasion, not very long after Yahya's conversation, asked the latter what his father thought of the Bab. Yahya replied that his father was as yet undecided whether to accept the claims of the Bab and become a Babi or not; and added, confirming his words with an oath, "By the Truth of God's Holy Essence, should my father deny this most luminous Manifestation I would assuredly, notwithstanding his conspicuous virtues and eminent position, slay him with my own hand for the sake of the Beloved; and this although such a father as he and such a son as I are seldom met with under the Heavens of the Moon."

The religious doctrines held by the Bahais are not very distinctive. The first article of faith is naturally recognition of Baha'u'llah as the most recent manifestation of the Divinity. Previous manifestations are recognized, Moses, Jesus, Mohammed being equally ranked as obsolete prophets of the past whose messages have been superseded under the present dispensation by the teachings of the prophet of modern times, Baha'u'llah. It is even intimated, on occasions when a proselytizer wishes to influence the adherents of pagan religions, that Zoroaster, Buddha, etc. may have been divine manifestations in their day. This recognition of other cults as founded on truth but requiring the new revelation of Bahaim to bring them up to date is an important feature in Bahai propaganda and has had much to do with its success. In giving an exposition of their religion, modern Bahais lay the greatest stress upon its message of unity. The object of the Bahai movement, they say, is the unification of people of all religions on spiritual lines. But as they aim to soften religious prejudice through a universal recognition of the pretensions of Baha'u'llah, it is difficult to

see how in this respect Bahatism differs from other proselyting religions. All such cults strive for religious unity, and like the Bahais seek to bring it about by the absorption of the adherents of all remaining sects. It is true that a Bahai convert is allowed to take part in the ceremonies of his old religion, but since he is all the while bound to recognize the pronulgations of Bahatism as paramount over what he formerly regarded as the essentials of faith, we cannot regard this fact as making the Bahai movement any less sectarian. It is really a very clever piece of tactics which not only makes the transition to the new faith much easier than it otherwise would be, but also gives the neophyte opportunities for bringing other souls over to Baha.

The doctrines held by the Bahais in the question of a future life are somewhat difficult to ascertain. As an excuse for keeping these matters veiled, one Bahai said to a Christian missionary: "We believe in a future state so unthinkably ecstatic that if its joys were now revealed to men they would commit suicide to hasten their entrance into it." Most investigators however have reached the conclusion that there are really no definite Bahai teachings on this subject. At all events the vivid pictures painted by Mohammed of the joys of the celestial paradise find no counterpart in the Bahai writings.

A deviation from Mohammedanism is likewise to be noticed in the Bahai attitude toward the female sex. Bahai women are not bound to wear veils, though in Persia they often find it advisable to submit to the prevailing custom. The education of women is also urged by the present leader of the sect. Polygamy is less prevalent with the Bahais than with their Mohammedan neighbors, and in the Bahai writings destined for European consumption strict monogamy is advocated, which is rather curious in view of the fact that the prophet Baha'u'llah was a bigamist twice over, having remarried when the mother of his favorite son Abbas died leaving the Blessed Perfection with only one wife. A husband may divorce his wife, even though she has committed no very grave offense, and he is compelled at the most to let her take with her out of the common funds of the household nineteen miscals of gold (about fifty dollars); a like facility for divorce at the instance of the wife does not seem to be provided for, notwithstanding the boast that Bahatism favors the equality of the sexes.

A systematic treatment of ethics is not a part of the Bahai teachings. There do however exist a rather haphazard collection of ordinances by which the believer is admonished to regulate his

life. Thus all men are exhorted to engage in some useful art or handicraft; gambling and the use of opium and alcoholic drinks are forbidden; and it is prescribed that the dead be wrapped in fine cloths of silk or cotton and placed in coffins of glass, the burial place being most suitably lined with cut stone. Prayer is recommended, and when engaged in it one's face is to be turned towards Acre. Celibacy is discouraged and monasticism is looked upon as sinful. The influence of Western ideas can be traced in the advocacy of peace between nations, disarmament and international arbitration, and the adoption of a universal language. When a country has been made Bahai, union of church and state is to take place. Each community is then to be ruled by a council of nine Bahais (called the Bait al-Adl) elected by the faithful, and this council is to levy yearly upon every citizen a tax of one nineteenth of his income. The numbers nine and nineteen are sacred in the Bahai scheme, and not seldom even an American or European member of the sect will gravely specify, as one of the important changes to be made when they come into power, the modification of the calendar so as to make the year have nineteen months of nineteen days each. It is enjoined to renew the furniture of each house at the end of a sacred cycle of nineteen years. The actual state of the household goods does not enter into the question at all, and a European missionary relates how a Bahai friend, in complying with this rule, discarded a magnificent Oriental carpet whose colors had softened with age, and replaced it with a glaring monstrosity of Manchester manufacture. The absurd regulations based on the sacredness of numbers are not the only puerilities among the enactments of Baha'u'llah, but on the whole such ordinances are far fewer than in Mohammedanism.

In Persia, where of late years there has been a regime of comparative toleration in religious matters and the Bahai sect has openly raised its head, most of the conversions to Bahaism come from the ranks of the Mohammedans. Some of the Zoroastrians have also deserted the faith of their fathers and accepted that of Baha'u'llah, but it is said that such conversions are being checked by the spirit of European rationalism which now to a large extent pervades the Guebre communities. Opinions as to the character of the Persian Bahais are somewhat various. Leaving aside however the enemies as well as the avowed partisans of the sect, the consensus of opinion would rank them slightly above the Mohammedans in all save regard for truth, while the Zoroastrians are classed as more trustworthy than either Bahais or Mohammedans.

To care little for veracity is an Oriental failing, and it is not surprising that the members of a proscribed sect who dared not avow their convictions should have become adepts in dissimulation. Not alone in the private life of the Bahais does prevarication prevail; it is also in evidence in their historical and controversial writings. To obscure the evidence that Subh-i-Azal was the legitimate and recognized successor of the Bab and to relegate the Bab himself in the eyes of the world to the lowly position of a mere precursor who was to Baha'u'llah what John the Baptist was to Jesus history has been rewritten and falsified and documents have been suppressed. The economy of truth is too plainly evident not only with the Oriental Bahais but also to an extent that is truly astounding with their American and European advocates. In the works put forth by the apologists in the Occident and purporting to give a historical account of the movement there is frequently no mention at all made of Azal, and when the latter is by exception mentioned there is little more than a passing reference to his claims as utterly absurd. Nor is there any more candor in the treatment of the question of the murdered Azalites. Usually the matter is quite ignored, and at most an attempt will be made to explain away one or two of the misdeeds accredited by history to the Bahais while the rest of the long list of Bahai crimes will be vaguely referred to as "other accusations equally incredible." In the Orient the Azalites claim that the Bahais deliberately destroyed or fraudulently tampered with the Babi writings on a very large scale. One notable book which the Bahais could not hope to destroy entirely, the "Point of Kaf" of Jani (which included a history of Babism), they rewrote, eliding all matter that favored the Azalites, and put the expurgated work forth under the name of "The New History." Fortunately a copy of the original work had found its way to Europe before this was withdrawn from circulation in Persia, for later on, when Professor Browne looked for it there, though he made "many inquiries amongst the Babis in different parts of Persia for Mirza Jain's history" he found, he tells us, "no trace of its existence." He adds: "This fact is very instructive in connection with the history of other religions, for it is hard for us, accustomed to a world of printed books and carefully guarded public libraries, to realize that so important a work as this could be successfully suppressed; and equally hard to believe that the adherents of a religion evidently animated by the utmost self-devotion and the most fervent enthusiasm, and in ordinary every-day matters by obvious honesty of purpose, could connive at such an

act of suppression and falsification of evidence. The application of this fact, which, were it not established by the clearest evidence, I should have regarded as incredible, I leave to professional theologians, to whom it may not be devoid of a wider significance."

The present Bahai leader Abdul Baha (Abbas the son of Baha), in whom there blends great astuteness with a certain apparent naivety, due probably to the inability of the Asiatic to comprehend the moral and intellectual standards of the European, in an interview with Dr. Jessop some years ago expressed with great frankness his idea of the duty of a historian. Speaking of Professor Browne and his writings on the subject of Bahaism, Abdul Baha complained that "He heard us and then heard our enemies (the Azalites) and wrote down the views of all. How can he get at the truth? Now supposing that a man wanted to learn about the Jews, and you are, we will suppose, an anti-Semite. He asks you about the Jews and writes down your views. Then he asks a Rabbi and takes down his views and prints both. How can he get at the real truth?" Realization that a Bahai writer may take this point of view which puts suppression of inconvenient facts in the light of a virtue will enable us to comprehend many things that puzzle one accustomed to Occidental straightforwardness. Abdul Baha himself, to help on the cause of his religion, wrote the "Traveler's Narrative" in which not merely is Subh-i-Azal disparaged by the imputation of want of personal courage (and in truth Azal seems never to have committed a murder) but he is even represented as never having been appointed by the Bab as his successor, and as never having been recognized by the Babis as their spiritual ruler. The fact is, the naming of Azal for this position by the Bab was explicit and notorious; the Bab even authorized him to augment the sacred writings and to add to the Bayan eight sections of nineteen chapters each. And upon the death of the Bab Azal received the almost unanimous recognition and homage of the whole Babi community.

Baha'u'llah died in 1892 having previously named his son Abbas as his successor. Abbas took the name of Abdul Baha (Servant of Baha) and is recognized by his flock as the Bahai pope. Baha'u'llah however had other sons by another wife; and apparently there was not the kindest of feelings between the two families, as one of these other sons, Mohammed Ali, also laid claim to the office of spiritual ruler, and was supported by his two younger brothers. This new schism has not as yet found any large number of adherents, but it is of interest to note that in the United States

the apostle who introduced Baháism to our country, Ibrahim Kheiralla, espoused the cause of Mohammed Ali. New apostles being sent to counteract his heresy, most of the believers in America were persuaded to remain in the orthodox fold, and during one period Mr. Kheiralla is said to have felt that his life was in peril. This seems ridiculous to the prosaic American, but we must remember that Ibrahim Kheiralla knew his own people, and had doubtless vividly before his mind the fate of Asadu'llah and the twenty murdered Azalites. In the Orient where, as Professor Browne puts it, "human life is held cheap and religious fervor runs high" killing at the command of a prophet is not regarded as murder. Professor Browne tells us of a discussion he had with a Babi Seyyid in the course of which the good Babi said with a look of extreme surprise, "Surely you cannot pretend to deny that a prophet, who is an incarnation of the Universal Intelligence, has as much right to remove any one whom he perceives to be an enemy to religion and a danger to the welfare of mankind as a surgeon has to amputate a gangrened limb?"

