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The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER.



NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

From a Cameo in the Museum of The Hague.

The Open Court Publishing Company

CHICAGO

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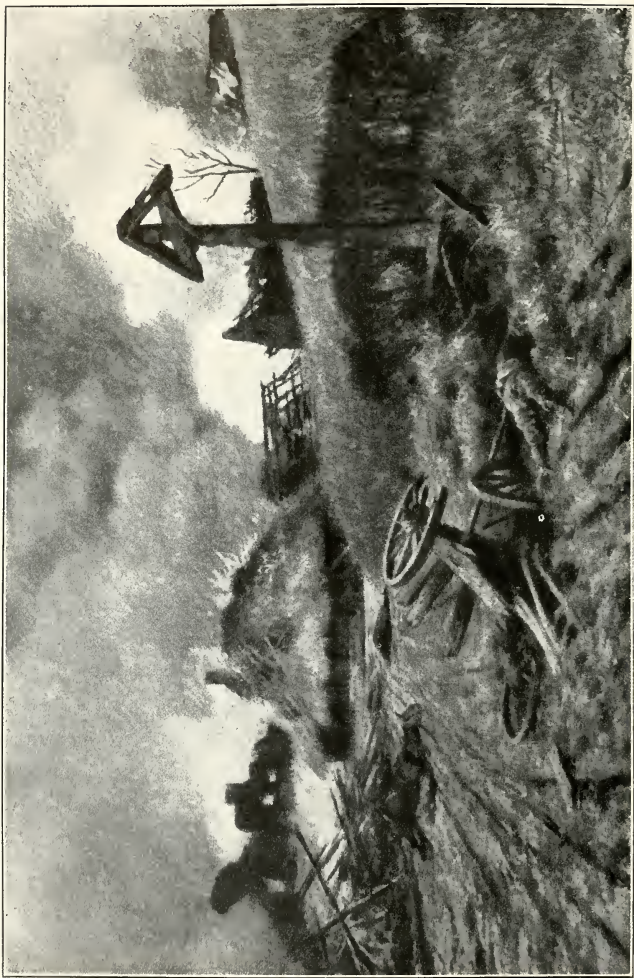
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IN THE WAKE OF THE RUSSIAN RETREAT.

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DECEMBER, 1915

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FOUR ANNIVERSARIES IN THE HISTORY OF GREEK PHILOSOPHY.

BY C. A. BROWNE.

FOR the lovers of Greek science and philosophy the year 1915, in a most peculiar sense, is a year of anniversaries. In its long history of twenty-five centuries Hellenic philosophy has undergone many vicissitudes. There have been periods of birth and rebirth; of development and transformation; of splendor and decay. Among the occurrences of the past there are certain events which, in their significance for Greek philosophy, loom up like detached peaks. They mark off its history into well-defined periods and give us convenient starting-points from which to explore its boundaries. In its relation to several of these events 1915 deserves to be celebrated as a year of commemoration.

I. THALES PREDICTS THE ECLIPSE OF MAY 28, 585 B. C.

Twenty-five centuries ago, on the 28th of May, occurred a famous eclipse of the sun, which, from its prediction by Thales of Miletus, may be said to constitute the first great event in the history of Greek philosophy. According to Professor Allman¹ "the wonderful fame of Thales amongst the ancients must have been in great part due to this achievement, which seems, moreover, to have been one of the chief causes that excited amongst the Hellenes the love of science which ever afterward characterized them."

It is significant that Thales, in laying the foundations of Greek philosophy, should have marked out in completion almost the full extent of the lines upon which the future structure was to be reared. As a traveler and tradesman it was natural that he should cultivate philosophy for practical as well as for ideal ends. He

¹ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th edition, Vol. XXVI, p. 720.

was quick to apply his discoveries in abstract geometry to the engineering problems of measuring heights and distances, and in astronomy he turned from his studies of the stars to show how this knowledge could be utilized in improving the art of navigation. In matters of government the practical trend of Thales's genius is illustrated by many acts of political shrewdness, while in religion and ethics his speculations regarding the nature of God and man are interspersed with pithy reflections upon personal conduct.

But there were wise men before the time of Thales, and in his own age he was counted as only one of the seven great sages of Greece. It was not, therefore, for his precepts and acts of practical wisdom that the Greeks regarded Thales as the founder of their philosophies. What distinguished Thales from the wise men who preceded him was his effort to unify human perceptions by reducing the manifold phenomena of nature to the operations of one common principle. This principle, the beginning and end of things, Thales believed to be water.

Aristotle suggests that Thales was led to adopt water as his primary principle from observing the necessity of moisture for the generation and maintenance of life. Others have thought that the observance of alluvial deposits or of marine fossils may have given birth to the idea. Others again suppose the conception to be of mythological origin. Homer (*Iliad*, XIV, 201) called Okeanos the father of the gods, and in the old Babylonian mythology the first beginning of things was said to have been a watery chaos.

But, whatever its origin, this conception of water as a first principle is noteworthy as it marks the beginning of that monistic tendency which seeks to unify our explanations of the phenomena of nature. It matters not whether the philosophers who came after Thales substituted the principles of fire or air for that of water, or whether they sought other explanations in the play of atoms or the law of numbers, it was Thales who first adopted the idea of one universal principle or law in the interpretation of nature and for this service he deserves the distinction of being called the "founder of philosophy."

II. SULLA ACQUIRES THE LOST BOOKS OF ARISTOTLE AND THEOPHRASTUS IN 85 B. C.

In the spring of 86 B. C. the Roman general Sulla, during the war with Mithridates, besieged Athens and captured it by storm. After the subsequent campaign and victory of Chaeronea, Sulla returned at the close of the year to Athens, where he stayed until

the spring of 85 B. C. It was on this occasion that Sulla seized as part of his booty the famous library of Apellicon which contained the recently recovered books of Aristotle and Theophrastus. Shortly afterwards, when peace had been concluded with Mithridates, Sulla conveyed his spoils to Rome. This acquisition of Apellicon's library took place exactly twenty centuries ago and its removal to Rome was an event of the greatest significance in the history of Greek philosophy.

Just 250 years previous to this, in 335 B. C., Aristotle left the court of Alexander, the newly crowned king of Macedon, and, returning to Athens, founded his Peripatetic school. During the next twelve years of his residence in Athens the activities of Aristotle were divided between studying, lecturing, writing and book-collecting. In the enlargement of his library Aristotle was particularly zealous; he spent three talents in acquiring the library of Speusippus and much money was also laid out in purchasing or in copying the works of other philosophers.

On the death of Aristotle in 322 B. C. his library, which included the manuscripts of his own later works, passed into the possession of Theophrastus, second head of the Peripatetic school. Theophrastus, like his master, was a collector, as well as writer, of books, and the library which he bequeathed in 287 B. C. to his pupil Neleus was one of the finest collections of philosophical books that has ever been gathered together.

Neleus left Athens shortly after the death of Theophrastus and took the library which he inherited to his residence at Skepsis in Asia Minor. The descendants of Neleus, to whom the library passed, were, according to Plutarch, careless and illiterate men. Although having little knowledge of philosophy, and still less knowledge of the care of books, they seem, nevertheless, to have had some faint idea of the importance of the collection. They jealously guarded their inheritance, and to conceal it from the kings of Pergamus, who were especially noted for plundering the libraries of their subjects, they buried the books of Neleus in an underground chamber. For nearly one hundred and fifty years the precious manuscripts remained in this hiding place, where they suffered no little damage from mildew and worms.

After the extinction of the Attalid dynasty the hidden manuscripts were once more brought to light and the entire collection was finally sold for a large sum to Apellicon of Teos, a wealthy resident of Athens and follower of the Peripatetics.

The books of Neleus, which Apellicon brought to Athens, were found to contain many works of Aristotle and Theophrastus that were unknown to the later heads of the Peripatetic school. Apellicon, who found his manuscripts to be seriously damaged, attempted to remedy things by making new copies in which he filled in any gaps, due to illegibility or the ravages of insects and worms, by emendations of his own. Apellicon, however, according to Strabo, was more of a book-lover than a philosopher, and his new edition of the lost books was corrected unskilfully and contained many serious errors.²

It was most fortunate for the future of philosophy that the library of Apellicon should have been removed at this time to Rome. The fame of Aristotle had already been sounded by Latin writers and the arrival in Rome of his original manuscripts in the very handwriting of the great philosopher himself, excited no little commotion. The books were placed by Sulla under the care of a skilled librarian and permission was granted to worthy scholars to visit and study the collection.

The library of Apellicon was an immense composite. It included not only the books and manuscripts of Speusippus, Aristotle, Theophrastus and Neleus, but it also comprised acquisitions which Apellicon had made from other sources. As might be supposed, the books, which formed a part of the mixed spoils of war, reached Rome in a state of great disorder, and to classify such a heterogeneous mass of manuscripts required critical and literary ability of the highest degree. The task of evolving order out of such a chaos very fortunately was allotted to Andronicus of Rhodes.

Andronicus went about his editorial work with great perfection of system. It was first necessary to disentangle the writings of Aristotle himself, as based upon cheirographic or similar evidences, from the works of Theophrastus and other philosophers. When this separation had been made, the disorder of the collection was further reduced by arranging the pages and different treatises in their logical sequence. When this had been done Andronicus was ready to take up the third and most difficult part of his task, which was to make the necessary restitutions of text where any lacunae or gaps existed. While it cannot be said that Andronicus has given the works of Aristotle and Theophrastus to the world in their original entirety and perfection, the restorations of the dam-

² Strabo, XIII, 609. ἦν δὲ ὁ Ἀπελλικῶν φιλόβιβλος μᾶλλον ἢ φιλόσοφος, διὸ καὶ ζητῶν ἐπανόρθωσιν τῶν διαβρωμάτων, εἰς ἀντίγραφα καινὰ μετένεγκε τὴν γραφὴν ἀναπληρῶν οὐκ εὖ, καὶ ἐξέδωκεν ἀμαρτᾶδων πλήρη τὰ βιβλία.

aged books were no doubt as nearly correct as the best discernment and judgment of the human mind could make them.

The new edition of the manuscripts, which was published by Andronicus with a tabulated bibliography, forms the basis of our modern editions of Aristotle. In the words of Grote³ "the Aristotelian philosophy passed into a new phase. Our editions of Aristotle may be considered as taking their date from this critical effort of Andronicus, with or without subsequent modifications by others, as the case may be."⁴

III. HYPATIA, HEAD OF THE GREEK SCHOOL OF ALEXANDRIA, IS SLAIN MARCH, 415 A. D.

This third event, of which 1915 is the anniversary, occurred in March fifteen centuries ago. As the eclipse of Thales ushers in the beginning, and the removal of the lost books of Aristotle to Rome marks the continuation, so the martyrdom of the beautiful Hypatia, last head of the Alexandrian school, typifies the end of Greek philosophy. Practically the whole of Greek learning is comprised within the thousand years between these first and third events.

It is significant that the opening and closing scenes in this great drama of ideas should have taken place outside the boundaries of Greece. Thales and the other philosophers of the Ionic school lived in Asia Minor, the Elean school of Parmenides and the great school of Pythagoras flourished in Italy, while Democritus, the founder of the Atomic school, belonged to Thrace. These fountain systems of philosophy send their rivulets toward Athens where, mingling in the schools of Plato and Aristotle, they gather into two mighty streams of thought, whose current, however, now ebbs away from Hellas to the empire of the Ptolemies. Philo, Plotinus, Porphyry, Iamblichus and nearly all the great teachers of later renown are connected more or less intimately with the Alexandrian school.

As we approach the old age of Greek philosophy we miss the intellectual ardor of the earlier thinkers. The desire to arrive at one explanation of things begins to fail and the hopelessness of any such solution is more frequently expressed. Philosophers now choose their doctrines from Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, irrespective of school, and what these sources fail to supply they draw from Judaism and the Hermetic wisdom of Egypt. It was a time

³ Grote, "Aristotle," Vol. I, p. 57.

⁴ See also the opinion of Spengel (*Ueber die Reihenfolge der naturwissenschaftlichen Schriften des Aristoteles*). "Erst mit der vielbesprochenen Aufindung der Bibliothek des Aristoteles in Athen und deren Wegführung nach Rom durch Sulla wird ein regeres Studium des Philosophen bemerkbar."

of reconciliation when the systems of Egyptian, Chaldean, Jew and Greek were all made to agree. The syncretic philosophers of that age might well exclaim:

"All thoughts, all creeds, all dreams are true,
All visions wild and strange."

But the evidences of failing power, which the Greeks may have shown in philosophy, were more than counterbalanced by the progress that was made in science. In astronomy, geometry, mathematics, mechanics and in other exact sciences the Greek mind, during most of the Alexandrian period, displayed a wonderful vigor. The traditions established by Euclid under the first Ptolemy in the 3d century B. C. continued unbroken for nearly seven hundred years.

Eratosthenes, the many-minded, not only writes upon philosophy, poetry, philology, astronomy, geography, and chronology but he measures for the first time the circumference of the earth. Aristarchus devises a method for measuring the relative distances of the sun and moon and was the first to maintain the revolution of the earth around the sun. Hipparchus, according to Delambre one of the greatest men in the history of science, invents trigonometry and discovers the precession of the equinoxes.

The importance to science of observation and experiment now began to be recognized. We see the first awakening of that scientific spirit which, while recognizing that the life of the individual worker is but brief, does not for that reason despair, but cheerfully records what it is able to observe in the hope that some subsequent worker may thereby be assisted in arriving at the truth. There are few better illustrations of this than the way in which Hipparchus, having discovered the inadequacy of the theories which came down to him, refrained from setting up new hypotheses of his own, but patiently began the collection of new observations that some future astronomer might reap the benefit of his labors.

In the second century A. D. Claudius Ptolemy, the best known scientist of the Alexandrian school, develops the ideas of Hipparchus in his *Almagest*, a book which has exercised a greater influence upon subsequent thought than any other scientific work of antiquity.

After the time of Ptolemy but few additions are made to Greek science, and the labor of scholars, as in literature and philosophy, is devoted more and more to the writing of commentaries. Pappus, the last great mathematician of Alexandria, writes commentaries on Euclid and Ptolemy. Theon, the father of Hypatia, brings out Euclid in its final Greek edition,—the edition which is

in use to-day. Hypatia herself writes commentaries upon the geometry of Apollonius and Diophantus.

The rapid decline of Greek learning in the fourth century was due in no small measure to the growing opposition of the church. The attitude of the early Christians toward science and philosophy was at first one of indifference. "It is not through ignorance," writes Eusebius, "but through contempt of such useless labor that we think little of these matters and turn our souls to better things." Basil expresses the same feeling when he says: "It is a matter of no interest to us whether the earth is a sphere or a cylinder or a disk." But as the church increased in power the negative feeling of indifference was succeeded by an active hostility to science. It was declared irreligious to deny that the earth was oblong while those who preferred the astronomical teachings of philosophy to the interpretations of the Bible were condemned as heretics.

Nowhere can the contest of ideals during this period be studied to better advantage than in the life and letters of Synesius, a pupil of Hypatia, who afterwards became Bishop of Cyrene. The Greek intellect of Synesius revolts at the bigotry and superstition of illiterate monks, yet with the easy tolerance of an Alexandrian he sees no opposition between the teachings of Jesus and Plato, and finds it easy to become a Christian. But in adopting Christianity Synesius will not surrender his accustomed freedom of thought and will make no concessions to dogma. In a statement of his difficulties in accepting the appointment of bishop he writes to his brother as follows:

"I must insist upon one other point, beside of which all other obstacles are as nothing. It is difficult, if not altogether impossible, to eradicate from one's soul those convictions which have been gained by means of science. You know that philosophy rejects many of those dogmas which are generally accepted as true. I could never persuade myself, for example, that the soul was of later origin than the body; nor would I ever say that the world or any of its parts is doomed to destruction; the resurrection, an object of common belief, is for me only a sacred allegory and I am far from accepting the views which are ordinarily held."

This declaration of belief is the dying challenge of Greek philosophy to the spirit of intolerance which was about to win the day. Fortunately for Synesius he did not live to see the outcome. A last letter, written to his beloved teacher, Hypatia, in 413, describes most bitterly his state of mind and shortly after this he passed away. At the time of his death the fanaticism of the Chris-

tians in Alexandria was reaching its climax. In 412 the dogmatic and intolerant Cyril became patriarch, and under his leadership a violent crusade was begun against heretics and unbelievers.

First of all the Novatians, a harmless Christian sect, suffered the loss of their churches and were forbidden the right to worship. Next a mob of furious fanatics, led by the patriarch Cyril in person, fell upon the Jews in their synagogues and drove them from the city. The hatred of the rabble finally turned upon the teachers of Greek learning.

