

The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

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DEFEATED BUT NOT CONQUERED.

BY JULIUS SCHRADER.

Frederick the Great showed his genius most brilliantly in times of adversity.
The illustration represents him after the battle of Kollin.

Frontispiece to The Open Court for October, 1899.

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THE FATHERLAND.

INTRODUCTORY TO THE ARTICLES OF THE PRESENT
NUMBER.

BY THE EDITOR.

GERMANY is rightly called the Fatherland in Anglo-American speech, for she is the original home of the great majority of the inhabitants of the United States, viz., the Anglo-Saxons and the Germans; and, in addition, she has been, since the beginning of history, the centre of all Teutonic races. She is the mother country of England and may be regarded as the oldest sister among the other Teutonic nations of Europe, the Dutch, the Swiss, the Danes, the Swedes, the Norwegians, and the Austrians.

Teutonic love of liberty was the barrier against which Roman imperialism broke, and had not Arminius, the Cheruscan, defeated the proud Roman legions in the Teutoburg Forest, our present civilisation would not be Teutonic but Roman; for Germany was the bulwark of the smaller Teutonic races, and if Germany had succumbed to the Roman yoke there would have been no power in the world that could have prevented the spread of Rome's dominion over the whole north of Europe. The Slavic races would have been assimilated by Rome as easily as, and perhaps even more quickly than, the Celts.

Consider what the consequences would have been! Teutonic speech would have been superseded by some Romance dialect which would be classed by philologists in the same category with Italian, French, Spanish, and Portuguese; and these Romance languages alone would now be regarded as cultured speech. English would probably never have originated, and the other Teutonic

tongues would be on the death list not otherwise than the Basque, the Welsh, the Old Irish, and the Gælic.

Further, the thought of the Northern peoples would have run in Roman channels, and the Reformation would either never have taken place or would have assumed so different a character as to bring about different results. Protestantism is essentially a Teutonic Christianity, and if some Romanist historians are lamenting over the split in the Church, we cannot help thinking that the division was for the best of mankind. Even the Roman Church has profited by being obliged to compete with Protestant Churches, and it is well known that Roman Church institutions in Protestant countries, especially in North Germany, England, and North America, are better and purer and in every respect superior to those of purely Roman Catholic countries, such as Italy and Spain.

The battle in the Teutoburg Forest decided the destiny of nations as yet unborn, and the English have good enough reason to honor Arminius, for he preserved the original folk-character of the Fatherland, thus saving Saxon speech, Saxon habits and laws, and Saxon institutions, four centuries before they were transplanted to the shores of Albion whence they were destined to girdle the world. Without Arminius there would have been no Hengist and Horsa, no Alfred the Great, no Bede, no Magna Charta, no Milton, no Elisabethan Age, no Shakespeare.

We Americans owe even more than England to the Fatherland, for we have imbibed German science, German philosophy, German methods of education,—not to mention the enormous amount of German blood that is coursing through American veins.

No nation in the world, not even ancient Greece or modern England, has produced such a galaxy of great men as Germany, stars of first magnitude whose light shone to the whole world, Goethe, Schiller, Lessing, Kant, Fichte, Hegel, Schopenhauer, Herbart, Beethoven, Mozart, Wagner. Further, the astronomers Copernicus and Kepler; scientists such as Liebig, Helmholtz, etc. Nor are men of action missing, great generals, such as Prince Eugene, Frederick the Great, Gneisenau, and Moltke, or politicians such as Bismarck; and if among them we should name a man of philosophical depth and cosmopolitan sympathies, we should without hesitation select Frederick the Great, the philosopher on the throne.

We Americans have no reason to begrudge the glory of Germany's great men, for we have profited not a little by their labors and have considerably utilised the results of their work in building

up the nation of the West which promises to be the nation of the future. Indeed, we have a good title in regarding ourselves as their legitimate heirs, for we have incorporated into our body politic the best features of German life, and the soul of its aspirations continues in us destined to carry its ideals to new fields and stake them to wider issues.

The tension which shortly ago existed between the Fatherland and the United States has happily passed away, and it becomes now more and more apparent how unwarranted it was and how foolish a continuance of a hostile feeling between the two nations would be. But it will be well to have the situation reviewed, and to discuss openly the conditions which caused the disturbance of the old and well-established friendship between the two nations. Germany has become convinced that the military power of the United States is not an item that can be neglected in the calculation of political possibilities, and the emperor has shown of late, repeatedly and unequivocally, that he cares for the friendship of the great Republic of the West. While German expectations in South America have become for more than one reason Utopian, the signs of the times indicate with great clearness that Germany's rôle in Central Europe, in Austria, and in the Levant, is of increasing importance and will more and more demand the concentration of all her energies. Instead of a bird in the bush, she will find there several in her hand.

In devoting this number to a discussion of the latest phases of the relation of the United States to the Fatherland,¹ we offer at the same time an article on the philosopher on the throne, Frederick the Second of Prussia,—best known among his own people as *der alte Fritz*, or Frederick the Great. His sense of duty, his idea that the ruler of the state is "the first servant of the people," the simplicity of his habits, were a lesson and set an example in his days which did not remain unheeded on this side of the Atlantic at the time of the national birth of the United States.

¹The first article by the Rev. William Weber, Pastor of St. Paul's Church of Belleville, Ill., is a discussion of the political situation, while Maximilian Groszmann's is a causerie on the symptoms of the estrangement which, being of a transient nature, will, as we confidently hope, soon pass away. The editorial, "The German in America," treats the subject in a general way. We would remind our readers that a former number of *The Open Court* contains an article by William Vocke of Chicago which reflected the views of a large portion of our German-American fellow citizens—viz., of those who hold England responsible for the whole embroglio. The Hon. Joseph Reinhardt, a representative German-American of Illinois, who, while a member of the State Senate, distinguished himself through his interest in school-legislation takes another view of the situation, as may be learned from his letter in the present number.

THE RELIGION OF FREDERICK THE GREAT.

BY PROF. W. H. CARRUTH.

SUCH is the unreasonable prejudice regarding the philosophers of the eighteenth century, so strong the general impression of their godlessness, that the title of this article is likely to beget a smile of incredulity in those who have not given the subject more careful consideration. To the narrow orthodoxy of that time all designations of those who could not accept the traditional doctrines of the Church were synonyms: Arian, Socinian, deist, rationalist, atheist, infidel, free-thinker, were but equivalent names of various enemies of the true faith. In large measure, and to the indiscriminating world, this confusion has been preserved until the present day, and certain thinkers of the last century are still thoughtlessly designated as atheists by persons whose own views, judged by the confessional standards of to-day, are less orthodox than those of the ones whom they thus misrepresent. Then as now, however, not to be an adherent of one's sect was as much as being hostile to Christianity, and critical of the Christian hierarchy was as much as having no religion at all. "Every age, every people, every individual," says Von Raumer, "interprets the word 'religious' in accordance with its own convictions, or its whims; and often the gentlest of souls cry aloud and accuse others of atheism because they do not find their own miniature idol of God in every chamber, every book and every heart." Voltaire and Thomas Paine, for instance, have been the bugbears of religious instruction in the evangelical churches of our own time to such an extent that glib tongues would scoff at mention of their religion; yet religion they undoubtedly had, of a very real sort, and their tenets would actually appear conservative if compared with the positive beliefs of not a few of those who still teach in orthodox Christian pulpits. We need not expect it to be otherwise with Frederick the Great, a man whose religious views

were shaped by disciples of Wolff and Leibnitz, by the reading of Epicurus, Locke and Voltaire.



THE YOUNG KING WITH HIS GUESTS AT THE ROUND TABLE.¹ (By Adolf Menzel.)

Strictly original views of religious problems we shall not find in Frederick, as indeed strictly original views are few and rare at

¹ The details of Menzel's picture of the Round Table of Frederick the Great are all strictly historical. The dining-room in which the scene is represented is situated on the ground floor of

any time. But there is no good reason for thinking that the views he expressed were not sincerely his own. He had thought through and lived through his philosophy of life. While even his phraseology borrows freely from that of his masters, yet of his deeper convictions I feel justified in saying, as Lowell said of Parker's words, that they had been "fierily furnaced in the blast of a life that had struggled in earnest."

But if serious thought and deep convictions on the mysteries of the universe and the greater problems of human life and destiny: the existence and nature of God, the nature of the soul and its future, the relation of the creature to the Creator, the right relation of the individual to his fellows,—if convictions on these subjects so deep as to control the course of one's life constitute religion, then Frederick was certainly a religious man. It is true, he had little of the emotionalism and the outward devoutness which with some people seem indispensable manifestations of religion, if not the very essence of it. But Frederick's training and life, if not his nature, inclined him to stoicism, notwithstanding the evidence of a certain lachrymose effusiveness manifested in some of his writings. This manifestation is superficial, and due to the prevailing epistolary tone of his French correspondents.

Baron von Suhm, one of Frederick's most intimate friends, reports in 1736 that he found him "so far gone in materialism as not to hesitate at the denial of all independent and separate soul life." Suhm undertook to cure his friend, and to this end translated into French for his use Wolff's *Vernünfftige Gedanken von Gott, der Welt und der Seele*. Very soon after submitting to this wholesome treatment Frederick wrote: "Gradually I begin to perceive within me the dawn of a new day; it does not yet gleam and glow fully before my eyes, but I see that it is within the possibility of human nature that I have a soul and that this is immortal. Henceforth I will hold to Wolff, and if he can demonstrate the immortality of my individual nature, I shall be content and calm." Very soon the prince was

the chateau of Sans Souci. The King is seen in the midst of his distinguished company. He is engaged in a lively discussion with Voltaire, who is just developing some argument. General Von Stille, who sits between the two, watches Voltaire, and is greatly interested in the discussion. At the corner, on the left-hand side of the picture, Mylord Marischal is engaged in a conversation with his neighbor whose back is turned toward the spectator. One of the famous greyhounds of the King comes out from under the table. Next in order is the Marquis D'Argens, who speaks with Monsieur De LaMettrie. Behind the latter appears Count Rothenburg, who smiles at the remarks of Voltaire. Count Algarotti shows a greater interest still, for he is leaning over the table, anxious not to lose a word of the argument. Marischal Keith leans back in his chair, apparently enjoying the conversation of the witty Frenchman. We need not add that the scene is a masterpiece of composition, and will forever remain one of the best and most classical art productions.

led from Wolff to Leibnitz, and from Leibnitz to Locke, whom he continued to regard as the master of modern thinkers and whose method he endeavored to apply in his own reflexions upon science and religion.

Frederick met Voltaire in 1736, and in a letter to him, less than a year after the one just quoted, he writes: "Metaphysical subtleties are beyond our grasp; my system is restricted to the worship of the Supreme Being who alone is good, merciful, and therefore deserving of my reverence, and to trying with all my power to alleviate and lessen the sorrows of mankind, in all else submitting to the decrees of the Creator, who will do with me as to Him seems good, and from whom, come what may, I have nothing to fear." Whether he was aware of it is not evident, but certainly this beautiful confession of faith comes close to the Gospel requirement of a complete religion, "do justice, love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God," while the trust expressed in the last phrase suggests Whittier's faith, "No harm from Him can come to me, on ocean or on shore."

While not always expressed with the same gentleness and positiveness, we shall find essentially the same belief in all Frederick's utterances, of whatever date. Seckendorf's report, in the year 1740, "He has the religion of a gentleman: believes in God and the forgiveness of sins," seems for its latter part to lack confirmation, for I nowhere find Frederick referring to the theological doctrine of sin and vicarious atonement. But a selection of passages from various periods of his life on the great topics of religion will show how constant was his interest in them and how consistent his thought on the whole.

Frederick's belief in the existence of God and his faith in the divine wisdom were constant and strong. Only once, perhaps, in the *Epistle to Mylord Marischal* on the death of his brother, is there anything that sounds like faltering. "They tell us that the God whom we adore is just and gentle,—yet we suffer so much! How reconcile paternal feeling in him with the burden of misery under which men struggle?—Cannot the value of the sacrifice move this God? Nor clouds of incense? No, deaf is his ear toward the prayers of the men whom his decree lays low!" But mingled as this is with appeals to the gods and allusions to Fate and Elysium it seems fair to regard it as merely a rhetorical attempt to express the intensity of his grief rather than the statement of a mature reflexion. This presumption is supported by the numerous and explicit declarations of his faith from various periods of his life. The *Ode on the Good-*

ness of God was composed in the year 1737. In a letter accompanying a copy of the ode which he sent to the Berlin preacher, Beausobre, Frederick says: "I have endeavored to depict God as I think of him and as he really is. His character is goodness, and I know him only by his loving kindness. How then could I maliciously distort him and attribute to him a cruel and barbarous character when all that surrounds me proclaims his mercy? I try to make God as lovable to others as he appears to me, and to inspire them with the same gratitude for his benefits as that which fills me." The *Ode* itself is a creditable hymn to the praise of God. A few stanzas of it will appear later. The tone of this letter as well as that of the first stanzas of the *Ode* suggests Whittier's *The Eternal Goodness*, for instance in the lines, "I know not of his hate, I know his goodness and his love," and "Forgive me if too close I lean my human heart on thee." Only a few years before his death Frederick composed the *Verses on the Existence of God*, again strangely suggestive of Whittier's thought in his *Questions of Life*, and especially of the lines, "I am; how little more I know; whence came I? whither do I go? A centered self, that feels and is; a cry between the silences." Some of Frederick's lines run as follows:

"Whence came I? Where am I? And whither am I going?

I do not know. Montaigne admits not knowing.

I, sent into the world but yesterday,

A being anything but necessary.—

This being is, was ever, and must aye,

Body or soul, continue, never vary;

This point, at least, I hear no one deny.

Yet, wretched, very limited creature I,—

E'en though deep insight do the fact reveal

That nought I know,—I think and will and feel,

And weigh my every action's consequence.

Think ye that being of omnipotence,

Author of all, and eke of humble me,

Would without will have worked and without aim?

Who gave me understanding, maker he,

Could give to me and not possess the same?

"Dare not to call the wisdom of God unkind,

But rather feel the weakness of thy mind,

Rebellious atom, thou ambitious man.

The boldness of the inquisitive sense to bridle

The Almighty set this barrier in his plan;

Perchance Omniscience by this darkness can

Put thee to shame, and prove thy reason idle."

Who will fail to be reminded here, both by the thought and the style, of Pope's *Essay on Man*?

Frederick's faith in the goodness of God is most touchingly expressed in his repeated declaration that even if God should see fit to extinguish his being with death, that faith would not be shaken. The old theological crux, whether he would be willing to be damned for the glory of God, never occupied him, but this faith



THE ROYAL AUTHOR IN TIMES OF WAR.¹ (By Adolf Menzel.)

comes as near as mortal can to an affirmative answer. In the *Ode on the Goodness of God*, he exclaims :

“Ah, even if my soul, awearied,
 Slave of the body, blotted out
 Goes down into the cavern dreary
 Of death's pale realm beyond all doubt,
 This soul, unfaithful to thee never,
 Thy praise will sing while here forever,

¹ Frederick the Great found sufficient leisure in his campaigns to express his thoughts in philosophical essays and his sentiments in verse ; he wrote in French, believing that language to be superior to his native German, for we must remember that the revival of German literature had not yet set in in his day ; it began with Klopstock and culminated in Goethe.

Ready alike for life or death ;
 Life was no debt thou hadst to pay me,
 And should the endless silence stay me,
 Man ends his sorrows with his breath."