Abdul Baha, the present ruler of the sect, who with his followers was liberated from his exile at Acre in 1908 by the establishment of constitutional government in Turkey, was born in 1844, and is a mild-looking venerable old man of pleasing personality. Kind to friends as he is, he is said by Persians to be very bitter toward his enemies. He took an active part in the affairs of the sect at the time of the strife with the Azalites, and history makes it doubtful whether he can be completely absolved from responsibility for the bloodshed that occurred. But there is no reason to believe that, whatever part he took in the factional warfare, he ever once acted against the dictates of his conscience. Oriental morality is not like that of the civilized West, and an Oriental, after doing what we would all regard as the most detestable deeds, may look back upon them with the greatest complacency, and be aided by their recollection in acquiring the benevolent facial expression of a philanthropist.

Abdul Baha rules his flock with a firm hand, and is docilely obeyed by his people. Ranking himself below his father, he nevertheless insists upon his own place in the Bahai dispensation as the "Center of the Covenant" in which capacity he assumes the sole right to interpret the inspired words of the prophet Baha'u'llah. Private interpretation of the scriptures is strictly forbidden. It was this assumption of authority in doctrinal matters that caused the schism led by Mohammed Ali. The seceders cite as decisive the

words of the prophet Baha'u'llah who, they say, characterized as a "liar and calumniator" any one that, before the expiration of a thousand years, should arrogate to himself such authority as is claimed by Abdul Baha. The latter, besides infallibility, claims a certain gift of prophecy, but faith in this was rudely shaken by the failure of certain predictions to materialize a few years ago. In the spring of 1908 Abdul Baha put forth in his "Tablets" (pastoral admonitions to the faithful) the promise of peace and prosperity for the Shah, Mohammed Ali, and made the prediction that the latter would rule Persia for the remainder of his life. Peace and prosperity however took the strange form of civil war; and the enforced abdication of Mohammed Ali in the middle of the next year, combined with his obstinate refusal to die after giving up the Persian throne, was the source of much scandal to the faithful and exposed the pretensions of the Bahai pope to the scoffing of the unbelievers.

Some years ago, when in Persia it was a perilous thing to be even suspected of holding the Bahai faith, the most exaggerated claims regarding the growth of the sect passed muster. Quite commonly a European would be told that half the inhabitants of Persia were secretly in sympathy with the movement and only waited the dawn of religious liberty to openly avow themselves Bahais. But these predictions were by no means realized when the state of affairs in Persia began to approximate toward something like religious toleration. It is true that even now Bahais, when talking with foreigners who know nothing of modern Persia, will often claim for their sect several million adherents. But this number will be abated to two or three hundred thousand when a better informed European comes along. The Christian missionaries put the number still lower, and estimate there to be not more than one hundred thousand followers of Abdul Baha in Persia. Whatever be their number we cannot estimate lightly the power of a sect which is composed of a well-disciplined body of believers that history shows will stop at nothing to attain their ends. In politics they ostensibly stand aloof but there is no doubt that they are strongly pro-Russian and are opposed to the spirit of nationalism, much preferring to see their country in the status of a Russian province than to have Persia enfranchise herself from foreign sway. In the troubles that took place a few years ago, the conflict between the parliament and the imperialists, the Bahais kept in the background, but it was thought that they carried on intrigues in favor of the Shah. Their rivals, the Azalites, who

still exist as a minor sect, were on the contrary devoted heart and soul to the cause of constitutional liberty, and worked ardently for the parliamentary party.

The sketch of the Bahai movement that has just been given shows its history to be not altogether an edifying one. And yet, desiring to be perfectly fair, we have not given credit to certain tales, which, though by no means incredible, are not established beyond a reasonable doubt. Thus we have not recorded the Azalite story that Baha'u'llah sent Abu'l-Kasim, a Bakhtiyari robber, one of the adornments of the Bahai sect, from Acre to rob a merchant in Constantinople who had fallen away from Bahaism, and that the emissary, received in the merchant's house as a guest, broke open the safe of his host and abstracted £350. A portion of this money Abu'l-Kasim is said to have kept for himself, while the rest he used to purchase clothing and other goods for Baha'u'llah from whom he received a blessing in return. Nor have we set down the story of Rizvan Ali, the son of Azal, who claims that when he paid a visit to Acre a few years ago his cousin, Abdul Baha, attempted to poison him. Leaving quite out of account such doubtful matter, there nevertheless remains so much infamy to be accredited to the sect that it is astounding to learn that Bahaism has gained a foothold among civilized human beings, and that in two years Mr. Kheiralla converted two thousand Americans, there being seven hundred of these converts in Chicago alone. A few years ago the Bahais claimed thirty thousand American converts which apparently was the high water mark in their propaganda here. More recently there has been a falling off, but the loss in numbers is compensated by the devotion of those that remain faithful. As an illustration of the command that the head of the sect has over his flock, we may mention that, realizing the importance of controlling the marriages of his followers, Abdul Baha from time to time tries with his European and American disciples to arrange a match that will be of advantage to his projects. And not infrequently the parties concerned docilely obey the mandate. There is to-day, in the city of Washington, an English lady of refinement married to an American negro whom she accepted at the behest of Abdul Baha.

To a student of human nature the American and European Bahais are most interesting, and the present writer, in two summers passed in the midst of the Bahai colony at Eliot, Maine, had an unusually good opportunity to study these curious people. My first impression of the Bahais, I must say, was rather favorable. At that time all I knew of the history of Babism and Bahaism was

derived from one or two highly eulogistic accounts of the Bab written by his admirers. It is true that no one who came into personal contact with the Bahais would be likely to overestimate either their intelligence or their erudition. As an illustration of the latter I may mention that one of my earliest experiences was to have a Bahai, in the course of what purported to be an account of the history of Bahaim, give me the interesting information that Persia is ruled from Constantinople and is a part of Turkey! But on first acquaintance the Bahais did appear to me to be simple kindly folk and I began to like them. Much to my regret I was subsequently compelled to modify this opinion.

The summer colony at Eliot finds most of its recruits among the New England Bahais, but quite a number come from New York and from Washington for a longer or shorter visit. Naturally women predominate. Among the members of the sect are a few of fairly high social standing, and the majority would seem to be in comfortable circumstances. Most illuminating, in a study of the morals and methods of the Bahais, is the story of how they came to make Eliot their summer headquarters. Some twenty odd years ago, after the Congress of Religions in Chicago, there was founded in Eliot the "Greenacre Conferences." The purpose was to continue for further fruition the religious parliament idea; to have each summer people of the most diverse creeds mingle with each other and with people of no creed at all. Religion was by no means the only topic discussed; sociology, science and art also had their turn, and the general spirit of the place was that each should look upon a heretic from his religious or sociological or artistic creed, not as a person to be avoided or merely tolerated, but as one to learn from and sympathize with. The aspiration common to all was that of broadening one's horizon, not only in religion, but everywhere. Things went very smoothly at Greenacre, a beautiful estate on the banks of the Piscataqua River, for a number of years, and it is quite certain that many persons here received great help in their spiritual development. Visitors came from the furthest parts of the world; Swamis and Buddhist priests as well as representatives of our domestic religions contributed to the mutual enlightenment. Like other religions Bahaim was given a hearing, and at Greenacre it was put forth as the religion of humanity with the brotherhood of man for its keynote. It was with this conception of Bahaim that a number of the Greenacreites, who naturally were not conversant with the dark side of the movement in the Orient, formally declared themselves Bahais. Of these, some, upon becoming better

acquainted with the new sect, severed their connections with it, but quite a few others remained in the fold. At first Bahaim at Greenacre was not a source of dissention; what disagreements there were being due to other causes. But in 1912 the Bahai pope, Abdul Baha, took a trip to the United States and was invited to Greenacre. Exhibiting a pleasing and impressive personality and an urbanity remarkable even for a Persian he succeeded in heightening the devotion of the old converts and in gaining new ones.

Before leaving the United States Abdul Baha is said to have casually remarked to a group of the faithful that it would be a very fine thing if the Bahais could control this beautiful place at Eliot. Really to attribute this remark to Abdul Baha may be wholly unjustified, but the fact remains that the Bahais did control Greenacre the following year. To manage the Greenacre conferences, an association entitled the Greenacre Fellowship had been legally constituted, at whose head were five trustees elected by the members. Factional quarrels had broken out in the Fellowship some time before the visit of Abdul Baha. Cynics said this was largely due to about thirty thousand dollars worth of property that the Fellowship had acquired by donations and bequests, and that the reason certain persons who never avowed themselves Bahais acted in unison with that sect later on was their desire to have a hand in the control of this property. But such a statement may be entirely without foundation, and the persons in question (with whom we are not concerned here) may have acted from the purest of motives. At all events, early in the year 1913 the Bahais set quietly at work to get their people into the Greenacre Fellowship. Circular letters of appeal were sent around to the Bahai brethren asking all to become members, with the observation that fifty cents was a sufficient membership contribution to insure the right to vote, and bidding any one who could afford to give more to put in a separate member for each fifty cents, as those who could not attend the meeting at Eliot could vote by proxy. Thus if any Bahai could give ten dollars, he should (in the words of one communication) "let twenty membership blanks be signed by twenty different friends and thus we will secure the necessary vote to elect the Board of Nine." To have a board of nine trustees was an innovation at Greenacre where five had always hitherto sufficed, and it would seem that the idea was to change the board into a Bait-al-Adl—that committee of nine which Baha'u'llah prescribed for the governing of communities unfortunate enough to be under Bahai rule. In striving to get as many voters as possible into the Fellowship, one pious lady with that

insouciance and disregard of purely mundane considerations characteristic of the religious zealot, had printed and circulated a communication to which, as was shown later in certain proceedings in the courts, she affixed the names of other persons without first taking the trouble to obtain their sanction! By means of these tactics, the Bahais, with their allies mentioned above, attained a majority of the votes in the meeting of the Greenacre Fellowship in 1913. They enlarged the board of trustees from five to nine, and finding it advisable to give their allies four seats on the board, distributed the other five among themselves, their opponents being left without any representation at all. To prevent anybody else gaining control of the Fellowship in the way they had themselves adopted, they amended the by-laws so that no one in the future could enter the Fellowship except by consent of the board of nine. An amendment was also passed under which the board of trustees is no longer to be elected by the members of the Fellowship; in future the board of nine will be self-perpetuating, any vacancy being filled by the remaining trustees. Finally, to make assurance doubly sure, the rank and file of the Bahais docilely passed a resolution by which even they could be prevented from kicking over the traces, since it was ordained by this that no future alterations in the by-laws could be made until after the board of nine had consented to the change.