"On a fatal day," to quote from Gibbon, "in the holy season of Lent, Hypatia was torn from her chariot, stripped naked, dragged to the church and inhumanly butchered by the hands of Peter, the reader, and a troop of savage and merciless fanatics; her flesh was scraped from her bones with sharp oyster-shells and her quivering limbs were delivered to the flames."

Such was the end of the last bright figure in the history of Greek philosophy. Superstition and intolerance had finally succeeded in extinguishing the lamp of learning; a last effort to revive its flame at Athens was crushed by the edict of Justinian which forbade the teaching of philosophy.

The black curtain of the Middle Ages now falls upon the scene. The very names of that long line of thinkers, whose works had been the admiration of Greeks and Romans, became forgotten. Only in the quietness of their seclusion a few isolated scholars preserved the writings of antiquity for the breaking of a better day. It was not until the Revival of Learning, ten centuries after the martyrdom of Hypatia, that the world was again to resound with the names of those

"Whose myriad fame
Had passed into the night and towards the dawn."⁵

IV. COMPLETION OF THE LIFE WORK OF MANUEL CHRYSOLORAS, RESTORER OF GREEK LEARNING, APRIL 15, 1415.

"Again the dawn, again the light,
Again the day doth brightly shine.
After the darkness of the night
Sing thou again, O soul of mine!"⁶

⁵ οὐ τὸ μυρίον κλέος
διήλθε κήπι νύκτα καὶ πρὸς αὖ.
—Theocritus.

⁶ Πάλι φέγγος, πάλιν αὖς
Πάλιν ἄμερα προλάμπει.
Μετὰ νυκτίφοιτον ὄρφναν
Πάλι μοι λίταινε, θυμέ.
—Synesius, Hymn II.

These opening words from the second hymn of Synesius, which was written on the eve of the extinction of Greek philosophy, might well have been chosen as a song of jubilation by the revivers of learning at the beginning of the Renaissance. And this brings us to the last in this series of anniversary events. The fifteenth of April, five centuries ago, marked the completion of the life work of Manuel Chrysoloras, the man who more than all others was the instrument of restoring Greek science and philosophy to the European world.

Ever since the overthrow of the Greek schools the belief of the church that the spirit of intellectual liberty was hostile to Christianity had kept the minds of men in ignorance and superstition. Only in the pages of a few Latin writers were preserved imperfect memories of the great thinkers of antiquity. The knowledge of Greek in Western Europe was completely extinct. As Symonds has well said, "Greek was hardly less lost to Europe than Sanskrit in the first half of the eighteenth century."

With the coming of Petrarch in the fourteenth century we catch the first glimpses of the dawning spirit of intellectual freedom. "In my search for truth, I care nothing for sects,"⁷ he writes in one of his letters. Petrarch, in his efforts to free men's minds from the bondage of ignorance, instinctively felt the necessity of reviving the knowledge of Greek, but there was no one in Italy from whom instruction could be received. A gift of a Greek manuscript of Plato was sent to Petrarch from Constantinople, but he was unable to read it. The feeling of possession, however, was something of a joy and he wrote with satisfaction: "*Graecos spectare, et si nihil aliud, certe juvat.*"

The desire for a knowledge of Greek, which Petrarch initiated, was further intensified by his pupil Boccaccio, and to these two men is due the chief merit of having prepared the ground for the seeds of Greek learning.

In 1393 Manuel Chrysoloras, the descendant of a distinguished Roman family which had migrated with Constantine to Byzantium, was sent upon an embassy to Italy by the Greek emperor, Palaeologus, to implore the aid of the Western Christians against the Turks. Although the main object of this embassy was a failure, its consequences in other respects were far-reaching. During his brief visit to Italy the learning and culture of Chrysoloras made a deep impression upon the minds of the Florentines, and so it happened

⁷ Sum sectarum negligens, veri appetens.—*Epistolae Rerum Senilium*, Lib. I, 5.

that shortly after his return to Constantinople he was invited by the Signory of Florence to accept the Greek professorship at their university. The invitation was accepted, and upon this fact hinges the future history of Greek learning.

The enthusiasm which the coming of Chrysoloras aroused in Florence may best be realized from the following passage⁸ in the Commentaries of Leonardo Bruni:

"Letters at this period grew mightily in Italy, seeing that the knowledge of Greek, intermitted for seven centuries, revived. Chrysoloras of Byzantium, a man of noble birth and well skilled in Greek literature, brought to us Greek learning. I at that time was following the civil law, though not ill-versed in other studies; for by nature I loved learning with ardor, nor had I given slight pains to dialectic and to rhetoric. Therefore, at the coming of Chrysoloras, I was made to halt in my choice of lives, seeing that I held it wrong to desert law, and yet I reckoned it a crime to omit so great an occasion of learning the Greek literature; and oftentimes I reasoned with myself after this manner: Can it be that thou, when thou mayest gaze on Homer, Plato, and Demosthenes, together with other poets, philosophers and orators, concerning whom so great and so wonderful things are said, and mayest converse with them, and receive their admirable doctrines—can it be that thou wilt desert thyself and neglect the opportunity divinely offered thee? Through seven hundred years no one in all Italy has been master of Greek letters; and yet we acknowledge that all science is derived from them. Of civil law, indeed, there are in every city scores of doctors; but should this single and unique teacher of Greek be removed, thou wilt find no one to instruct thee. Conquered at last by these reasonings, I delivered myself over to Chrysoloras with such passion that what I had received from him by day in hours of waking, occupied my mind at night in hours of sleep."

The seeds of learning which were so bountifully sown in Florence were scattered also through other Italian cities. After a residence of three years in Florence Chrysoloras opened schools at Milan, Padua, Venice and Rome. But the work of this accomplished man was not confined to Italy alone; in 1408 Chrysoloras was sent to Paris on important business by his emperor, Palaeologus, and in 1413 he conducted an embassy to Emperor Sigismund of Germany. It was during these missions that the influence of Greek learning was first felt beyond the Alps.

⁸ J. A. Symonds, *The Revival of Learning*, p. 110.

In 1414 the aged scholar was delegated by Palaeologus to attend the famous Council of Constance as representative of the Greek church. On his arrival at Constance the delicate constitution of Chrysoloras, weakened by the fatigues of so many journeys, gave way and he died suddenly on April 15, 1415.

Few teachers have played a greater part in the history of letters than Chrysoloras. His influence upon contemporary and succeeding times has been well summarized by Symonds:⁹

"The scholars who assembled in the lecture-rooms of Chrysoloras felt that the Greek texts, whereof he alone supplied the key, contained those elements of spiritual freedom and intellectual culture without which the civilization of the modern world would be impossible. Nor were they mistaken in what was then a guess rather than a certainty. The study of Greek implied the birth of criticism, comparison, research. Systems based on ignorance and superstition were destined to give way before it. The study of Greek opened philosophical horizons far beyond the dream-world of the churchmen and the monks: it stimulated the germs of science, suggested new astronomical hypotheses and indirectly led to the discovery of America. The study of Greek resuscitated a sense of the beautiful in art and literature. It subjected the creeds of Christianity, the language of the Gospels, the doctrine of St. Paul, to analysis, and commenced a new era for Biblical inquiry. If it be true, as a writer no less sober in his philosophy than eloquent in his language, has lately asserted, that 'except the blind forces of nature, nothing moves in this world that is not Greek in its origin,' we are justified in regarding the point of contact between the Greek teacher Chrysoloras and his Florentine pupils as one of the most momentous crises in the history of civilization."

But the humanizing and civilizing influence which Chrysoloras¹⁰ exerted through Greek letters was not altogether immediate. As the turns which are given to a twisted cord unwind themselves on releasing, so it seemed as if the spirit of man, in recovering its freedom from medievalism, must trace backward again its past record

⁹ J. A. Symonds, *The Revival of Learning*, p. 112.

¹⁰ The epitaph of Chrysoloras, composed by his pupil and friend, Poggio Braccioloni, the famous humanist, deserves to be quoted in this connection:

"Hic est Emmanuel situs
Sermonis decus Atticae:
Qui dum quaerere opem patriae
Afflictae studeret huc iit.
Res belle cecidit tuis
Votis, Italia; hic tibi
Linguae restituit decus

"Atticae, ante reconditae.
Res belle cecidit tuis
Votis, Emmanuel; solo
Consecutus in Italo
Aeternum decus es, tibi
Quale Graecia non dedit,
Bello perdit Graecia."

of cruelty and persecution. Chrysoloras, fortunately, was spared the pain of witnessing the trial and martyrdom of John Huss,¹¹ which was one of the first matters to engage the attention of the Council of Constance. The burning of Huss, however, was only the prelude to the burning of other victims, who, from Jerome of Prague to Giordano Bruno, have dared to proclaim the doctrine of spiritual and intellectual freedom.

It would extend too far the limits of this paper to discuss in detail the influences which the revival of Greek letters exerted upon modern science, philosophy and literature. We may summarize, however, by saying that in each of these fields the chief service of Greek learning has been the incentive which it gave to the spirit of rationalism. Rationalism was one of the last fruits of the revival of learning, yet its origins go back to the first beginnings of Greek science. The chief significance for philosophy of the eclipse of 585 B. C. was that Thales brought under the domain of law an event which men in their ignorance and fear had been accustomed to regard as a manifestation of divine anger.

The glory of Greek philosophy, according to Lucretius,¹² was that it substituted law for ignorance and liberated the mind from the terrors of superstition. His noble lines,

"Ergo vivida vis animi pervicit et extra
Processit longe flammantia moenia mundi"

express the triumphant march of Greek learning in its age-long conflict with dogmatism and intolerance.

The winning for man of intellectual and spiritual freedom has been the supreme achievement of Greek letters and this should be the central thought in commemorating the first and last of these anniversary events—the birth of Greek philosophy under Thales and its restoration under Chrysoloras.

¹¹Huss was burned in July, 1415, within three months after the death of Chrysoloras.

¹²Lucretius, *De rerum Natura*, beginning of Book I.

A QUESTION FOR ENGLAND.

BY ROLAND HUGINS.

WHY are you in this war?

You are the English; you are now, and will continue to be, a great people. You are at present united, with the exception of a few ineffective intellectuals, in a resolve to "crush" Germany, to beat her to her knees, to punish her. Hate, when it permeates a whole people, becomes a terrible political fact. Yet there is no reason why neutrals should sanction and condone British hate any more than German hate, or Mohammedan hate. Hate always blights, never creates, and should hate rule the peace and the settlement, whichever side wins in the field, we shall have a worse Europe than before. It is not, therefore, to your half-crazed wartime mood that I appeal, but to whatever measure of cool reason remains among you. In every crisis a few Englishmen keep their heads; that is one of the sources of British strength. Let me ask them, without rancor, one question.

What are you fighting for?

You may say that the answer is simple; you are fighting for democracy, for liberty, for civilization, for humanity. Permit me to point out that these vague phrases in themselves mean exactly nothing. Each of the belligerents believes it is fighting for "civilization." The idealism of the German people is as sincere, and their earnestness as intense, to say the least, as your own. High-sounding pretensions must be translated into concrete terms to gain significance.

An explanation would come from you in good grace. For, on the face of it, your position in the war is peculiar. You are fighting on the side of Russia, a despotic and half-Asiatic power which has little in common with Western civilization, and whose interests are in no way identical with those of the British Empire, and you are fighting against Germany, a people of the same stock as yourselves, with the same general social purposes, whom the deeper racial and

cultural forces would seem to mark as your natural ally. Indeed, your choice of sides in this struggle is a great historical anomaly, second only to the anomaly of the war itself. How did that alignment come about? Of course there are reasons. But are the reasons those which have been alleged by your statesmen and publicists? Behind this question lies another: What are you striving to accomplish in this conflict? What purposes do you hope to achieve by that victory of which you are still so confident?

This is not an academic discussion. These are political questions of the greatest urgency, both for Englishmen, and indirectly, for citizens of the United States. It is of the first importance that we think rightly on these issues, not merely that we may save our own souls by finding the truth, but that, having embraced the truth, we may save Europe and the world.

II.

Are you fighting for Belgium?

You must admit that for many of the British public Belgium was England's *casus belli*. Hundreds of thousands of your best young men have enlisted in the service of the King, believing that they are taking up arms to defend a little country against a brutal aggression. From your press and platform have come the strongest assertions that England is fighting a righteous war to vindicate the sanctity of treaties and uphold the rights of small nations. No consideration has won you sympathy in neutral countries more readily than this plea.

Do you still insist on the pose of the knightly rescuer? Let me call your attention to two or three incontrovertible aspects of your relation to Belgium.

1. Sir Edward Grey had, in secret commitments, unconditionally pledged the naval and military forces of the Empire to France in case of a European war. These secret agreements, contracted as far back as 1906 and frequently renewed, known to only a few members of the Cabinet, were not announced to Parliament and the British nation until August 3, 1914, when the armies of the Continent were already on the march. They would have thrown you into war in any case, Belgium or no Belgium. It is said on good authority that Sir Edward Grey planned, in event of repudiation by his own Cabinet, to form a Coalition Cabinet in August 1914—as was done months later—and proceed to carry out his “obligations of honor.” That these agreements were contracted in secret, without the knowledge of the British people, does not alter the fact that they were a binding action of the British government.

2. Germany made a definite bid for your neutrality on the score of Belgian integrity. If your Government had been actuated by any idealistic concern for small nationalities why did it not intervene to preserve Belgium when it could? Sir Edward Grey was asked point blank by Ambassador Lichnowsky whether he would keep Britain out of the war if Belgian neutrality were respected (celebrated dispatch No. 123, British White Paper). Your Foreign Secretary answered, no, his hands must be free,—meaning, of course, that his hands already were tied. When war came, Great Britain's action was mortgaged. "If France became involved we should be drawn in" (No. 111). England might have, indeed would have, saved Belgium had Belgian welfare been a primary object of British statesmanship; but it was not.

3. Belgium was used shamelessly as a pawn in the great game between the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente. Your little neighbor, by the accident of its position, is of the greatest strategic importance, either for an offensive against France or an offensive against Germany. Your Foreign Office urged the Belgians to "maintain to the utmost of their power their neutrality" (White Paper No. 115). France pressed armed aid on Belgium before its course was announced. British and French strategists for years had been hatching secret military plans with the Belgian General Staff. These plans did not, it is true, foreshadow direct aggression on Belgium, but surely they indicated the most cynical willingness to use the Belgian army as a first line of defense for the Entente. When war broke out the "plucky Belgians" rendered you a most valuable service in delaying the march of the Teutonic hosts. What, I ask you in all frankness, did you do for Belgium? Belgium was desolated; she was caught and ground to pieces between the huge rival alliances of Europe. The action of your government, playing the game of the balance of power, amounted to nothing less than a ghastly betrayal of Belgian interests.

The above observations, I submit, are based on facts; I do not admit that they are disputable. I give them thus briefly because they have been emphasized already by many British writers. I need mention only the names of Dr. F. C. Conybeare,¹ E. D. Morel,² H. N. Brailsford,³ Ramsay Macdonald,⁴ and Bernard Shaw.⁵ Even the London *Times*, in a leader of March 12, 1915, repudiated chiv-

¹ Conybeare, Letter in *Vital Issue*.

² Morel, Letter to Birkenhead Liberal Association.

³ Brailsford, "Belgium as 'The Scrap of Paper.'" "

⁴ Macdonald, Statement in the *Labor Leader*.

⁵ Shaw, "Common Sense About the War."

alry for Belgium: "Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg is quite right. Even had Germany not invaded Belgium, honor and interest would have united us with France."

Yet I know what reply you, the better class of Englishmen, would give to the foregoing. You would say: "This indictment of the past is all very well. I dare say our statesmen juggled with Belgium, and I have never been a partisan of secret diplomacy. That is no reason why we should forsake Belgium now. The bald fact remains that she has been trampled under foot by Germany, that she is now invaded and held in subjection. It is England's duty to fight on until the last invader is cleared from Belgian soil."

I give you full credit for honesty in this sentiment. Your aim is generous; but you have chosen futile means. You wish to avenge Belgium by force of arms. It cannot be done.

Suppose you are successful; that you drive back the Germans, yard by yard, to their own territory. What does that mean for Belgium? Merely a second devastation more terrible than the first. By again making Belgium the world's battlefield, you will scorch her bare. There is a better way out. Why should Germany care to retain Belgian territory? Only as a weapon against *you*. "Antwerp is a pistol pointed at the heart of England." Strategically Belgium has value; politically and financially she would be a liability. As soon as you convince the Germans that England is not perpetrating a huge aggression to destroy her, Belgium will be evacuated without cost to the Belgians; not before. I agree that no settlement of this conflict can be satisfactory which does not restore Belgium's independence and make her such measure of reparation as may be possible. But in that reparation you have a share to pay as well as Germany.