And in the letter to Beausobre he says: "I will venture to undertake the defence of God even in case he should not have thought best to endow the soul with immortality, and finally I infer from the goodness which he is now showing me that which he will show me in the future." The last phrase refers to a stanza to be quoted presently in which Frederick expresses a modest hope for immortality. Before taking up that subject, however, we should complete the summary of Frederick's thought of God. The existence and the everlasting goodness of God are to his mind all that we should attempt to predicate of him. In the *Essay on Self-Love Considered as a Moral Principle*, sent to D'Alembert early in 1770, Frederick says on this point: "The finite cannot grasp the infinite; consequently we can get no accurate conception of the Divinity; we can only satisfy ourselves in a general way of his existence, and that is all. Let us be content to adore in silence, and to restrict the emotions of our hearts to the sentiments of profound gratitude to the Being of Beings in whom and through whom all beings are." The same thought is repeated in a poetic *Epistle to D'Alembert* three years later:

"Let us agree, a reasoning being wise
 Sits at the source whence all these splendors rise ;
 But let my heart adore,—not venture to define."

On the question of the immortality of the soul Frederick's expressions vary more, being, indeed, mostly sceptical, but extending on a few occasions to a faint utterance of "the larger hope." Reference has already been made to the materialism of his youthful views. In a letter to Rev. Mr. Achard, in March, 1776, he writes:

"I ask you whether you have any conception of an intellect without organs or, to make myself clearer, of any existence after the destruction of the body? You have never been dead, consequently you know what death is only from your sad observations. You see when the circulation of the blood stops and when the fluid parts of the body curdle or separate from the solid parts, that the person is dead who lived a moment before. You may philosophise on this fact, but what has become of the mind of this person, and what has become of the being that animated the body, you cannot explain. You were never dead; but as you still live, human pride and vanity flatter you to believe that you will survive the destruction of your body; but I believe, as I tell you frankly, that the wisdom of the Creator gave us reason to be used in the various situations of life where we need it, and that it is

no more inconsistent with the goodness of God to destroy us after death (for if we are destroyed we suffer no more evil) than to permit sin in the world."

In a letter to Voltaire, in 1775, Frederick states very positively his inability to accept the dualistic conception of the individual: "I know that I am a material, animated, organised being which thinks; thence I conclude that matter can think, just as it has the quality of being electrified."

As the logical sequence of this view Frederick's utterances touching the subject of the persistence of personality indicate a more or less definite expectation of annihilation. His *Last Testament*, composed early in 1752, begins as follows: "From the moment of our birth to that of our death our life is a swift transition. During this brief moment man should labor for the good of the society to which he belongs." Thereupon the king declares that it has been his ambition to rule wisely and justly, and proceeds: "Willingly and without regret I render back to kind Nature who gave it the breath that animates me, and my body to the elements of which it is composed. I have lived as a philosopher and wish to be buried as such, without processions, display, or pomp; I wish to be neither dissected nor embalmed; I wish to be buried on the terraces at Sans Souci, in a tomb that I have had prepared.¹

Over and over again the expectation and even hope of personal annihilation is expressed during the dark times of the Seven Years' War. Thus in the *Epistle to His Sister of Bayreuth*, August, 1757:

"I see, man is a plaything in the hand of Fate.
But if a being lives, severe and yielding never,
Who lets the vulgar multitudes increase forever,
He looks upon the world with coldness, calmly sees
How Phalaris is crowned, and fettered Socrates;
Indifferent sees vice, virtue, war's wild woes, the scourges
Which desolate the earth and fill the air with dirges.
And therefore, precious sister, nothing but death's arm
Will be my sole resort, last refuge from all harm."

Again, in writing to the Margrave of Bayreuth after the death of this sister the following year: "After this terrible loss life is more hateful than ever, and there will be for me no happier moment than the one that unites me with those whom the light no longer sees." This, to be sure, may owe something of its form to rhetorical stress. The same might be maintained regarding the following

¹ Strangely enough this last simple and explicit wish was not observed by Frederick's successor.

from a letter to the Lord Marischal Keith, in the same year, on the death of the latter's brother: "Viewing the narrow circle of years I feel anew commingled torment and bitter sadness; when at the close of life my evening falls, Atropos will silently press down my weary lids." But the same could not be said of the deliberate utterance in the *Epistle to the Marquis d'Argens*, written the year before the preceding:

"Death hath, O friend, for us nothing to rouse our terror,
 It is no skeleton to fright our gaze,—all error!
 This phantom dread which drives the color from the face,
 We praise it as the haven rather
 Where the great Romans all did gather
 When ruin faced them and disgrace.

 With Epicurus I agree,
 That soon or late all things which be
 Are by the tooth of Time destroyed;
 That to this breath, life's kindling ray,
 Spark of the fire by which brute matter's purified,
 It is not given to last for aye;
 Together with the body 'tis begot, increases,
 Endures with it its share of woes,
 Then it grows blurred and dark and finally it ceases,
 And surely perishes when the night's shadows close
 To bid the living from this world a last farewell.
 Soon as the soul its flight has taken
 All memory is gone, thought has its home forsaken;
 The state that unto death succeeds
 The inexorable dictate heeds
 Of the same law that ruled the earth
 Before the body came to birth;
 According to this iron law
 All mortals must at last surrender
 What to the elements they owe.
 The power that all impels, whence the quick atoms flow
 Which the reality of life engender,
 And from which Nature's self derived material form."

Aside from his inability to conceive of the phenomena of personality apart from tangible physical organisms, which would perhaps have left his disbelief in immortality rather agnostic than positively sceptical, Frederick's opinions were intensified by his hostility to the doctrine of future rewards and punishments, which he regarded as an unsound and ignoble basis for morality. Thus in his *Epistle to Keith*, apropos of the death of the Marshal of Saxony, written in 1750, he exclaims at the close:

"Ah, wretched mortals, if the eternal fires
 Alone can purge your criminal desires,

Your austere virtues are a mere pretence.
 We who reject all future recompense,
 Who spurn belief in endless punishment,—
 Self-interest soils not our pure sentiment.
 With us the common weal and virtue sole are strong,
 And love of duty keeps us from the wrong.
 Yea, let us end in peace and die without regret
 If we may leave the earth some benefit.
 Thus the day-star, before he sinks in night
 On the horizon spreads a gentle light,
 And the last rays he to the zenith darts
 Are his last sighs ere from the earth he parts.”

Similarly in the *Eulogy on Prince Henry of Prussia*, 1767, Frederick writes: “I see already the end of my own course, and the moment, dear prince, when the Being of all Beings shall mingle forever my ashes with thine. . . . Death, sirs, puts an end to all men; happy they who die with the comforting assurance that they deserve the tears of those who survive!”

On the other hand, there is no lack in Frederick’s writings of expressions that show that he, too, sometimes cherished the thought of immortality as “a pleasing hope, a fond desire.” In the *Ode on the Goodness of God*, already quoted, and just following the verses which express the faith that annihilation of our personality is quite consistent with the eternal goodness, occurs the following:

“But if, enduring on, my spirit
 The shears of Atropos survive,
 And, purified, it have the merit
 From the tomb’s sleep to wake alive,
 How sweet the promise of that waking!
 I die content, and without quaking.
 I hasten to the infinite heart.
 My God, if filled with love supernal
 My soul, like thee, should prove eternal,
 Eternal joy would be its part.”

Twenty years later, in the *Epistle to Mylord Marischal* on the death of the latter’s brother, which followed quite closely the death of Frederick’s mother and sister, the king writes with perhaps more rhetoric than reflexion in his expression: “O when shall I burst my heavy, golden fetters! When shall I escape this vale of tears, to near the moment that seems to me so sweet because it will unite me with thee forever, sister, dear! Then, by the grace of the gods, yonder in Elysium, in its green fields, with its happy inhabitants, our shades, freed from fear, will comfort each other for the much sorrow experienced here, and our hearts, true to the eternal laws of friendship, will then in peaceful delight cultivate this union, sur-

rounded by eternal light." However, hope and doubt are equally balanced here, for Frederick continues, "But what! What illusion of Elysian fields does the deceitful picture show me? Yes, reason, anxious for clearness, destroys the dear fancy of an eternal life;



FREDERICK THE GREAT IN HIS PRIME. (By Adolf Menzel.)

what Atropos and her shears promise us is but deep forgetfulness and eternally sound repose."

But while Frederick inclined to the doctrines of Epicurus in this respect, in his theory of ethics he mingled with Epicureanism

a strong element of the categorical imperative, and his life and example were rather those of a Stoic and Puritan. His repeated characterisation of himself as "the first servant of the State," sprang from profound and practical conviction. His most stirring appeals to the fulfillment of duty are supported by example rather than by argument, as in the case of the famous *Address before the Battle of Leuthen*. The king details briefly the desperate nature of the situation; he expresses his confidence in the patriotism and courage of his officers, and then simply proceeds: "I have to say that I shall attack the army of Prince Charles with its threefold greater strength wherever I find it. We must beat the enemy or be buried by his batteries. Thus I think and thus I shall act. You are Prussians, and will certainly not make yourselves unworthy of that honor. . . . Farewell, gentlemen; we shall soon have beaten the enemy or we shall never meet again." Similarly he writes to Voltaire, in 1757:

"But I, beset by threatening storm,
Defiance bid to every stress
And as a king must think, live, die."

In his theoretical writings on ethics, as the *Moral Dialogue for the Use of the Youth of Noble Houses*, and his *Essay on Self-love regarded as a Moral Principle*, Frederick insists on the right and the reason of appealing to self-love, or self-interest, as the only sound mainspring of human action. But this self-love is not to be blind, not to involve the gratification of the senses at the expense of others; it is to be "enlightened selfishness." The royal philosopher recognises that the real value of such a principle depends wholly upon the view held of the strongest, longest and highest gratification which self-love may seek. This he does not find with Epicurus in a temperate gratification of the appetites and passions, nor with Zeno in living in harmony with the laws of Nature, but in the approval of the reason and the conscience. Further than this, to the analysis and origin of the conscience, he does not go in theory, but treats it practically in the spirit of Kant. The *Moral Dialogue*—begins by declaring virtue to be "a fortunate frame of mind which impels us to fulfil our duties to human society for our own advantage." "But what advantage would you derive from doing all this for society?" asks the interrogator after some specifications have been made. "The sweet satisfaction of being what I wish to be: worthy of having friends, of the esteem of my fellow men, and of my own approval," is the reply. But the questioner asks whether the philosopher would be sure to think thus if he could safely do wrong unpunished. "Would I be able to stifle the

voice of my conscience and of tormenting remorse? Conscience is like a mirror; I would appear in my own eyes an object of abomination! No, never will I expose myself deliberately to this humiliation, this pain, this torment!"

In the *Essay on Self-Love* he first reviews the motives to which various religions and philosophies have appealed. He objects, as already shown, to future rewards and punishments. He also finds the Christian appeal to the love of God inadequate, because we cannot "expect of untutored souls that they shall love a being whom they cannot grasp in some tangible form." Finally he proceeds: "The powerful motive which we are seeking is self-love,—this guaranty of self-preservation, this founder of our happiness, this inexhaustible source of our vices and virtues, this secret spring of all human action. I could wish that this motive should be appealed to to show men that their true advantage demands that they be good citizens, good parents and good friends, in short, possess all the moral virtues; and since this is indeed so, it would not be difficult to convince them of it. . . ." "The difficulty of reconciling the happiness which I connect with good actions and the persecutions which are suffered by virtue is overcome if we restrict our conception of happiness to perfect peace of mind. This peace of mind depends upon the approval of our own conscience. I repeat, there is no other happiness than peace of mind or soul; wherefore our own advantage must bring us to seek such a precious possession, and from the same motive to subdue the passions which disturb it."

Frederick seems to have been well aware that such a conscience as that upon which he depends owes much, to say the least, to early training, wherefore he urges: "We ought to begin by following the example of the ancients, and give all encouragement for the improvement of the human race; give preference in the schools to the teaching of morals above all other learning, and devise some easy method of giving instruction therein." And in another place in the same essay he writes: "We ought perpetually to be appealing to men: Be gentle and humane, because you yourselves are weak and need aid! Be just to others in order that the laws may protect you, too, against all violence from others! In a word, do not do to others what you do not wish them to do to you!" The same Confucian form of the Golden Rule occurs in the *Moral Dialogue*. "Nothing is more evident," the *Essay* continues, "than that society could neither exist nor continue without morality in those who constitute it. Corrupt morals, offensive and inso-

lent vice, contempt of virtue and of those who respect it, dishonesty in trade, perjury, treachery, selfishness which ignores the welfare of the Fatherland, are the forerunners of the ruin of states and of the downfall of empires, because as soon as the notions of right and wrong are confused there are no longer praise or blame, punishment or reward."

Such is the tone that inspires Frederick's spirited poetic appeals to patriotism in the *Ode to the Germans* and the *Ode to the Prussians*. In the first, written in 1760, after depicting the disunion and decay of Germany, he addresses the Prussians:

"Come on, my Prussians, from this country let us turn,
Where wrong is aye triumphant and where dread wars burn;
Where madness now has made your German brothers blind.
Germany to the foe her bulwark has surrendered,
Betrayed her freedom, fetters on herself to bind,
Herself as victim to the foreign tyrant tendered.
These fools be to the fate resigned
To which they clearly are abettors,—
It seems that they were born for fetters,
In tyrants' smiles their joy to find."

This stanza reflects the same despair of improvement at home which made the innumerable imitations of *Robinson Crusoe* so popular in Germany during the first half of the century. The German *Robinsons* were nearly all content to stay in the paradises which they found in foreign climes. But Frederick does not rest in such a mood; and in the fact that he did not do so, either in word or in deed, lies much of the secret of his influence over all the life of his time. This is why the century deserves to be called The Age of Frederick the Great. The *Ode* goes on:

"No, no, my friends, a noble soul must all things stake,
Not loll in idle ease and rest ignoble take;
Low purposes be stifled ere distinctly thought.
Our honor we'll maintain, and face whatever danger.
Already the just God his thunderbolt has wrought;
Themis, to keep the peace, will find her own avenger.
On, then, and plunge into the fray
With souls of fire, my gallant yeomen!
Wash with the red blood of your foemen
All the long-gathered stains away!"

Another interesting utterance on this subject is found in the *Eulogy on Prince Henry of Prussia*. "Does the greatness of states consist in the widening of their borders? No; it consists in the great men whom Nature from time to time begets in them. If we turn the pages of history, we see that the times of elevation and

glory of states are those in which lofty spirits, virtuous souls, men of extraordinary talent have flourished in them, lightening the burdens of government by their exertions.—You, sirs, know that absolute unselfishness is the source from which all virtue flows; this it is that leads us to prefer an honorable name to the advantages of wealth; the love of right and justice to the impulses of unbridled desire for possessions; the public welfare and that of the state to one's own and that of his family; the safety and preservation of the Fatherland to his own health and life; in a word, it is this which raises man above the human and almost fits him to be a citizen of heaven." The special interest here is in the use by Frederick of the word "unselfishness." It is plain, however, that self-love, in the high sense defined by him, is quite consistent with unselfishness.

Frederick cannot be claimed as an adherent of organic Christianity. Yet in its purity he esteemed the religion of Christ highly, though, to be sure, from the same basis as all other religions. He regarded Jesus as a philosopher and reformer, but rejected all claims for his supernatural origin or authority. In his essay *On Religion Under the Reformation* he says:

"Nothing compares with the ethics of Christianity in its beginning. But the evil inclinations of the human heart soon corrupted it in practice. Thus the purest springs of good became the occasion of all sorts of evil for men; this religion, which taught humaneness, mercy and meekness, established itself by fire and sword; the priests of its altars, whose lot should have been sanctity and poverty, lead a shameful life; they accumulated wealth, became ambitious, and some of them became powerful princes."

He continues:

"Religion changed as well as morals; from century to century it lost more and more of its natural simplicity and became quite unrecognisable because of its outward mask. All that was added to it was the work of men, and could but perish."

Therewith Frederick begins a *résumé* of Church history, emphasising the history of dogmas, which he plainly disapproves. It would not be profitable to enumerate all these. The outline of them closes:

"In short, all sorts of deceptions were devised to deceive the simple faith of the multitude, and false miracles became almost every-day affairs."

"However, changes in the objects of worship could not bring about the reformation of religion; of thinking people the majority apply their whole keenness in the direction of self-interest and ambition; few concern themselves with abstract notions and still fewer think profoundly about such important subjects."