The meeting of 1913 at which these new by-laws were adopted is said to have been a stormy one. I attended the meeting of 1914 as a disinterested spectator, expecting in my innocence to see exhibited some of that love-your-enemy spirit about which religious people are so fond of talking. But I saw none of this; there was not even that magnanimity in which an ordinary man of the world sometimes indulges. There was however in evidence a good deal of petty spitefulness. The Bahais had an overwhelming majority, many of their opponents having given up the fight as hopeless after the passage of the new by-laws. A few anti-Bahais did still claim their rights as members of the Fellowship to be present and take part in the proceedings; but most of these were debarred, it being ruled that they had forfeited their membership by paying the requisite annual contribution a day too late. There were at that time two vacancies on the board of trustees, which was then composed of five Bahais and two of their allies, and the last I heard of the matter was the report that these two seats also had been given to the Bahais, who would then have seven seats on the board out of a total of nine.

Greenacre has now all the benefits of Bahai rule. In past years such celebrities as Guglielmo Marconi, John Fiske, Joseph Jefferson and Edward Everett Hale found their way to Greenacre, but under the new regime things have changed. The present idea in selecting speakers for the conferences seems to be to consider soundness in Bahai doctrine as of first importance, and purely worldly ability as of very little consequence. A few lecturers that were not Bahais were brought in last season, but the Bahais seemed more anxious to convert these lecturers to Bahaim than to profit by what they put forth. A prominent feature of the Bahai regime are the devotional exercises, held seven days a week, at which the good Bahais listen to readings from the works of Baha'u'llah and from the "Tablets" of Abdul Baha. In addition, once or twice each week Bahai conferences are held at which the right to ask questions upon doctrinal points is granted any one who seems of promise as a proselyte. I used to attend these exercises quite frequently, drinking in the deep wisdom of Baha'u'llah. For instance: "The time cometh when the Nightingale of Holiness will be prevented from unfolding the inner Significances, and all shall be bereft of the Merciful Melody and Divine Call." Or the admonitions of Abdul Baha: "Oh servant of God! Be thou a sign of guidance, a standard of the Supreme Concourse and a light shining in the meeting of the maid-servants." Maid-servants of God, I must explain, is the tasteful title given to the ladies of the Bahai flock, whose good quality, Abdul Baha tells us, is submissiveness. Some passages are more pertinent: "Withhold not from My servant in whatsoever he may ask of thee, for his face is My face, and thou must reverence Me." "Oh My Friend by Word, Reflect a little! Hast thou ever heard of the beloved and the stranger dwelling in the same heart? Therefore send away the stranger, so that the Beloved may enter His home."

Toward any one whom they have hopes of converting, the Bahais behave in a very friendly manner, but they quickly assume a different attitude when they learn you are not likely to enter the fold. Of kindness without ulterior motives there is in reality very little. I saw nothing at Eliot which would lead me to believe that the Bahai religion widens the sympathies; on the contrary it seems to narrow them, but of course this is true of all sectarianism be it in religion or elsewhere. Especially noticeable is the animosity the Bahais feel toward the original Greenacreites who fought against them for the control of the Fellowship; a feeling which may perhaps be due to the proverbial fact that men usually come to hate

deeply those whom they have injured. Eliot is still a pleasant place to spend a summer vacation; there yet come each year a number of cultured and interesting men and women who have kept fast to the ideals of the old Greenacre; but you must not be seen in the company of any of these ungodly people if you wish to keep in the good graces of the Bahais.

In proselyting the Bahais begin by exhibiting Bahatism in a very alluring aspect. No dogmatic theology is brought to the notice of the neophyte who is given to understand that the very keystone of the sect is the absence of sectarianism. As one of its exponents puts it: "The ultimate aim of Bahatism is the spiritual unification of mankind. Its mission is not to supply the world with a new ethic, for a lofty ethic is already furnished us in the world's religious literature, but to knit all the faiths of the world and all the peoples of the world into one." Another prominent Bahai tells us that "The mission and object of the Bahai Movement is the uniting of all nations, religions and races in the love of God and the brotherhood of man." That lip devotion to the doctrine of the brotherhood of man makes the Bahais better members of society there is no evidence, and an investigation soon finds equal stress laid upon other doctrines which are trivial and even silly. The anxiety of the Bahais to increase the board of trustees to the sacred number of nine is an instance of this. These ludicrous touches are not however the worst features of the Bahai creed. Though kept in the background, the intolerant dogmatism of the old theology is by no means absent. To be sure the Occidental Bahais will tell you (to take the words of one of their European exponents) that they wish to "unite all existing religions by freeing them from the obsolete trammels of dogmas and rites," but this doctrine is only for neophytes and outsiders. In the inner circle it is taught that the vital thing is, not to be of service to humanity, but to tag yourself as a Bahai; that to enjoy the benefits of the new dispensation—the new covenant between God and man—it is necessary to accept Baha'u'llah as the Messiah and Abdul Baha as the Center of the Covenant: as the infallible interpreter of the words of the Bahai Saviour. Great discretion is however used in circulating the Bahai writings which deal with this side of the Bahai doctrine. When I was at Eliot a young lady of the sect was so incautious as to show such a work to a newcomer who had a genuine sympathy with what Bahatism appeared to be on the surface, but none with the esoteric doctrine. The result was the alienation of the prospective proselyte, and the Bahai saints of the inner circle are said to have roundly scolded the

poor girl for her indiscretion. They informed the man who had read the book that she had no right to show it to him as he was not yet far enough advanced in Bahaism to be able to profit by it—a way of looking at matters that does not impress one with the idea that the Bahais are particularly frank and sincere.

Not all Bahai proselytes cling permanently to the sect; many, when they get to know its true inwardness go elsewhere. And those men and women that remain as permanent converts seem to be of the type that like nothing better than to be bound by the shackles of an intolerant sectarianism. Persons to whom morality is supreme and dogma little or nothing are not at home among the Bahais. Needless to say, scholars and thinkers are also conspicuous by their absence. There is to be sure a certain amount of culture to be found with many of the Bahais, but it is the culture of names, not the culture of knowledge. They can talk fluently upon various subjects and handle deftly the vocabulary of science or art or religion, but are usually woefully deficient of any real understanding of what they talk about. Of the history of their own religion they are particularly ignorant. Their conversion has not been attained by a dispassionate consideration of Bahaism, but by their reading some passages from Baha'u'llah or Abdul Baha which struck their fancy, or by listening to the rhetoric of an eloquent Bahai speaker. So limited is their mentality that they can scarcely conceive of a bad man writing a good book or delivering an eloquent address. And notwithstanding the evidence of history they persist in endowing Baha'u'llah with all the virtues because he has written something that appeals to their emotions. A really rational person when he reads anything that stirs him and helps make him a better and happier man will appreciate it, and can be grateful to the author without feeling it at all incumbent upon himself to reverence this author and accept as inspired everything the latter has written. Still less will he wish to tag himself with the name of an author he admires and join a sect that groups itself around that name. But the sectarian, whether in religion or in any other field, is quite different. He delights to tag himself, and fastening his attention upon the one work or set of works he most admires, deliberately makes himself purblind to all else that is wise or noble or beautiful. And Bahaism is simply a sectarian religion; it is a reversion to modes of thought that the ideals of civilization have long ago outgrown.

ENGLISH DIPLOMACY AND THE FUTURE OF THE "HUNS."

BY THE EDITOR.

THE main question of the present war in the beginning was whether the Slav or the Teuton is to be the leader in Europe. The Teuton holds the most dangerous position in the middle of the continent. He was the guardian of civilization and Christianity during the Middle Ages ever since Charlemagne was crowned emperor at Rome in 800, and for a full thousand years down to modern times, when Napoleon I broke to pieces the German-Roman empire (*das heilige römische Reich deutscher Nation*) and established a new order of things by crowning himself Emperor of the French.

If Napoleon had but understood the needs of the times and had founded a European empire, if he had not trodden underfoot the rights of the conquered but had raised them to the equality of a free and humane alliance, he might have succeeded and his empire might still be standing. He could have counted on the support of the Germans (for they have always been cosmopolitan) to join him in founding an empire of the United States of Europe which would finally expand into a confederacy of all mankind. But his egotism was boundless, his genius was very onesided, and his greatness was limited to an extraordinary talent for strategical cleverness while he regarded broad humanitarian ideals as farcical. This and this alone is the reason for his final doom. He forced Germany to resist, and she asserted herself, rose against his tyranny and abandoned her cosmopolitan tendencies. He was defeated and England reaped the benefit, remaining in undisturbed possession of the seas and of the most valuable territories of the world.

Russia is truly England's most dangerous enemy. Russia is a menace to China, Tibet, Persia and also India. She is moving slowly but surely, and England set Japan against the growling bear. Japan was victorious and England felt relieved; she ceased to fear

Russia. But in the meantime her former ally of Waterloo has grown. Germany has become united, and her expansion not only in the peaceful arts and sciences but also in commerce and in military efficiency has developed in an unparalleled degree. England has come to believe that Germany is a much more dangerous rival than Russia, and so in the struggle between Slav and Teuton she steps in and throws her influence against Germany on the side of Russia.

This move of England's may have been smart from the standpoint of the ruling oligarchy of England; but from the standpoint of progress and of the future of mankind it was not wise to side with the most reactionary power of the world, with Muscovite autocracy, against the most advanced and most progressive nation of the world. It was a shrewd enough plan to attempt to crush the most progressive people so as to remain in the lead, but it was a wrong policy to profit by ruining a rival instead of outstripping him by doing better than he, by excelling his virtues, by learning from him and advancing beyond him. That is what England ought to have done to win a real and effective victory. But that would have meant labor, and education, and it would have meant an advance of the English people by means which would not have suited the English oligarchy. It would have necessitated the spreading of knowledge among the middle classes and enabling them to take a share in the administration of affairs.