Let us, in the name of decency, drop this twaddle about the rights of small nationalities. Consider your allies. You stood calmly aside when Russia throttled Finland, and when she crushed Persian independence with atrocities more gruesome than the alleged German atrocities. You applauded Japan in violating China's neutrality to march on Kiao Chou. Your Foreign Office actively supported France when she tore up the public law of Europe as embodied in the Act of Algenciras and subjected Morocco to military terrorism and financial strangulation. Do you insist on one moral code for your enemies and approve an opposite for your friends? Your own record in Ireland should close your lips against pious platitudes about small nations. You did not enter this war to protect Belgium. You will never render her effective service until you are

prepared to bargain concessions or colonies to secure her interests. That, apparently, you are not ready to do.

What are you fighting for? Not Belgium!

III.

Possibly you are in this war to safeguard France. *La belle France!* You could not bear to see your closest friend crushed to earth. If that is your motive it is a laudable one. The whole world holds France precious.

You will admit, however, that this deep affection is rather a sudden attachment. For centuries the French and British peoples fought and snarled at one another. You hated France when France was strong. Even within the last quarter century there were three occasions when you stood on the brink of war with her,—over Siam, West Africa, and the Nile Valley (Fashoda). But in 1904 your Foreign Office reached a general agreement with France on all outstanding disputes. In 1906 it came to an understanding with Russia, and so the *Entente Cordiale* was formed. From that day on the peace of Europe was never safe. While the Triple Alliance was the most powerful military force in Europe the dogs were chained, but when a stronger combination (presumably) arose, the politics of Europe steadily underwent a sinister transformation. Let us see what happened.

The British Foreign Office definitely abandoned Salisbury's policy of a Concert for a system of rival military groups. The *Entente* did not confine itself to a defensive league against a possible attack, but began openly or clandestinely to balk and bully and injure its rivals in time of peace. Sir Edward Grey at once signed a general Anglo-French declaration regarding Egypt and Morocco, in which the French government averred that it had no intention "of altering the political status of Morocco." This was followed by the publication of a Franco-Spanish declaration of similar tenor. At the same time that these public declarations of good faith appeared Sir Edward Grey entered into *secret* agreements with France and Spain which provided for the partition of Morocco between the two latter countries and rendered the integrity of the Moorish kingdom a sham.⁶ Germany had vast economic interests in Morocco. What became of them? They were wrested from her. Germany was robbed, underhandedly, and furthermore was humiliated, insulted,

⁶ The Moroccan intrigue served more than anything else to embitter Anglo-German relations, and helped to usher in the present war. The authority for the statements in the text is to be found in *Morocco in Diplomacy* by E. D. Morel, first published in London in 1912, and reissued as *Ten Years of Secret Diplomacy* in 1915. Mr. Morel presents the history of the affair with such a

slapped in the face. Morocco, whose independence was guaranteed not only by the public declarations of 1904, but also by the international Act of Algeciras of 1906, signed by all the powers, was ruthlessly reduced to a French dependency. Morocco in time of "peace" was treated worse than Belgium in time of war.

To all this Germany did not submit without a protest. She intervened twice, once at Tangier in the person of the Emperor, and again at Agadir with the Panther. In these interventions she was entirely within her rights, and in accord with what Mr. Morel calls "the fundamental legality of her attitude." And both times Europe nearly plunged into war because Britain interfered to back up France in an aggression where she was morally and legally wrong. In both instances, mind you, your Foreign Office did not interfere with merely diplomatic weapons, but with the threat of the whole military and naval forces of Great Britain,—offered, in the event of a Franco-German rupture, to mobilize the fleet, seize the Kiel canal and land 100,000 men in Schleswig-Holstein. These facts were laid bare in the Lausanne disclosures of 1905 and the Faber revelations of 1911. One immediate effect was to leave the whole German nation rocking and seething with indignation, and to convince Germany that England would precipitate a European war on the first pretext.

In the end Germany lost all of her interests in Morocco, though a slice of land in the interior of the French Congo was thrown to her as a sop. The secret clauses of the 1904 Declarations finally were revealed in *Le Temps* and *Le Matin*, November, 1911. But Germany had wind of them as early as October, 1904. Says Mr. Morel (remember that he wrote in 1912): "Thenceforth dated the situation which for more than seven years has poisoned the whole European atmosphere, embroiled British, French, German, and Spanish relations, and placed an enormous and constantly growing burden of added expenditure upon the peoples of those countries. Thenceforth dated the situation which Sir Edward Grey, instead of seeking to improve by orienting his policy after Algeciras in a more friendly spirit toward Germany—retaining what was good but rejecting what was bad in the policy of his predecessor—has aggravated and worsened to such a degree that only yesterday we escaped a general conflagration. Veritably the process of being a party to the stealing of another man's land brings with it its own Nemesis. Unfortunately it is the people in whose name, but without whose wealth of detailed proof, with such evident impartiality and with so genuine a concern for the best interests of England and of Europe that I venture to state no fair-minded man can read the book unconvinced.

sanction, these things are done, who have to pay." And again: "I understand that in the current jargon of diplomacy that sort of thing is called 'high politics.' The plain man may be permitted to dub it by one word only—dishonesty."

Yes, it was dishonest diplomacy, just as it was dishonest statesmanship in 1914 to deny in the House of Commons that the country was pledged to France, and then to reveal, after war actually had broken out, secret obligations of honor. England's naval and military power has been mortgaged to France in case of a war with Germany for the last ten years, unconditionally, and without reference, apparently, to the nature of the quarrel and the crisis. It was so in 1905, it was so in 1911, and it was so in August, 1914. The British Foreign Office had become saturated with anti-German feeling, with suspicion and unfairness. This anti-German cabal, typified by such men as Tyrrell, Nicholson and Bertie, did all it could to stultify international good-will, and, through the press, to prejudice and embitter public opinion. Sir Edward Grey worked hand and glove with this cabal, although his anti-Germanism seems to have been diluted with a pale pacifism which made him shudder, at the last moment, on the edge of that catastrophe he had done so much to make inevitable. The culpability of Britain is no less because these machinations were carried on behind the scenes and without the overt sanction of the British people. In foreign affairs the Foreign Office was Britain. And when the great test came it was able to carry the country into war.

For France, then, are you fighting? For the France of gaiety, of beauty, of philosophy? What did your diplomatic intriguers care for the ideal France? They were playing a high and baleful game, the game of the Balance of Power, in which Germany was to be outmatched, the game of the ring-fence. England's creation of the Entente, or rather the way she manipulated her influence after it was accomplished, had an evil influence on the politics of both her allies. In Russia the loans of British gold strengthened a weakening bureaucracy; the decline of the Duma dates from that sinister aid.⁷ In France it caused the fires of *La Revanche* to burn brighter. It gave political power to the French Colonial Party and threw the Republic into the hands of adventurers. It thwarted every movement toward a Franco-German *rapprochement*, inspiring, for example, those influences which brought about the overthrow of Caillaux. Was ever game more stupid, or in the end more

⁷ See *Persia, Finland, and our Russian Alliance*, pamphlet of the Independent Labour Party.

disastrous? As it was diplomacy without honesty, so it was statesmanship without enlightenment. What price Britain pays we already begin to see. It served directly and needlessly to undermine what is one of the greatest interests of true statesmanship, the peace of the world.

And mark you! This France to which you so effectively allied yourself was bound by the strongest of agreements to Russia. Her war policy was part and parcel of Russia's policy. Why is France now at war? Is it because she was wantonly invaded by Germany, or because she is fulfilling her pledges to Russia? Let there be no mistake in this matter. France came into the struggle automatically as Russia's ally. Though there was some silly pose at the beginning—what Americans would call "a grandstand play"—about withdrawing ten kilometers behind the frontier, there never was any doubt as to France's action. "France is resolved to fulfil all the obligations of her alliance."⁸ Yet this quarrel was at first a Russian affair. It was a dispute over the Balkans between Servia and Russia on one side and Austria and Germany on the other. Let me quote another Englishman. G. Lowes Dickinson says:⁹ "So far as Russia is concerned, I believe Germany to be on the defensive." Well, if that is so, then Germany is on the defensive against the world. The nations had strung themselves on a single cord, the handle to which was the Franco-Russian Alliance. When Russia jerked that handle, the nations were all pulled in,—France, Great Britain, Belgium. France was a link; you are really the ally of Russia.

To be the ally of unregenerate, medieval Russia is a national infamy. But you cannot see that.

The attitude of cultivated Englishmen toward Russia illustrates how the partisanship of war warps the mind. At one time you understood the real Russia and dreaded and abhorred that reign of the Secret Police called its government. But an ally can do no wrong. So far as possible Englishmen now mentally turn their backs on Russia, and whenever they are forced to look at her they put on rose-colored spectacles lest they see the truth. Arnold Bennett, in one of the most unsportsmanlike defenses¹⁰ of British diplomacy which has been published, declares that so far as England is concerned, Russia is an accident. An accident! An accident composed of 170,000,000 people which increases at the rate of 3,000,000 a year,

⁸ Statement of Viviani to the French ambassadors at St. Petersburg and London, July 30, 1914. French Yellow Book, No. 101.

⁹ *The War and the Way Out*, p. 16.

¹⁰ "Liberty."

with all those millions conscripted and marshalled by the most soulless, oppressive, unscrupulous autocracy in the world! For the Germans this vast Tatar nation is no accident. "We in the West," as Marcel Sembat pointed out some months before he entered the French Cabinet, "have never quite realized how Germans regard Russia. For us she is a safely distant power. We can afford to think of her novels and her music. We can personify her as a nation which produced Tolstoy and Kropotkin."¹¹ We know her through her exiles. For the Germans she is the semi-barbarous neighbor across the frontier, with the population which is eighty per cent illiterate, and those Cossacks whose name still recalls the devastations of the Seven Years War."¹² Yet the truth about Russia is not hard to ascertain. Since the war started all the forces of reaction have been strengthened. The labor leaders, every liberal element, have been terrorized; the Jews, already ground under heel, have been subjected to new and horrible indignities; all constitutional rights in Finland have been stamped out. The Duma has been prorogued and silenced. Russia uses the support of her liberal allies to slump further back into despotism. This war is the great catastrophe; it overshadows all else. But the next greatest crime against civilization is the fact that the three greatest cultural nations of the West, England, Germany and France, instead of standing shoulder to shoulder against the Asiatic powers, are tearing at each other's vitals, with two of the three arrayed against the third at the behest and in the interest of this unspeakable bureaucracy. Who is responsible for this irrational, this unholy alliance? I leave the answer to you.

IV.

"But away with all this talk of policies and politics," you cry. "Let us get down to the fundamental issue, Germany herself. Why are we at war? Look at our foe for your answer! We could not abide a world forever overawed by this menace of Prussianism! These barbarians! These veritable Huns! This modern Attila! This perverted nation of militarists! This incarnate blood-lust and egotism! This—"

Save your vocabulary. We have heard more than enough of vituperation within the past year. I know that you, the better class of Englishmen—and that is the only sort I am addressing—have had no part in the shameless and cowardly abuse of Germans which has filled your press during the war period. Still it is true, I believe,

¹¹ Kropotkin by all means. See his *The Terror in Russia*, 1909.

¹² H. N. Brailsford in *The New Republic*, July 24, 1915.

that your conception of Germany is compounded in part of fictions. How could it be otherwise? For a decade certain sections of British opinion have made it their interest to slander and misrepresent your great Teutonic neighbor. Within the last months these defamers have used their blackest colors; they do not picture a people at all, but a grotesque caricature of something which started out to be superhuman and ended in being inhuman. Out of the fog of war they have fashioned a bogey, a monster which bears no more resemblance to the Germany across the North Sea than does an image of Moloch to a man. All Englishmen appear to share, in greater or less degree, this bogey-belief.

To refute each canard, to strip bare and expose each fiction, would be impossible. But some categorical statements should be made. Germans are *not* inhuman brutes, delighting in atrocities; in the conduct of this war they have shown themselves no more cruel and brutal than the French, and far less so than the Russians and your brown and black native troops. The Teuton is *not* by nature bestial, bloodthirsty, or merciless any more than is the Briton or any other civilized European, and he yields to the evil passions of war no more readily. Germanic civilization is *not* inferior to French or English or Italian civilization, though different; on the contrary it might well be maintained that the only nation which has abolished poverty, the one whose educational system is the best in the world, whose municipal governments are models, which outstrips all nations in scientific and industrial energy, shows distinct elements of superiority. The Germans are *not* mad with military ambition, nor bent on any career of world conquest, determined to impose the German language and German institutions on unwilling peoples. They asked for a place in the sun. But a place in the sun is not the whole earth.

Come, let us be reasonable. In plain justice you must admire the Germans, even though you do not love them. If Anglo-Saxon civilization is musk in your nostrils, Teutonic civilization cannot be stench. In the arts of peace the Germans challenge emulation. In war they are the astonishment of all history. No other people could have withstood so overwhelming a coalition. Not only in a military and technical manner are they proving their strength, but in a moral and intellectual way too. In England you have an oppressive censorship; and you have lost for the time being many of your constitutional rights. In Germany the censorship confines itself to its proper duty of suppressing military information; there the most unfriendly news is published, including the daily British and French

war bulletins; in any German city one may read the current English and French newspapers, and buy the books and pamphlets written to expose German guilt. Is it so with you? Or in Russia or France? Does this mean anything except that the German people, alone among the belligerents, are allowed freely to face the truth? And there are Englishmen who still speak of this as the Kaiser's war, or a Junkers' war!

For the Germans this is a people's war, in the fullest sense of the term. The great spiritual fact of the struggle is this flaming, unbroken conviction of the German people that they are right. Though your statesmen may have been successful with Russia, France and Italy, they have done very badly with Germany. They have not left a single German, high or low, with the smallest doubt that Britain engineered a conspiracy to destroy its rival. The explanation is simple. The Germans look to history, remote and recent. Englishmen work themselves into a great consternation over what Prussian militarism is *going* to do; and they try to frighten neutrals with pen-pictures of its future depredations. But Germans point to the actual performances of Prussian militarism, and contrast them with the concrete performances of British imperialism.

They point out, for example, that this terrible menace of Prussianism, to which you impute such evil designs, has kept the peace in Europe since 1870; that it never seized a favorable opportunity to precipitate war, and neglected to attack Russia when crippled by Japan, France during the Dreyfus affair, England when the Boers disclosed her weakness. They recall that the German government, in the face of a hostile press at home, sacrificed German interests in Morocco in order to avoid a European conflagration. And they ask, has British imperialism ever refrained from aggression when its "interests" were involved? England has formed coalitions successively against Spain, Holland and France; she has swept from the sea every fleet which dared to rival her own. Her recent attitude toward Germany has been of a piece with this historic policy; the efforts of her statesmen have aimed consistently at the enfeeblement and the isolation of Germany.

One of the British prophets of this war was Professor Cramb. In his book he wrote: "'France,' said Bismarck in September, 1870, 'must be paralyzed; for she will never forgive us our victories.' And in the same spirit Treitschke avers: England will never forgive us our strength. And not without justice he delineates English policy throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as aimed consistently at the repression of Prussia."

What are you fighting for?

Here is your answer. The repression of Prussia! Since Germany became a power, and particularly since she began to build a navy, she aroused increasing dislike and distrust amongst you. In 1897 the *Saturday Review* announced the slogan *Germaniam esse delendam*, and that program has been steadily backed by a powerful element of British opinion. Your statesmen have pursued the old, unimaginative politics of annoyances and curbs; they have done their utmost to balk every German attempt at expansion in Africa or in Asia, and sometimes their interference has been nothing short of wantonly malicious, as in the instances of Morocco and of the Bagdad Railway. Militarism in Germany? Of course there is militarism there, and some of its aspects are not bright. But why not? British policy for a decade and more has done all in its power to create a military temper in Germany, to throw her into the hands of the war party, and to lash into being that tigerish ferocity with which she now fights you. Commercial jealousy and irritation in manufacturing circles, blended with imperialistic voracity and certain calculations (or miscalculations) of high politics, have led Great Britain into an anti-German policy and an anti-German war.

You will resent this answer to our question. To declare that England is fighting, not for Belgium, not for France, not for the sanctity of treaties or human rights, but merely for selfish imperialistic reasons, and rather ill-conceived reasons at that, strikes you, I am sure, as grossly distorted. When you look into your own souls you find no such sordid motives. You find only an intense love of England and of England's honor, and a sense of British quality and worth. I know how you feel and I know that the things you cherish are realities. But these noble realities, I submit, have very little to do with the beginning of this war, or its end.