After outlining the work of the Reformation, Frederick resumes as follows :

“ Religion now assumed a new form and approached its primitive simplicity. This is not the place to consider whether it would not have been better to have left it more pomp and outward show, whereby to make a greater impression on the people, who judge only according to the senses; it appears that a purely spiritual worship, especially such as that of the Protestants, is not adapted to rude and material men who are incapable of rising in thought to the adoration of the loftiest truths.”

This would seem to be sufficient to show that a pure and primitive Christian church might have found in Frederick a warm adherent. He did not himself desire to be recognised as an orthodox Christian; whether the founder of Christianity would have condemned him as without religion, those who read may judge. He wrote in 1737 to Colonel Camas: “ Living faith is no affair of mine; but Christian ethics are the rule of my life.” And in his age he wrote to D’Holbach: “ How can any one declare that Christianity has been the cause of all the misfortune of the human race? If in the whole New Testament there were but the one commandment: ‘ Do unto others as ye would that they should do to you,’ one must admit that this contains the summary of all ethics.”

Like Nathan the Wise, Frederick recognised good in all religions, and tried to see it in all sects. He judged them all from the standpoint of their ethics, and said in the *Essay on Self-love*: “ The Christian, the Jewish, the Mohammedan, and the Chinese religions have almost the same moral code.” Yet he recognised that it was with Christianity that he had to deal, and wished to reconcile his philosophy to it. In the same essay he writes :

“ I declare that all the means that can be adopted to improve persons of such character (freethinkers whose morals rebel against the stiff yoke of religion) but conduce to the greater advantage of the Christian religion, and I venture to believe that self-love is the most powerful motive that can be appealed to to save men from their errors. As soon as a man is really convinced that his own advantage requires him to be virtuous, he will do commendable deeds, and when he finds that he is in fact living in accord with the ethics of the Gospel it will be easy to persuade him that he is doing from love of God what he was already doing from love of self; this is what the theologians call converting heathen virtues into virtues sanctified by Christianity.”

While, like Voltaire; whom he eulogised for this very fact, Frederick endeavored to be fair toward those members of the clergy whose virtues were really an ornament to the Church, he distrusted and assailed the hierarchy as a whole. He, too, desired to *écrasser l’infame*. This was owing partly to the unfounded pretensions of the clergy, and partly to the dogmas which they taught. We have

already noted his criticism of Christian creeds as containing "such abstract doctrines that every catechumen must needs be changed into a metaphysician in order to comprehend them." In his eulogy



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"DER ALTE FRITZ." (By Adolf Menzel.)
Frederick the Great in advanced years.

of Voltaire he attributed the persecutions of him by the clergy to the fact that Voltaire had told the truth about them. Thus they maliciously accused him of denying the existence of God who had

employed all the resources of his genius to prove it. In the Preface to the *Abridgement of Fleury's Ecclesiastical History*, 1766, Frederick writes: "Church history is the tourney-place of politics and of the ambition and the selfishness of priests; divinity is not there, but only the most blasphemous misuse of the divine name, employed by the priests, who possessed the respect of the people, only as a cloak for their criminal passions." The same charge is repeated in the essay *On Religion under the Reformation*, and Frederick is at first inclined to make no distinction between Luther and the organisation which he attacked. He explains as the basis for Luther's action:

"The Augustines were in possession of the traffic in indulgences; the Pope commissioned the Dominicans to preach it also, which aroused a furious quarrel between these two orders. The Augustines denounced the Pope; Luther, one of their number, attacked violently the abuses of the Church; with bold hand he tore away part of the bandage from the eyes of superstition; soon he became the head of a party, and since his teachings deprived bishops of their income and took from the monasteries their wealth, the princes followed the new reformer in numbers."

But later, in the *Preface to Fleury's History* the king evidently tried to do greater justice to Luther, as follows:

"A Saxon monk, brave to rashness, of mighty imagination, shrewd enough to utilise the general spiritual unrest, became the head of a party which declared itself against Rome. (Here follow some comments on Luther's rude style). But if we consider the work of the reformers as a whole, we must concede that the human mind owes part of its advance to their efforts. They freed us from a mass of errors that overshadowed our ancestors. By making their opponents cautious they stifled the germs of new superstitions, and being themselves persecuted they became tolerant. Only in this sanctuary of toleration introduced into the Protestant states was it possible for the human reason to develop, for philosophers to cultivate wisdom, and for the borders of our knowledge to expand. If Luther had done no more than free princes and people from the yoke of Rome, he would have deserved to have altars erected to him as the liberator of the Fatherland; and even if he tore but half of the veil of superstition away, what recognition of the truth do we not owe to him!"

It is plain that the reference to "half the veil" is a hint at the errors still remaining in the Lutheran Confession. Frederick could not tolerate theological creeds. In the letter to Beausobre, already quoted, he says of the *Ode on the Goodness of God*: "You may find passages in it which are not in harmony with the Augsburg Confession; but I hope you believe, sir, that one can love God without the aid of either Luther or Calvin." One of these passages was aimed at the doctrine of eternal punishment, and this may be the proper place to introduce it.

"And ye whose fierce and gloomy error
Enkindles your fanatic zeal

To paint for us a God of terror,
 Wrathful and deaf to all appeal.—
 More like a Fury's image he,
 The product of your blasphemy !
 His anger ye do well to shun.
 If there be devils for our sneering,
 For hating God, for cursing, swearing,
 Ye are such devils, ye alone."

A king with such views could not have been otherwise than tolerant, if sincere and filled with the courage of his opinions. And Frederick's courage was as great in the world of thought as on the field. The maxim with which he began his reign, "Every one shall be saved here in his own fashion," was adhered to, and found many repetitions and pleas in the king's writings. In the review of the Reformation he congratulates the world on the division of the Church, because the existence of several sects compels toleration. He speaks with pride of the policy of his house in this respect, adding :

"All these sects live here in peace, and alike contribute to the welfare of the State. There is no religion which deviates much from the others in point of moral teaching; therefore government may treat them alike, and leave to each man the liberty of pursuing his own favorite way to Heaven; all that is asked of him is that he be a good citizen. False zeal is a tyrant who depopulates lands; toleration is a tender mother who fosters and cultivates them."

In brief, then, Frederick's beliefs were: The existence of goodness of God; the sufficiency of the motive of the highest happiness as the spring of action, supported by the categorical imperative of the conscience; the excellence of the Christian ethics, as well as that of all great religions; the duty of service to mankind and the State. He denied: All dogmatic affirmations regarding the independent existence of the soul and of the persistence of the personality; all dogmas regarding the supernatural character of Jesus; future rewards and punishments. He indulged on occasions some hope of meeting his friends after death. He firmly held the right and duty of religious toleration. He lived a life so great and honorable and consistent with these principles that those who find themselves in possession of many more positive beliefs than he had may well hesitate to cast doubt upon the reality or aspersions upon the character of his religion.

GERMANY AND THE UNITED STATES.

BY THE REV. WM. WEBER.

THE accession of the present German emperor to the throne, or rather Prince Bismarck's dismissal, marks a new era in the political life of Germany. The people of the fatherland have since then generally learned to see that their empire, in order to remain and to become one of the leading powers of the world, must grow considerably both in territory and population. At the same time Captain A. T. Mahan's book on *The Influence of Sea-Power Upon History* has done more than any other single factor to call the attention of the Germans to the extraordinary advantages which transmarine enterprises have offered in the past, and has greatly assisted in converting a nation, that only a short while ago ridiculed their advocates of transmarine expansion as colonial cranks, into ardent expansionists. This is the more remarkable, as the colonial aspirations of the Germans, so far at least as they have assumed definite shape in the public mind, are opposed to certain vital interests of the United States and have threatened to bring about a war between the two countries.

In attempting to point out these aspirations to my fellow-citizens, I have to state beforehand that I am not in possession of any state-secrets. All I have to communicate are ideas that have been publicly discussed by more or less prominent writers in the press of the fatherland. They were little heeded on this side of the Atlantic and have come into the foreground only of late when the time seemed ripe for action. I likewise know that those men, though influential in the highest circles, by no means exercise any direct influence upon the foreign policy of the German Empire. The fact ought never to be lost sight of that public opinion in Germany does not control the actions of the government to such an extent as with us. German statesmen are not necessarily compelled by popular

clamor to pursue a course which is in their opinion against the best interests of their country, nor will they thereby be induced to act before they are sure that the proper time has arrived and all preparations have been finished. Nevertheless, in Germany as everywhere else, the men at the helm have to consider public opinion carefully and will endeavor to satisfy its hopes and expectations, if possible.

In order to form a fair and appropriate judgment on Germany's colonial aspirations we have first of all to understand her home conditions. For that purpose we shall compare the German Empire, with regard to area, population, and past development, with the other great powers, namely, the United States, Great Britain, and Russia.

The German Empire has an area of 208,670 square miles, while the area of the United States comprises not less than 3,501,000 square miles, not to speak of her recent acquisitions. The population of Germany amounted in 1890 to 49,428,470, or 236.7 per square mile; whereas the inhabitants of the United States in 1890 numbered 62,622,250, or 21.3 per square mile. The population of the territories which are at present included in the German Empire was 24,831,396 in 1816, when the total population of the United States was about eight millions. The exact figures for the census of 1810 and 1820 are 7,239,881 and 9,633,822.

In 1816 the population of European descent in the United Kingdom and its dependencies amounted to about eighteen millions. On account of the bloody Napoleonic wars which were waged between 1811 and 1816 Germany's population must have been about the same in 1816 as in 1811, that is, about twenty-five millions. In 1890 however the European inhabitants of Greater Britain had become equal in number to those of the German Empire. But those forty-nine millions of Englishmen controlled an area of 11,371,391 square miles and more than three hundred and eighty millions of dependent people.

The same thing is to be observed in Russia. That country had in 1815 a population of forty-five millions, which had increased in 1896 to one hundred and twenty-nine millions. The area at the disposal of the Russians is 8,660,394 square miles.

The preceding figures show that Germany, about eighty years ago, had thrice as many inhabitants as the United States, almost one third more than the British Empire, and fully five-ninths as many as Russia. In the course of little over seventy years the United States have become almost one fourth more populous than

Germany, the British Empire has equalled it, and Russia's population has grown to be a good deal more than twice that of Germany. Moreover, that development has only entered upon its initial stages. The extensive and fertile domains of the United States, the density of whose population was not quite one eleventh of that of Germany in 1890, invite and foster a much more rapid increase in population than the overcrowded corners of the fatherland. The British Empire as well as Russia enjoy the same conditions. A very great part of the British colonies offers splendid homes to European emigrants, and the development of Canada and Australia for instance can hardly be said to have fairly started. There can be no doubt that the English-European population of Greater Britain will continue to grow steadily and leave that of the German Empire far behind. In like manner there is no conceivable limit for a continuous growth of the number of Russia's inhabitants who are still sparsely scattered over an immense territory. The inevitable result of this comparison is—and it may be added that it is well recognised in Germany itself—that the United States, Great Britain, and Russia will in the coming century number their populations of European descent by hundreds of millions; and that the German Empire, unless the natural course of events is yet to be changed in favor of Germany, so to speak in the eleventh hour, will cease to be a first-class power and to exercise political influence beyond the pale of its narrow boundaries. Nay, even Germany's political independence seems to be threatened by her neighbors' growing over-powerful.

From a German standpoint it does not appear very difficult to realise such a change in favor of the German Empire. There is nothing required but to direct the large stream of German emigration into German colonies, where the German immigrant will preserve his language and customs as well as close commercial and political connexions with the fatherland. The number of people that have emigrated from Germany is indeed astonishingly great. From 1871-1896, in the course of twenty-five years, not less than 2,404,782 Germans have left their country, that is, an average of nearly 100,000 a year. From 1820-1896 the German immigration into the United States amounted to 5,230,000. These German immigrants together with their descendants are to-day very probably equivalent to about fifteen millions of our population. For immigrants, as a rule, stand in the prime of their life, and multiply accordingly much faster than the whole population. Besides our last census shows very clearly that our foreign-born population has

more children than our native population. In 1890 our native white population represented 73.24 per cent. of our whole population. Our native children of native parents however amounted to only 54.87 per cent. of our total number of children. Our foreign-born white population at the same time amounted to 14.56 per cent. of our whole population, while our children of white foreign-born parents formed 18.37 per cent. If those five millions of German emigrants had therefore founded new homes in German transmarine possessions, there would now exist German colonies with about fifteen million German inhabitants. These were of course to be added to the European population of the German Empire and to be deducted from the population of the United States, with the result that the population of Germany would by far surpass that of the United States.

It is of course much easier to avoid mistakes than to repair losses which have been caused by them ; and we should consider it Germany's first task to obtain possession of territories that present new homes to her emigrants. But it looks as if Germany had joined too late in the partition of the earth. She has indeed from 1884-1890 gained control over extensive parts of the dark continent, namely Togoland, Cameroons, German South-West Africa, and German East Africa, an area of 920,920 square miles. But the latest statistics accessible to me, those of the *Gothaer Hofkalender*, state that in 1897 Togoland had only 110, Cameroons 253, German South-West Africa 2,628, and German East Africa 922 European inhabitants of all nationalities. It is certainly not encouraging that in a period of thirteen years Germany has settled in her own colonies only 3,963 European inhabitants, while it has sent during the same time about a million and a half of Germans to other countries. Some foreign critics have called attention to this fact as sufficient proof that Germany does not know how to establish colonies. But Africa has always and everywhere proved a rather inhospitable continent, as far as European settlers are concerned. In the French colonies on the southern shore of the Mediterranean Sea the European population is said to be actually decreasing. The Cape Colony at the southern extremity of the continent had in 1891 an area of 221,311 square miles. Its European population, although the first European settlement dates back to the year 1652, numbered only 376,987 souls. It has grown since 1875 rather rapidly ; but there is nothing to warrant the hope that Africa will ever become a white continent. If the number of Europeans has increased, the number of negroes has multiplied much more. Accordingly the Germans seem to

have abandoned all hope and intention of inducing their emigrants to go to the German possessions in Africa.

The only continents where the necessary room and proper climate for European agricultural and industrial communities is found are Australia, South America, and North America. Among these Australia has received but an insignificant share of Germany's surplus population. Moreover it belongs to the British Empire, and Germany would first have to break Great Britain's supremacy as sea-power, before it could dream of conquering Australia. South America on the other hand is composed of quite a number of weak and impotent states which Germany might overpower without any difficulty; and North America has always received the lion's share of German emigration. For these reasons the patriots of Germany have of late turned their eyes eagerly in the direction of both North America and South America, with a view to espying there an opening for a German colonial empire.

Our census of 1890 showed that there lived in that year not less than 2,784,894 persons in the United States who were born in Germany, and it has been figured out by statisticians that about one third of the population of the United States is of German descent. In view of these facts some Germans deem it possible to carve out from the present North American dominion of the United States a German empire. For instance in May 1896 an article appeared in the well-known *Preussische Jahrbücher* on *Deutschland und die Welt-politik* (Germany's aspirations as a world-power). The author of that article, after having stated that under present conditions the Germans in the United States and still more their descendants are lost as to the fatherland, continues page 328 :

"Those Germans could only be saved, if they had the good sense to unite in adjoining settlements; to form one or more German states within the Union, and to secure thus as one solid body political influence and preserve their nationality. There is nothing in the constitution of the United States that is in the way of such an undertaking, nor are they lacking the room. As soon as a leader were found, the work would become possible. The rest depends upon the future development which can but result in forcing by and by hostile differences between the states to the foreground by which the ever more artificial and unnatural unity of the great republic will be destroyed."