The English middle classes, the yeomen as they are called, are a sturdy race; they are still the backbone of the country but they are kept in ignorance. They are not given a due chance to develop their abilities to the utmost; they are meant to be, and to be kept, subservient and to sacrifice themselves for their country, but not to share in the advantages of the aristocracy. At present the yeomen are satisfied with believing that they are the freest people in the world. So long as they have this conviction and can be kept in ignorance they are easy to rule, and the English oligarchy can be maintained to the disadvantage of the yeomanry.

The British empire resembles the constitution of Russia much more than is generally believed. Dean Burgess¹ contrasts the sham liberty of the former to the real liberty of the German empire speaking of Great Britain as "the system of the colonial empire, with its upper ten thousand rolling in wealth, splendor and luxury, and its hundreds of thousands, nay millions, groveling in ignorance, want, misery and crime; with its grip upon a quarter of the earth's land surface and a quarter of mankind of all races and colors as

¹ In his recent book *The European War*, p. 110.

its subjects; with its continual territorial expansion through intrigue, war and bloodshed; with its sovereignty over the high seas and a vast naval power to sustain it."

The English oligarchy saw the danger which threatened not so much the English people as the British government. England boasts of being the freest land in the world, but it is only a few representatives of the English nobility who reap the harvests of British power. The crafty Sir Edward and his helpers saw that Germany was steadily gaining in peaceful competition, and so they came to the conclusion that Germany should be crushed by an anti-German alliance of the most powerful nations of Europe, if possible of the world. Russia is dangerous to Great Britain as a competitor in land-grabbing, but Germany *even more so* because of her superiority in education, in liberal institutions and in a general advance, all of which makes her more efficient in both peace and war.

For this reason British diplomacy sided with the Slav against Teutonic civilization, and I repeat that it was a grievous mistake in English policy, although it was a clever trick of the English oligarchy now in power. The leaders of the aristocratic portion of England, led first by King Edward VII and after his death by his clever disciple, Sir Edward Grey, took advantage of the European embroglio and supported the Slav who was deemed too slow and ignorant ever to become dangerous to England.

The Germans are the most advanced people and they are more progressive than any other nation, neither Great Britain nor the United States of America excepted. History teaches us that such a nation, a nation that represents the advance of mankind, stands under the special protection of God, the God of history, and it is not advisable to fight against the Almighty.

Persia was a remarkable nation, small but vigorous, the only one of Aryan stock among the numerous Semites of Hither Asia. She conquered Babylonia, Lydia and Egypt, and founded a world empire of unlimited possibilities extending from the Mediterranean Sea to the Indies, from the inhospitable steppes of the Scythian savages in the north to the barbaric black Abyssinians in the dreary south. But when the Persian kings decided to punish the little people of Greece for being progressive, independent, courageous, and intellectually superior, they undertook a struggle against the God of history who had chosen the Greek nation as the one in which He would reveal the eternal laws of art, of science, of humaneness and of manhood. The Persians brought against Greece

all the hordes of Asia and Africa and outnumbered the Grecian armies more than a hundred to one. Their uncounted wealth was inexhaustible compared with the simplicity of Greek life. Millions of Asiatic soldiers invaded Greece and forced their entrance at Thermopylae; they burned Athens and there was no resistance against their well-equipped hosts. But all their warfare was in vain. They fought against the chosen people of God—the elect of the God of history—and the Persian onslaught, so formidable and apparently irresistible, collapsed miserably and hopelessly. Only a few years more than a century and a half had elapsed when Alexander the Great, the representative of Hellas, made an end of the Persian empire and established a new era not only for Asia but for mankind, in which Hellenic civilization dominated the world.

We are the heirs of the Greek spirit; all civilized mankind have accepted Greek modes of thought, and the people who are the Greeks of to-day are the Germans.

There are more instances in history where the advance of mankind has been represented by minorities, where the efficient, the vigorous, the progressive, the God-inspired courageous heroes of the broad cause of mankind were confronted with designing enemies who conjured the greatest powers of the world against them; and it is as if the God of history permitted such combinations against those whom He desires to entrust with the holiest treasures of the future in order to prove them worthy of the great task.

When Frederick II of Prussia had proved his genius, his grit, and his right to existence among the powers of Europe in the first and second Silesian wars, his enemies formed an alliance consisting of Austria, France, Russia, even the Holy Roman Empire itself, and a number of smaller states to crush him. Their motto was *Borussia est delenda*. Prussia was to be wiped off the map of Europe, and Frederick's fate seemed to be sealed according to all human calculations. But the God of history had entrusted to Prussia the leadership of the German nation, and it was the presentiment that Prussia might gain this leadership which produced the venomous hate of the powers that wanted to prevent it. Yet in spite of outnumbering little Prussia with her small but very efficient army again by almost a hundred to one, the allies did not prevail. Quality proved more efficient than quantity, and after a war of seven long years they accepted the inevitable result of the survival of the fittest and allowed historians to call the victor "Frederick the Great."

To-day there is the same presentiment again which makes the Slav and the Latin races feel that Germany has a great future, that at any price her career must be checked; and England who holds the balance of power has come to the conclusion that in her own interest she must help to crush the German upstart before he grows too strong for her. So she joins her old enemies, preferring to take the risk that Russia may take India and become the mistress of Asia, and in taking this risk she plays a significant part in the history of the world. She serves the God of history as the instrument to test Germany's worthiness before the latter country assumes the great task of taking the lead of mankind.

England is misguided but the fault lies entirely with herself. God has sent prophets to announce his plans. Think of Carlyle! But the English did not listen, and Carlyle remained a voice crying in the wilderness. They have rejected their prophet and say, as an English friend of mine lately expressed himself, "Carlyle is antiquated." The English no longer read Carlyle: he should be ignored; he would be radically opposed to Sir Edward Grey, and you know Sir Edward Grey is so clever, so very clever!

There are many more warnings that have come to England, but in order to make them inefficient the Baal priests of Britain have invented a great mass of falsehood about Germany and have systematically spread misrepresentations of her advance as contrasted with the glorious conditions of England, all of which taken together bewilders the English nation and leads them to their doom.

One of the Baal priests of English diplomacy is Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. He defends the British position and denounces Germany as barbarous and iniquitous in an article contributed to the *London Chronicle* under the title: "A Policy of Murder. How Prussia has Degraded the Standard of Modern Warfare." He has been answered most decisively and his false charges against Germany have been most convincingly refuted by the American war correspondent James O'Donnell Bennett. But will the English read the other side? Probably not. They continue to repeat unvarnished news, they overlook the testimony of their own people favorable to the Germans and of impartial observers. Mr. Bennett concludes his article thus:

"My testimony is the testimony of an American who loves England and who has not a drop of German blood in his veins. What things I have seen I have here set down because I believe that what raises the man of my calling above the level of a scribbler is the telling of the truth."

One of the symptoms that England will lose in this conflict is the fact that it is the policy of her diplomats and of the defenders of her cause to suppress the truth. The victor, and the one who deserves to be victorious, never suppresses the truth and scorns to use the lie as a weapon. The British diplomats however have established a strict censorship and set great hopes on the efficacy of wrong reports and misrepresentations. There are a few men in England with backbone who speak out boldly and criticize their government, but they are unpopular at home, and the truth they have to tell is resented. We mention the best of them when speaking of Professor Conybeare of Oxford, the Hon. Bertrand Russell of Cambridge, J. Ramsay Macdonald; and we must not forget Mr. Aleister Crowley who has sent a circular to his friends in which he castigates English hypocrisy under the title "An Orgy of Cant."

Our American public is very much divided. American manufacturers believe it their inalienable right to assist Great Britain and her allies with war materials and ammunition, and in this they are supported by our present administration.

Why our administration allows the manufacture and exportation of war material is a problem. Is it done in subservience to Great Britain, or in subservience to those millionaires who profit by this iniquitous trade? Or in subservience to both? It is difficult to say. One thing is sure, that if Great Britain succeeds in crushing Germany the next rival to be crushed will be the United States of America; but our administration does not see this although the principle has been pronounced repeatedly and most unequivocally, and the policy of England toward us has always been the same—the same ill-concealed jealousy, or even contempt, the same insidious methods of weakening us or making our republic subservient to the British empire. The United States ought to recognize Germany as her best friend and not assist Great Britain in her attacks on the fatherland. A well-prepared newspaper campaign undertaken in the United States against Germany has distorted the facts regarding our own danger. It is incredible how we can be so blind to the actual state of things, but, says the French proverb, *Qui se fait brebis, le loup le mange*. Those who see deeper understand very well that the German victory in the present war means a defeat of our most dangerous enemy.

The Germans are as much kin to us as the English, and if there is a difference between our relationships with the two it is in favor of the Germans. We have never had a quarrel with Ger-

many, but have had to fight England repeatedly and owe our independence to a war with her. It is noteworthy also that the English people are not in the habit of becoming naturalized in America as readily as other nationalities.

It is true we speak English and most of us speak and read no other language; but that is our disadvantage. We are limited to English reports and the English diplomats find our people gullible enough to credit English reports and imbibe the prejudice which they have against the Germans. Are we so ignorant and feeble-minded that our opinions can be made in England and we adopt them ready-made without critique as if we were still an English dependency?

The great predecessor of the present Kaiser, the hero of the three Silesian wars, unexcelled as a leader in battle and also as a ruler in peace, sent to George Washington a sword of honor to show his sympathy with the new republic and his recognition of its successful founder. When we had a serious difference with England with reference to the Alabama case, in consequence of her sympathies with the southern states, we found an impartial umpire in William I, the first German emperor. Moreover, we are closely related to the German people by ties of blood through many millions of our citizens of German birth and ancestry. But what weighs heavier still is the intellectual connection with the German fatherland whose schools and other institutions we have imitated and at whose universities tens and tens of thousands of spirited Americans have drunk from the fountain of science and philosophy. We owe to England mainly our political institutions and our language, but to Germany we owe at least as much and perhaps considerably more through the influence upon us of German science and industry and humanitarian ideals.

We Americans are sometimes distinguished by a narrowness which in its insularity is otherwise only met with in England and the English colonies; perhaps it is an inheritance which we preserve with reverence for the English nucleus from which we have grown. Such narrowness was evidenced in our objection to allowing a statue of Frederick the Great, a present offered by Emperor William II in remembrance of Frederick's admiration for the great republic in the west, to be set up at Washington simply and solely on the ground that he was a king!