And you could see this too, were you able, even for one brief hour, to throw yourselves into complete sympathy with your opponents, and look at the world through their eyes. Had you attempted any such sympathetic understanding of Germany two years ago, this war, I am convinced, never would have happened. You would have seen that the very future existence of Germany depends on her overseas markets, and that she must be able to guard these at all costs. As it is, you have been applying one logic to Germany and another to England. You have looked upon the German navy as an impertinence and a threat, even though the growth of the German navy has been accompanied by a constant demand for the freedom of the seas (i. e., the abolition of the capture of private

property at sea). But you have never been able to see that the British navy, nearly twice as large, is a threat (to Germany and possibly to others) especially when accompanied by a stubborn and effective refusal to have the seas neutralized. You could denounce colonial greed in Germany, and stand ready to fight her if she acquired an African colony, or a naval base in the Atlantic; but British expansion, though unlimited, seemed justified, no matter at whose expense; and you could applaud when Bonar Law announced in July, 1915, that the Entente Allies had torn from the Teutons 450,000 square miles of colonial possessions. What is meat for you, you declare to be poison for Germany. You tried, in your supremacy, to enforce a dictation on others to which you would not submit for a moment. The worst you can properly say of Germany is that she challenged that supremacy, and that she may yet force you to treat her as an equal.

The vital question remains: What of the future? The past is past; it must bury its dead. To fix the blame, to point the accusing finger, to try to anticipate the condemnation of history, is in itself a fruitless task. After all, the stupidest people in the world are they who—on whichever side—wish to “punish” some one for this war,—this ultimate calamity in which each belligerent shares a portion of the guilt. What strikes one in this gigantic struggle between the British and German nations is not so much its wickedness and its fierceness, as its needlessness, its utter irrationality. Germany is, as I said before, your natural ally; there are a thousand valid reasons for friendship to one valid reason for hostility. Is it too late to hope for a reconciliation between these two great peoples which are so alike in their virtues, however much they may differ in their faults? I think you begin to see what a task you have on your hands in seeking to humble a nation so strong and so indignant as Germany. However the war results, neither Germany nor England can be annihilated. And that is well, for there is room for both in the world. The highest ideal of international development is not a level uniformity, but many divergent cultures, each intensifying its own peculiar merits. Will it be impossible for the English to put their pride—even though it turn out to be a wounded pride—behind them, and make that great effort toward a sympathetic understanding of Germany which should have been made long ago? We may hope that the effort can be made, for in the final restoration of Anglo-German friendship lies one of the world's best hopes, and the strongest guarantee of future peace.

ALLEGED GERMAN ATROCITIES.

ENGLAND'S MOST EFFECTIVE WEAPON.

BY J. MATTERN.

Motto: War was declared not only against German soldiers and sailors, but against German reputations.—*The New Statesman*, London, May 29, 1915, p. 176.

THE world has been deluged with stories of alleged German atrocities and with made-to-order evidence of German barbarism and frightfulness. We all know the official reports of the Belgian, French and British "atrocities" commissions, we know Bédier's *German Crimes from German Evidence*, we know Percy Bullen's *The Hun's Diary*, we know J. H. Morgan's *A Dishonored Army*, and many more of like order. But in spite of the generous advertising which all these have received in the magazines and the daily press favorable to the Allies' cause, they seem to have utterly failed in their mission, at least with those neutrals who do a little thinking of their own. The mode of presentation of all of them is too ostentatious, their manner of representation too crude and perverse to gain confidence and command belief with people who, in these troublous times when hysteria seems to be rampant, have preserved at least a grain of common sense, sound judgment and cool reasoning. These atrocity stories as they appeared in hundreds of gaudy and sensational British and French anti-German war books, pamphlets and the like; these official reports distributed by the hundred thousand and reproduced in almost every political and popular journal, did for a time baffle and stir the heart of every neutral, no matter on which side his sympathies were; but the purpose was too manifest and the effort through which the purpose was to be achieved too grotesque to convince others than those who wished to be convinced. Even in the United States, this hotbed

of pro-Allies sentiment, they are taken with a grain or more of salt by all except the editors of that section of the press which is more British than the British themselves.

However it would be saying too much to state that these atrocity stories, whether of private or official manufacture, have entirely failed in their purpose. To be sure, they seem to be performing a valuable service in the countries where they originated, and the assumption seems well warranted that they were, in the last analysis, doctored up for home consumption. At least that is the view one gathers from G. E. Toulmin's revelation in the March number of the *Journal of the Royal Economic Society*. This is what he writes:

"Statesmen [it is English statesmen of whom he speaks] know in their hearts that in order to brave a democracy to bear the terrible losses and sorrows even of triumphant warfare, a mob-instinct of horror and repulsion must be cultivated and maintained. The word 'Germany' must always be used so as to stir up a complex of anger and disgust."

Mr. Toulmin's admission is corroborated by the *New Statesman*, London, May 29, 1915, which, with apparent disapproval, acknowledges that "War was declared not only against German soldiers and sailors, but against German reputations," and that "if the destruction of German reputations goes on much further we [the English, or the Allies, or the world] shall not be surprised to find the followers of the late Mr. Kensit denouncing Martin Luther as a Hun who was secretly in the pay of the Pope."

A drastic example illustrating how these make-believe stories of German barbarism are made use of in England is found in E. J. Balsir Chatterton's *Appeal to the Nation* which has as its object the winning of a million members for his "Anti-German League." These are Mr. Chatterton's "appealing" words:

"Never before in England's history has the nation been faced with problems so grave and complex. We stand, or rather shall shortly stand, at the parting of the ways. On the one hand lies a road to prosperity and Empire—a road we are opening at a sacrifice in blood and treasure, the like of which the world has never seen—on the other, the resumption of a policy of thrift and apathy, which would again permit the Teutonic leprosy to threaten our very existence. . . . When offered goods bearing the mark of the beast, I ask you to think of the vast army of phantom dead, of the poor breastless women, of the outraged girls, of the little children torn to pieces, of our brave soldiers with their faces beaten to a pulp

as they lay wounded, and of the sinking of the Falaba with over a hundred innocent passengers, amid the jeers of the fiends on the pirate submarine, and the Lusitania with hundreds of helpless victims sacrificed to the bloodlust of the Butcher of Berlin. The time for false sentimentality has gone. It is quite useless fighting savages with silk gloves on. Let us get to business and destroy—destroy first of all the fabrics of their fast approaching commercial supremacy—ostracize them socially as a pestilent and cankerous growth—and, lastly, make it impossible for them, with all their knavish tricks and subtle devices, to ever enter our markets again in unfair competition.”

Thus Chatterton's Anti-German League of a “Million members who will preach the anti-German doctrine all over the country” must represent the German as a “beast,” a “leper,” a “savage,” a “pestilent and cankerous growth,” in order to deter the English from trading with him, while Mr. Toulmin propounds the theory that all trade relations must be and are being broken with the enemy in order that he may effectively be represented as the “barbarian and traitor,” the “plague spot” and what not else. For if trade relations of some kind or other should continue, “the word ‘German’ would be redolent,” so Toulmin concedes, “not of hatred but of profitable contracts”; “the reaction caused by the word ‘Germany’ would be lessened, and a valuable stimulus to self-sacrifice and, in a volunteer country, to recruiting would be lost.”

I have just come across an English pamphlet entitled *The Truth About German Atrocities*, and issued by the “Parliamentary Recruiting Committee.” Was it this pamphlet that inspired Mr. Toulmin's article in the *Journal of the Royal Economic Society*? or was it Mr. Toulmin's article that inspired the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee to issue this pamphlet?

For Chatterton the atrocity bugbear is the means of killing German trade and competition; according to Toulmin trade relations with the Germans must be interrupted so that the English, against their own better knowledge, may be duped into believing the horrible accusations lodged against their enemy and, fortified by holy indignation, bear the otherwise unbearable burden of the war, or, what in sober thought would and could not be expected of them, flock to the colors to fight for a cause which they fail to recognize as their own. On the one point however the two, Chatterton and Toulmin, agree: atrocity stories are a prerequisite without which the English government cannot succeed in its management of the war.

The neutral world, including the United States, with the exception noted above, sees the point and accepts these reports, private and official, of alleged German "outrages, crimes, atrocities, and the like" for what they are worth—"an essential part of the war game." However, most of our esteemed British cousins do not realize such discomfoting facts as yet. They are still busily engaged in manufacturing new "war material of this sort" and still more frantically at work making use of this kind of ammunition, the only kind, by the way, that they seem to be able to produce in sufficient quantities and of effective quality.

Every English or French steamer arriving at New York still brings thousands of copies of anti-German war books, all more or less reveling in vivid and perverse descriptions of improbable or impossible crimes laid at the door of the "Huns" or "Vandals." Hardly an issue of a magazine or paper appears without a "spicy" review or an excerpt from the "choicest" scenes. Most of these atrocity stories are so disingenuous, so cunning in their insinuations, so exaggerated in their coloring of the subject, so clearly designed to appeal to the baser instincts of their prospective readers, in short so revolting to the sense of fairness to be found even in the most biased "anti-German neutral" that they positively defeat their own ends. They need no answer, they answer themselves. In this class belong, in addition to those already mentioned, such books as *The Last of the Huns*, by G. Saunders; *Lest We Forget. An Anthology of War Verses*, edited by H. B. Elliott; *In Gentlest Germany*, by Hun Svedend, translated from the *Svengalese* by E. V. Lucas, a miserable parody on Sven Hedin's *With the German Armies in the West*; *German Atrocities*, by W. Le Queux; *La Grande Barbarie*, by Pierre Loti; *The World in the Crucible*, by Sir Gilbert Parker; and many, many more.

Still, occasionally one meets with a spontaneous outburst of a natural, and therefore honorable, indignation springing from an unwarranted, but nevertheless real, belief in what the Germans are charged with. This is the kind of criticism—the only kind that deserves and demands an answer—to which Charles T. Gorham's article in *The Open Court* of September last belongs. When I here mention Mr. Gorham I do so speaking of him as a type, and it is in that sense that I shall refer to him in the following. I have stated that I consider Mr. Gorham's indignation natural and honorable, and his belief in the causes for his indignation unwarranted but real. Indeed so childlike seems to be his faith in the Bryce report, that any attempt to shatter his confidence assumes the aspect of an

atrocities of the blackest type. With admirable earnestness he claims that "according to the investigations which have been made [by the Bryce Commission] the charges brought against the Belgians are false, the charges against the Germans are true." But how does the Bryce report prove the charges against the Germans and disprove the charges against the Belgians? By testimony taken under oath? No! "The depositions"—so we read in the introduction to the report—"were in all cases taken down in this country [England] by gentlemen of legal knowledge and experience, though of course they had no authority to administer an oath." Are the names of the unsworn witnesses given? No! "Many hesitated to speak"—so the excuse runs—"lest what they said, if it should ever be published, might involve their friends or relatives at home in danger, and it was found necessary to give an absolute promise that names should not be disclosed." This excuse appears in a rather peculiar light when we consider that most of the witnesses examined by the Belgian and French Commissions did not manifest such tender considerations for their relatives, nor even for themselves.

Thus the Bryce report cannot, as far as its evidence is concerned, even be compared with the reports of the Belgian and French commissions, of which the latter at least claims to be founded "chiefly on photographs and on a mass of evidence received in judicial form, with the sanction of an oath."

But even of these Belgian and French reports a reputable and distinguished countryman of Mr. Gorham, the English labor leader Ramsay Macdonald, wrote as follows: "The use that is being made of the words 'cruelties' and 'atrocities' is in my opinion to be condemned severely. In the first place the so-called documentary proofs of the Belgian and French commissions are no proofs at all. It is absolutely impossible to state accurately what takes place, when one is in the midst of terrible experiences with nerves strung to the highest pitch and the ability to observe carefully and clearly utterly destroyed. A dreadful death becomes a cruelty, and imagination takes the place of observation. I know that, if I myself had undergone what some of these poor people must have suffered, my report of the facts would be neither trustworthy nor objective. It would only describe how the horrors had affected my mind. In addition to this we have had so many cases in which apparently indisputable proof was produced, that nevertheless were pure invention or received another and quite satisfactory explanation, that even the seemingly most trustworthy statements are not always to

be accepted. It is astonishing that legal authorities, Belgian and French—and later even English—have set their names to these reports of cruelties,—reports made under conditions under which even the best judge would give up all pretence of being able to give a clear presentation of the facts, That cruelties, brutalities and atrocities have occurred is self-evident; that the German army is responsible for the greater part of these is likewise a matter of course, for the obvious reason that the localities were for it an enemy's country. But to use these things, which are inseparably connected with war and which have been reported of every army operating in the field, as a means of stirring up hate between the nations and of prolonging the conflict, is abominably devilish and must be condemned by every right-thinking man." According to the *War Chronicle* for February last this letter appeared in the *Voix de l'humanité* published in Lausanne, and it appeared in English, not in French, because Macdonald's views "are decidedly opposed to the point of view of most of its [the *Voix de l'humanité*'s] collaborators, and in order to avoid any mistake in their interpretation."

The same adverse criticism applies, of course, to the Bryce report, and, for reasons enumerated above, to a much greater degree. Yet on the strength of this report Mr. Gorham makes the amazingly naive and sweeping statement that "the charges brought against the Belgians are false, the charges against the Germans are true."

What are the charges brought against the Belgians? I quote from the German *White Book on the Belgian People's War*:

"Immediately after the outbreak of the war in Belgium a savage fight was started by the Belgian civilians against the German troops, a fight which was a flagrant violation of international law and had the gravest consequences for Belgium and her people."

The chief incidents of this "savage fight by the Belgian civilians against the German troops" took place at Aerschot, Andenne, Dinant and Louvain. About eighty depositions by German officers and men, every one sworn before a military court the names of whose members, moreover, are given for every case, prove beyond the possibility of doubt that the German charges against the Belgians are justified. In spite of this I shall not, and need not, ask Mr. Gorham, or anybody else, to accept even such sworn proof, coming as it does from the German side. I shall instead offer the testimony of an American, Lieutenant-Colonel Edwin Emerson. His testimony was given voluntarily during an illustrated lecture arranged under the auspices of the German-American Trade Association of Berlin.

Colonel Emerson, being on leave of absence, felt free to express his opinion without restraint, and in the presence of the American ambassador, the consul-general and the larger part of the American colony made the following statement:

"Inhabitants of Louvain admitted to me themselves that their firing at the Germans had been a terrible mistake. They would not have done it, they told me, had they not been secretly informed from Antwerp that a sortie from that city had been successful, and that the Germans were in full retreat on Louvain. When then a small column of tired-out German soldiers happened to enter Louvain that same evening, the deluded populace thought that they were part of the completely routed and fleeing troops of the German army, and at once opened fire upon them. I would here, as a military man, further say that, if I were in war and a hostile civilian population were to fire on my troops, I should proceed in the same way as the Germans did in Louvain. Our American soldiers always did the same in the Philippines. As a literary man I naturally regret that the historically valuable library in Louvain happened to be burned, with other buildings, but in war, fire and sword are always at work, and regrettable losses of valuable things take place in all belligerent countries. I was in Vera Cruz this last spring when our American marines completely destroyed the valuable library of the Mexican Naval Academy. Our officers of course regretted this afterwards very much." (From D. A. W. War Tracts, No. 7.)

But Colonel Emerson, because he spoke at the German capital and because he may be suspected of German leanings, may not prove convincing to some who were not present at his lecture. So I shall let E. Alexander Powell, war correspondent for the *New York World*, relate his experience on the same subject. This is what he witnessed and relates in his work, *Fighting in Flanders*, a book which is anything but a hymn to the Germans:

"We started early in the morning [Powell and Van Hee, the American vice-consul at Ghent, to take dinner with General von Boehn]. . . . And though nothing was said about a photographer, I took with me Donald Thompson. Before we passed the city limits of Ghent, things began to happen. Entering a street which leads through a district inhabited by the working classes, we suddenly found our way barred by a mob of several thousand excited Flemings. Above the sea of threatening arms and brandished sticks and angry faces rose the figures of two German soldiers, with carbines slung across their backs [not directed at the mob], mounted

on horses which they had evidently hastily unharnessed from a wagon. Like their unfortunate comrades of the motor-car episode, they too had strayed into the city by mistake. As we approached, the crowd made a concerted rush for them. A blast from my siren opened a lane for us, however, and I drove the car alongside the terrified Germans. 'Quick!' shouted Van Hee in German. 'Off your horses and into the car! Hide your rifles! Take off your helmets! Sit on the floor and keep out of sight!' The mob, seeing its prey escaping, surged about us with a roar. For a moment things looked very ugly. Van Hee jumped on the seat. 'I am the American consul!' he shouted. 'These men are under my protection! You are civilians [!] attacking German soldiers in uniform. If they are harmed your city will be burned about your ears.' At that moment a burly Belgian shouldered his way through the crowd and, leaping on the running-board, levelled a revolver [!] at the Germans cowering in the tonneau. Quick as a thought Thompson knocked up the man's hand, and at the same instant I threw on the power. . . . It was a close call for every one concerned, but a much closer call for Ghent; for had those German soldiers been murdered by civilians in the city streets no power on earth could have saved the city from German vengeance. General von Boehn told me so himself." (Chapter V, "With the Spiked Helmets," pp. 110-112.)