The author goes on to say, page 331 :

"In the British Dominion of Canada of to-day there live about 1,300,000 Frenchmen, and of 211 representatives of the Canadian Parliament not less than 55 are Frenchmen by descent and language. Besides, the attempted revolts of 1838, 1869, and 1885 have proved that this French population has by no means lost consciousness of its past and its national rights. If thereto be added those Frenchmen

who to the number of about 500,000 live scattered, but as Frenchmen, in the United States, there exists in case of a French-English conflict a reserve of French strength upon which a resolute French policy can build with hope of success. Then however the moment would have arrived when it should be the task of Germany, in co-operation with France whose sphere of influence would be the eastern half of British America, to attempt to gain a foothold from the west in the regions on the Pacific Ocean and to try whether it be impossible to arouse the two and three-quarter millions of Germans in the United States from their 'national lethargy,' and to induce them to lay with the assistance of the fatherland on British ground the foundation of a colony on the Pacific Ocean."

We may be inclined to smile indulgently at such wild flights of the imagination which to Americans demonstrate nothing but an encyclopædic want of acquaintance with American conditions. But such vague ideas represent according to all appearance the ripest public opinion in Germany about the United States, otherwise they would never have been published in the *Preussische Jahrbücher*. Their author, who signs as "Vindex," is very likely a member of the class of high government officers in Germany, because a writer occupying a private station would never have thought of hiding his individuality behind a pseudonym. We are therefore also unable to decide in how far those views are shared by the German government. In any case we shall do well neither to despise nor to overlook such significant utterances.

Only recently a Frenchman, M. Francis Laur, is reported to have made in all earnest a similar prophecy about the future of the United States. I quote from *The Literary Digest* of July 15, 1899, as follows :

"The concentration of Germans in the Northern States will form there a German Empire. The French in the South will join together and form a kingdom of Orleans. And who knows whether the Chinese of the Pacific coast may not ask for the protection of the Celestial Empire? Then too we shall see Mexico retake the provinces torn from her in the time of her weakness. The poor Indians too will aspire perhaps after well-won independence."

"All this," is added by the editor of *The Literary Digest*, "is not from a humorous journal, but is put forth as a genuine deduction from sociological premises." Even the best educated scholars and men of affairs in Europe are from their European experiences absolutely unable to see in the people of the United States a homogeneous nation, striving after a common national ideal. In their eyes we are nothing but an agglomeration of individuals, differing from one another in nationality, language, customs, etc., and being ready to cut each other's throats at the least provocation.

Such forecasts on the political development of the United

States are the excrescence rather of prejudice than of ignorance. The nations of continental Europe, France included which is but a republic in name, do not believe in fostering personal independence. The initiative and control in all public, and to a great extent even in private, affairs, belongs to the State that is, to the ruler and his officers. If they for example wish to found a colony, they send there first of all an imperial governor with a large staff of officials and a military force in order to establish in the would-be colony law and order, peace and security, and regulate commerce and land-tenure, long before a single actual settler has arrived. This paternal care for their subjects goes to very great lengths. They openly prevent ambitious people from emigrating to their newly acquired territories, until the government officials have discovered by careful observation and scientific experiments not only that the climate is not hostile to colonisation, but also what agricultural products are best raised, and how the land is to be cultivated to that end, etc. Accordingly there remains nothing else to be done by the colonist but to faithfully follow and obey the advice and orders of the government.

Such ideas are cherished as infallible truth by the brightest and most prominent men of continental Europe; and we cannot fail to perceive that they must be looked upon as such by monarchs and their bureaucracy. They prove their *raison d'être* and inspire them with a high and edifying sense of their own necessity and indispensability. On the other hand, they cannot help looking upon a commonwealth like the United States where the individual appears to recognise no other authority than his own sweet will, and which seems to be torn by internal dissensions, with the deepest distrust and the most gloomy forebodings. Their honest conviction concerning our present and future development is best expressed by citing Milton's description of the realm of Chaos:

"To whom these most adhere
 He rules a moment: Chaos umpire sits,
 And by decision more embroils the fray
 By which he reigns; next him high arbiter
 Chance governs all.—This wild abyss,
 The womb of nature and perhaps her grave,
 Of neither sea, nor shore, nor air, nor fire,
 But all these in their pregnant causes mixed
 Confusedly, and which thus must ever fight,
 Unless the Almighty Maker them ordain
 His dark materials to create more worlds."

Of such prejudices, which nothing but time can remove, we

must not for a moment lose sight, in our dealings with the powers of continental Europe. We must know that by presenting them a weak and unprotected side we invite their attack, because, very far from realising our immense strength and abounding resources, they are unable to imagine us otherwise than rotten to the core.

Still it is rather on account of their curiosity that I have mentioned the hopes on which German patriots base their ideas of the political attitude and the "national duty," as they call it, of the German element in the United States. Those expectations are certainly extravagant and will never be fulfilled. Their South American plans however are to be taken quite seriously. For it is there that the Germans confidently expect to acquire their first colonies. Of the German emigrants that did not come to the United States the greatest part went to Brazil. Their number has indeed not been very large. For, while from 1871-1896 the total emigration from Germany to the United States has been 2,370,958, only 48,444 settled in Brazil. Besides the number of German immigrants into Brazil, as into all other South American Republics, has always been much smaller than the number of Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish immigrants. But most Germans going to Brazil settled in the three southern States of Paraná, Santa Catharina, and Rio Grande do Sul. These three States, which have an area of more than 200,000 square miles, are almost as large as the German Empire itself. Their population amounted in 1890 to about one and one-half million. Although the Germans formed less than one fourth of this sum, people in Germany thought and think it possible to give them within a few years a majority by directing the whole stream of their emigrants to those states. That looks quite feasible as a simple problem of arithmetic. For Germany has sent for many years annually 100,000 emigrants to transmarine countries.

To this end the German Diet passed in 1897 a new emigration bill, which became a law on the first of April 1898. Of this emigration law *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia* of 1897 states:

"The Government carried through an emigration bill in furtherance of its policy to deflect the stream of emigration from the United States to countries of South and Central America, where large agricultural and industrial colonies will develop autonomous institutions, preserve their language and customs, and preserve a commercial and political connection with the fatherland; or to the Transvaal or other regions where the colonists can advance the political prestige of the empire; as far as possible also to German transmarine possessions. Companies undertaking to settle such colonies will be aided by grants of money and by political protection wherever required. Such a company was organised in Hamburg to take over a tract of 1,700,000 fertile acres in the Brazilian state of Catharina, with a

railroad leading to the German colonies already established there. Permission to transport German emigrants will have to be obtained after April 1, 1898, from the German Chancellor, acting with the assent of the Federal Council, and can only be granted to German subjects or companies operating in German territory. A license granted to a navigation company or emigration agent can be cancelled by the same authorities. The bill provides that consuls shall be appointed in ports of debarkation approved by the Government to protect the interests of emigrants; that the Government shall facilitate the discharge of their military obligations by Germans living abroad; that an official bureau of information shall be instituted to direct the stream of emigration to territories where the conditions are favorable for prosperity, and where there is the best prospect of the German nationality being perpetuated and relations to the mother country being maintained."

Geographical conditions greatly favor the German plan in Southern Brazil. The states of Paraná, Santa Catharina, and Rio Grande do Sul form a kind of spur extending southward away from the solid mass of the empire. Means of inland communication are little developed. There is no road passable by wagons connecting the three southern states with the north; especially Paraná is covered with mountains. All intercourse is carried on at present by sea. If therefore Germany should be opposed alone by Brazil, when making an attempt upon Southern Brazil, she could with her powerful navy easily prevent the Brazilians from coming to the aid of their oppressed countrymen; whereas she herself would be absolutely unhampered in transporting thither all the soldiers and all the material of war she wanted.

The German settlers in Southern Brazil or at least some of their spiritual and intellectual leaders, do not appear to be averse to such ideas. Towards the end of 1896 and in the beginning of 1897 several papers, written by Rev. Dr. Rotermund of São Leopoldo, R. G. D. S., on the "Prospects of the German Element in Southern Brazil," were published in the *Deutsche Post*. The author declared in the course of his discussions for instance:

"The statement that we wish to preserve our nationality does not mean anything. The Status Quo cannot be maintained for any length of time. Here also it is an "either—or;" either the Germans agree to being absorbed or they absorb whatever suits them; hammer or anvil! We have made our choice long ago; it only remains to look steadfast at the goal! A German South Brazil!"

He further says:

"We have given our articles the heading: 'The Prospects of the Germans in Southern Brazil,' and that not alone, because we Germans have our main strength in the three southern states, but also, because these three states, as we think, will not stay united with Brazil for ever. Their secession from Brazil can but be a question of time." "We are able to observe quite distinctly how love for one's own state is growing at the expense of Brazil's unity; and we should not wonder, when,

especially in consequence of the maladministration at the federal capital, Paraná, Santa Catharina, and Rio Grande Do Sul should some day declare for secession and independence. Then however a new outlook will be opened to the Germans.'

The United States have certainly neither a right nor the least desire to become entangled in the internal affairs of any South American Republic. If in South America any number of states or provinces should deem fit to renounce their present allegiance in order to form an independent republic of their own, the United States would as a matter of course recognise the new republic, as soon as it had firmly established its independence. The United States will likewise under no circumstances trouble themselves about the language an independent South American Republic may prefer. The present Brazilian states of Paraná, Santa Catharina, and Rio Grande Do Sul may therefore, as far as the United States are concerned, sever their connexion with Brazil at any time they choose and prove able to do so. They may enter into a league with one another and, as the Germans think possible, with the Republics of Paraguay and Uruguay. They may even compel the Argentine Republic to give up its provinces east of the river Paraná, so-called "Mesopotamia Argentina," and to permit them to join the new republic, which is perfectly entitled to adopt the German language as its public language, if a majority of its citizens decides in favor of such an important change.

Yet it is more than doubtful whether the German settlers in Southern Brazil will ever become numerous enough to gain control of their states in the manner which has just been described, and which has been defined as perfectly legitimate from the standpoint of the United States. It is indeed only a question of numbers, and Germany is absolutely able to pour a continuous stream of emigrants at the rate of 100,000 per annum into the three Brazilian states and the neighboring republics, Paraguay, Uruguay, etc. But those countries are under present conditions not capable of absorbing and accommodating so great a multitude of new arrivals. It is very difficult for people that have never been outside of Europe to understand the reasons why those regions cannot at a moment's notice feed and clothe and house any number of "greenhorns." They will answer all objections by the following calculation: In Germany there are more than 250 persons to the square mile. In Paraná you find only 2.9, in Santa Catharina 10.3, and in Rio Grande Do Sul 9.7. Hence there is plenty of room for hundreds of thousands of colonists in those countries. While that has to be admitted as true, practical experience has nevertheless demonstrated that, if

vacant land and people willing to settle there are given, it requires first of all proper means of communication and sufficient centers of trade and industry to fill the vacant land with prosperous homesteads. One hundred thousand German emigrants dumped upon the shores of Southern Brazil in a single year without the most careful and expensive preparation for their immediate accommodation would unfailingly ruin the labor-market of that country as well as the market for all agricultural and industrial products and cause untold misery. Accordingly the German Government will hardly dare send all its emigrants to Southern Brazil; and I should not be surprised the least bit, if after a while statistics should demonstrate that the relative proportion of German colonists to that of Latin settlers in Southern Brazil as well as elsewhere in South America has not materially changed. Then however Germany may be strongly tempted to seize by force of arms what it cannot obtain in peaceful competition; and that is the moment when the United States will have to take a lively interest in Germany's colonial policy.

The United States are very proud of their Monroe Doctrine, which represents a solemn promise never to permit any European power to encroach on the South and Central American Republics, and especially to establish new European dependencies on American soil. The simple proclamation of this doctrine proved sufficient to deter the Holy Alliance from making any attempt to restore the rule of the Bourbons over the Spanish-American Republics. The same doctrine, backed by the veteran army and navy of the Civil War, compelled Napoleon III. to renounce his intention to set up the Austrian prince Maximilian as emperor of Mexico and to withdraw his troops from Mexico. It was the Monroe Doctrine that guided President Cleveland's conduct, when he sent his ultimatum in the Venezuela controversy to England. In view of such precedents it is not to be doubted for a moment that, whenever the German Empire shall stretch out its mailed hand for the purpose of laying hold on South American territory, the United States would enter the lists as the champion of South American independence. No American administration could hesitate to take up this task.

The people of Germany are not unacquainted with these facts. As soon as the South American projects were publicly discussed, even before the emigration bill was passed, the Monroe Doctrine became the object of intense interest. The German newspapers hastened to proclaim that the Monroe Doctrine had never been adopted as a principle of international law, either by Germany

or by any other European power, and that consequently none of them was bound by it. Of Prince Bismarck it was related that he had called the Monroe Doctrine a piece of sheer impudence. As late as July 15, 1899, a German writer declares in an article on *Die nationale Aufgabe der Deutschamerikaner* (the national duties of German-Americans), published in the *Gegenwart* of Berlin :

"The famous and impudent Monroe Doctrine the Yankees have renounced on their own initiative by overstepping the boundaries of a policy strictly confined to America, and by inaugurating an aggressive imperialistic policy the consequences of which cannot yet be overlooked."

Another German paper criticised the phrase "America for the Americans," saying that the United States mean "the whole of America for the North Americans," suggesting that it ought to be changed into "North America for the North Americans."

The long and the short of it is that the Monroe Doctrine is in fact not a universally recognised principle of international law, but simply and exclusively a question of might. It means that the United States want the new world reserved for the republican form of government; they would regard it as a threat to their own institutions, if some monarchical power of Europe should establish itself on American soil, and thus they declared that they would regard such an attempt as a hostile act and a menace to their own safety. The political pretensions of the United States defined in the Monroe Doctrine will be respected just so long as the United States are resolved and able to prove and demonstrate the good right of their pretensions by force of arms.

In this connexion we must not neglect to notice that the remarkable increase of Germany's naval armament is in the popular German mind intimately related to the colonial aspirations of the empire. The public demand for a stronger German navy arose indeed immediately after the Emperor had despatched his famous telegram to Oom Paul of the Transvaal. That the German Emperor had helped to twist the British Lion's tail so audaciously rendered him at once very popular among Germans the world over. But when Great Britain assembled a squadron of mighty warships in the English Channel, it became all at once clear that Germany, notwithstanding her powerful army, was no match for England. Then the Germans grew loud in their clamor for a larger navy. Everywhere public collections were instituted with the intention of presenting men-of-war to the government. Some time however elapsed, before the German government had worked out its plan and could lay a naval bill before the Diet.

Meanwhile international conditions had somewhat altered. The first enthusiasm for the political independence of the Boers or rather for the idea of bringing South Africa, the English colonies included, where a majority of the European population is of Dutch and German descent, under the paramount influence of the German Empire had cooled off considerably, if it had not entirely subsided. Great Britain and Germany had reapproached and come to terms, as was publicly demonstrated by the German annexation of Kiao Chau Bay in 1897 when the German war-ships on their way to China were furnished with coal at the British coaling stations. The attention of the Germans had been called away from Africa, perhaps by the English themselves who immediately after the Venezuela Message could not entertain too friendly feelings towards the United States, to the advantages offered to German colonial enterprises by the conditions in South America. But while the prospect of South American colonies was appearing above the horizon, the spectre of North American interference loomed threateningly in the background. The increase in naval armament which the German government demanded and obtained from the Diet accordingly provided for a navy that was to be stronger, not than the navy of Great Britain, France, or Russia respectively, but than the navy of the United States. In the spring of 1898, immediately before the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, the naval bill was passed. It authorised the construction of a navy, which was to be completed within a term of six years, that is, by 1904, and was to consist of 19 battle-ships, 8 armored coast-defense vessels, 9 first-class cruisers, 26 second-class cruisers, and of a reserve of 2 battle-ships, 3 first-class cruisers, 4 second-class cruisers, together with quite a number of gunboats and torpedo-vessels. Hand in hand with building the ships was to go a corresponding increase in the personnel of the navy. In 1897 the personnel consisted of 960 officers and engineers, 5,069 petty officers, and 15,592 men and boys, making a total of 21,835 men, including surgeons, paymasters, etc. The total of the personnel of the United States navy in the same year amounted to but 13,659 men. But hardly six months having passed, cries for a still greater naval armament became loud in Germany. This time they want a navy which is to comprise not less than 57 battle-ships, 15 first-class cruisers, and 36 second-class cruisers. This immense number of warships, which would make the German Empire by a single stroke the foremost naval power of the world, is to be built from 1904-1920 at a cost of \$425,000,000 and an annual naval budget of \$75,000,000. They also

propose to accomplish that end without having recourse to additional taxation.