The people who raised this objection forgot that Frederick was a real king and also a great man—a noble man born on the throne as a legitimate heir to a crown, a man who was a better

ruler than many presidents elected into leadership by political art and political artifices. Frederick was among kings what Lincoln was among presidents—a rare exception, and he bears his cognomen "the Great" not merely because he was a great general but because he was noble as a man and efficient as a prince of peace.

Well known is the story of the miller of Potsdam who would not sell his mill, fearlessly relying on the king's sense of justice. He knew the king would not confiscate private property but would submit to the law, for even above the king there was justice and against the king the miller could appeal to the courts, knowing that no Prussian judge would break the law or render an unjust decision merely to curry favor with the king.

We Americans ought to be proud of Frederick's sympathy with us and should remember that he was the king who conceived of kingship not as the right and privilege of ruling his country but as the duty of serving its interests—a principle which he expressed in the sentence, "I am the first servant of the state."

If the kings of England had been like Frederick the Great there would have been no need of an American revolt against the yoke of England, and we would still be an English colony. Why then this objection on our part to erecting a statue of Frederick the Great? Whether or not it is proper to have the statue of a king in Washington depends on our reason for erecting it, and when we refuse to place the effigy of a great man in our capital because he was a king, we forget that he was a king who sympathized with the establishment of a great republic, himself a republican on a throne. We are unwilling to see his statue in a prominent place among those of other great men, because we are too small, too puny, to recognize greatness in a king, in a royal hero, in a crowned sage, who used to eat with his friends at a round table because he desired to be an equal among his guests. Are we afraid that if a man like him lived among us he would robe himself in purple? We need have no fear.

We had a man like Frederick among us, born in the most unpretentious hut; it was Lincoln, our great and noble martyr president, who when confronted with a great crisis had only the one thought—to do his duty, and proposed to resign and surrender his high office if there were any one more capable than himself to assume the responsibility.

We Americans ought to be proud of having had the friendship and esteem of a king like Frederick the Great; we ought to bear in mind that kings who have a lofty conception of kingship like

that proposed by Frederick hailed the birth of our republic at a time when republican institutions on a large scale were still generally regarded as impossible, as positively Utopian, or at best a questionable experiment.

Contrast Frederick's views with the opinion of English noblemen as characterized in the behavior of the English when they robbed and burned the city of Washington in 1814. When they entered the Hall of Representatives in the capitol they proposed to kindle "this democratic rathole" and used the books of the Library of Congress for lighting the flames!

Democracy is a good thing. It means that the people shall govern themselves. But they cannot all be rulers, they cannot all be kings. They must entrust leadership to one, and they call him their president. In a democracy every one has a chance to become president, while in a kingdom the ruler of the people is born and educated for the office of kingship. It remains to be seen which of the two systems is better. There are advantages on both sides. If a democratic president has been elected because he has given evidence that he is fit to rule, a man like Lincoln, he will be the right man in the right place, while a king like Louis XIV whose sole aim was the aggrandizement of his own person is a curse to his country. The main point is that the man who has been entrusted with the leadership of his people—whether by birth and good fortune or by political conditions or ability—should prove both efficient and conscientious in the administration of his high office; and since the Great Elector of Brandenburg it has been a deeply-rooted conviction in the Hohenzollern family that duty comes first and all the privileges of rulership exist merely in order to make a thorough performance of duty possible.

The ascent of the Hohenzollern family from the time when they are first mentioned in history as counts, to prince-electors, then to kings and finally to emperors, is not accidental but is based upon the serious spirit of the men themselves and their noble traditions faithfully preserved from generation to generation.

Frederick the Great was the most distinguished among them, but even such weak and narrow-minded monarchs as Kings Frederick William II and III had their redeeming features and though lacking in judgment and guilty of many blunders, they at least were anxious to do their duty.

It is not the titles that are essential, but the actualities of life. Republics are not preferable to monarchies because they have no kings, but only if they give democratic advantages to the people

so as to enable them to make their influence felt upon the government, to secure liberty to all and equal rights before the law and equal chances to all according to their capabilities. A republic where the president imposes his will upon the people in a dictatorial fashion is certainly worse than even a bad kingdom.

Scholars who have made a special study of historical and social institutions and have compared the actual conditions of the different nations, both republics and monarchies, almost unanimously agree that Germany is the most democratic country in the world and that its institutions deserve imitation everywhere. It is remarkable how even the Socialist party of Germany stood up for the defense of the country and endorsed the policy of the imperial government.

We have always had democratomania with us who would even abrogate the office of the presidency, and it will be remembered that they opposed the proposal to make the eagle the emblem of our nation. They might have been endorsed by a democratic majority, had not their childish narrowness been brought to ridicule by a sarcastic wit who, granting that the eagle was a bird of prey and as the emblem of royal power might be objectionable, suggested that we might choose the goose for our emblem instead since this good and honest household bird was certainly more democratic than a bird of prey and would otherwise prove a convenience, for while a goose would mark our dollars, the gosling would be appropriate on our dimes.

If it is the aim of this country to bring all down to the level of the lowest standard of incompetence we had better publicly justify the method of suppressing recognition of royal genius in our very school-books and praise the goose in preference to the eagle. Was it perhaps in unconscious recognition of this principle that our Populist party is symbolized in its ultra-democratic simple-mindedness by the goose, as the Republicans are pictured as the pompous elephant and the Democrats as the braying donkey?

We Americans with our democratic ideals are pretty simple-minded in our comprehension of the essential significance of our aim, and we have been most easily duped by cunning methods of misleading our judgment.

English diplomacy is the craftiest of all. The English understand how to pit other powers against each other and thereby to hold the balance of power in their own hands. They gained control of India mainly by making Indian rajas fight among themselves, finally to submit to British rule as an acceptable yoke of leisure

and security, preferable to those who love pleasure more than independence. English diplomacy has succeeded in building up an enormous empire and in gaining unlimited wealth which, however, remains in the hands of the few, while the large masses of the English people are kept under the illusion that in spite of the abject poverty and ignorance of London's East End and the poor all over the country, they are the freest people on the face of the earth.

The English aristocracy is so entrenched in traditional rights as to be quite secure in their possessions, and their well-devised plans anticipate any dangers that might threaten to arise. The British empire was menaced by France under Napoleon I, and in more recent times by French enterprise in building the Suez Canal and soon afterward again by the French advance in the interior of Africa up to Fashoda, but English diplomacy overcame these obstacles. At the same time Russia's power was growing and it seemed probable that Russia would become master of Asia by taking Constantinople at the western end of this large continent and by invading Japan at its farthest eastern extremity. It seemed as if the conquest of Tibet, of Persia, of Afghanistan and finally of India was inevitable and merely a question of time to be delayed but unavoidable.

A third danger, however, loomed up on the horizon, and that was the unparalleled growth of Germany. Were the English diplomats right in deeming this danger the greatest of all? Whether they were right or not, they acted on the principle that in comparison to the dangers implied by the growth of Germany the dangers of France and Russia were insignificant, and that it would therefore be wiser to crush Germany first and deal with the other rivals afterwards.

It seems true that the German danger was indeed more threatening than all others. The German empire has become a new factor in history. The Germans have become leaders in the sciences and arts, and their industry in times of peace has slowly but with systematic certainty overtaken England. Against such a nation there is only one remedy: it must be crushed. Here is a people among whom education has reached the highest level hitherto attained, and liberty has become the dominant feature of its political institutions. The increasing wealth of Germany is more evenly and justly distributed through all the classes than anywhere else, the republican commonwealths of Switzerland (the freest of all), France and the United States not excepted, and a peaceful competition with Germany could be successful only if England would

adopt German methods by spreading the benefits of education and giving the poor an opportunity to rise higher, to assert themselves in a legitimate and orderly way, and to improve their conditions without resorting to revolution—at any rate to insure them against the dire fate of wretched poverty or destitution.

This method was not acceptable to the English oligarchy and so there was only one way of competing with Germany successfully—war. Germany has taken a step forward in the development of mankind by becoming democratic not in name but in fact, by raising science to its proper place in social arrangements and by encouraging all to join in the general advance and share in its benefits. Our English diplomats shirked a step which would rob the aristocracy of some of their privileges and democratize the British empire. They preferred therefore the other course which aimed at the elimination of this unwelcome rival. To obviate the danger of German competition in peace was impossible; in peaceful pursuits the Germans were winning, and every peaceful year of further development showed them farther and farther ahead of English industry and commerce.

But how destroy Germany's industry and her power with the least risk before they could outgrow Great Britain? English diplomacy makes other nations fight for Great Britain. So Russia and France were engaged to attack Germany and do the work. This is the meaning of the Triple Entente, and British diplomacy was successful in hypnotizing both the Gallic republic and the autocracy of the Czar.

The principle that Germany must be crushed was first pronounced in the much discussed articles of the London *Saturday Review*, "*Germania est delenda.*" Russia and France could be pushed aside and duped by diplomatic tricks; they were dangerous, but not to be feared since they could be manipulated. But Germany's advance appeared somehow and in a mysterious way uncanny even to England's keenest diplomat, and the danger could only be averted if Germany were crushed.

The result of this logic was the Triple Entente, and thus Germany came to be surrounded by enemies strong enough to break her power forever. There is only one flaw in the logic of the Triple Entente. It overlooks the fact that although quantity is an important item in calculation, quality should not be forgotten. Quantity, which means superiority in numbers, is on the side of the Allies, but quality is in favor of the Germans; and it would not

be for the first time in history if quality proved more important than quantity.

More than any previous conflict in the history of the world this great conflagration is a war of diplomacy, or, to state the fact more boldly, a war of intrigues; and the question for us neutrals is and will be whether or not we shall be sufficiently sagacious to understand the situation at the critical moment which will turn up in the progress of events. There was the terrible disaster of the *Lusitania* with its terrific loss of lives, among them one hundred and odd Americans; there is the protest of the Washington administration against Germany's submarine warfare; there is a disturbance of neutral traffic on the seas by the English policy of cutting off Germany's trade with the world; and I am sorry to add, America finds it profitable to furnish enormous quantities of war material to the Allies. Our witty orator (who happened at the time to be our Secretary of State) declared that if we did not furnish England and her allies with war material we would be guilty of a breach of neutrality.

There were two boys wrangling and a third boy stood by and handed one of them a knife, and then he said in excuse of his action, "It would have been unfair (or unneutral) if I had not handed that boy a knife for he just needed it in order to stab the other."