Still more conclusive than Mr. Powell's anti-German contribution is what I have the pleasure of offering in the following quotations from Belgian, yes Belgian, newspapers, in which the participation of Belgian civilians in the fighting against German troops is heralded and praised as the highest form of duty and patriotism.

Gazette de Charleroi, August 11, 1914:

"The spirit of our revolutionary war is awakened in our districts. A wave of heroism animates our souls. On the roads one meets youths and grown men, some armed with old muskets, others with shotguns, many with revolvers."

Het Handelsblad of Antwerp, August 6, 1914:

"Like madmen and without mercy they fought, and a certain part of the population of the lowlands, whose peaceful labors on the fields are disturbed, was seized by a veritable fury to defend the soil of the fatherland against the treacherous Prussians. . . . From cellar windows, from holes made in the roofs by the removal of tiles, from private houses, from farm buildings and huts, a furious fire was opened against the storming Uhlans and the Schleswig troops."

Journal de Charleroi, August 10, 1914 (from the report of a war correspondent):

"Returning from Brussels I came to Waterloo and there I found the entire population in arms; some had muskets, of one description or another; others pistols, revolvers or simply sticks and pitchforks; even the women were armed."

De Nieuwe Gazet, August 8, 1914:

"The civil population fires on the invaders:"

"In Bernot the vanguard [of the Germans] became involved with the citizens, who, like madmen, shot at the invaders from the roofs and windows of their houses. Even women took part in the shooting. An eighteen-year-old girl with a revolver shot at an officer . . . The peasants and inhabitants maintained a regular fire with the advancing Germans."

In Bédier's *German Crimes from German Evidence* we find the following passage from the diary of an unnamed German soldier:

"Thus we destroyed eight houses, with the inhabitants. From one house alone two men with their wives and an eighteen-year-old girl were bayoneted (*erstochen*). I took pity on the girl, her face appeared so innocent, but we could do nothing against the excited mob (*Menge*), for on such occasions (*dann*, i. e., under such conditions) men are not human beings but beasts."

What, I ask, becomes of this passage, so convincing to Bédier, in the light of the preceding confessions of the *Nieuwe Gazet*?

But to return to the subject, there are more such Belgian confessions.

Journal de Charleroi, August 8, 1914:

"The resistance offered to the enemy by our peasantry is proof of its patriotic feeling. The indignation at the invasion of Belgian territory, which has seized all hearts, has aroused our entire people and has united them with our troops. . . . Our peasants are ready for the greatest sacrifices."

La Métropole, Antwerp, as late as October 7, 1914:

"To arms! Every able-bodied man take his gun [a gun, or the gun]. Do not serve the barbarians! Go at the enemy!"

These quotations from Belgian newspapers are taken from Richard Grasshoff's *Belgiens Schuld. Zugleich eine Antwort an Professor Waxweiler*, Berlin, Georg Reimer, 1915. They are, as

Grasshoff states, only a few of the many in his possession, but these few speak loud enough, these few indeed suffice to invalidate all the Belgian and French and English official reports to the contrary.

And having seen the Belgian civil population convicted by the testimony of Emerson, Powell and their own newspapers of all that the German *White Book* has charged them with, we shall consider what Mr. Gorham ventures to say on the same subject. Thus he writes:

“Before the entry of the Germans into Belgium, orders had been given in every town, village and district of that country that all arms were to be delivered up to the authorities. The evidence shows that these orders were faithfully complied with. . . . In any case the fact of the official order to deliver up arms and the compliance therewith show that no forcible resistance by non-combatants was sanctioned or contemplated. The evidence proves that none took place.”

Here I rest my case. Let the reader be the judge. I am ready to accept the verdict.

The next logical step then would be to admit that the punishment meted out to the “maddened Belgian civilians shooting from houses, from roofs, from cellar windows,” a punishment which I concede was a terrible one, was retributive and not provocative. Hence Mr. Gorham’s accusation that “the German troops left their own country provided with the means for the deliberate commission of cruel outrages” should be amended to read: “The German troops left their own country provided with the means for the deliberate commission of relentless retribution for unlawful attacks by the civil population of any of the enemy countries.” Those ingenious stories that “drunken” or “mischievous” German soldiers had fired the same shots that were laid at the door of innocent Belgian civilians, on the one hand rest on what unnamed and unsworn refugees express as their belief, not their knowledge, and on the other hand are refuted by the sworn testimony of German officers and men whose name and rank are given and who are all in complete agreement as to the details of the occasions on which such shooting is supposed to have occurred.

However Mr. Gorham is of the opinion that, even if Belgian civilians had done all the Germans accuse them of having done, “a generous foe would have dealt leniently with them” and “certainly he would not have avenged himself upon innocent children.” Since particulars of this alleged vengeance practised upon innocent children are not furnished by Mr. Gorham we have to search for such

elsewhere. Document *a* 33 of the Bryce report relates the following:

“Two of the [German] privates held the baby, and the officer took out his sword and cut the baby’s head off. . . .”

The Belgian refugee relating this supposed incident in the course of his examination, and referring to the shooting of the mayor of Cornesse in whose village a German soldier had been wounded by civilians, expressed himself in the following manner:

“They found him and placed him against a wall in the courtyard of the school, and four or five German soldiers shot him. He was only hit in the legs, and a German officer came up and shot him through the heart with a revolver. He was an old man and quite deaf. I do not know what his name was. I never heard whether it was true that the German soldier had been shot by an inhabitant of Cornesse; some said it was true and some said it was not. Some people even said the soldier had shot himself so as not to be obliged to fight any more.”—“Some said—and some said not”! This is the quality of the testimony upon which the Bryce report is based, and on the strength of such pseudo-testimony—commonly called gossip—the world is asked to believe that three German soldiers, one of them an officer, are capable of murdering an “innocent baby.”

On this kind of testimony the London *New Statesman* of January 30, 1915, makes some pertinent remarks which deserve to be reproduced in this connection. The *New Statesman* says:

“What puzzles one in the whole business is the way in which evidence in support of things which have not happened [that is, stories of German atrocities] is invented among perfectly honest people. It is partly, we think, because the majority even of honest people do not hesitate to modify the nature of the evidence as they pass it on. One man passes something on to a friend as a piece of hearsay; the second relates it as something which a friend of his actually witnessed; the next man to hear the story makes it still more dramatic by declaring that he saw the thing himself. And even the third of these men may be, comparatively speaking, honest. He is frequently one of those persons subject to hallucinations, who believe they have been present at what they merely heard about, just as George IV firmly believed that he had fought at the battle of Waterloo.”

Referring to the stories of Belgian children being mutilated by the Germans the *New Statesman* in the same issue has this to say:

“It is the same with the myth of the Belgian mutilations. It

was impossible to meet any one who did not know somebody—or at the very least who did not know somebody who knew somebody—who had seen the child with his or her own eyes. Every suburb of London, every town, every village, almost every vicarage, had its Belgian child *sans* hands, *sans* feet. One knew people who knew people who could vouch for it on the very best authority. The mutilated children had been sent in trainloads to Paris and in boatloads to England. To doubt a man's Belgian child soon became as serious a matter as to doubt his God. . . . Now the real sufferings of Belgium it would be almost impossible to exaggerate, and the story of those sufferings is an infinitely longer and more horrible story than the most longwinded or Sadistic version of the mutilated Belgian child, But apparently the public had to get into its mind some drastic representation of all that horror, some representation which would be an easy and stimulating substitute for the prolonged study of hundreds of thousands of scattered facts. The Belgian child gave the public what it wanted—one of those favorite symbols in war-time when men like to picture themselves as the knights of God, fighting against devils more atrocious than the Devil." Thus the *New Statesman*, more effectively than a thousand sworn denials could have done, disposes of the myth of the "Belgian child *sans* hands and *sans* feet." Likewise, it disposes just as effectfully of the baby-killing related in document *a* 33; of the incident quoted by Mr. Gorham, where "a child of two years. . . . while standing in the street of Malines, was transfixed by a brave German soldier with his bayonet and carried off on the weapon, a song on the lips of its murderer"; of the case found on page 57 of Le Queux's *German Atrocities*, where it is alleged that "the lancer took up his lance and ran it through one of the little girls who was walking along, clutching the hand of her mother. She was a fair-haired girl of about seven or eight years of age"; in short, it disposes of all of them.

But there is one other kind of accusation in Mr. Gorham's arraignment of the German conduct in Belgium, and that is one which I would prefer not to touch, were it not that silence might be construed as admission. "What can you say"—Mr. Gorham asks—"of the public violation of fifteen women in the square of Liège, in the presence of and begun by officers? You will, I trust, disapprove of the appalling savagery deposed to by witnesses *a* 33, *d* 118, *d* 133, and above all, *d* 86. These incidents are so horrible that it must have needed some resolution to print the accounts; but there are hundreds of others nearly as bad!" I volunteer to

add that a still greater resolution is required to read them, provided of course that the imagination of the reader is not already "tuned up" to such a pitch of sensualism by the reading of Emile Zola's or, worse yet, the Marquis de Sade's works. I shall further add that it was accusations of this kind, and the manner of their presentation, that I referred to as perverse and revolting. That there are in an army of millions—be they Germans, Russians, French, or even the purest of the Puritan English—some whose animal instinct is stronger than discipline, self-control and respect for the sex that brought them into this life and has given or is to give life to their own children, no one but a hypocrite will deny. But that things should or could have happened as they are related in documents *a* 33, *d* 118, *d* 133 and *d* 86 is impossible to believe, especially on the basis of such flimsy testimony as furnished in these documents. That the severest penalty is meted out to any soldier or officer who so far forgets himself as to violate or to attempt to violate a woman, is well known and need not be re-asserted here. That the threatened punishment is being and has been meted out to culprits is equally certain.

Mr. Powell in his *Fighting in Flanders*, Chapter V, p. 126, attributes to General von Boehn the statement that "of course, our soldiers, like soldiers in all armies, sometimes get out of hand and do things which we would never tolerate if we knew it," and that "at Louvain, for example, I sentenced two soldiers to twelve years' penal servitude each for assaulting a woman."

Another case of this kind is cited in one of the diaries, alleged to have been found on German dead and prisoners and published by Bédier. The diary in question is that supposed to be written by private Z (more of his name is not given). "Unfortunately"—so the passage reads—"I am obliged to mention something which should never have happened. . . . Last night a man of the *Landwehr*, a man of thirty-five, and a married man, attempted to violate the daughter of a man in whose house he had been quartered; she was a child; and as the father tried to interfere he kept the point of his bayonet on the man's breast." Here ends Bédier's French translation, but the photographic reproduction of the supposed original writing of private Z continues thus: "Is such a thing possible? But he [the German soldier] is awaiting his due punishment." Why did Bédier suppress these two sentences? Because they defeat any attempt to lay these sins at the door of the German authorities.

For the benefit of Mr. Gorham and his kin I refer to Robert J. Thompson's book, *England and Germany in the War*. Mr.

Thompson was American consul at Aix-la-Chapelle when the war broke out. "Because of the [United States state] department's instruction to make neither investigations nor reports on the serious—and at that time acute—subject of military reprisals"—so he writes in the introduction to his book—"I have withheld all of my observations and reports until my resignation would give me freedom to speak fully and in direct accordance with the facts." In the chapter on "Atrocities on the Field and in the Press" he records the "nurse-with-her-breast-cut-off-by-German-soldiers" story which originated in Edinboro, and he reminds his readers that the "girl who concocted it has since been convicted by the courts of that good town." Mr. Thompson is of the opinion that "the sentence should have included a goodly number of London editors and American correspondents," and he regrets that "unfortunately for the peace of mind of the world, the court fell short of convicting, for libel, the perpetrators of the alleged crime, but rendered judgment because of the grief the girl had caused the parents of the mistreated nurse who, strange enough, was her own sister."

Of late, various efforts have been made to accentuate the alleged barbarous methods of the present-day Germans by holding them up in contrast with the more human methods of their fathers in the Franco-Prussian war. In one of these attempts the writer, one Courtney Kenny, expresses himself as follows:

"The atrocities committed by the Kaiser's troops in Belgium, which are awakening the indignation of the world, afford a startling contrast to the conduct of the fathers of those troops during the invasion of France in 1870. In your issue of October 17 [*The Spectator*] you cite from Sir Thomas Fraser a testimony that the French peasants of 1870 could give their German invaders the credit of 'respecting the women, and doing what was wanted in the way of help.' In more than one invaded part of France I used to hear ladies give similar testimony as to 1870, conceding that their invaders behaved far better than French troops would have done if they had captured German towns. But a more striking testimony fell into my hands by accident recently when I came upon the address which Max Müller delivered before the Germans of London at their festival of peace on the conclusion of the war with France (May 1, 1871). He says in the course of it: 'In no war has there been so little unnecessary cruelty; in no war has every crime been punished so severely: in no war has humanity achieved such triumphs. We are prouder of these triumphs than of all the triumphs of our arms.'" (*The Spectator*, November 14, 1914.)

And still, even in 1870-71 the fathers of the present-day "barbarians" fared no better at the hands of some of their critics. I have before me a book, *The Crime of War*, by His Excellency, John Baptist Alberdi. . . . sometime minister plenipotentiary of the Argentine Confederation to the the courts of Great Britain, France and Spain. From the introduction we learn that the book was written in 1870 and from the title page, that it was printed in 1913 at London and Toronto, by J. M. Dent & Sons. As far as its contents are concerned it might have been written last month, and its author might have been one of our present-day English writers, be it our friend, H. G. Wells, one of the Chestertons, Gilbert Parker, or some other. In proof of my assertions I submit the following quotations:

"It is in the least civilized part of the world that Germany's example in the present war of 1870 will bring about as many evils as in France, by the sanction it gives, in the name of civilization, to the barbarism with which war is waged by less civilized countries" (p. 283).

"Prussia, for example, may gain much in this war which she is waging in 1870; but all her territorial conquests will never be of sufficient value to compensate for what she loses in the opinion of the civilized world, for her acts of incendiaryism, and the requisitions, and the firing at and bombardment of inoffensive towns" (pp. 304-305).

"The announcement which the King [in 1870] made in his proclamation inaugurating the war, declaring that he was waging warfare on the army, not on citizens, was taken as a humanitarian favor done to the latter; but, in its application, quite the contrary has happened, since the citizen has been treated worse than the soldier. The military man has been treated as a public enemy, but the citizen as a common criminal, because he performed his patriotic duties of a Frenchman, in a twofold character of franc-tireur and citizen, by defending his country; it matters not in what garb or clothing. To make of the Frenchman's patriotism—which is a virtue—a common crime, is the height of the immorality with which a great country can tarnish its military policy" (pp. 305-306).

Here we have an analogy to the case of Germany's alleged unwarranted cruelties against the "innocent Belgian civilians" who, as some say, did not shoot at all, or as other will have it, if they shot, were right in doing so. Substitute Belgium for France, Belgian for Frenchman, and the analogy becomes an identity. And accepting His Excellency's indictment of the Germans of the Franco-

Prussian war at the same value at which Mr. Gorham accepts the Bryce report, or bringing both down to the same level on which all these private and official atrocity stories must appear in the light of the foregoing argument, one is in fact utterly at a loss to decide whether the "Huns" of 1914-15 are actually any worse than their more humane fathers of 1870-71, or whether the latter were actually in any way better than their much maligned epigones of to-day. I must let the reader wrestle with this momentous question and leave him to find the answer for himself.

Closing my "humble" attempt to show things as they are and other things as they are not, I quote an oracle attributed to Anatole France. Quoth he:

"The Germans have robbed the profession of arms of every vestige of humanity. They murdered peace, now they are murdering war. They have made of it a monstrosity too evil to survive."

To this I add, in form of comment, a single prayer: May they succeed in murdering—or as I would express it—in abolishing war! If they do, mankind will hail and bless them for all the ages to come.

A NEBUCHADNEZZAR CYLINDER.

BY EDGAR J. BANKS.

IN recent years the Babylonian Arabs have learned a new industry from the excavators, for when no more lucrative employment is to be had, they become archeologists, and though it is forbidden to excavate for antiquities without special permission, they roam about the desert digging into the ruins at will. A day's journey to the south of Babylon, near the Euphrates, is a ruin mound so small that it has scarcely attracted the attention of the explorers. It is marked upon the maps as Wannet es-Sa'adun, but among the Arabs of the surrounding region it is known as Wana Sadoum. During the past two years this mound has been the scene of the illicit labor of the Arabs.