What is the meaning of such almost unlimited warlike preparation? The German Emperor some time ago told American visitors that his strong navy is to serve the same end as his large army, namely, the preservation of peace. These imperial words however have to be construed in the light of historical facts. The German army never was intended simply as an instrument of peace. It was in the first place organised by Gneisenau for the war of independence against Napoleon I., and reorganised through William I. under the auspices of men like Bismarck, Moltke, and Roon. While it was still the army of Prussia, it conquered an adequate position for the kingdom of Prussia, first among the German states and next among the nations of Europe. It fought in pursuance of this its task many a bloody battle. No one can blame Germany, for the policy of conquest was forced on the nation by circumstances. But, having obtained what the army had been created for, it became necessary to preserve the peace of Europe, that is to say, to guard and keep what Germany had gained in war, if possible, by the mere existence and ever watchful readiness of the German army or, if need be, by crushing the bold aggressor on the field of battle.

The German Empire has up to the present time not made any transmarine conquests which could arouse the envy and revengeful hatred of other powers so that they would have to be guarded and defended by a strong navy. Its geographical position in Europe is such that Germany can keep her own without the assistance of numerous warships, as was convincingly illustrated in the course of the Franco-Prussian war. Although the French in that war were in possession of a navy in comparison with which the few Prussian war-vessels were insignificant, they were powerless against the German sea-coast and had very soon to recall their ships from their blockade-stations off the German harbors in order to employ both marines and sailors in the defense of their native soil. The only explanation which under these circumstances the extraordinary efforts of Germany to secure a first class navy admit of is that they evidently intend to overawe, when occasion offers, any opponent the empire may encounter, while it pursues its course of national aggrandisement in countries lying beyond the sea.

Having arrived at this conclusion, we shall find it to our advantage to briefly recapitulate what we have learned about the straits and aspirations of the German Empire. We behold Ger-

many confronted by the desperate problem, a mere question of self-preservation, how to maintain its present standing and rank among the nations of the world. Being in desperate circumstances, we may look for desperate actions from her. For the chances are that she will be left behind in the race forever for want of elbow-room. We find even the general public of Germany aware of these conditions, and her statesmen and lawgivers seeking for new countries suitable for propagating the fertile German race and arming their warriors to snatch these countries away from any possessor and defender. We can but sympathise heartily with their eager resolution and strong efforts to turn the tide of events. We may even, as strong and healthy men, rejoice at the prospect of the gigantic struggle between Germany and the power which will be caught standing in her way. But we must not be unmindful of the ominous fact that the United States may be and in all probability is that power with which Germany will fight for life and death.

Present conditions may of course change at any time. Germany may after all decide to seek in the future as in her glorious past, expansion by land, namely, in Europe, Asia Minor, Syria, etc. This seems to us the wiser course which promises success. The Germans in the Austrian Empire are threatened in their nationality by their Czechic, Polish and other compatriots. The death of Francis Joseph which may occur at any moment may unchain there a revolution that will give ample employment to Germany's surplus energy and recall her from a wild-goose chase across the Atlantic Ocean. There are indications too that Great Britain is more than willing to welcome the German Empire not alone as the rightful heir of the House of Hapsburg, but also of the sick man at Constantinople. The present German ambassador at Washington who is favorably known for his clear insight and sound judgment has also in all probability supplied his government with the necessary information as to the inadvisability of its colonial policy in both Americas. Still it behooves us as prudent and cautious men to arrange betimes for the proper safe-guards, lest we should be involved in a dangerous war at a moment when we are least prepared for it.

A war with Germany would be the greatest misfortune that possibly could befall us, and *ought to be rendered impossible*. A very large percentage of our adopted and native citizens are of German descent and would in such a war very naturally vacillate in their sympathies between their old and their new country. In our opinion even a higher percentage of German-Americans would stand by

the stars and stripes in case of war with Germany than ever English-Americans did in war conflicts with Great Britain; but their loyalty would be suspected, and that would result in bitter recriminations. Modern German immigration into the United States before 1870 was quite different from what it has been since that year. The great bulk of German immigrants has indeed always been impelled by purely economical considerations to leave their native land. But their intellectual leaders in the period before the Franco-Prussian War were confirmed republicans, even before they arrived here. Since the establishment of the German Empire, however, the educated Germans that have come to this country as a rule no longer believe in a republican form of government. That may, for instance, be learned from the article on "The Germans and the Americans" by Hugo Münsterberg in the September number of *The Atlantic Monthly*. He declares, page 406:

"If I say that I have never been a more thoroughgoing monarchist than during my stay in America, I can really not claim to be an exception."

It would lead us too far, if we should attempt to explain that phenomenon. For our purposes it is sufficient to point out the fact that it requires, so to speak, a special education, an intimate acquaintance with our national history, and a vivid consciousness of our national destiny to render educated Germans that have lately settled among us true Americans. As long as they look upon monarchy as the best form of government, they will fail to perceive that it can at all be our duty to prevent the German Empire from propagating their monarchical system in South America, and will accordingly oppose such a policy on the part of the United States to the best of their ability.

The only and best as well as cheapest means to ward off all that trouble consists in keeping our navy always and in every respect, in number and quality of ships, in armament, in personnel, in discipline and training, well abreast, if not ahead, of the German navy.

Our Spanish war ought to have taught each one of us at least one thing, namely that the old adage is still as true as ever. *Si vis pacem, para bellum*. If we had had a stronger navy, before the war broke out, Spain would have surrendered Cuba for a reasonable cash indemnity without drawing the sword; and we should have been saved all our trouble with the Philippine Islands, so loudly lamented by our anti-expansionists.

An imperfect, unfinished warlike armament will always tend to

produce war. As the conditions were, all European countries, with perhaps the sole exception of Great Britain, confidently believed and predicted that the United States, although probably victorious at the end, would suffer severe reverses at the beginning. Germany was so strongly convinced of the weakness of both belligerents that she ordered almost her whole Asiatic squadron to Manila Bay in order to be ready to protect her interests in those regions herself. To avoid such and similar occurrences in future, to uphold our national dignity, to secure prompt recognition of our national rights, and to preserve internal peace, we are in urgent need of a navy strong and powerful enough and ever ready to meet on favorable terms any foreign power that may be forced by sheer despair to risk a war with us, as long as there is the least hope of success.

THE ESTRANGEMENT BETWEEN AMERICA AND GERMANY.

BY MAXIMILIAN GROSZMANN.

THE very interesting discussion of the present relations between my native land, Germany, and this my adopted country, to which you have recently opened your columns, brings back to my memory some facts and experiences which may be helpful in the consideration of recent developments.

It has become customary with the newspapers in Germany to accuse the American press generally of a wilful misrepresentation of the German attitude towards the United States, and to maintain that the estrangement between the two countries is largely due to perfidious insinuations which can be traced back to British influence. A German professor with whom I had become acquainted on my recent trip through Germany, sent me, a little while ago, a number of clippings from various papers, notably the *Tägliche Rundschau*, *Magdeburgische Zeitung* and *Kölnische Zeitung*, by whom a great cry is raised against the American press which they charge with mischievous and systematic "well-poisoning" (*Brunnenvergiftung*) of a most alarming kind. The *Magdeburgische Zeitung* makes a touching appeal to the Americans travelling in Germany as best qualified to dispel the "foolish" illusion that there exists an animosity on the part of the Germans against the Americans.

The alleged misrepresentation of the German sentiment by American papers is surely not so universal and mischievous as our German friends seem to suppose. Of course, if they read only the silly and despicable declamations of the Jingo press, and of such German-American publications as are edited under the influence of un-American ideas, they may feel justified in thinking so; but that would only prove that they know little of true American conditions and of the true American spirit. The great mass of Americans is

not likely to be carried away by such talk; they are much more apt to preserve their independence of judgment than other people may be, not only because their republican form of government gives them a keen sense of responsibility as well as continuous training in the exercise of this responsibility, but also owing to the fact that they are in the habit of more extensively reading newspapers that present different sides of the same question, and magazines of all kinds in which the problems of the day are more or less comprehensively discussed. Indeed, the number of publications which mediate information to the American readers is enormous, testifying to the eagerness with which we endeavor to follow up the evolution of history as making in our own time. There are over 21,000 newspapers published in the United States and Canada, as against 6000 in Germany. As we are always interested in what is going on in the old country, and in what other nations think of us, the papers contain a great quantity of reading matter covering these topics, and reporting all shades of opinion entertained abroad concerning our own development and conduct. The news-service here is so well organised that we are daily informed on everything that occurs in all parts of the world, especially in Europe; we receive this information simultaneously with our foreign contemporaries, and perhaps with even greater comprehensiveness and wealth of detail than the people in these foreign parts themselves. For we are here unrestricted by press censorship and every editor is at liberty to express his views as rigorously as he pleases; he can print anything and everything. Further the publishers of our great dailies are more enterprising than is the average publisher on the continent. The daily despatches are supplemented by weekly cable letters and mail matter, and also by extensive reproductions from the foreign press. All this makes it very improbable that the average American should long remain ignorant of the facts of a case of international importance. Deplorable as the malicious ranting of "yellow" papers may be, they stand a thousand times corrected and called to order by the consensus of the great majority of publications, so that in the United States there is little danger of a universal "well-poisoning" by the sensational press.

The press conditions in Germany exhibit a notable contrast. In the first place, the news-service is very inadequate, and American events especially are treated in a rather perfunctory manner. I had occasion to travel through the Fatherland several times in recent years when there were periods of great political excitement in the United States, and I remember how annoyingly difficult it

was to glean information as to the trend of events at home, from the meagre news columns of the German papers. And yet, one time there was a presidential campaign in progress the outcome of which was destined to influence to a considerable extent our foreign relations, particularly with Germany, in matters of commerce; and another time there was a war. To those especially who were unfamiliar with American conditions, the press despatches were almost unintelligible.

But worse than that. We have, on this side of the Atlantic, a much greater right to complain of malignant and systematic misrepresentation as practised by the German press towards the United States than the Germans have to speak of American "well-poisoning." And this is a matter of very long standing, for rarely do German newspapers take the pains to secure and print reliable information about American affairs. Consequently, the average German entertains the grossest prejudices against America and her citizens, and listens willingly to the most preposterous calumniation of our country. This happens in spite of the fact that so many thousands and hundreds of thousands of German families are represented here by immigrants who have learnt to love their adopted country which has given them political liberty and prosperity; and that thousands of Americans of all classes are traveling through Europe year after year, seeking knowledge and recreation. Much of this prejudicial sentiment has remained to me a psychological mystery; but surely, the unfriendly attitude of the German press towards everything that comes from this country has a large share of the blame—the same press which is now exercised over the anti-German attitude of a few Jingo papers.

Mr. Wilhelm Mueller, formerly editor of the German edition of *Puck*, had a very instructive article in the *New Yorker Staatszeitung* from which I may be allowed to translate a few telling passages.

"A few years ago, during an extended sojourn in the Fatherland, I became acquainted with the editor of a widely-read journal. In the course of our conversation, we frequently touched upon questions of American politics and exchanged opinions from our respective standpoints. Once when I had succeeded in throwing a new light on a puzzling problem to the surprise of my German colleague who had occasion to correct his own views, he invited me to send him an occasional article on American affairs, *Provided I would write in the satirical style so pleasing to the German reader.*¹ A German journalist who after settling in New York continued to write for a newspaper published in his native land, records a similar experience. As long as he regarded the conditions of American life with German

¹ The italics are mine.

eyes, and consequently formed his judgment mainly from outward appearances such as strike the foreigner first, naturally finding in this way much more to criticise than to praise, his articles were welcome. But no sooner had his growing familiarity with America and Americans begun to clear his vision, to ripen his judgment, and no sooner had he commenced to insert words of appreciation for our institutions, than the German editor first struck out these paragraphs from his contributions, and when my friend protested, he was told that they had no use for other than fault-finding reports on American affairs. The same standpoint is represented by many other German papers. The news they publish about America is extremely meagre.

"The truthful and reliable reports which some of the great political dailies sometimes print in the form of articles or even weekly letters from well-informed American correspondents, attract not the attention and are not so widely circulated as they deserve. It is preferably descriptions of extraordinary happenings, distorted statements of such abnormal phases of New World life as are apt to occur from time to time, that are printed and reprinted. The evils which accompany our political development are pointed out with chuckling delight; but never a word is said appreciative of the vast benefits which our institutions have brought forth.

"The average German newspaper reader learns terrible things about bossism and corruption in many of our municipal administrations; but of the powerful influence of our free institutions upon the blending of many nationalities into one people and upon the calling forth of all the latent energy of its citizens in making productive the enormous wealth of our great country in natural resources and staples; of the new, strong, and self-reliant national spirit which is here evolving—of all this he hears nothing. The ridiculous excrescences of American shoddyism are attacked with biting satire; the noble impulses of the genuine American, however, his boundless generosity, his practical philanthropy, the grand creations which owe their existence to him, are rarely mentioned.

"Little attention is attracted to the comprehensive and sustained efforts in behalf of progressive civilisation which are characteristic of American nature efforts which are made with an unflinching energy, a definiteness of aim, and a degree of success seldom witnessed elsewhere. When reference is made to these things at all, it is to belittle them. . . .

"Most German newspapers have for many years past been in the habit of branding as "characteristically American" (*echt amerikanisch*) only the dark side of our institutions, the fungus-growth in our public life, the cranky and abnormal features of our national character, and have thus given to their readers, instead of a picture of reality, a caricature of true Americanism."

Under these circumstances, was it possible for the average German to judge our attitude in the Spanish-American imbroglio with any amount of fairness? And can it be expected that the German newspapers will do what they demand their American colleagues to do, viz., to publish statements of facts, from the pen of people competent to know and to judge, so as to dispel erroneous impressions?

It may be of interest to consult what Prof. Hugo Münsterberg, of Harvard, has to say in connexion with this matter. How has it happened that the real America is still as undiscovered by the edu-

cated Germans as if Columbus had never crossed the ocean? he asks in the September *Atlantic*, and answers his own question thus:

"The German immigrant can justly claim to be a respectable and very desirable element of the American population; he has stood always on the side of solid work and honesty; he has brought skill and energy over the ocean, and he has not forgotten his music and his joyfulness; he is not second to any one in his devotion to the duties of a citizen in peace and in war, and without his aid many of America's industrial, commercial, and technical triumphs would be unknown. But all that does not disprove the fact that he is somewhat unfit to form a fair judgment on the life which surrounds him. First, he belongs almost always to a social stratum in which the attention is fully absorbed by the external life of a country, and which is without feeling for the achievements of its mental life; he was poor in his Fatherland, and lives comfortably here, and thus he is enthusiastic over the material life, praises the railroads and hotels, the bridges and mills, but does not even try to judge of the libraries and universities, the museums and the hospitals. On the other hand, he feels socially in the background; he is the Dutchman who through his bad English, through his habits and manners, through his tastes and pleasures, is different from the majority, and therefore set apart as a citizen of second rank,—if not slighted, at least kept in social isolation. The effect of this situation is on the German side an entire ignorance of the Anglo-American life; he may go his way here for thirty years without ever breaking bread at the table of any one outside of the German circle; he may have even become rich, and yet he is not quite in the social current. . . . And worst of all, in this atmosphere live nearly all those journalists, from the editor to the penny-a-liner, who fill the eight hundred German-American newspapers and supply most of the papers in Germany. . . ."

Münsterberg's picture is somewhat overdrawn and emphasises one phase of German-American life too strongly, omitting others equally interesting and more creditable; yet what he says throws light on certain indisputable facts which account for some of the misconceptions that are now prevalent.