The Germans—it must be said to their honor—are poor diplomats. They have proved even unwisely outspoken and act on the principle that honest truthfulness is the best policy. Will they win in the long run in spite of their lack of diplomacy? It almost seems so.

English diplomacy has utilized the circumstances of the Servian conflict by promising Russia her assistance against Austria-Hungary and Germany. The Russians would not have dared to begin the war alone or merely with the assistance of France, and so England prompted the war. And in this war the Russians imagine that Great Britain is fighting for Russia, and the English believe that the Russians are fighting for the English cause and trust to their successful diplomacy for protection against Russia.

France has suffered severely by English diplomacy, but English diplomacy has succeeded in enlisting her interest with Great Britain against Germany only by utilizing the French cry of revenge for Alsace and Lorraine.

It would have been in Italy's own interest to remain a faithful member of the Triple Alliance, but English diplomacy has

succeeded by hook or crook in persuading the Italian ministers to join the allies in support of England, France and Russia. Rumania will probably follow suit, and the question is whether the United States will continue to support the Triple Entente by continuing its manufacture of war material, or will even declare war against Germany. English diplomacy is certainly artful, and what will be the result among us? Let us hope that we cannot be so easily lured as Italy.

And what will be the end of the war?

It is not advisable to indulge in prophecy, but I shall venture to express my opinion freely. If we read history in the light of the truth that the development of mankind follows eternal laws, we see in the present struggle the oft-repeated attempt of reactionary powers to crush the rising progress and to prevent the growth of mankind. The same kind of intrigue as often before has once more arrayed a world against a people who are the most advanced and therefore the most dangerous community in the world, most efficient in peace and in war. Before they can enter upon their inheritance they must be destroyed, lest the future be theirs and Great Britain be dislodged from her snug position where she rules the seas and exercises her profitable benevolent dominion over the world.

I will prophecy without hesitation that England will meet her Waterloo. She has been declining for some time under the domination of a very narrow-minded egotistical oligarchy, and if she is defeated the result may after all be beneficial to the English people.

There is enough strength left in the English commoners, but it remains to be seen whether they will assert themselves when their clever masters are overthrown. It is to be hoped that in the future men like Sir Edward Grey will find it impossible to drag England into a disastrous war simply because it seemed the best means to preserve the oligarchy and its privileges.

What will become of Germany?

The Allies will not succeed in conquering her; and even if she should be defeated she will rise again and again from her humiliation, until finally she will be triumphant, not to dominate over the rest of mankind, but to lead the other nations on the paths of progress onward and upward.

At the end of the war Germany will, if at all possible, restore Poland and make of it an allied kingdom with a common tariff, and also a military confederate. She may restore Belgium, give part of it to Luxemburg and let the northern and western portions be rehabilitated as the duchy of Flanders with her own old Flemish;

speech. It is to be hoped that the Baltic provinces and also Finland will become independent and that in a more distant future all the states of central Europe may see fit to form an alliance for the purpose of a common tariff system and as a confederation in arms. This would embrace the northern states, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, also Holland and Switzerland. Austria-Hungary will probably join, and the result would be a condition of well-assured peace establishing also the principles of the freedom of the seas.

THE NEW PARSIFAL.

A STUDY OF WILHELM II.

BY ALEISTER CROWLEY.

WORLD-CRISES are always preceded by world-prophets. The artist is the secret incarnation of the *Zeitgeist*; his contemporaries always fail to recognize him even as an artist, unless he live long enough to impose his will upon them, and so see the world swing slowly towards his sun.

I am fortunate in that, young as I still am, I behold the establishment of the moral principles for which I fought even as a boy. I see the death agony of sham religion, the destruction of that cave of petty tyrannies and narrow ideals that the "good" called the "home." the general recognition of what was then called degeneracy, but was in truth moral courage asserting its divine destiny, as part of the normal life of the best men. Hypocrisy is squirming still, but such is the habit of slain reptiles. So, before I am forty, I find the world almost an ideal place to live in. Being an optimist, I had hoped much; but this greatest thing I had hardly dared to hope, the dissolution of Syphilization in universal war. Only in my prophet-mood could I speak it aloud.

I feel that there is a certain historical importance in making this claim, for the Celtic race, the holy clan that derive even their blood from Osiris and Isis, must constantly deserve the golden harp upon the banner of green, the symbol of poetic inspiration, and the older banner, the sun blaze, which I bear on my own shield, token of the fatherhood of Apollo.

For there were prophets in the shrine before me, and it is of them I speak. The weapon of one was music, of the other philosophy. And these two men understood what was seething in Europe, were torn by the throes of the birth of this giant child of Time,

Horus, the God of War. And so secret and so awful was this labor that no poet could join their godly company, else it may be the birth had been hastened and the child still-born. Even now when he is come, he appears in so black a veil that men, remembering the prophet of Khorassan, shudder and pass on.

But after the rule of the prophet comes the rule of the king. In the world-crisis which they foresee arises the hero. And just as they are forced to prophesy against their will, so often enough the hero is a man of peace. Any one who has studied the history of Napoleon with broad clear vision will not read ambition, but necessity, in his campaigns. The shallow mind forgets that at that time France, already self-mutilated and bleeding from the revolution, was beset by the armies of the world. Napoleon saved France from Bourbon sloth, stupidity and selfishness in the hour of the ruin they had brought about. His subsequent wars were the fruits of his past victories. If you disturb equilibrium ever so little the whole universe shakes. In order to readjust the machinery which has slipped a single cog, it may sometimes be necessary to scrap the whole plant and rebuild it from new material. It is impossible to localize war. For the moment the affair may be prevented from spreading, but the force continues to operate invisibly.

So by the irony of the gods the warrior king is often a man of peace. The popular mind is unable to perceive these subtleties. It tends to regard Julius Caesar as a warrior rather than as a legislator, and Mohammed to this day is considered rather as the conqueror than as the greatest author and lawgiver of the Christian era, the man who built up a civilization whose essential force carried Europe through the dark ages, and prevented the destruction of knowledge from being complete.

Thus, it being necessary for the popular mind to interpret the prophets in some concrete manner, the popular imagination seizes on some convenient figure and makes him a hero. There he stands, in marble sometimes, more often in bronze, but always colossal, with the inscription "Hail Saviour of the World" upon the pedestal.

In the present crisis there are more pigmies than men. Obscene dwarfs like George V, pot-bellied *bourgeois* like Poincaré, could only become heroic by virtue of some Rabelais magic-wand. Joffre and Kitchener are quiet business-like subordinates with no qualities that can seize the reins of the horses of Apollo. The Czar is a nobody.

But there is no necessity to seek so far. The lavish gods have

matched their prophets well with their hero this time. Wilhelm II¹ has always been to a certain extent conscious of himself as an incarnation of Lohengrin, Siegfried, Parsifal.

The last thing that Wagner wanted to draw was an overman. Wagner's intellect was socialistic. But the prophet in him, as in every true artist, was aristocratic; and every time he drew, he drew a saviour. His hero was not merely a king, but a holy king. He was the custodian of a sacred treasure; he wielded magic weapons, and wore armor consecrated and invulnerable.

It was a great thing for Germany that she had an emperor with the intelligence to perceive what these things meant, and to realize himself as the Messiah of whom the prophet Wagner spoke. This being so, he stepped readily and naturally into the place, as on a well-rehearsed stage. Already, before the war is ended, he is apparent even to neutrals and to enemies as the central figure of the drama, the new Agamemnon.

This is the age of fairy tales. The newspapers have weaned us from the truth. So even the All-lies have conspired in stupid hate to endow the Kaiser with all the qualities of a demigod. In truth, to his own soldiers he appears, flashing hither and thither, like St. Michael, to rally, to encourage, to lead forward in the charge. Where the fight is thickest, there is the emperor, pale and stern, like Christ as he arose from Gethsemane and walked forth to meet Fate, and to find triumph and immortal glory. From front to front he rages, whirling aloft the consecrated sword of his fathers. He never spares himself; he is a comrade to every soldier in the ranks.

There is something here to catch the popular imagination. To his very enemies he seems like Lucifer or Attila, not wholly human. They endow him with the magic gifts; he is reported simultaneously on every battle-front, as well as in a dozen of his castles. Even the Crown Prince is killed a hundred times and rises to renew the combat, ever more glorious because more glittering as he breaks through the spider-web of myth whose gossamer shrouds him as with the veil of a high priestess over the silver armor of a knight of the Graal.

There is no such magic drapery about the Czar. He is in Petrograd, and goes to the front now and again, a mere king, hardly a warrior king, certainly not a sacred king, and still less a demi-god. But Wilhelm II is the genius of his people. He has

¹It is remarkable that Franz Josef fits in quite well as the aged king. He is Titurel.

the quality that Castor and Pollux had for Rome. He seems omniscient, omnipotent, omnipresent, the very angel of God, terrible and beautiful, sent to save the Fatherland from savage foes. Even if he perish, he will not perish as a man. He will acquire the radiance of Milton's Satan, and go down the ages as the hero of the great lost cause of humanity.

None will know the place of his burial. Legends will grow up around him as they did for Christ, for Balder, for Adonis, for Arthur, for Mohammed, for Napoleon. "He is not really dead; he will come again to lead his people to the final triumph," will be the word in the mouth of every peasant, and a subconscious hope in the heart of every noble. The poet will know that this is mystically true; for he knows that there is no death, that character is more permanent than flesh and blood, that men are in truth the incarnation of some god. He knows that the hero, compact of myth, is yet more real than the historical figure of the man himself. Imagination holds more truth than science; art is real, life is illusion. For art holds the idea complete and pure, the divine thought clothed about with beauty. Art formulates deity; art, from the quarries of the amorphous earth, builds its imperishable palace of white marble, or of onyx, porphyry and malachite.

Ave, Guglielme! Rex, imperator! Hail, Saviour of the world, that, clad in golden armor, with the helm of holiness, wieldest the sword! Hail, sovereign and saviour, that healest all the disease of the ages, that hurlest back the heathen from the sacred realm.

Welcome to the world that lay in anguish, hungering for thy dawn, O sun of righteousness! The holy kings of old salute thee; the prophets anoint thee with the oil of benediction; they offer thee the crown of Europe. The poets see thee, and know thee; their songs weave silken veils about thine armor!

Ave, Guglielme, rex, imperator!

“MADE IN AMERICA.”

BY THE EDITOR.