The greatest of all ancient builders was Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon from 604 to 561 B. C. There is scarcely a ruin in all southern Mesopotamia which does not contain bricks stamped with his name, or some other evidences of his activity. He delighted in restoring the ancient temples which had long been in ruins, and in supporting the neglected sacrifices to the gods. He preferred to build new cities and enlarge the old ones rather than to wage war. Few of his records hint of military expeditions, for he was a man of peace, and it is as a builder or restorer of old temples that he should best be known. That his name might be remembered it was his custom, when restoring a temple, to inscribe large cylinders of clay with his building records, and to bury them in the walls of the structure. Some years ago several of the cylinders were found at Babylon, and they are considered among the most valuable of all things ancient.

Recently, when the Arabs attacked the little mound of Wana Sadoum, they came upon the walls of a fallen temple. In the walls they found, not one, but several of the Nebuchadnezzar cylinders in as perfect a condition as when they left the hands of that great king. They all contained the same inscription. The first part of it

is similar to that upon the cylinders previously discovered; the latter part is a new and valuable contribution to Babylonian history.

One of the cylinders discovered at Wana Sadoum has come into the possession of the writer. It is eight and one-half inches high and eighteen in circumference. Though such objects are generally called cylinders, this is in reality a truncated cone. It is hollow like a vase without a bottom, and the finger marks of the ancient potter clearly show that it was formed upon a wheel. The exceedingly fine clay was burned so hard that it resembles a fine hard stone of a yellowish color.

The inscription contains about fifteen hundred cuneiform signs,



THE CYLINDER OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

or one hundred and forty-five lines of writing in three columns running about the cylinder. Every sign is still perfect. In his customary way Nebuchadnezzar begins by telling who he is, and then follows an account of his building operations interspersed with words of self-praise. The translation reads:

"I am Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, the great, the mighty, the favorite of Marduk, the powerful prince, the beloved of Nabu, the ruler who knows not weariness, the protector of the temples Esagil and Ezida, who is obedient to Nabu and Marduk his lords, who does their bidding; the wise lord, the darling and the joy of the heart of the great gods, the first-born son of Nabopolassar, King of Babylon.

"When Marduk, the great lord, made me the rightful son, to rule the land, to be the shepherd of his people, to care for the city, to rebuild the temples, he bestowed upon me great power. Tremblingly I was obedient to Marduk, my lord. I completed Imgur-Bel and Nimitti-Bel, the great walls of Babylon, the mighty city, the city of his exalted power. At the entrance of the great gates I erected strong bulls of bronze, and terrible serpents standing upright. My father did that which no previous king had done. With mortar and bricks he built two moat walls about the city, and I, with mortar and bricks, built a third great moat wall, and joined it and united it closely with the moat walls of my father. I laid its foundation deep to the water level; I raised its summit mountain high. I constructed a moat wall of burned bricks about the west wall of Babylon.

"My father built the moat wall of the Arahtu canal securely with mortar and bricks. He built well the quays along the opposite shore of the Euphrates, but he did not finish all his work. But I, his first-born son, the beloved of his heart, built the moat walls of Arahtu with mortar and bricks, and joining them together with those of my father, made them very solid.

"Esagil, the wonderful temple, the palace of heaven and earth, Ekua, the temple of Marduk, the lord of the gods, Ka-hili-sug, the dwelling-place of Zarpanit, Ezida, the temple of the king of the gods of heaven and earth, I clothed with shining gold, and made bright like the day.

"Ezida, the favorite temple, the beloved of Marduk, I restored in Borsippa. (Col. 2) With gold and jewels I gave to it the beauty of paradise. I overlaid with gold its great beams of cedar, and arranged them by threes to cover Emachtila, the shrine of Nabu.

"I rebuilt and made lofty Emach, the temple of Ninharsag, in the center of Babylon. . . . and E-kiki-ini, the temple of Ninlil-anna, near the wall of Babylon.

"A thing which no king before had ever done!

"To the west of Babylon, at a great distance from the outer wall, I constructed an enclosing wall 4000 cubits in length about the city. I dug its moat to the water level. I walled up its sides with mortar and burned bricks, and I united it securely with the moat wall of my father. Along its edge I built a great wall of mortar and burned bricks mountain high.

"I rebuilt Tabisu-pur-shu, the wall of Borsippa. To strengthen it, I built the wall of its moat about the city with mortar and burned bricks. In Borsippa I rebuilt the temple to Tur-lil-en, the

god who breaks the weapons of my foes. Ebarra, the temple of Shamash in Sippar, Edurgina, temple of Shar-sabi in Bas, E-idi-Anu, temple of Anu in Dilbat, E-anna, temple of Ishtar in Erech, Ebarra, temple of Shamash in Larsa, Egish-shirgal, temple of Sin in Ur, the sacred temples of the great gods I rebuilt and completed.

“The support of Esagil and Ezida, the rebuilding of Babylon and Borsippa, which I caused to be more magnificent than before, I did according to instructions. All my noble deeds in regard to the support of the sacred temples of the great gods, which I did better than the kings my fathers, I wrote upon a stone tablet and fixed for future days.

“May the wise men after me read of all my works which I have written upon a tablet. May they comprehend the glory of the gods. The building of the cities of the gods and goddesses, which Marduk, the great lord, (Col. 3) set me to do, and kept urging my heart to undertake, with fear and without rest, I accomplished.

“At that time, for Ninkarrak, my beloved mistress, who guards my life and makes my dreams good, I dug up and beheld the ancient foundation of Eharsagil, her temple in Babylon, which fell to ruins in ancient days, and which no previous ruler had rebuilt . . . but the construction of the temple was not suitable for Ninkarrak. I endeavored eagerly to strengthen the wall of that temple, and of mortar and burned bricks to build a temple worthy of Ninkarrak. Upon the day when it is customary to ask the gods concerning the future, Ramman and Shamash gave me the fixed oracular response, to make three burned bricks sixteen finger breadths in size, and to make an image of burned bricks, as a charm against disease. And so I made three bricks of sixteen finger breadths in size, and an image of baked clay, a charm to drive away disease, and I placed it at the base of the foundation. With mortar and burned bricks I erected the temple mountain high.

“O Ninkarrak, majestic mistress, when with joy thou enterest thy house Eharsagil, the house of thy pleasure, may words in my favor be ever upon thy lips. Increase my days and make long my years. Decree for me a long life and an abundance of posterity. Give peace to my soul. Make my body strong. Protect me and make my visions clear. O, in the presence of Marduk, lord of heaven and earth, command the destruction of my foes, and the ruin of the land of my enemies.

“At that time in the temple of Lugal-Maradda, my lord, in Marad, whose foundation no former king had seen since ancient days, I sought and found the ancient foundation stone, and upon

the base of Naram-Sin, my ancient ancestor, I fixed its foundation. I wrote an inscription and my name and placed it therein.

“O Lugal-Maradda, lord of all, hero, look favorably upon the work of my hands. Grant as a gift a life of distant days, an abundance of posterity, security to the throne, and a long reign. Smite the evil-minded; break their weapons, and devastate all the land of my enemies. Slay all of them. May thy fearful weapons, which spare not the foe, stretch forth and be sharp for the defeat of my enemies. O may they ever be at my side. Intercede for me with Marduk, lord of heaven and earth, and make my deeds appear acceptable.”

The inscription is of value for several reasons. It identifies



THE FOUNDATION INSCRIPTION OF NARAM SIN.

Wana Sadoum with Marad, thus adding another city to the map of ancient Babylonia. It speaks of the restoration of the temples in the Biblical cities of Sippar, Ur, Larsa and Erech. It gives an interesting picture of the belief in the efficacy of the little clay images which were buried in the house walls to drive away disease, but most interesting of all is the mention of the inscription of Naram Sin, which Nebuchadnezzar says that he saw when he had dug to the ancient foundation of the temple at Marad.

The name of Naram Sin has long been known, and several inscriptions have come from him. He was the son of Sargon, the first known Semitic king of Babylonia. Some years ago there was

discovered in the ruins of Sippar a cylinder with a long inscription of Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon and the father of the Biblical Belshazzar. The inscription says that as Nabonidus was digging down to the foundation of the old temple at Sippar to restore it, he saw the foundation stone of Naram Sin, the son of Sargon, which no one had seen for three thousand and two hundred years. Nabonidus may or may not have been correct in saying that Naram Sin lived three thousand and two hundred years before his time, yet certainly he had access to the long chronological lists of the kings of Babylonia. Nabonidus was king of Babylon from 555 to 538 B. C., and if his statement is correct, then Naram Sin lived about 3750 B. C. However, most scholars are inclined to believe that he did not live so long ago. Interesting would it be if among the ruins of Sippar the ancient foundation stone, which Nabonidus claims to have seen, could be discovered.

The Arabs who were excavating at Wana Sadoum were so successful in finding the cylinders of Nebuchadnezzar that they dug deeper to the foundations of the temple, and however strange it may seem, they found the very inscription of Naram Sin which Nebuchadnezzar says that he saw; in fact they found the inscription in duplicate, and one of the stones is before me as I write. Originally the inscription was on a round flat piece of yellowish marble about twenty inches in diameter. In the center was a shallow hollow, probably a socket for a door post, for the stone seemed to serve as the foundation of the temple door. The inscription of thirty eight lines was carefully written about the hollow, but for the sake of lightness the Arabs have cut away the uninscribed part. The inscription reads:

“Naram Sin, the mighty king of the four quarters of the earth, who subdued nine armies in one year. When he overcame those armies he made their three kings captive, and brought them before the god En-lil. On that day Libit-ili, his son, the governor of Marad, built the temple of Lugal-marada in Marad.”

This long inscription of one of the earliest known kings is of historical importance. It identifies Wana Sadoum with the ancient Marad, and it gives the name of Libit-ili, the governor of Marad.

Of all the stories that the archaeologist may tell, this is as interesting as any. To dig from the ground the royal records of Nebuchadnezzar seems wonderful enough, but to read in those records of inscriptions which he saw, and then to find them, is more wonderful still. And Naram Sin lived as long before the time of Nebuchadnezzar as Nebuchadnezzar lived before our time.

MISCELLANEOUS.

TWO LETTERS FROM DR. BEADNELL.¹

(H. M. S. Shannon, Second Cruiser Squadron. c/o G. P. O.)

October 22, 1915. (At sea).

DR. PAUL CARUS, La Salle, Illinois.

Dear Sir: I wrote you a brief note of acknowledgment of your kind letter to me of September 18, but I feel I should be lacking in ordinary courtesy did I not respond at greater length and touch on some of the questions which your letter raises. I am pleased to hear you intend to publish my article, "The 'Open Mind' in 'The Open Court,'" because it is my frank opinion—and I think you can but agree with me—that *The Open Court* magazine has hitherto been devoted *almost* exclusively to furthering the cause of the Austro-Germans. I think it was a pity that a magazine of this nature and repute was ever put to propaganda work, but, once having been so put, it should not have been so overwhelmingly pro-German, nor should its editor, whatever his private views, have taken up any position other than that of judge and arbitrator of the conflicting views of his contributors. It would have been well, considering that a large proportion of your readers are English and almost the whole English-speaking, and considering that—I quote here from one of America's professors, C. Franklin Thwing, president of the Western Reserve University, in an article of his on "The Effect of the European War on Higher Learning in America"—"the sympathy of at least nineteen-twentieths of all academic people is with the Allies," had you adopted as your guiding motto *In medio tutissimus ibis*. However, you have sown and you must reap, but whether it will be aught but the whirlwind that will figure in your harvest, time alone will show.

Let me take this opportunity of saying that, seeing the article I sent you constitutes a direct attack on yourself and on your magazine, you will, in publishing views and opinions which are so antithetical to those you yourself so warmly hold, be displaying a generosity of spirit we should all do well to emulate.

One or two points in your letter to me call for comment. You say: "I have published Professor Conybeare's letter because I was glad to have a prominent Englishman of international reputation take the same view as I. Professor Conybeare has not revoked his views, he has only regretted having expressed himself in plain English instead of having used stilted expressions

¹ Dr. Beadnell is a fleet surgeon in the British navy. His article, "The 'Open Mind' in 'The Open Court,'" to which he refers, appeared in the October *Open Court*.

and carefully guarded foreign epithets, but there is no retraction in his letter to me published in the August number." Now *if* this is so—and I accentuate the "if"—so much the worse for Dr. Conybeare, for he will meet with the reward usually accorded those gay Lotharios who love, or profess to love, two women at one and the same time. But first let us see if what you say is strictly correct. When you describe him as not having retracted his views I should like to feel positive, before going any further, that we agree as to what it is he has or has not retracted. I mean—and I presume, and will therefore assume, you likewise mean—Dr. Conybeare's attacks on the principal British Ministers of State (notably Sir E. Grey), and his exculpations of Germany. Bearing in mind what Dr. Conybeare had previously said, let us closely examine his letter to you. In it we find the following admissions:

1. Sir Edward Grey is a pacifist.
2. I fancy that Grey's idea was to be able in any crisis to restrain France and Russia, and so keep the peace of Europe.
3. . . . In this case it was certainly Germany that on July 31 was the first to relinquish the attitude of defense for that of offense.
4. Even if Russia threatened her [Germany] by mobilizing, she [Germany] should not have gone beyond counter-mobilization.
5. She [Germany] invaded Belgium, knowing full well that that would inflame us to declare war on her.

Now to my mind the above are "retractions." I grant you their extraction from Dr. Conybeare has been difficult and not unattended by pain, in fact the whole process has smacked of tooth-drawing and Dr. Conybeare has parted with his apologies and admissions as grudgingly as a patient parts with his teeth, moreover, he has the unhappy knack of taking back with one hand what he gives with the other. Thus in his letter to you he "regrets" having used words such as "lies" and "hypocrisies" in connection with English statesmen, but then adds, "I should have used the word 'rhodomontade.'" A little further on he says naively, "I am not sure also that I was not too severe upon Sir Edward Grey," and then he follows this up with "I fear he is a weak man and given to vacillation." Vacillation! Dr. Conybeare!! . . . The irony of it! Almost is one persuaded to emulate the poet and take

"Another and another Cup to drown

The Memory of this Impertinence!"

So much for his letter to you in the August number, but I have not quite finished with your "Darling of the (pagan) Gods." I note you say in your May number (page 309), when quoting passages from Dr. Conybeare's article published in the *New York Nation* of March 25, that "he does not venture to offer his opinion to an English periodical." Just so, thereby advertising both his astuteness and his cowardice. Nevertheless, a little later on, to wit, on July 2, he does make the venture, or rather, public opinion and the anxiety to "save face" force him into the venture, and as you seem to be so swayed by, and to have such faith in, this prominent Oxford scholar, you will perhaps permit me to call attention to a few of the things he did say on this side of the pond, and they will be worth contrasting with what he said on your side. I quote from the *Globe*:

1. My new study [of the published records of the diplomatic transactions] has forced upon me the conviction that, apart from the deplorable tone

- of my allusions to Sir E. Grey and Mr. Asquith, I was quite wrong in imputing the motives which I did.
2. It does appear to me that Sir Edward had in view the peace of Europe.
 3. I ought to have set down to the awful contingencies with which he [Grey] was faced many passages which I was guilty of grossly misinterpreting.
 4. I was too ready to forget that in the years of the Balkan wars it was after all he alone who, by his patience and conciliatory treatment of the situation, held in check the antagonistic forces which last July he was unable to control.
 5. I deeply regret I mistook his aims.
 6. In my endeavor to be fair to the enemy, [I] was grossly unjust to him [Grey].
 7. I am . . . anxious to undo, if it be still possible, some of the harm which my hasty judgment and intemperate language has caused.
 8. If I had only kept my American letter till the morning, for revision, I should first have struck out all the vituperation and all the imputation of motives, and have ended by never sending it at all.

If this is not as complete a right-about-turn-quick-march as it is possible to meet with, then I should like to know what is! It may be said I am, after all, but trying to kill a dead fish and, in a sense, I admit this is so, but my real object is only to impress on you that *some* of your readers, at any rate, see the wires by means of which you galvanize the corpse into a semblance of vitality.