On the other hand, there is no need of entertaining any fear that the great influence of German science, art, and industry in the building-up of this country will be underestimated. Prof. Harry Thurston Peck, of Columbia University, and as editor of the *Bookman* one of our most prominent critics, showed in a recent article that the old traditions of American education have been wiped out by German influence, that a vivid interest in German pedagogy is asserting itself more and more, and that German language and literature are crowding out other foreign influences. He went so far as to say: "German influence has altered the racial character of our people."

This admission with its sweeping significance is very noteworthy at the present moment when short-sighted jingoism empha-

sises an alleged Anglo Saxon kinship of Americans. And I have quoted Professor Peck because he found himself forced to make this admission not by any native predilection of the German influence, but contrary to his own desires. His words are therefore convincing proof that our German cousins need not be exercised over lack of appreciation.

We may also remember Ambassador Andrew D. White's words in his Fourth of July oration before the American colony in Leipzig, in 1898. Strong and convincing as they were, they found a feeble echo in the German press and were ignored as much as possible. And why was it that President White felt called upon to express himself so frankly and emphatically? Because he considered it timely to check, if possible, the flood of calumniations and misrepresentations of Americans and American motives that had swollen to such a dangerous height during the Spanish-American war. These calumniations have indeed aroused a strong resentment on this side of the ocean. At this the German editors who are now so violent in their condemnation of American jingos, ought not to be surprised; it has been caused by their own indiscretion and unfair criticism of American methods.

When, in the spring of 1898, shortly after the outbreak of the war, I set sail for my German Fatherland, I wore a small badge in the American colors such as were worn in those days by most of us as an outward symbol of patriotic enthusiasm. To my astonishment, many of my fellow-passengers advised me to take it off before landing, to avoid unpleasant experiences. And indeed, even the officers of the German steamer which carried me across, who might have been expected to know a little more about us than those who never touched our shore, could not refrain from dropping occasionally supercilious and disparaging remarks on our politics and our conduct of the war. But the prejudice and lack of knowledge displayed by many of those I met during my sojourn in the Fatherland surpassed my anticipations. Truly, I found very few who were inclined to do the Americans justice, or who would listen to an argument. As a rule, we were treated to all sorts of sneering reproofs of the policy of the United States in the Spanish-Cuban imbroglio, as soon as we were recognised as coming from across the water. How often we had to hear what hypocrites the Americans were, and how they could not begin to be compared with the Germans in point of character, magnanimity, bravery, and warlike qualities. Remonstrations and statements of facts were of no avail;

we were simply not believed; they knew everything better than we did.

There was a physician in my native city of Breslau who was particularly scandalised over the sham-humanitarianism (*Humanitätsheuchelei*) of the Americans. He would not allow himself to be persuaded into believing, he said, that in declaring war against Spain a single Yankee had ever thought of down-trodden Cuba; it was but the meanest greed and self-interest that was behind it all. When I replied that he seemed to be unacquainted with the qualities and sentiments characteristic of the American people; that there had been an irresistible public opinion which had decided the question of peace or war; and that the American is much more swayed by sentiment (*Gemüth*) than he received credit for in Germany,—he laughed in my face. “An American, and sentiment! A Yankee has a money-bag in place of a heart.”

I had my half-grown son with me on my trip to show him the beauty and grandeur of the land of his fathers. Though he received many inspiring impressions, to be sure, it can be imagined what a shock it was to him to experience the narrowly prejudicial condemnation of the land of his birth, to which his ardent patriotism and enthusiasm justly belonged. The sad effect may never be wiped out.

In Dresden I met some Austrian friends who expressed themselves even more prejudicially than the Germans. This was perhaps due to the fact that Austria's sympathies were outspokenly with Spain, their ruling families being related by ties of blood. Particularly curious, however, was the zeal of a guide in the Cologne cathedral. No sooner had he made out that our little party was composed of Americans than he began to spice his explanations of the wonders of this famous structure by invectives directed against the terrible Yankees; it was extremely amusing, in one sense, to witness him spurting out his harangues in dialect German and broken English. He even called upon the mildly smiling priest who was stationed as a guard in the dazzling treasure chamber, to testify to the treachery committed by the Americans against Spain. After receiving his customary tribute from us, he felt constrained to shout after us from the portal of the great church: “And yet you will not get Cuba,—think of me, the poor cathedral guide!”

The military pride of my German countrymen was especially tickled to make fun of American field operations. Easy enough it was, they said, to attack so weak a nation as the Spaniards. But if an army like the German had been opposed to us, the case would

have been very different indeed. A single German regiment would have been sufficient to annihilate an entire American army-corps, of that we could feel sure.

Boasting never sounds well, and it hurt more my German than my American patriotism; it is a bad symptom and reminds me of the proverb, "Pride goeth before destruction."

As a military power, Spain might have been expected at least to rival the United States. No American, indeed, had anticipated so speedy and complete a collapse of the Spanish forces, and the talk of our falling upon an enemy whom we knew to be weak, is therefore quite idle. Did Austria and Prussia with their united strength consider it cowardly to attack poor Denmark, and did not even France prove very weak? On the other hand, the United States has never been a military power in the European sense of the term, and let us hope will never be one. Spain, on the other side, had the advantage of military tradition and experience, and in Cuba she had a body of troops at her disposal which was our superior in numbers as well as in position. Then, Spain had been a mistress of the sea for centuries, while the efficiency of our navy had, practically, to be tried for the first time. That our victories were so decisive should certainly not be counted against us.

And it remains to be proved whether German troops would have been so much more successful than were the Spanish, or if you please, the Americans. No sensible American will for a moment underestimate the military efficiency of the German army and its management; we are not jealous of this well-earned glory. Yet we must take into account the difference of conditions. A war in little Europe which has long been laid out in checker-board fashion by her military experts, can hardly be compared with operations extending over three continents. Our German friends may find it difficult to form an adequate idea of the enormous distances, of the climatic difficulties, and the perplexities of transportation with which our American troops had to cope. Their sufferings baffle description; had the commissary department been ever so much more efficient than it was, in consequence of lack of experience, and perhaps of competency, this suffering could not have been entirely avoided. The greater is the glory of our citizen-soldier whose bravery, endurance, and self-sacrifice deserve full recognition.

It was painful to read, day after day, what the papers saw fit to print on the progress of the war. There were continuous belittlings of the American successes, and attempts to cast suspicion

on American motives. Whatever could vilify our good name as a nation was dwelt upon with apparent satisfaction, and only reluctantly did the victorious bravery of our troops receive a scanty recognition. I may be permitted to quote two examples of editorial comment, to illustrate my point.

In reference to Cervera's defeat and the fall of Santiago, the *Dresdner Nachrichten*, of July 5, wrote as follows :

"With regard to its effect upon America, the result of the war must arouse even greater misgivings than the future of Spain. There may, of course, be one advantage for Europe in this rapid success : knowing as we do the character of the Americans, we can rest assured that their blind admiration for the efficiency of their militia will now cause them to give up the recently developed plans to make the United States a military and naval power of first rank. On the other hand, we can expect the arrogance of the Yankees now to assume intolerable proportions, and their fresh enthusiasm for national expansion will perhaps induce them to prove their strength in more or less dangerous fields. Clearly, such a development of events may conjure up perils if in the case of a disagreement of the European nations there should ever come a clash between the Yankee republic and one or the other of the great powers of Europe. The common European interests demand, therefore, that we carefully watch the further development of the foreign policy of the United States. As soon as the Americans will find themselves confronted with the unanimous opposition of Europe (*europäischer Gesamtwille*) they will in good time restrain their greed for more territory. To effect this Europe must of course prove that it is not merely a geographical term, and an empty name, but an essence and a reality. If it does that, there is hope that the negotiations referring to the Philippine question which after the close of the war will necessarily assume an acute character, may be conducted in a matter satisfactory to the interests of Europe."

And the *Kölnische Volkszeitung* of July 13 had this to say :

"Spanish pride which still resents making peace with America—a peace to be paid dearly for anyway, it appears—and which yet is clinging to hopes that can never be realized, even though this pride may not be unmixed with fancy, is certainly justified ; for it represents nothing less than the sense of national honor to which it can be but repugnant to yield in a struggle against palpable wrong and aggression. Even the sworn defenders of the United States could after the outbreak of the war no longer uphold the phrase of humanity in whose name the United States had pretended to fall upon Cuba ; some acknowledged the full truth and spoke openly of hypocrisy ; others at least admitted the selfish designs of the Americans. Spanish honor rebels the more against humiliation the clearer it becomes to Spain that she is being deserted by the European powers. We have here the second edition of the European concert of Armenian-Cretensic memory, with but this variation that the powers are now still more unanimous than they were then, viz. in doing nothing. . . . If it should come to a final overthrow of Spain as a colonial power (and all events seem to point to this) England will have this result on her conscience. . . . Not only England's attitude however, but also certain utilitarian considerations must be held responsible for decrepit Europe to allow Spanish honor to waste itself in hopeless resentment. For industrially and commercially, little is to be expected from Spain,

and we do no longer get excited over mere ideals of right and justice. [*sic!*] Yet there may come a time when the advantage of a continental European concert, based on the idea of righteousness pure and simple, will—too late—be recognised; when the humiliation of Spanish self-respect will prove injurious to the self-respect of Europe. And what will, in the end, prevent the Yankee, power-swollen as he now is, from stopping short at the boundary of Canada? England ought to consider that."

Protestant and Catholic organs piped the same tune; but the German government succeeded in maintaining a strict neutrality. Yet there is no telling what may have been behind it all; prudence and sentiment clashed, perhaps. At any rate, there can be no mistake about the meaning of these press utterances whose echo ran through the land; and though American good nature can be relied upon to a fault, we should stultify ourselves if we should consider the German attitude at that time, when our national honor was at stake, as anything but unfriendly. Is it so very strange that Americans, many of whom witnessed this ill-feeling against their country directly on their travels, have now a strong apprehension of German motives and sentiments? If our German cousins wish to be recognised as the friends of the United States, it will depend largely upon them, and upon nobody else, to make us forget their unfairness of a year ago.

Surely I love my native country no less than the one in which my children were born. The present strained relations between the two are very painful to me; but the mischief done so far can only be repaired by a frank discussion of the causes. It would be folly to blind ourselves against the facts of the case. It is an old experience that it is easier to create prejudices than to allay them; but *if those among us who take a vital interest in preserving good-will between Germany and America, from love of both, will unite their efforts in establishing a mutual better understanding and appreciation, there need be no danger of further estrangement.* However, let us also be sincere and defy hypocritical opportunism. Better an open criticism than a suppression of unfriendly sentiment.

Americans and especially German-Americans have the best intentions to restore the traditional *entente cordiale* between the United States and the Fatherland, but our brothers beyond the sea must assist us in the task and not make us suffer abuse which is both uncivil and unjust.

THE GERMAN IN AMERICA.

BY THE EDITOR.

PROF. Hugo Münsterberg of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., has written in German papers some very sensible articles on America, which will naturally tend to clear up the situation in Germany, and his article "The Germans and the Americans" in *The Atlantic Monthly*, (with the exception, perhaps, of some incidental remarks), is a splendid psychological diagnosis of the rising antipathy between the two nations. The common interests between German culture and American civilisation are so great that we would deem it a great misfortune for the development of both nationalities if the estrangement were perpetuated, and we hope by a free ventilation of its causes to nip the growing hostility in the bud.

Professor Münsterberg is a German, and has remained a German in this country. He is not nationalised, but, being engaged at the University of Cambridge, he has lived in a truly American atmosphere, and knows more about genuine American conditions than many other Germans who have spent the greater part of their lives on this side of the ocean. His judgment, accordingly, rests upon an immediate observation of facts, which he presents with impartiality and fairness, and he may be excused for the little exaggeration which occasionally slips in by way of emphasising his statements. He says,¹ for instance:

"The German-Americans have done but little to make the Germans understand America better, and perhaps still less to make the Americans understand the real Germans; they have given little help toward awakening in the two nations the feeling of mutual sympathy."

¹ *The Atlantic Monthly*, September, 1899, page 402.

This statement is, to say the least, very one-sided; I might with equal force make the very opposite statement and say:

“The German-Americans have done very much to make the Germans understand America better; but even more to make the Americans understand the real Germans. They are the main cause of the mutual sympathy that exists between the two nations.”

The truth is that about fifteen or twenty years ago the sympathy of the German people with the United States of America was very strong,—a fact which I know from my own experience, having passed my childhood and youth in the Fatherland. There was no antipathy whatever to the rising republic of the New World, at least not in the atmosphere which I breathed; and the communications from relatives beyond the sea made every one cherish the best wishes for the welfare of the new democratic empire on the other side of the world. Our cousin from America was a great favorite with the children as well as with the adults, and we were dazzled with the new ideas with which we became acquainted through his conversation. The German school-boys at that time knew that across the Atlantic there were great opportunities and an expanse of life which could not fail to be welcomed by every man of enterprise and energy. I still remember the impression which the lines of the poet made on me.

“Beyond the sea there is a mighty building,
And cities rise in unexpected growth!
The workman there looks gayly to the future
And honest toil will find its just reward.”

When I came to America I found in this country an appreciation of German science, German education, and German culture in general which I scarcely could anticipate. I positively deny that there exists in America an antipathy to German civilisation, or to the Germans in general, and he who would interpret a joke about German beer-drinking or German smoking, or other German habits, which rightly or erroneously are supposed to be typically German, as a slight upon the German character as such, or even upon the mission of Germany's culture, misapprehends the entire situation. In addition to the knowledge of the conditions of the Fatherland which native Germans bring to this country, there is a legion of native Americans who have studied at German Universities, who speak the language to perfection and are deeply imbued with the spirit of German science. I know several American clubs and societies, philosophical, medical, and art associations, in which ad-

dresses could just as well be delivered in German as in English, and the large majority of the members would be able to follow the speaker. There are but few members, e. g., of the Oriental Society who have not studied in Germany. It would be difficult to find a learned society in Germany whose members are so well acquainted with American conditions or have the same familiarity with the English language. I cannot accept Professor Münsterberg's statement without describing it as very one-sided, for it is an indisputable truth that in the circles of true American refinement Germany is not only well known but also highly respected, and its preferences are greatly admired.

The ill feeling that of late prevailed between the two nations is of recent origin, and cannot be traced back farther than about one decade. It originated in Germany, and not in America, and can be cured only through a better understanding of the ideals of the American republic by the leaders of German thought. The antipathy which has originated in this country is certainly not older than two years, and is still very superficial, for it has not yet had time to take deep root in our national consciousness; but for that reason it is sufficiently serious to command our solicitude, and the disease should be treated before the acute state becomes chronic.

One of the most important features of this republic is its faculty of assimilating innumerable varieties of nationalities into one new nation, which is destined to merge its patriotism with cosmopolitan ideals and thus promises to be an advancement upon the nations of the Old World. The secret of this extraordinary power of assimilation lies in the principle of liberty which wrongs no one, and affords an opportunity to every one to assert his own idiosyncrasy and to pursue the propaganda for his own ideals as best he can. The sole condition of our liberty is respect for the liberty of others, implying a loyalty to law; and this feature has become a national characteristic of American life.

Consider, for instance, the gigantic struggles which take place in this country between capital and labor. Germany has its strikes too, but there the government is ready to crush with military power the unruly laborer, at the point of the bayonet. Here, the striker is permitted to have his way until he infringes upon the law, and should a strike assume the aspect of a revolt it will be suppressed more by public opinion than by military force. The reports of the great railroad strike under Eugene Debs a few years ago were misrepresented in European papers, because European writers as well as the European reading public cannot understand the conservative

spirit and the law-abiding nature of the inhabitants of the United States. Thus, the reports of this event were distorted into unintelligibility, and must have made a wrong impression upon European readers.