THE Cleveland Automatic Tool Company has published an advertisement in *The American Machinist*, which praises a new interesting machine invented for making high grade projectiles to exceed in power the old-fashioned shells. One great advantage of the new projectile, for which it is especially recommended, is the innovation that it will be filled with high grade explosives which will poison every portion of the fractured pieces and will thus make death under most excruciating agonies unavoidable within four hours, even for those who have been but slightly wounded. There is no other way of protecting those hit than by at once cauterizing the wound. And this comes from America!

The advertisement has been translated into German and has been published in many German newspapers. No wonder that the Germans begin to be as much embittered against America as they are against Great Britain. They attribute the formidable coalition raised against them to British diplomacy. They regard the British as their bitterest enemy. They regard the French as the fools of Great Britain and would easily be inclined to forgive them, but they hate England. It is regrettable that America supports the Allies by sending them war materials in great quantities, and German mothers will add to the announcement of cases of death suffered by their sons on the field of honor: “Killed by a bullet made in America.”

The hate against England is a “holy hate.” It is difficult for us to understand the holiness of it, but any one who studies the origin of the war and the role which British diplomacy has played in it will comprehend its power and its religious nature, yea, he will understand that, though hate in general is not desirable, this hate is justified.

And now America comes and not only continues to send ammunition but furnishes means of providing poisonous shells of a most barbarous nature. These same Americans join their British

May 6, 1915

Buying—AMERICAN MACHINIST—Section

27

Worth Knowing

On the opposite page we show two sizes of high explosive shells which can be produced from the bar on our 4½" PEDESTAL BASE MACHINE (see cut on opposite page).

On this machine we can finish a 13-lb. shell all over as it appears from very tough material from which shells are made, in 24 minutes, and from ordinary machine steel in 17 minutes

The 18-lb. shell in 30 minutes, or from regular machine steel in 22 minutes.

When you figure about \$1.00 per day for operating this machine, you can then arrive at the actual labor cost for producing the piece.

We are going to say a little more—something which might be interesting. The following is a description of the 13- and 18-lb. high explosive shells which are now being used so extensively in the war to replace common shrapnel.

The material is high in tensile strength and VERY SPECIAL and has a tendency to fracture into small pieces upon the explosion of the shell. The timing of the fuse for this shell is similar to the shrapnel shell, but it differs in that two explosive acids are used to explode the shell in the large cavity. The combination of these two acids causes terrific explosion, having more power than anything of its kind yet used. Fragments become coated with these acids in exploding and wounds caused by them mean death in terrible agony within four hours if not attended to immediately.

From what we are able to learn of conditions in the trenches, it is not possible to get medical assistance to anyone in time to prevent fatal results. It is necessary to immediately cauterize the wound if in the body or head, or to amputate if in the limbs, as there seems to be no antidote that will counteract the poison.

It can be seen from this that this shell is more effective than the regular shrapnel, since the wounds caused by shrapnel balls and fragments in the muscles are not as dangerous as they have no poisonous element making prompt attention necessary.

CLEVELAND AUTOMATIC MACHINE COMPANY

Cleveland, Ohio, U. S. A.

cousins in denouncing the Germans as barbarians and Huns. To help manufacture poisoned shrapnels is no better than to sanction the poisoned arrow of the savage, and the machinery made in

America will help to kill those men who heroically defend the fatherland in the trenches.

Must we not expect that the hatred of England will be extended to America? Enormous quantities of ammunition have been sold to the Allies, and our President, so famous for his humanitarian protestations, continues to allow these munitions to be sent, and in the name of humanitarianism forbids the employment of submarines to blow up ships that carry ammunition, because those Americans who happen to be on board must be protected under all circumstances.

The case of *The American Machinist* advertisement has been investigated, and as it seems the Cleveland Automatic Tool Company has been whitewashed on the ground that they do not make shells but only machinery to make the shells, and it is claimed that they are a harmless, peaceful company, whose advertisement is unfortunately so worded as to produce the impression that they favor the use of poisonous projectiles.

I must confess that I do not see any great difference between the advertisement and the whitewashing statement of the company that has published the advertisement, and cannot blame the Germans for being embittered against the country that allows the furnishing of instruments of slaughter to the enemies of Germany.

No wonder that the Germans in this country also feel bitter because America is following a policy of neutrality which is neutral only in claiming the rights of neutrality while neglecting its duties, whereas in practice it favors Great Britain and creates difficulties for the Germans.

"Made in Germany" has become a humorous term expressing the unparalleled progress of German industry, the products of which have become ubiquitous all over the world.

"Made in England" has become a joke on English newspaper items which are often reprinted in American papers. They glory in the victories of the Russians, the French, the Italians, and proclaim that the retreat of the English in the beginning of the war was one of the world's most glorious military operations in which the English army even excelled the glory of Xenophon's retreat from the interior of Persia with his ten thousand Greek warriors.

"Made in America" now comes to denote the production of machines for human destruction, indeed those of the most barbaric and death-dealing efficiency—and all the while in our hypocrisy we are posing as the sponsors of a higher humanity and peace among men!

MISCELLANEOUS.

A COMMUNICATION FROM PROFESSOR CONYBEARE.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

I would like you to publish the following supplementary note to the article and letter on the antecedents of the war, which I recently sent you. [See "Responsibility for the War" in the July issue.]

I regret that I used so strong a phrase as the "lies and hypocrisies of our public men and press." I should have used the word *rhodomontade*. I referred to the absurd campaign of vilification against German learning and science. We ought long ago to have set ourselves to imitate their thoroughness and efficiency. I also had in view the manner in which early in the war mere skirmishes were magnified by our orators and reporters into victories. The papers were full of such headlines as "The Germans Routed by Land and Sea," "Last Stand of the Huns," etc. *Punch* even had a cartoon of the Kaiser fleeing in terror before a host of Cossacks. It seemed to me that before even we put our armor on we were boasting as might a man when he puts it off, and I felt it all to be very ominous.

I am not sure also that I was not too severe upon Sir Edward Grey. It used to be said of him that he was a lath painted to look like steel, and I fear he is a weak man and given to vacillation; but that he is a pacifist his well-meant attempt to alter the law of capture at sea surely proves. His ideal here was on the whole "free ship, free goods"; and if all nations adopted it there would be no need of navies on their present scale, for the ocean would be neutralized to all intents and purposes.

Perhaps too I was too severe on Sir Edward Grey for not adopting Sir G. Buchanan's plan of non-intervention; for it must be remembered that it is as vital an interest for us to defend France as for Germany to defend Austro-Hungary. I fancy that Grey's idea was to be able in any crisis to restrain France and Russia, and so keep the peace of Europe. But this policy really puts us at the mercy of Russia or of Germany; whichever of them chose to go to war, we were committed to joining in it, for or against. In this case it was certainly Germany that on July 31 was the first to relinquish the attitude of defense for that of offense. Even if Russia threatened her by mobilizing she should not have gone beyond counter-mobilization. She struck the first blow and so precipitated the catastrophe; and by way of making it worse she invaded Belgium, knowing full well that that would inflame us to declare war on her. I am sure Lloyd George is right when he states that without the outrage on this small and innocent state neither he nor the majority of his colleagues would ever have voted for war.

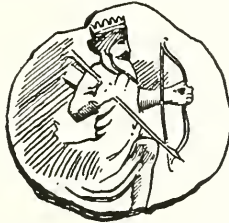
Why did Germany on July 31 so suddenly abandon her peaceful attitude of the day before? Was the Emperor overpowered by the war faction? Was he afraid of being stigmatized as a poltroon, as he was in 1911? We shall know some day.

F. C. CONYBEARE.

OXFORD, ENGLAND.

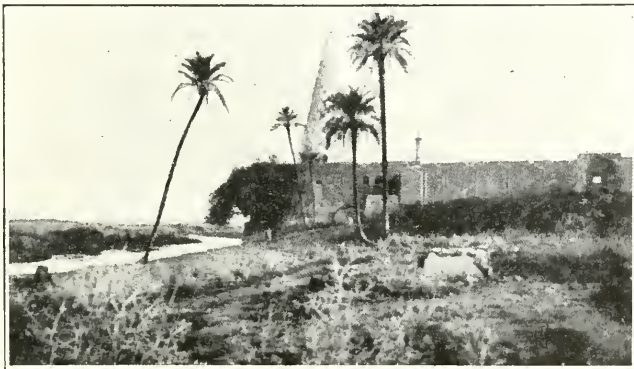
A PALACE OF DARIUS I.

In the spring of 1914 a French architect, Monsieur M. L. Pillet, published a neat little volume at Paul Geuthner's in Paris, treating of the palace of Darius I at Susa, which belongs to the fifth century B. C. (*Le palais de Darius Ier à Suse*). The identity of the ruins was established by Sir Kenneth Loftus in 1851, who published the results of his excavations in a work entitled *Travels and Discoveries in Chaldea and Susiana* (London, 1857). Sir Kenneth has proved that these tells are the historical seat of the Achemenids, the ancient Persian kings, and that this is the palace where Darius I resided. The



COIN OF DARIUS III.

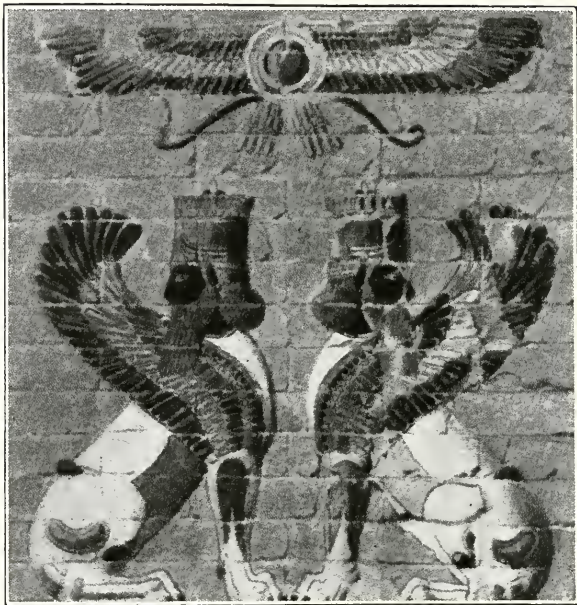
book before us makes no attempt to enter into the historical problems. The author's interests center about the archeological, and he has concentrated his attention upon the buildings alone. For instance, such a problem would be the discussion of the evidence as to whether this were not the palace which saw enacted the history of King Ahasuerus and Queen Esther. There are no references to ancient texts on the history of the owners of this memorable palace. A daric of Darius III Codomannus (337-300 B. C.) is shown



THE MOSQUE OF DANIEL.