You say you limit your admiration for the English people to the commoners of the Saxon element, and exclude from it Norman aristocracy who have had (so you allege) all the benefit of England's dominion of the seas and the enormous wealth that has been derived from it. You say the war will make Ireland free, will make England a really free country and give better chances to her colonies. This would make quite amusing reading were it not pathetically tragic. Where in the wide universe, I would ask you, is there an "aristocracy" in such sympathetic touch, both in peace and war, with "commoners"? Is it in Germany? Has German aristocracy paid, relatively to total numbers, in this or in any war, anything approaching the high death toll paid by the British aristocracy? Have the German counterparts of English lords been serving in the ranks by deliberate choice? You say the war will make Ireland free. Yes, it will—if we win. Our government was in the throes of grappling with that complex question when Germany made her great mistake of thinking she had caught us "with our trousers off," and that *der Tag* had at last come. Your remark concerning our colonies was, to put it mildly, unfortunate, and one which probably your German friends would ask you not to repeat, for if ever Germany had a thorn in her side it was exemplified in the two words, "German colonies." I suppose I have traveled about the world as much as the average English naval officer, and I have had opportunities of visiting not only the central heart of the German empire but her very finger tips in China and Africa. And what was my impression of those far distant bits of Germany? Dismal failures—and heavily subsidized ones at that. Why, I asked myself, has England so signally succeeded in this direction where Germany has so signally been found wanting? No doubt there are many factors contributing to this result, but the one which impressed me as being the most important was naturally the one which I was able to see and examine

for myself. Let me tell you of that factor because you can draw a parallel from it in connection with the present war. England's success in far distant lands as contrasted with Germany's want of success is due to the fact that she is more tolerant of the natives' ways, customs and religions; because she treats them as human beings rather than as lower animals; because she uses as her weapons making for evolutionary advance, persuasion, appeal to reason and education, rather than force and the suppression of opinion and knowledge; because she has none of that overbearing swashbuckling arrogance that seems to be so inseparable from the German official, be he at Zabern or at Kiau-Chau; because, finally even the naked savage has an aphorism to the effect that he can always rely on an Englishman's word of honor but not on a German's.

You say future events will prove that my view of Germans is absolutely mistaken. I sincerely wish I could think with you, for if one must fight one would like to fight with the knowledge that one was dealing with an honorable and chivalrous foe that knew how to "play the game," but unfortunately *present* events alone have proved that your desired proof is impossible of realization. The dead do not lie, and the damning evidence of German misdeeds found on them in the shape of written letters is too ghastly overwhelming even had a Bryce commission never sat. You ask, Have not these accusations against the Germans "been invented for the purpose of creating a prejudice in the whole English-speaking world, and especially in England itself? No Sir, I can assure you they have not. Well do I remember how, when these atrocities first got whispered about, then appeared in print, my brother officers heatedly refused to believe a word of them. But the rumors grew and grew, like a rolling snowball; heated denial gave place to silent and grave suspicions, and then, as the awful evidence of castrated and crucified men, of outraged women and murdered children accumulated, the last lingering scepticisms were swept away as by an avalanche and we were left with a bitter, sorrowful conviction of the truth.

Only last night, after "turning in"—the only time I allow myself for the perusal of light literature—I was shocked to read in the daily papers of the execution, by the German military, of a lady—Miss Edith Cavell, the superintendent of a Brussels training school for nurses; "the charge against her was of aiding Belgian men to escape to England. It is stated that she hid them in her house, and provided them with money and with addresses in England, and helped to smuggle them across the frontier. The German military court found her guilty, and sentenced her to death by shooting. A firing party of six men and an officer were drawn up in the garden and awaited their victim. She was led in by soldiers from a house near by, blindfolded with a black scarf. Up to this minute the lady, though deadly white, had stepped out bravely to meet her fate. But in the presence of the rifle party her strength at last gave out and she tottered and fell to the ground some thirty yards from the spot against the wall where she was to have been shot. The officer in charge of the execution walked to her. She lay prone on the ground, motionless. The officer then drew his service revolver from its belt, and, taking steady aim from his knee, shot her through the head as she lay on the ground. The firing party looked on. The officer quietly returned his revolver to its case and then ordered his men to carry the corpse into the house. The execution of Miss Cavell has shocked the whole community, who

speak of it as the bloodiest act of the whole war." In the next day's paper I read that four other ladies are under sentence of execution and that both the Pope and King Alfonso have personally interceded on their behalf direct with the German Emperor. You no doubt will again say, "Have these executions (for there are others) not been invented for the purpose of creating a prejudice against Germany throughout the English-speaking world?" Before these words of mine come under your eyes not only yourself, but the whole civilized world, will know the truth, for the government of the United States has instructed its ambassador at Berlin to make inquiries regarding the circumstances of the execution of Miss Edith Cavell. Doubtless the lady had by her conduct rendered herself liable to punishment, possibly to severe punishment, but, as the Marquis of Lansdowne said in the House of Lords, "she might at any rate have expected that measure of mercy which in no civilized country would have been refused to one who was not only a woman, but a brave and devoted woman, and one who had given all her efforts and energies to the mitigation of the sufferings of others."

You say "the English army and navy would scarcely fight if they saw the truth plainly before their eyes." On the contrary it is the horrible and brutal truth that is being unveiled that is causing thousands and thousands of our civil population to give up their peaceful occupations, part from wife and family and take up arms, not for England, not for the British Empire nor for the Allies, but for humanity as a whole. There is no false patriotism in this country, there is none of that my-country-right-or-wrong spirit to be seen; men from all grades of society are flocking to the colors because they realize that a detestable canker has sprung up in the midst of the civilized world, they realize that if this cancerous growth gets mastery of the world body-politic, then it were better for humanity had man never evolved on this planet, it were better indeed had the whole sidereal cosmos been expunged.

Free country? You taunt us about our freedom, knowing what you must know of Germany. I won't ask you why so many Germans leave Germany in the piping times of peace and settle down in America and England (neither of which are German colonies) because I know that you know that I know the answer, but I will ask you another question in lieu. Every single man of our forces, temporary and permanent, ashore and afloat, whether raised in Great Britain, Ireland or the colonies, has enlisted of his own sweet will. Can you say this of Germany? No, you can not. That, in a nutshell, is the explanation of the *bon camaraderie* between our men and their officers, it is also the explanation of the manacling of German gunners to their own guns. Now I come to think of it, there *is* one circumstance that would stop our navy and army from fighting, and, though it is as inconceivable as the Infinite, yet, as I am writing to one who is openly in sympathy with the Germans, I will mention it. This circumstance is based on the supposition that our officers and men were ordered by those in power to commit deeds akin to those which the Germans have indulged in. An English officer, if ordered to commit a hundredth part of the infamies perpetrated by his German counterpart, would tear his commission into a thousand fragments. An English soldier, before he would allow himself so to degenerate as to shoot in cold blood a defenceless lady lying, fainted, on the ground, a lady who had nursed not alone her own countrymen's wounded but also those of her countrymen's enemy, a lady concerning whom Mr. Whitlock, the American Minister at Brussels, wrote to

the German authorities: "She has spent her life in alleviating the sufferings of others. . . . Have pity on her." I repeat, before an English officer would do this he would turn his revolver on himself and blow his brains out. Should you, Dr. Carus, make further attempts to exculpate Germany for the crimes she is piling one on the other to the horror and disgust of the civilized world, especially for this last act which really has "staggered humanity," let me implore you to do so on some other lines than pleading that Germany has every right to her misdeeds because England committed misdeeds in the past, for such excuse comes especially graceless from an exponent of logic and philosophy. For the sake of argument I am quite prepared to admit that England may have committed misdeeds long ago, but these can only fairly be judged by drawing a parallel with German misdeeds at a contemporary period, and inference will acquaint you that this would be an unwise thing to do. As a consistent evolutionist let me admit to you here and now that it is more than probable that my ancestors pillaged, murdered, sacrificed, raped and even ate one another. But then I am not talking of the Eocene and Miocene, I am not talking of the Stone Age, nor of the Mutiny, nor even of the Boer war, I happen to be talking of the present 1914-1915 war. Like all other nations England has, no doubt, had the sins of her youth, but she has evolved during the years and, at the outbreak of this war she had evolved up to a certain level of civilization and humanity. She gave Germany the credit of having made a corresponding evolution and of having raised herself to a corresponding height above the level of the brute and the beast from which we all originally sprang. But alas—and here lies Germany's shame and England's disillusionment—under a thin veneer of showy civilization Germany still retains the slime of the Saurian. Evolved, Germany has. Yes . . . but it is the retrogressive evolution of the hag-fish and the tapeworm. England now realizes she is grappling with an atavist.

It is impossible to believe you really condone Germany's manner of conducting war; on the other hand, seeing your ideal situation for taking up a calm, philosophic attitude, and your great facilities by means of your magazine, for weighing the pros and cons of, and meting out praise and blame to, either side indiscriminately, it is difficult to understand your wanton and gratuitous attack on England. Your magazine is written in English and read by English-speaking peoples; why, having committed the original mistake of diverting it from its primary object did you go on to make the unpardonable mistake of using it as a propaganda almost exclusively for one side? Why did you not, as editor, ensure that equalization of opinions expressed in it that one has a right to expect in a magazine of this type? I ask you, Dr. Carus, what will history say of your magazine in ten years time, nay, what will you yourself say when you take up a back number, shall we say that for August, page 500, and read the following lines?—

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

You will not even be able to anæsthetize your conscience by pleading that *you* did not write these personalities, for you and every one else will know that an editor, though not responsible for the opinions of his contribu-

tors, is responsible for the tone of their contributions. But in this case you are in very fact actually responsible for the opinion expressed, for in the very same number you pat the author of the words on the back for his anti-English outspokenness. But let me be fair, here is what you say:

"There are a few men in England with backbone who speak out boldly and criticize their government, but they are unpopular at home, and the truth they have to tell is resented. We mention the best of them when speaking of Professor Conybeare of Oxford, the Hon. Bertrand Russell of Cambridge, J. Ramsay Macdonald; and we must not forget Mr. Aleister Crowley who has sent a circular to his friends in which he castigates English hypocrisy under the title 'An Orgy of Cant.'"

From which I gather that Mr. Aleister Crowley, the author of the before-mentioned words, is an Englishman. Really? I confess to astonishment. Present him, Dr. Carus, (with apologies) to the German nation. *Nous n'avons pas besoin de ce gentilhomme*. A man capable of comparing the German emperor to Christ, who portrays him as seemingly "omniscient, omnipotent, omnipresent, the very angel of God, terrible and beautiful, sent to save the Fatherland from savage foes," compels a certain amount of furious thinking. All would agree such a one had certainly missed his vocation, the only conceivable point of disagreement would be as to whether he should be appointed Chaplain-Royal to the "All-Highest" or clapped into a mad-house.

I fear, Dr. Carus, that like the great mass of the German people, you now see through a glass darkly. For the latter there is some excuse, for they must perforce gain their knowledge from, and base their beliefs on, what their press tells them, and that amounts to just what the German government allow or order. For you, who have access to the papers of every nationality and who could, did you not fear learning the truth of that which you do not wish to be the truth, pay a brief visit to the Continent and ascertain firsthand the truth or otherwise of these atrocities, there is no excuse. But the time is not far distant when the darkened glass will fall from the eyes of the German populace and they will see face to face—then will come the rude awakening. Then will that people realize that not England, nor Russia nor France nor Italy is their real enemy. That enemy is in their midst gnawing their very vitals and it is embodied in that hideous code of Bernhardian ethics, Macchiavellian warfare and Jesuitical religion which the clerico-military-imperialists absorb with their mother's milk and wherewith they have contaminated the whole Teutonic empire.

And now, Sir, I must close. The writing of this letter has affected me with very conflicting emotions, it has caused me sorrow, aye, and pain, pain to think that these words of mine must necessarily cause pain in one who, as the *ante-bellum* Paul Carus, I so respected and admired, for although I had never seen him in the flesh, yet had I come to regard him in the spirit through his many works, as an old and revered friend; it has caused me vexation, grief, yes, and let me say it, downright anger to think that the *durante-bello* Paul Carus should have said and done the things which he has said and done. And what shall be said of the *post-bellum* Paul Carus? I will venture no opinion. There will be plenty of time and ample opportunities for him to re-survey his general reaction to his environment and to ask himself, and answer, the question, "Is my reaction helping or retarding the attainment of what I

conscientiously believe to be the highest and best and happiest type of humanity. I will only comment *spero meliora*.

And now, Dr. Carus, I bid you, for the present, goodbye.

Once more let me thank you for your kind letter and for your generous promise to publish my original "open letter." Do what you like with this one, and please note that I may or may not communicate what I have said to the press, that will depend on circumstances. Your letter to me I shall, of course, regard as private so far as publication is concerned unless you give me express permission to regard it otherwise.

With kind regards, believe me, Yours sincerely,

C. MARSH BEADNELL.

* * *

October 24, 1915....

Dear Dr. Carus:

Since my letter to you of the day before yesterday another mail has arrived on board, and as this puts a somewhat different complexion on the circumstances attending the execution of Miss Cavell and I wish in my comments thereon to say nothing unjust to any one concerned, but only what I believe to be perfectly true, I am sending this rider to my letter of the 22d.

The first accounts that appeared in the press described the officer commanding the firing squad as deliberately shooting the lady through the head with his revolver as she lay in a faint on the ground some few yards away from the spot against the wall where she was to have been shot by a firing party. It also described the firing party as looking on. The later description of this horrible deed, and probably the more correct one, shows that all the sparks of chivalry, sentiment and mercy have not been quenched in some German breasts at any rate. It would appear that the squad *did* fire on the lady, or rather that they purposely fired in such a manner that their bullets missed the human target. One or two of the missiles, however, struck the lady in such way as to wound but not kill, on seeing which the commanding officer went up to her and fired a bullet through her head. Under these circumstances his act was, therefore, an act of kindness and mercy.

It makes one tremble with sympathy to think that any member of the male sex should have been put in such an absolutely impossible and cruel position and made to participate in a deed that will haunt him—and his men—to their dying days. I wish, therefore, to transfer what odium I placed on the shoulders of this officer and the firing squad entirely, and with compound interest, onto the shoulders of the military tribunal who so vindictively sentenced to death this English lady. Their act has done the German nation more harm than any of the many previous ones. The Germans started their campaign of hate and sang their Song of Hate at the very beginning of the war. We had not then and have not since committed a single act calling for hate. We've "played cricket" first and last, and it's been our most deadly weapon against Germany. There might have been some excuse, in view of all the atrocities, for a Song of Hate on our side, but not even now, after this last and culminating dastardly act, is there any hatred. Men shake their heads and set their teeth—that is all...One cannot hate what disgusts.

I am not going to insult you, Sir, by the very vaguest insinuations that you approve of such deeds for I *know* you detest them. I have attacked you because of your paradoxical attitude, because I believe you are your own

enemy, because I would like to see the *quondam* Dr. Carus restored to us all—rescued, as it were, from Dr. Carus.

Here is the account as it appeared in the papers received to-day:

Amsterdam, October 22.

(From the Antwerp correspondent of the *Telegraaf*.)

“Of the four women recently sentenced to death—namely, the French teacher, Louise Thullier; the Countess Jeanne de Belleville; Anna Benaizet, a tailoress, and Miss Cavell, only the last-named up to now has been executed. The heroism shown by Miss Cavell, and some weeks ago by Madame Louise Frenay, who was executed at Liège, influenced even the German firing squads, of whom the majority did not aim at the victims. The result in the case of Madame Frenay was that she was wounded in the leg, while Miss Cavell was hit by only one of twelve bullets, the commanding officer in each case being obliged to give the *coup de grâce* by shooting the wounded woman with a revolver placed at the ear.”

This makes terrible reading which will, Dr. Carus, affect you as it must affect any civilized human being. I see that, owing to pressure brought to bear on him by the King of Spain and the Pope, the German Emperor has ordered the execution of the remaining ladies to be cancelled.

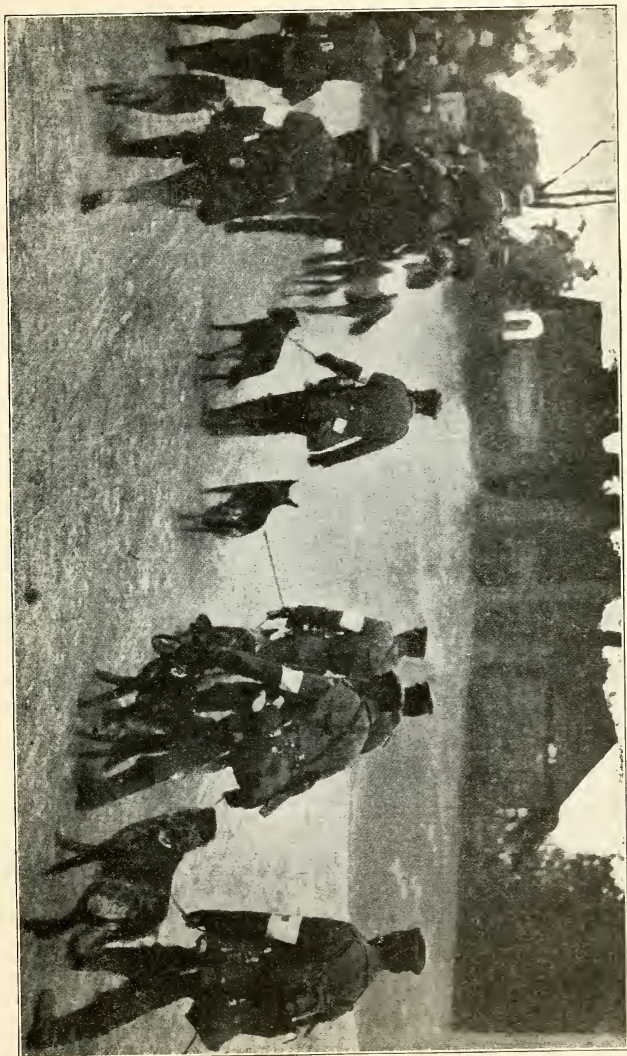
Sincerely yours,

C. MARSH BEADNELL.

DR. BEADNELL'S CRITICISM.