The American nation is regarded as restless and given to all kinds of innovations, while the fact is the very opposite. Even Professor Münsterberg speaks of the Yankee's motor restlessness which he attributes to "an ability to suppress and inhibit." In spite of the free institutions of the country, *the character of the American nation is a conservatism which is unknown in Europe.* A change in the constitution is more difficult here than in Europe, and almost out of the question; and the fact is well known, though little heeded, that the American flag is one of the oldest flags in the world, all the European flags having been altered in recent times. The German, the Austrian, the French constitutions are of recent date while the American Constitution is still that of 1787.¹

It seems strange to the Germans in the Fatherland that the Germans in America can remain faithful to the ideals of German thought, and yet become good Americans; but such is the true condition of things, and it would be futile for German politicians of the Fatherland to expect any support from their German-American brothers in any scheme that would directly or indirectly invalidate the unity, the power, or the present constitution and national character of the United States. The mere idea of it would be spurned as treason—even if the appeal for such conduct came from the mother country. The situation can be misapprehended only by those Germans of the Fatherland whose views of American conditions have been distorted through the usual misrepresentations. Perhaps it is true that we are not yet a nation in the European sense of the term, but it is equally true that we are building up a nation and every one who believes in American ideals is welcome to contribute his share. The Germans are left at liberty to work out their own salvation in their own way; they are welcome to bring the best they have, and to preserve all the good features of their national

¹The Constitution was formed in 1787, and the new form of government adopted in 1789. The American flag consisting of thirteen stripes alternately red and white with thirteen stars (the number of the States of the Union) in a blue field was adopted by Congress in 1777. In 1794 (after the admission of Vermont and Kentucky) the stripes were increased to fifteen, but at the suggestion of Samuel C. Reid the original form of thirteen stripes was restored in 1818. The number of the stars depends upon the number of States that at the time constitute the nation. Thus the flag, like the Constitution, is rigid in its general structures but admits of variations within definitely prescribed outlines, allowing for further growth and expanse.

The Union Jack (which since James I. consisted of the combined crosses of St. George and St. Andrew) was fixed in its present shape as the flag of Great Britain in 1801 after the incorporation of Ireland, twenty-four years after the adoption of the stars and stripes.

character in the New World. They can preserve the German spirit, the German traditions, the culture of the German language, German humor, German music, German love of science, etc., etc. So long as they do not interfere with the rights and liberties of their fellow-citizens, they are welcome to live in their own way; and the good features of German life are welcome as important and desirable ingredients in the make-up of the new nation that is developing on this continent.

There can be no doubt that the influence of German thought, German sentiment and German modes of life have so powerfully altered the Puritan foundation of our national character, that a new nationality has developed from it with a greater mental breadth and a deeper comprehension of the significance of life. I make this statement not to belittle the Puritan element or to criticise its rigidity, nor do I believe that the result is a Teutonicisation of the Yankee. It is very fortunate that the basis of our national life is dominated by the religious rigidity, the undaunted courage, the manly independence of the Pilgrim fathers. The stubborn character of the Yankee was in the beginning toned down by the gentle breadth of the Friends of Pennsylvania, not less firm wherever principles are at stake. Then the spirit of the Southern States with its aristocratic tendencies, the immigration of the Pennsylvanian Dutch so called, of large numbers of the Irish,¹ of a sprinkling of French, Italian and Spanish, and above all of the Germans, have modified the character of the nation not by detracting from the Anglo-Saxon foundation, but by adding to it; by enlarging the general horizon and engrafting upon the strong roots in the ground of past events new branches of noble promise.

One statement of Professor Münsterberg will probably be endorsed by every German who visits this country and yet I would not allow it to pass without an important modification. He says: "The average German-American stands below the level of the average German at home."

¹ In this connexion I feel called upon to say that the Irish are frequently made the target of unpleasant criticisms among Anglo-Americans and German-Americans. There is perhaps a deep-seated racial antipathy between the Celt and the Teutonic nations; and the immediate cause of animosities is the fact that Irish clanishness enables the son of Erin to play a very prominent part in the petty politics of almost all our city administrations, without however having ever succeeded in influencing the national policy of the United States. Whatever may be said of the faults of the Irish (every nationality has its faults) we must emphasise here that the derogatory tone in which they are frequently spoken of is quite out of place. A sprinkling of Irish blood in the veins of the steady Saxon has so far proved very beneficial and great men of military, literary and artistic fame were the result. The Irish are not as strong as the Teutonic races, but their wit, their quickness, their congeniality can not be underrated by those who have learned to appreciate the Irish temperament.

The truth is that the large mass of German immigrants are recruited from the lower ranks of life; they come from the country and settle here on farms. In addition, however, there are goodly numbers of able artisans of all trades, merchants, and also not a few scholars who have enjoyed all the advantages of the German universities. The average German here is probably of the same stamp as the average German in Germany. But here the commoner is more frequently seen, because not so rigidly excluded from polite society as in the Old World, and therefore cuts a more striking figure.

But granting even what presumably Professor Münsterberg intends to say, that there are many uneducated German-Americans I would still raise my protest against the proposition of their "standing below the level of the average German at home." The educative influence of the American atmosphere should not be underrated and I have not as yet seen a German farmer who has not been favorably affected by it. I have sometimes been startled by a breadth of view and independence of judgment where I least expected it. I will mention one case only which characterises the average German-American.

A German-American of Chicago, by no means a rich man but one who earns a comfortable living, told me that he was the eldest son of a poor laborer in Germany, but that two of his younger brothers held high positions in the Fatherland, one of them being a member of the cabinet of his little native state; and he added with pride, "I sent them the money to go to school with and to attend the University." Certainly, we cannot say that the uneducated German-American stands below the level of his two brothers in the Fatherland, for learning and social polish are not the sole standard by which we must make our measurements.

It is true that German cannot become the language of the country, and there are few among the German-Americans who would deem the adoption of German as the official language at all desirable. The German-Americans, as a rule, speak German at home, for every one here is at liberty to speak any language he may please, be it Polish or Russian or Chinese. There are no laws which would deprive parents of the right to educate their children in accordance with their own views, and no Governor here would follow the example of Von Köller. The Germans might easily be made as restive as are the Danes in the Danish parts of German Schleswig, if ordinances were passed requiring them to speak English and cease to be Germans; but as matters are now they are

perfectly satisfied with the present conditions; they speak German when they please, and English when they please; and their grandchildren *always* prefer the English.

Here is a passage from *Die Deutsche Post* which is devoted to the interests of the German-Americans, and proposes to uphold the German language and strengthen German influence in this country. The editors and contributors are German to the backbone, and an expression of their views will be most characteristic of those German-Americans who propose to assert their nationality in the national life of the United States. The article is apparently an expression of the editorial¹ sentiments, and while the author regrets that German is not the official language of the country, he denounces the mere thought of attempting to make it such as ridiculous and as undesirable. While it proposes to cherish the German language as the bond of union of all the Germans throughout the world, it strongly emphasises the principle that *one* language should rule from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific, and from the Great Lakes to the Mexican Gulf. We quote the main passage of the article in its original German as follows:

“Es ist ein eigen Ding, im Namen eines Volksthums, das nach Millionen zählt das Wort zu ergreifen.

Wir glauben aber doch die Stellung des Deutschthums hier im Lande dahin präzisiren zu dürfen, dass der Deutsch-Amerikaner in politischer Beziehung sich nur als Amerikaner fühlt.

Alle Versuche zu Gunsten irgend einer anderen Nation, die inneren Verhältnisse der Union zu ändern, würde an der Vaterlandsliebe des Deutsch-Amerikaners gerade so abprallen, wie bei dem auf seine Abkunft von den Pilgrim-Vätern stolzen Stockamerikaner.

Kein vernünftiger Deutsch-Amerikaner kann wünschen, dass in das feste Gefüge der englischen Staatssprache Bresche geschossen wird, durch Erhebung des Deutschen zur offiziellen Sprache in einzelnen Staaten der Union.

Dies wäre der Anfang vom Ende dieser grossen Republik.

Sind vielleicht die gegenwärtigen Verhältnisse in Oesterreich, mit seinem Sprachengewirr, wo das Deutsche als Staats- und Armee-Sprache langsam dem Verfall entgegen geht, zu derartigen Experimenten verführerisch?

Eine Sprache muss herrschen vom Atlantischen bis zum Pacifischen Ocean und von den grossen Seen bis zum mexikanischen Golf.

Dass dies nicht die deutsche ist und sein kann, bedauert Niemand mehr als wir Deutsch-Amerikaner.

Wenn wir trotz der pessimistischen Ansicht bezüglich der Zukunft unseres Volksthums in den Vereinigten Staaten kräftig auftreten für die deutsche Sprache, die deutsche Schule und deutsche Art überhaupt, so beruht dies vor Allem in un-

¹This editorial in *Die Deutsche Post* was written in reply to a recent article in the *Gegenwart* of July 15, entitled: “The National Duty of German-Americans; An Appeal,” in which the German-Americans are expected, for the sake of the German Empire, to make opposition to the employment of English as the official language of the United States.

serer Liebe zur alten Heimat, in gemeinsamen Traditionen und in dem Stolz auf die hohe germanische Kulturmission.

Die Sprache Goethe's und Bismarck's ist für uns die schönste der Welt und auch auf verlorenem Posten werden wir für dieselbe bis zu unserem letzten Athemzuge eintreten.

Mit warmer Theilnahme verfolgen wir die blühende Industrie und die riesige Ausdehnung des Handels im deutschen Reiche.

Und als *Deutsche* fühlen wir mit Freude und Schmerz, Hoffnungen und Enttäuschungen, die den Werdegang der grossen deutschen Nation begleiten.

Politisch getrennt, marschiren wir doch gemeinsam mit unseren deutschen Reichsbrüdern, um deutschem Wesen und Wissen, deutscher Gründlichkeit und Gewissenhaftigkeit die Bahn zu den höchsten Erfolgen zu ebnen.

Wir haben dem Amerikanerthum unauslöschliche Spuren deutschen Geistes eingepägt; wir haben in das starre Zelotenthum amerikanischer Unduldsamkeit den frischen Luftzug einer freieren Lebensanschauung geleitet und dadurch unseren Nachkommen wie dem ganzen Amerikanerthum den Ausblick auf eine bessere, freiere Zukunft eröffnet.

Wenn auch die Tragik des Schicksals es wollen mag, dass dabei schliesslich unser Deutchthum auf der Strecke bleiben wird, so haben wir doch unsere Pflicht erfüllt, indem wir eingetreten sind für das Erbe unserer Väter, errungen in tausendjährigem Kampfe: die deutsche Kultur.

Und unsere deutsche Sprache wollen wir hochhalten und pflegen, denn sie ist das Bindeglied aller Deutschen auf dem weiten Erdenrund."

There will be few German-Americans who do not heartily agree with the editorial of *Die Deutsche Post*, but I wish to add a few comments concerning the "pessimism" expressed by our German-American countryman. Being a German-American myself, I, like him, cherish a high regard for the German language, and I believe that it should be kept up as much as possible in our families and schools. Indeed, I believe that a study of the German language is indispensable in our educational system for a proper comprehension of the English language. This fact is sufficiently well known among educators, and the study of German is greatly encouraged, more so than that of any other modern language. In our English grammars and in every scientific treatment of the English language, German is recognised as the greatest help in the comprehension of the English, not only in the United States of North America but also in England. Any student who would devote himself to a historical and philological study of the English language begins to learn German and then Anglo Saxon.

One quotation which characterises the view of all students of English, may suffice: Clair James Greece, in the preface to his translation of Matzner's *English Grammar*, from the German into the English, says:

"That the Grammar of the tongue should have been approached by Germans

from that purely scientific point of view, from which natives have not hitherto regarded it, will not surprise us, when we consider the relations of German to the classical tongues of antiquity and to our own vernacular. *The German is the living classical tongue*, while the modern tongues of the West of Europe are constructed out of the débris of Latin, as English is from the débris of Romance and of a decayed and decapitated German idiom; the modern high Dutch or German exhibits even more than the classical tongues themselves, a systematic orderly development from indigenous materials. The growth and development of language, which to a Frenchman or an Englishman lie external and remote, are to a German ready to hand; and as the cloudless nights of the plains of Shinar prompted the ancient Chaldæans to study the motions of the heavenly host, the purely indigenous structure of their native speech has suggested to the Germans the investigation of the laws of the vocal material in which thought is deposited and communicated."

In the general competition for a proper sphere of influence, the German language need not be afraid of ever being set aside. Its influence upon the thought of the American nation will be lasting, and it will remain an indispensable factor in the education of our youths. That the German language will not become the language of the country is in my opinion no loss, and need not be regretted by my German-American fellow-citizens. The English is preferable as a world language, and among the non-English speaking peoples the Germans ought to feel the least animosity toward the English, for the English is, after all, a German dialect which has developed into a most glorious and noble growth, having acquired by its separation from its mother language a greater freedom, a greater flexibility, a universality, and a rare adaptability to all kinds of uses,—scientific, philosophical, commercial, and what not. Let me quote as an authority on the subject the great master of comparative philology, Jacob Grimm, who, being a German himself, certainly knew the preferences of the German language to perfection, and is one of the greatest admirers of Teutonic speech. In "The Origin of Language," he expresses his view concerning the English as follows:

"Keine unter allen neueren Sprachen hat gerade durch das Aufgeben und Zerrütten alter Lautgesetze, durch den Wegfall beinahe sämtlicher Flexionen eine grössere Kraft und Stärke empfangen als die englische, und von ihrer nicht einmal lehrbaren, nur lernbaren Fülle freier Mitteltöne ist eine wesentliche Gewalt des Ausdrucks abhängig geworden, wie sie vielleicht noch nie einer andern menschlichen Zunge zu Gebote stand. Ihre ganze überaus geistige, wunderbar geglückte Anlage und Durchbildung war hervorgegangen aus einer überraschenden Vermählung der beiden edelsten Sprachen des späteren Europas, der germanischen und romanischen, und bekannt ist wie im Englischen sich beide zu einander verhalten, indem jene bei weitem die sinnliche Grundlage hergab, diese die geistigen Begriffe zuführte. Ja die englische Sprache, von der nicht umsonst auch der

grösste und überlegenste Dichter der neuen Zeit im Gegensatz zur classischen alten Poesie, ich kann natürlich nur Shakespeare meinen, gezeugt und getragen worden ist, sie darf mit vollem Recht eine Weltsprache heissen und scheint gleich dem englischen Volk ausersehn künftigh noch in höherem Masse an allen Enden der Erde zu walten. Denn an Reichthum, Vernunft und gedrängter Fuge lässt sich keine aller noch lebenden Sprachen ihr an die Seite setzen, auch unsre deutsche nicht, die zerrissen ist wie wir selbst zerrissen sind, und erst manche Gebrechen von sich abschütteln müsste, ehe sie kühn mit in die Laufbahn träte."

Bayard Taylor translates this passage as follows :

"No one of all the modern languages has acquired a greater force and strength than the English, through the derangement and relinquishment of its ancient laws of sound. The unteachable (nevertheless *learnable*) profusion of its middle-tones has conferred upon it an intrinsic power of expression, such as no other human tongue ever possessed. Its entire, thoroughly intellectual, and wonderfully successful foundation and perfected development issued from a marvellous union of the two noblest tongues of Europe, the Germanic and the Romanic. Their mutual relation in the English language is well known, since the former furnished chiefly the material basis, while the latter added the intellectual conceptions. The English language, by and through which the greatest and most eminent poet of modern times—as contrasted with ancient classical poetry—(of course I can refer only to Shakespeare), was begotten and nourished, has a just claim to be called a language of the world; and it appears to be destined, like the English race, to a higher and broader sway in all quarters of the earth. For in richness, in compact adjustment of parts, and in pure intelligence, none of the living languages can be compared with it—not even our German, which is divided even as we are divided, and which must cast off many imperfections before it can boldly enter on its career."¹

On consulting my own sentiments concerning the English language, I must confess that I do not feel as if it were a foreign tongue, but only a kindred dialect of my native speech; in fact, it is in many respects nearer the language of my ancestors, who, so far as I can trace them back, all came from Northern Germany the country of low German dialects. English is a low German dialect, and modern high German was forced by the course of events upon the North Germans, subsequently to the Reformation. If we regard changes in the speech of a country as sad, and view the necessity of them so pessimistically we ought to be deeply affected by the fact that our ancestors gave up their low German which is a most beautiful language in favor of the harder and more guttural high German with its complex constructions, acquired under the influence of Latin Schools. As the English nation including the lowlands of Scotland is more purely Teutonic in blood than any province of Germany, so the structure of the English language has

¹ *Ueber den Ursprung der Sprache*, 1851. Berlin edition, 1866, p. 53. See Taylor's translation of *Faust*, Vol. I., p. xii. See for different translations, Trench's *English: Past and Present*, p. 39, and *Standard Dictionary*, p. ix.

more faithfully preserved the Germanic and especially the Saxon character than the High German that is now spoken in the Fatherland.