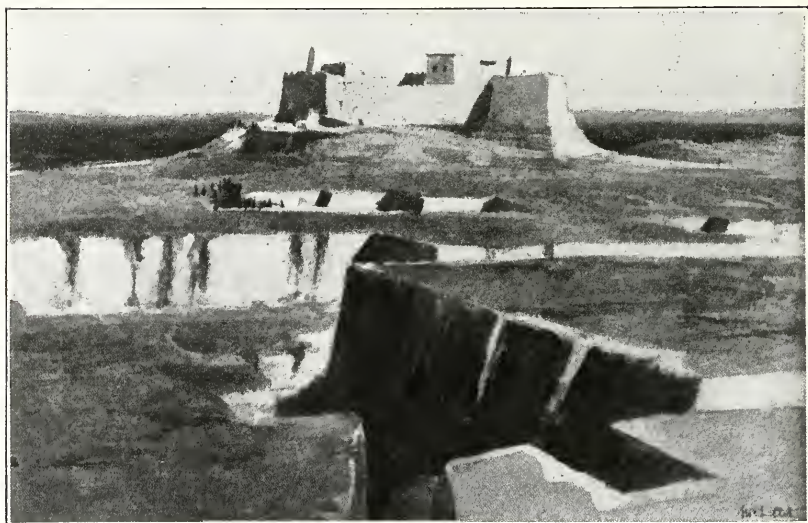
in reproduction. Investigations of historical matters are left to philologists and historians, but the work is none the less interesting on account of the author's artistic taste and architectural interest.

The book is ornamented with heliogravures, mostly taken from water colors made by the author. There we see the mosque of Daniel with its



SPHINXES. A MOSAIC IN ENAMELED BRICK.

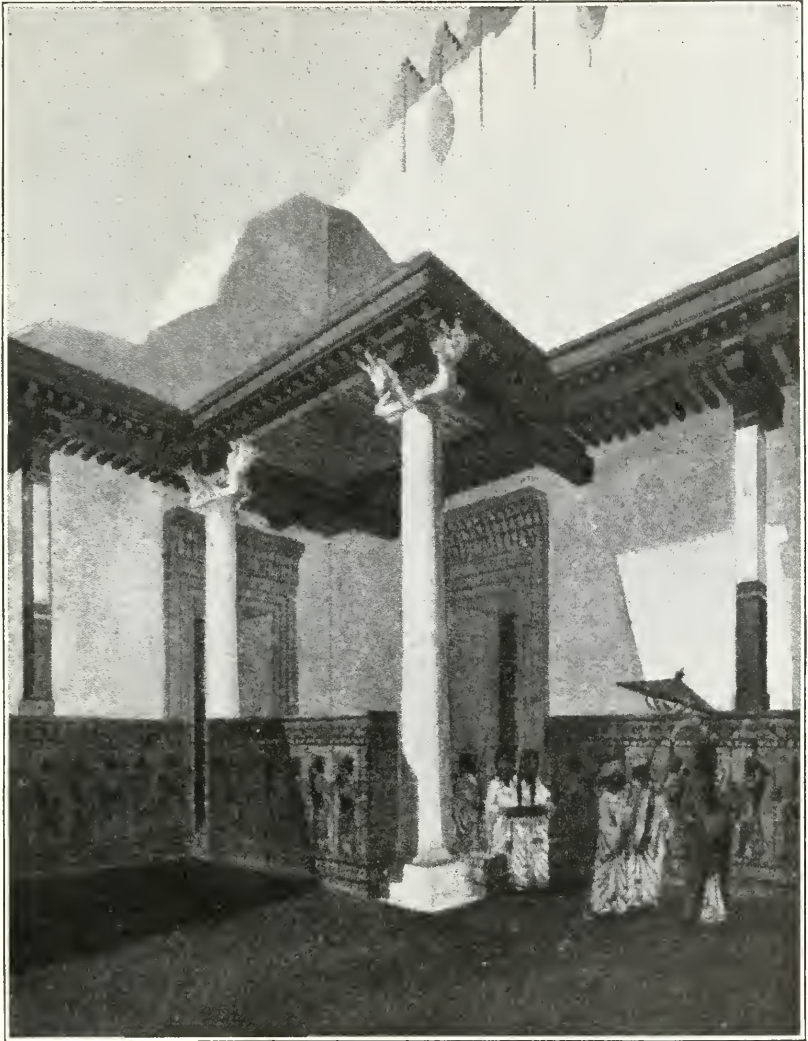
From a water color by M. Pillet.



EXCAVATIONS OF THE ACROPOLIS WITH THE QAL'A IN THE BACKGROUND.

From a water color by M. Pillet.

imposing conical monument. The acropolis must have been formidable and the paradise of gardens extremely luxurious, and all these details are here depicted in a truly artistic style. Among the reproductions we notice the



THE PORCH OF COLUMNS RESTORED.

From a drawing by M. Pillet.

columned porch in a restoration which gives us a fair impression of the character of the ancient palace buildings. The author also offers us an interesting reconstruction of the palace as a whole.



A NATIVE OF SUSIANA.

Many mosaics of enameled brick were found in the entrance of the palace and some of them still set in position in the flagging. A number of these have been removed bodily to the Louvre. M. Pillet has copied one of them in water colors and we reproduce it here. It is a fine decorative motif showing two sphinxes composed in a conventional symmetry. The left-hand figure has been largely restored by the artist.

A touch of local color is provided by the photograph or a bit of buried wall made to illustrate the direction of the layers of the construction bricks. Incidentally a native girl is included in the picture.

At the north end of the acropolis may be seen a formidable building which stands out in bold relief above the undulations of the surrounding plain. It is called the Qal'a and is a fortress built as lately as 1897 by Mr. J. de Morgan for the purpose of providing a shelter for the men engaged in excavations and their valuable scientific material, and also to provide a stronghold to resist any chance incursions of the neighboring nomads.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

THE SCOTCH-IRISH IN AMERICA. By *Henry Jones Ford*. Princeton: University Press, 1915. Pp. 607. Price \$2.00 net.

This interesting book on a very interesting subject treats in a sympathetic way the history of one of the most important portions of the population of the United States. It tells the story of the Ulster plantation, and of the influences that formed the character of the people. We read on page 1:

"In 1609, six years after the accession of James VI of Scotland to the throne of England as James I in its line of kings, a scheme was matured for planting Ulster with Scotch and English, and the following year the settlement began. The actual settlers were mostly Scotch, and the Ulster plantation took the character of a Scotch occupation of the north of Ireland. In that plantation was formed the breed known as Scotch-Irish, which was prominent in the struggle for American independence and which supplied to American population an ingredient that has deeply affected the development of the nation. It is the purpose of this work to give an account of this Scotch-Irish strain in the composition of the American people, tracing its history and influence."

This thrifty and industrious settlement soon won the envy of England because of the success early attained by Irish woolen manufacture. Mr. Ford writes thus of its effect on the English government (pp. 184-185):

"The House of Lords and the House of Commons both made urgent representations to King William that the English woolen manufacture was menaced by the Irish industry. The memorial of the House of Commons urged William 'to enjoin all those you employ in Ireland to make it their care and use their utmost diligence to hinder the exportation of wool from Ireland, except it be imported hither, and for discouraging the woolen manufacture.' The King promised to comply with the request and the Irish parliament itself was submissive.... By existing laws Irish woolen manufactures were already excluded from the colonial market, and were virtually excluded from England by prohibitory duties. In 1699 the work of exclusion was completed by a law enacted by the British parliament prohibiting the Irish from exporting manufactured wool to any other country whatever."

The result of such legislation was that from 1714-1720 there was an active

emigration from Ulster to New England although the main stream from this source soon turned toward Pennsylvania. Mr. Ford says (p. 208) :

"Every writer on Ulster emigration notes its bearing upon the American Revolution. Killen, a Belfast minister, in his church history says: 'Thousands of them [the Ulster tenant farmers] sought a home on the other side of the Atlantic, and a few years afterward appeared in arms against the mother country as asserters of the independence of the American republic.'"

Of the personal characteristics of the Scotch-Irish in America we read on pages 539 and 540:

"There can be no question that there is a distinct Scotch-Irish type of frame and physiognomy. It is well known and easily recognized. The long chin gives a characteristic square effect to the lower part of the face. One may notice it in the pictures of Woodrow Wilson as in the pictures of Andrew Jackson. And the race character is as persistent as the physical type. Professor Herron's description of the distinguishing characteristics of the Ulster Scots is applicable also to their kinsmen, the Scotch-Irish in America:

"An economy and even parsimony of words, which does not always betoken a poverty of ideas; and insuperable dislike to wear his heart upon his sleeve, or make a display of the deeper and more tender feelings of his nature; a quiet and undemonstrative deportment which may have great firmness and determination behind it; a dour exterior which may cover a really genial disposition and kindly heart; much caution, wariness and reserve, but a decision, energy of character, and tenacity of purpose, which, as in the case of Enoch Arden, "hold his will and bear it through"; a very decided practical faculty which has an eye on the main chance, but which may co-exist with a deep-lying fund of sentiment; a capacity for hard work and close application to business, which, with thrift and patient persistence, is apt to bear fruit in considerable success; in short, a reserve of strength, self-reliance, courage and endurance, which, when an emergency demands (as behind the Walls of Derry), may surprise the world."

"The activity and influence of that race have a securely established importance among the factors of American history."

Mr. Paul Zillmann, editor of the *Neue Metaphysische Rundschau*, sends to America an appeal to American women written by a representative of the women of Germany. After expressing the kindest possible feeling for American women, the writer proceeds to accuse them of indifference and thoughtlessness in the present crisis. She pleads, as woman to woman, that the women in this country exert their influence collectively and individually to restrain our government from permitting the shipment of munitions to the continent of Europe. She says: "Without America's criminal action in continuing to furnish munitions of war to our unhappy continent we should now be at peace, and mothers and wives whose hearts are trembling day and night in anxious solicitude for the dearest treasure God has given them could breathe freely once more; the sun which now shines upon death and destruction could once more awaken happiness with its rays. If your own consciences were not hardened you would realize that you are on the right path to bring a thousand-fold upon yourselves and your loved ones all the sorrow our eyes witness daily and for which our hearts are daily bleeding."

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