While the current *Open Court* is being made ready Dr. Beadnell's answer reaches me, and I take this opportunity to publish it at once and make special room for it in the current number, even in preference to my own article on the same subject, written in answer to my critics. It but proves to me again that Dr. Beadnell is fully convinced of the justice of the English cause and the viciousness of Germany. I am especially impressed with the case of Miss Cavell, and wish to let my readers consider it in the light in which he so impressively represents it. But has he ever considered that the German authorities are in an extremely difficult position? Surrounded by spies and traitors who use underhand methods, the German authorities in Belgium were helpless against certain individuals who, under the protection of their position and their sex, misused the confidence placed in them and succeeded in rendering the enemy more effective service than the soldier can do in the open field. These are weapons which can become more formidable than regiments. Information sent thus secretly to the enemy is as arrows shot in the dark, and it is an established law over all the civilized world that the misuse of public confidence in such a case is punishable with death. I am sure the German judges did not pass the death sentence without great reluctance, and moreover they did so only because they deemed the execution of such a sentence absolutely necessary for the protection of their country against those persons who, for security in their wrong-doing, relied on the leniency with which they would be treated.

It is peculiar that in this case again, as in the execution of francs-tireurs earlier in the war, the world complains about German barbarism, while if the Allies do the same thing it is considered a matter of course. It does not seem to be known that the French executed two German women, at any rate



THE DOG IN RELIEF WORK WITH GERMAN MEDICAL CORPS AT THE FRONT.

nowhere did either the press of the Allies or any paper of any kind set up the howl of indignation which arose over the execution of Miss Cavell. I refer to Ottilie Schmidt and Olga Mott, the one executed at Nancy and the other at Bruges as German spies on evidence which was not half as strong and facts not half as provoking as in the case of Miss Cavell.

The description of the execution of Miss Cavell, as it passed through the newspapers and is here repeated by Dr. Beadnell, is very romantic and even dramatic, and I wonder who has invented it. The executioners certainly did not publish a report, for they are under oath not to speak about it, and, unless



RUSSIAN GUN EXPLODED BY THE GERMANS.

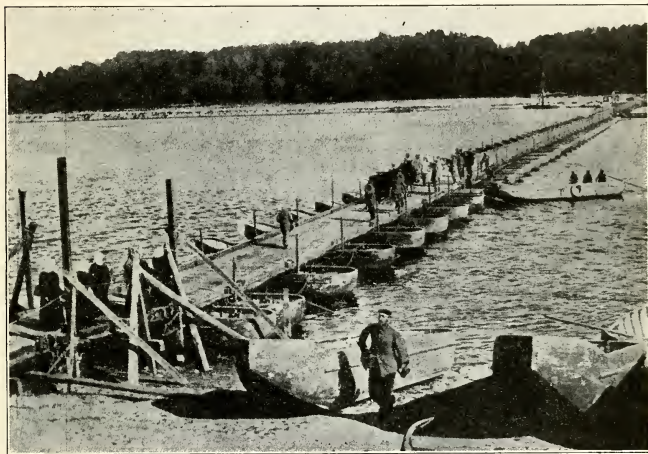
Note how strangely it has been hit by a hostile shell which entered its mouth and burst inside.

I am grossly misinformed, representatives of the press were not admitted. So it seems that we have before us the poetic reverie of a French novelist, and in order to know the truth we must wait for the official German report.

I notice that in England, as evidenced not only by Dr. Beadnell but also by Professor Conybeare, much stress is laid upon Germany's offensive attitude in this war. When Germany relinquished her defensive attitude and changed it into a vigorous offensive she was to be blamed, but I wish to call attention to a passage in my first article on the war, in which I explain that Prussia

has always adhered to the policy that every war should be a war of aggression, because the most efficient defensive will always be a vigorous attack. The army that maintains a defensive can never gain a victory and is apt to be beaten, while the offensive army has all the advantages. Prussia is right. Therefore, as soon as Germany understood that war became necessary, I cannot blame her for attacking the enemy unhesitatingly and as vigorously as possible. To make a distinction between an offensive and defensive after war is declared seems to me mere quibbling. Either there is a state of war or there is peace. As soon as war becomes inevitable the best procedure is a vigorous attack.

I do not condone German barbarities any more than the barbarities of



PONTOON BRIDGE RAPIDLY CONSTRUCTED OVER THE NIEMEN

other nations, but certainly I object to the method of condemning Germany for actions which custom tolerates in the case of the Allies.

As to the passage which Dr. Beadnell quotes from the article by Mr. Crowley in the August *Open Court*, I confess that I would have canceled it if I had seen it in time. The writer being an Englishman, I assumed that his article would at least contain nothing actually offensive to English people. But I was mistaken. The royal family of England is of German descent. The late prince consort was highly respected, but I must confess that the Germans are not very proud of his descendants, yet had I been writing a criticism of them, I should have used very different language from that in the passage Mr. Beadnell quotes.

Dr. Beadnell kindly praises me for "displaying a generosity of spirit" . . . "in publishing views and opinions which are so antithetical to those" I myself "so warmly hold." I hardly deserve this compliment. I hold my pro-German

views because I cling to the principle of fair play, and I would deem it wrong to myself to see those who combat my own views hampered in any way or put to a disadvantage. My critics are to me friends who help me find my mistakes; and if I am mistaken they do me the favor of pointing out my errors. I want to know when I am wrong; I want to discover my illusions even if they are dear to me. I consider every one of my critics as much in search for truth as myself; they help me in my quest, and so I am grateful to them.

DEVASTATIONS IN RUSSIA.

When Napoleon entered upon his victorious Russian campaign in 1812, the Russians lured him into the interior as far as Moscow and followed the principle of laying waste the country so thoroughly that the invaders could



A BRIDGE IN GALICIA BLOWN UP BY THE RETREATING RUSSIANS, BEING INSPECTED BY GERMAN ENGINEERS WITH A VIEW TO RECONSTRUCTION.

not find sustenance for their army. The result was that Napoleon was forced to withdraw from the burning Russian capital in the middle of winter, and his retreat developed more and more into a hopeless flight.

In the present campaign the Russians are bearing in mind their former success in this respect, for they are following the same principle, leaving behind them a hopelessly devastated country. Our frontispiece represents one of the villages of eastern Poland after the Russian retreat. It remains to be seen whether the German advance will be seriously checked by these destructive methods.

One thing seems certain, that this practice is at least as hard on Russian subjects as it is on the German army, for the inhabitants have been expelled

from their villages by force, and large numbers of homeless people are crowded together in cities farther eastward, facing exile and starvation. It is hard to see what will be the outcome of these terrible conditions. The Russian tactics certainly hinder German progress into the interior of the country, but it is difficult to see how the breakdown of the empire can be averted thereby. It is remarkable how the Germans keep themselves supplied with provisions by building temporary railroads as they find the country devastated, thus guarding against a repetition of Napoleon's experience. The loyalty of Poland to the Czar is certainly not strengthened by the Russian disregard of the property and lives of Russian subjects.

A GERMAN PROFESSOR ON TREITSCHKE.

Dr. Rudolf Leonhard of the University of Breslau who studied under Treitschke in his youth writes as follows in a personal letter with reference to the editorial article on Treitschke in the July *Open Court*:

"I was twice a pupil of Treitschke, and he had more influence on me than any other of my teachers. So I know that all that you say about him is absolutely true. We say: 'A professor is a man who always has another opinion.' Thus Treitschke, who had been a member of an Anglomaniac party under the influence of a Jewish press, became an enemy of Albion and of the Jews. Although I loved and admired him very much, I always protested in my heart against his hatred, which seems to me to have been an unconscious inheritance from Slavic ancestors. Such a feeling was not consistent with his fondness for ennobling sentiments, which were a consequence of his liberal desire to transform the mob into a gentry, as Ibsen's Rosmer wished to do. It is very curious that the same Englishmen who are justly proud of their old families have now stirred up the democratic feelings of the American people against the Prussian 'Junkers.' But these excellent warriors who have spread the contagion of their readiness to die for their country among the whole German people, have fulfilled Rosmer's program in this war. When I explained at Columbia University the value of some of the principal ideas of feudalism, I expected to be censured. But on the contrary I observed that the Americans understood me very much better than many people of my own country did at that time. After the war the feeling in Germany will be different.

"But Treitschke's hatred against England is hard to account for. Perhaps he was a follower of Schopenhauer, believing that the English regarded themselves as a chosen people like the Jews of the Old Testament. But the Jews are not the only people to despise all their neighbors. Every young nation has done the same. And Treitschke did so from patriotic motives.

"You are right in saying that modern German hatred against Albion has nothing to do with Treitschke and that his publisher ought to pay a royalty to the English press for making such a fuss about his influence. The modern hatred arose only when England sent black and yellow people against our brethren, and when she instituted her policy of starvation. America could do very much to diminish such an intense hatred, which our chancellor has justly condemned on the ground that what the rulers of a nation do during a war cannot be attributed to their subjects who must obey. Unfortunately not

very much has been done on the part of American Anglo-Saxons to lessen German indignation. I hope it will be better in the future.

"Treitschke hoped, as you explain, to provide for a world peace that would last for some time, by proposing mutual agreements between the nations. But such agreements have no value without a common moral education for the world. Morality does not exist without teachers to make and spread its rules. For this reason I am a sincere adherent of your 'Religious Parliament Idea.' Because there is no longer any hope of uniting the different ethical associations into one religion, the representatives of all better religions should form a permanent board of moral education for the purpose of preserving the moral ideas common to all people and improving their content from time to time, in accordance with the world's progress. What we call moral 'principles' are only the results of a development which can never make any advance or even be preserved without the conscious effort of men."

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

MADAME DE STAEL AND THE SPREAD OF GERMAN LITERATURE. By *Emma Gertrude Jaeck*. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 358. Cloth.

This interesting and timely work is one of a series of monographs on Germanic literature and culture now in course of publication under the editorship of Dr. Julius Goebel, professor of Germanic languages in the University of Illinois. The author shows the important role played by Madame de Staël in the introduction of German thought and literature to a previously apathetic world, and paints an interesting picture of this versatile and romantic figure of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Though French by education, Madame de Staël was of Teutonic stock and a Protestant in faith, and her visits to Germany, during which she met Goethe, Schiller and many others of Germany's greatest, but served to intensify her predilection for the robust intellectualism of Teutonic thought over the decadent classicism of her own country. The fruit of these visits was *De l'Allemagne*, her greatest work and one of the most remarkable appreciations ever written of the genius of one country by a citizen of another. Dr. Jaeck discusses the general ignorance and indifference concerning German literature which prevailed in France, England and America at the close of the eighteenth century, and devotes two chapters to an analysis and discussion of *De l'Allemagne* and two to the effect of the book on the thought and literature of the world.

Our author says in conclusion: "That the leaders of French, English, and American thought gained their knowledge of German culture either directly or indirectly through Mme. de Staël's *De l'Allemagne* is apparent. The study of German now became universal in America—a fact which Bancroft more or less humorously recognized when he wrote: 'It cannot be denied that German literature has come to exercise a great influence upon the intellectual character of Europe and America. We may lament over this fact or rejoice at it, according to our several points of view; but we cannot disguise from ourselves its existence. It is thrust upon our notice at every corner of the street; it stares us in the face from the pages of every literary journal. All the sciences own the power of that influence; on poetry and criticism it acts still more sensibly. Theology is putting on such a foreign look that we can

scarcely recognize our old acquaintance under her masquerading Teutonic garb.'

"This change of thought was largely accomplished through the study of Goethe's works, especially of *Faust*, which had been introduced to the world in *De l'Allemagne*. The study of Goethe, in turn, opened the way to an appreciation of the great contemporary German poets and thinkers, such as Herder, Schiller, Kant, Fichte, and Schleiermacher, and finally led to the gradual assimilation of the German spirit and genius. The chief characteristic of this spirit was its modernity. It is the spirit which has become the gospel of our century, the apotheosis of activity and of service to humanity, the cheerful performance of duty and the renunciation of selfish desires and, above all, the development of personality. In the exaltation of eternal love with human activity lies the keynote of our modern religious thought. It is this spirit that has found its most perfect expression in *Faust*, the noblest flower of Teutonic genius, and it is this spirit which is Germany's gift to mankind."

THE GOOD NEWS OF A SPIRITUAL REALM. By *Dwight Goddard*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: 1915. Pp. 372. Price \$1.00.

This book is practically an edition of the New Testament, giving the author's interpretation of the gospel as the "good news of a spiritual realm." God is interpreted as Sovereign Love, and so the expression "Sovereign Love" in many passages replaces the word "God." In the same sense other changes are made (as "Love Vitality" for "Holy Ghost," and "spiritual realm" for the "kingdom of heaven") and the four gospels are worked into a unit. The language is sometimes lacking in spirit, although the traditional phrases which are apt to offend have been omitted in the attempt to improve on the original, and many sentences are added to supply ellipses in the text. Jesus uses different terms in reproving the Pharisees, and instead of addressing the ruler of the synagogue as "thou hypocrite," he is made to say (on page 207), "oh, you humbug!"

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A German-American movement has existed in the United States for several years. It had its inception in the State of Pennsylvania where large districts have been settled by Germans, who, in a strange conservative spirit, have preserved German speech and German customs in that region for a century. Pennsylvania German is quite different from the German of Germany. It has remained essentially German but is greatly mixed up with English words, and its development has been quite apart from that of the German language of the Fatherland. On the 6th of October, 1901, the centennial anniversary of the first German settlement in America was celebrated, and from then the German-American movement dates its origin. It spread rapidly over the country, and to-day counts several million members who feel themselves citizens of the United States but do not mean to forget their German descent and traditions.

Since the present great world war broke out the German-American movement has grown rapidly and bids fair to become a factor in the development of this country. To-day German-Americans stand very firmly united in their protest against the pro-British spirit shown by our administration in its hostility toward Germany and the official protection which the manufacturer of war munitions has received.

Any one interested in the origin of the German-American movement will find sufficient information in Dr. Julius Goebel's book, *Der Kampf um deutsche Kultur in Amerika* ("The Struggle for German Culture in America," Leipsic, 1914). This book of about 150 pages is a compilation of lectures which Dr. Goebel, professor at the State University of Illinois, has given since 1883, on different occasions. Some of the lectures are of a purely literary nature, as for instance those on German poetry in America, Longfellow as a mediator of German culture, the jubilee of Faust, etc.; others are devoted to the special interests and aims of the German-American Alliance. The lectures touch on almost all phases of German-American life.

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Before us lies a book by George William Hau, entitled *War Echoes, or Germany and Austria in the Crisis*, being a presentation and interpretation of the cause of the Central Powers in the world war. The book is a voluminous compilation from many sources, and includes articles from the pens of such men as Professor Burgess, Judge Grosscup, Dr. Kuno Francke, Prof. Julius Goebel, Prof. James G. McDonald, Prof. Hugo Münsterberg, Professor Schevill, Dr. Benjamin Ide Wheeler and others, also numerous extracts from the press. It treats of the causes, both remote and proximate, of the war, and discusses fully the diplomatic correspondence, especially that relating to Belgium. Other chapters treat of the present world-family of nations, and of warfare as it is carried on at the present day, and the book concludes with a chapter on the philosophy of war. The illustrations and maps, about seventy-five all told, cover as wide a range of topics as the book, though in point of clearness some of them are not all that might be desired. We must say, however, that, considering the moderate price of the book and the large amount of material included within its covers, the author has done remarkably well. The book is published by Morton M. Malone, Chicago. Pages, xii, 352. Price, \$1.50 post-paid.

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Dr. David Eugene Smith of Teachers College, New York, has prepared a pamphlet containing one hundred and twenty-eight *Problems about War* for classes in arithmetic. It is published under the auspices of the educational division of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and the problems are designed to impress upon school-children at the most impressionable age the fact of the economic wastefulness of war. The questions are so framed as to emphasize this point at various stages in the study of arithmetic, and to do it in such a way as to give the pupil not only some valuable work in computation but some facts which will influence his later thoughts and actions on the question of war. The problems are classified as to subject into groups on the cost of war, guns and colleges, war and colleges, war expenses and our pleasures, battleships and schools, financial war problems, cost of saving and destroying life, etc. They are further graded according to the arithmetical operations involved. A number of annotations are added at discretion for the purpose of avoiding possible wrong deductions. The problems are not controversial in the slightest degree and the statistical data employed are thoroughly reliable.

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THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

VOLUME XXIX

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