It is not my intention to descant on the several preferences which the two languages, German and English, actually possess; but I would say that English has become the language of the country, not alone through the fact that the thirteen oldest states were English colonies, nor because the majority of the people speak English, but by its own intrinsic virtue. The English is to become the world language because it is best adapted to the purpose. Supposing the English had not yet been adopted as the official language of some of our States, we have not the slightest doubt that even if the majority of the people spoke other languages the English would in a free competition conquer and remain the victor by dint of those intrinsic virtues which the father of comparative philology, Jacob Grimm, fully appreciated, and which any one who for any length of time has been compelled to make use of the English will recognise.

We German-Americans stand up for German ideals, for German science, German music, the German spirit as incorporated in the great men of the Teutonic nation, Luther, Kepler, Copernicus, Goethe, Schiller, Lessing, Kant, Frederick the Great, Beethoven, and their kind, but we see our duty in building up in unison with our Anglo-American countrymen, not in tearing down their work. We want to build higher and better than it was permitted us in the Fatherland, and if there is to be any rivalry between the different ingredients that are united here in the work of shaping the future of our nation, let it be the competition of vieing with one another in doing the best work. Let no outsider dare to set enmity between the Anglo American and the German-American, for the interests of both are irrevocably cemented together in their common ideals, their common tasks, their common duties.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE GERMAN-AMERICAN MASS-MEETINGS.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

I have read with great interest your reply to the article by Mr. William Vocke, in the July *Open Court*. It is difficult to understand how the suggestion merely of an Anglo-American Alliance could have become such a bugbear to our German-American citizens, and that it could have grown to such proportions that prominent men in large and small cities have held mass-meetings to protest against it. If the question took a really practical form, and were put before the country for endorsement, not one in a thousand Americans would vote for it. The United States can fight its own battles, and our international complications are few indeed compared with those of England. At the same time, we should never forget the moral support which England gave us during our struggle with Spain. It was the only nation in all Europe that was outspoken in its attitude. The other countries, it is true, were neutral, but their press and public were hostile to us. It was different in the Civil War: Germany and Russia gave us all the moral support and encouragement which we could desire, and they may both be sure that their attitude during the War of the Rebellion, like that of England in our late war with Spain, is duly appreciated and will be reciprocated at the proper time.

As a German-American, who though having lived nearly fifty years in this country still dearly loves his native land, I greatly deplore the fact that mass-meetings of this kind took place, the more so as no prominent men or prominent newspapers have really advocated a formal alliance of this character. Judging from my acquaintance with the German-Americans of this State I can not regard the resolutions adopted at the mass-meetings as a genuine expression of German-American sentiment. So absurd does the whole affair seem that if we were living in Bismarck's time suspicion would be immediately cast upon the *Reptilienfond*.

PERU, III.

J. REINHARDT.

THE CHINESE PROBLEM.

Mr. Tan Tek Soon, a descendant of Chinese ancestors, living in Singapore in the Straits Settlement, treats the Chinese problem in a very lucid and intelligent manner in an article running through several numbers of the *Straits Chinese Magazine*. Being a descendant of the Chinese race, and perfectly familiar with Chinese literature and civilisation, he has preserved his sympathy for the country of his ancestors, and yet sees it through the spectacles of an English education which he had the benefit of receiving. He concludes his article as follows:

"The Imperial Government is but a crude combination of an enlarged Family and an enlarged Guild. Hence all the characteristics of the two, good or bad, reappear in it in an exaggerated degree; and according to times and circumstances virtue or vice predominates, or both are held in equilibrium. Prestige, authority and power may nominally lie with the Emperor but unless he governs for the benefit of his people they will not accord willing obedience to his decrees. *Vox populi vox Dei* is thoroughly understood by the whole nation and whenever vicious excesses are carried beyond a certain limit the remedy has lain in the hands of the people. The advent of Foreign Powers has however to some extent complicated the situation. But even in the case of extreme aggressions should they succeed in annihilating the political independence of the Chinese and substituting themselves at their head, they must nevertheless govern on the recognised principles and assimilate themselves to the development of Chinese nationality. This would be in fact engrafting a new culture upon the ancient roots. It would not mean in any way the destruction of their civilisation, but rather its re-invigoration, and whatever may be its ultimate nature it will always remain typically Chinese. Foreign domination must inevitably fulfil the racial aspirations and no system of state-craft or policy will avail to thwart the destiny of the race. Russia evidently comprehends the situation better than the English, hence the success of her diplomacy. What the Chinese lack at the present juncture is therefore easily seen, viz., a *Great Leader*, who should be strong enough to ensure respect from all quarters, and wise enough to utilise to advantage the immense resources at his disposal. Whether he is to appear as one of themselves like *Tang Tai Tsung* or *Hung Wu of the Mings*, or as a semi-foreigner like *Tsin She Hwang Te* or *Kublai Khan* is immaterial, so long as he is able to maintain by his merits his great pretensions. For the rest, the nation under him is quite prepared to be led anywhere, and be moulded in any direction of progress. For the people are yet *children* and vigorous although fifty centuries old."

THE CHURCH OF THE LATTER-DAY SAINTS.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints has appointed Dr. James E. Talmage to write a series of lectures¹ on their Articles of Faith, which are now published by the Deseret News of Salt Lake City, Utah. The Articles of Faith are strictly Christian, perhaps with the sole exception that they endeavor to restore the primitive Christian institutions. They practice baptism by immersion, the laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost, and have in their midst apostles, prophets and evangelists practising the gift of tongues, prophecy, revelation, visions, healing, etc. In addition to the Bible they accept the Book of Mormon as the Word of God, which, as is stated, has been translated into English by the prophet, Joseph Smith, from the original, which is written in Oriental script and language. It contains the history of the Nephites and Jaredites—a remnant of the house of Israel who by divine guidance reached the continent of America on which God intends to build up the new Zion.²

¹ *The Articles of Faith. A Series of Lectures on the Principal Doctrines of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints.* By Dr. James E. Talmage. Salt Lake City, Utah: The Deseret News. 1899. Pages, viii, 490.

² For a Mormon statement of the details see the present volume, pp. 263 ff. When Joseph Smith had prepared a translation of the first part of the writings of Mormon (which are an abbreviation of the plates of Nephi), Martin Harris, the prophet's friend and supporter appropriated the MS. in order to make him do the work over again for the sake of allowing him to test the correctness of the translation. But Joseph Smith was on his guard and translated another book

Dr. Talmage declares that "the genuineness of the Book will appear to any one who undertakes an impartial investigation into the circumstances attending its coming forth. The many so called theories of its origin advanced by prejudiced opponents of the work of God are in general too inconsistent, and in most instances too thoroughly puerile, to merit serious consideration. Such fancies as are set forth in representations of the Book of Mormon as the production of a single author, or of men working in collusion, as a work of fiction, or in any manner as a modern composition, are their own refutation. The sacred character of the plates forbade their display as a means of gratifying personal curiosity; nevertheless, a number of reputable witnesses examined them, and these men have given to the world their solemn testimony of the fact."

It is well known in history that the Mormons practice polygamy, but the present lectures on their *Articles of Faith* contain only a brief allusion to the institution of "plural marriage" (p. 435). It had been introduced as a result of direct legislation but is now officially abolished in submission to United States law (p. 436). Marriage is spoken of (on pp. 455-459) in no other terms than might be found in any Christian catechism. The holiness of marriage is insisted upon, and it is said to be a bond which "is not merely a temporal contract to be of effect on earth during the mortal existence of the parties, but a solemn agreement which is to extend beyond the grave." Not merely "until death do you part," but "for time and for all eternity."

The book is instructive on account of the firm conviction as to the divine origin

Joseph Smith's revelations and the implicit belief in the book of Mormon—the original plates of which seem to have disappeared. The statement here made looks as rational and convincing as that of any other religious doctrine and does not materially differ in ethics or practical morals. And this religion originated in historical times. The lives, the characters, the deeds of their founders, first of Joseph Smith and his helpmates and then of Brigham Young, are well known. The history of the Mormon church (or as they call themselves "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints") is described from a Gentile standpoint in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* vol. xvi. pp. 825-8.

BOOK REVIEWS.

*From Comte to Benjamin Kidd*¹ is the prosodic title of a new work on Sociology, by Dr. Robert Mackintosh. Comte's place in the history of thought would hardly seem to warrant juxtaposition with the author of a popular and ephemeral book having but the vogue of a day. But for us moderns there seems to exist no appreciation for the gradations of genius, and we are now as apt to speak of the history of philosophy from Pythagoras to McFadden as we are from Plato to Kant. Otherwise, Professor Mackintosh has written a very readable book. He has reviewed the history of sociology in England, as influenced by the different theories of evolution, and added some luminous remarks of his own. But he has neglected recent German and French thought, which has been particularly rich in sociologi-

The Records of Nefhi which was actually published (p. 272). The Jaredites came from the scenes of Babel and after them Lehi and his Israelitic companions came about 590 B. C., dividing into Nephites and Lamanites; the former becoming extinct about 385 A. D., while the latter degenerated into Indians (p. 292). The last prophet of the Nephites, Moroni, deposited the plates in a stone box and his spirit appeared to Joseph Smith and communicated to him the secret (pp. 10-12).

¹ *From Comte to Benjamin Kidd*. The Appeal to Biology or Evolution for Human Guidance, By Dr. Robert Mackintosh. New York: The Macmillan Co. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1899. Pages, xxiii+312. Price \$1.50.

cal inquiry, and his conclusions have suffered accordingly, especially his discussion of the doctrine that "society is an organism." His personal view is that "the one attempt to give authority to biology as a guide for human conduct is the doctrine of evolution. The only accredited theory of naturalistic evolution is natural selection. And it does not, it cannot, apply where reason is at work." But "all is not done when we recognise the importance of reason and will." Idealism (the author's philosophy) "tells us that reason is the fulfilment (as well as the transformation) of nature; that man is the meaning, and therefore the goal, of the cosmic process, which is seen in this world."

Plato, Aristotle, Rousseau, Herbart, Spencer, Harris, Butler and Eliot is the galaxy of names stamped on the title-page of the *Educational Nuggets* of Fords, Howard and Hulbert, of New York (Pages, 215). The book is a collection of extracts from the above-named thinkers, on questions of education, and has been compiled by John R. Howard. Their object is "suggestiveness, inspiration, and encouragement, for the training of right-minded men and women as citizens of our American Republic." The selections as a whole are very good, and the little book is adorned by a fine title-page portrait of a bust of Plato. The idea of the *Nugget Series* is excellent. The books are small pocket-size, bound in flexible cloth, and cost but 40 cents. The numbers already issued are: *Don't Worry Nuggets*. From Emerson, George Eliot, Robert Browning; *Patriotic Nuggets*. From Franklin, Washington, Jefferson, Webster, Lincoln, Beecher; *Philosophic Nuggets*. From Carlyle, Ruskin, Charles Kingsley, Amiel.

Drs. Fisher and Schwatt, of the University of Pennsylvania, have performed a very commendable task in their *Text-book of Algebra*.¹ Upon the face of it, 500 pages of mathematics would seem an enormous amount of material for the average student to digest before reaching quadratics, and one apt to tire his patience; but the authors have made every endeavor to be explicit and thorough with the elementary parts, and to lay the foundations of accuracy, ease and comprehensiveness in the higher branches; they have incorporated into the book an unusual number of exercises and have spared no space in simplifying their developments. In the hands of an intelligent teacher the bulk of the book could be easily offset by economic methods of studying. The full development of particular examples previous to the logical and formal statement of mathematical truths is the only true didactic method and is to be unqualifiedly commended. The use of the smaller signs of "quality" with plus and minus numbers, as distinguished from signs of "operation," is a helpful mechanical expedient, but it should not be permitted to obscure the real origin of "quality," which is operation enshelled, so to speak. Fulness and the introduction of many of the more systematic and logical of modern pedagogical devices are the characteristic features of the book. We could wish the authors had gone farther and incorporated the more simple and salient principles of the graphic method, curve-tracing, and so forth, with its applications; but perhaps this is reserved for the second part. Just recently, the same authors have issued an abridgement of their *Text-book of Algebra* for younger students, in two forms: (1) *School Algebra*, with examples, and (2) *Elements of Algebra*, the latter being slightly more advanced, and containing the matter required for admission to universities and scientific schools.

¹ *Text-book of Algebra*. With Exercises for Secondary Schools and Colleges. By George Egbert Fisher, M. A., Ph. D. and Isaac J. Schwatt, Ph. D., Assistant Professors of Mathematics in the University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia: Fisher and Schwatt. 1898. Pages, xiii+683

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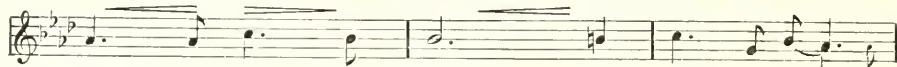
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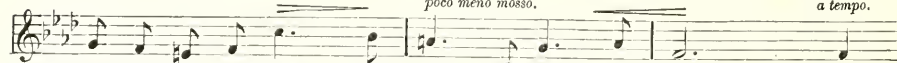
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1. O ho - ly shore, which lib - er - ty pro - tects, Be
2. I served my coun - try, true to liege and laws, But
3. My fa - ther - land shines bright in glo - rious hue; I
4. There - fore be blessed, O hap - py, glo - rious land, Thou



blessed a thous - and times! Thy star - ry ban - ner
free was I as skald; And glad to serve a
love it much, in sooth! Would there had been more
lov - est lib - er - ty, And bid - dest wel - come



joy - ful - ly af - fects The po - et's heart and rhymes. In -
great and glo - rious cause;— I would not be en - thralled. Re -
free - dom to pur - sue In - qui - ry in - to truth. The
ev - ry will - ing hand. Thou still hast room for me. Here



tol - er - ance has me com - pelled to roam Far, far o'er the az - ure
luc - tant - ly, with pain of heart I tore The bond which thral - dom
pil - grims when pur - sued by tyr - an - ny, At length com - pelled to
will I stay, and here my home shall be, O match - less ho - ly



main;..... What I have lost— a dear and cher - ished home— I
brings..... Hu - man - i - ty and free - dom are much more Than
flee..... In old - en times came hith - er joy - ful - ly, And
shore,..... Where high i - de - als of hu - man - i - ty Shall



hope here to re - gain; What I have
fa - ther - land and kings; Hu - man - i -
con - science here is free; In old - en
flour - ish ev - er - more; Where high i -



lost— a dear and cher - ished home— I hope here to re -
ty and free - dom are much more Than fa - ther - land and
times, came hith - er joy - ful - ly, And eon - science here is
de - als of hu - man - i - ty Shall



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kings.
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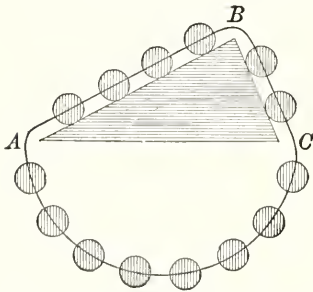
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