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JANUARY, 1915

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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



FRESCO IN LIVIA'S HOUSE.

(See pages 34-36.)

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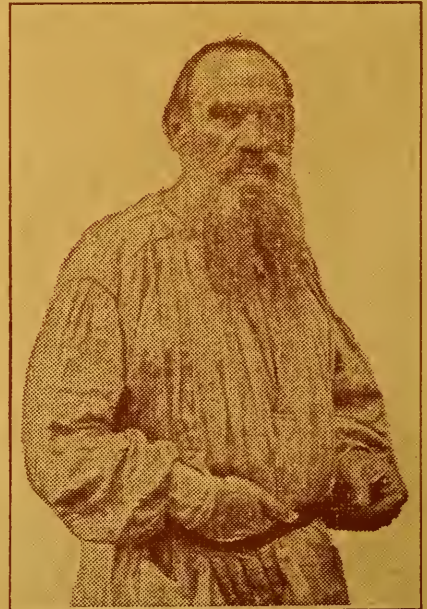
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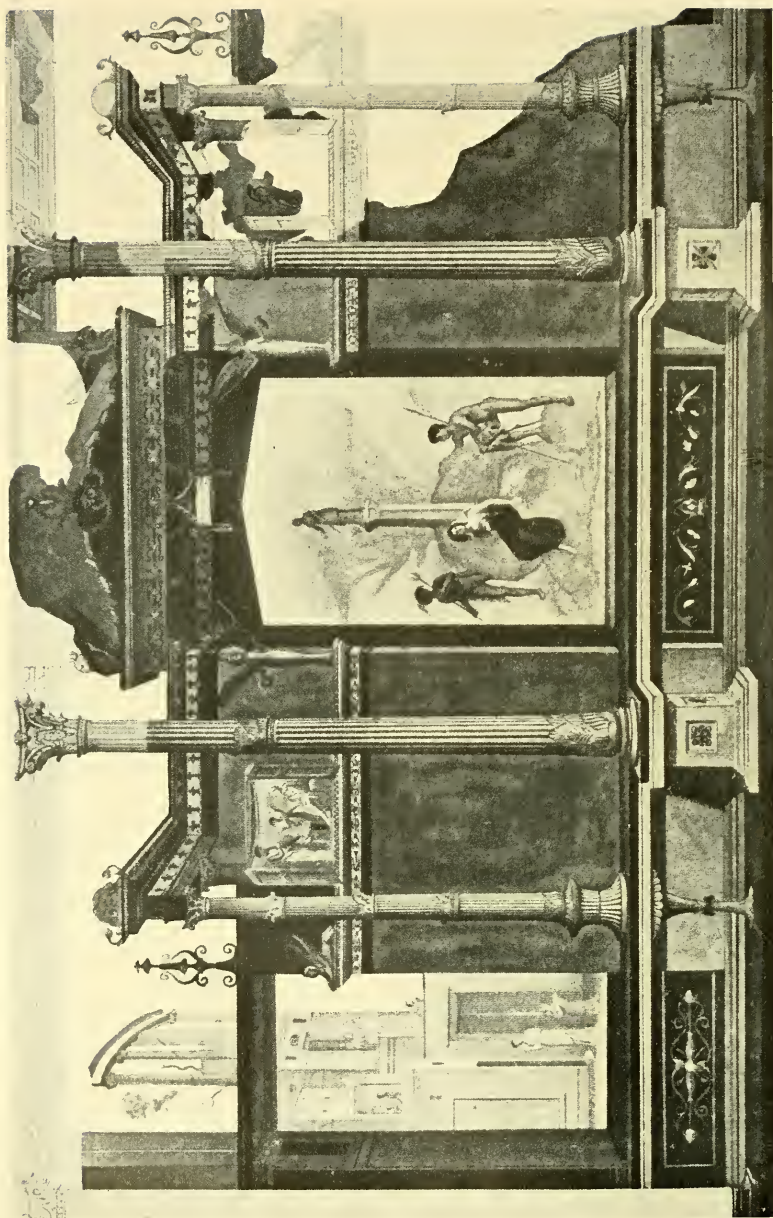
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Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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VOL. XXIX. (No. 1)

JANUARY, 1915

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AN AMERICAN RESIDENT OF FRANCE.

GRENOBLE, Nov. 12, 1914.

MY DEAR DR. CARUS:

I have read with interest your article on "The European War" in the October number of *The Open Court* and note your frankness in saying, "Should I be mistaken I wish to be refuted."

It is not with any hope of convincing you that you are mistaken that I write you, but simply as a friend desirous that you know exactly my opinion and my point of view, for I have given the question a great deal of thought.

You may think that my thirty-four years' residence in France has prejudiced me, but you must not forget that I was born and educated in America, and am still an American, while I cannot forget that you are an ex-officer of the German army and an ardent promulgator of "German culture."

I note that you criticize English and French papers, though you make quotations from them, when it serves your purpose, of what seem to me unquestionable fabrications.

Undoubtedly a large part of what we read in the daily press is pure fancy, but from my own experience in talking with the wounded, with refugees, and people back from the front, to say nothing of unimpeachable documents, I am absolutely convinced that there have been horrible atrocities, cold-blooded cruelties and flagrant injustice, to say nothing of wanton, needless destruction far surpassing what any journalist has been able to picture. But when we add to this the thousands of killed, the hundreds of thousands wounded and maimed for life, the millions of innocent sufferers, men, women and children, the billions of dollars' worth of property and business enterprise wantonly thrown away, it staggers one. What a "Great Illusion."

But this is not all. Think of the hatred engendered among civilized people, more extensive and bitter than any example you can cite in history. For if you correctly describe the enthusiasm in Germany, you must remember that in France it is the same thing. Here there are no parties, no discords, every man, woman and child believes they are fighting for their very existence; and it is the same in Belgium, England and Russia.

Now all this convinces me that we are witnessing the most momentous crisis in the world's history, only comparable with that of the long drawn-out Reformation. What will it lead to? I hope and believe to international and compulsory arbitration, *which is my dream*; especially do I hope for this where questions of honor are at stake, for I can conceive of no question of honor being justly settled when a rat terrier kills a mouse or even a tabby cat.

It is, as you know, a long and complicated story which has led to the present situation. Volumes have been and will be written on the subject. I will simply refer to one or two of the points whereon I differ from you.

But first there is one point, and I think in this we agree; perhaps nobody will be found to differ from us; and that is that Germany has built up the most marvelous army the world has ever seen. When war broke out it had reached its maximum strength in numbers, in discipline, in armament and preparedness for a sudden call. Never before was such a magnificent fighting machine conceived of.

Now from what I have read, heard and seen, it is my opinion that more marvelous still is the way in which Germany has disciplined everything, thought, science, art, industry and commerce, to one purpose, the greatness and power of Germany. Every man, woman and child is convinced of its incomparable superiority on all points to any other nation. By the way, a little logic should lead us to the conclusion, that during the present crisis the German press has been censored, and calumnies and untruths have been circulated with a system and thoroughness not possible by any other people. I say this with no sarcastic spirit. Were I a German I should likely be proud of it, for all Germans are; but as an independent I can only say that if you bar the military part of it, the rest would sooner or later be counterbalanced in other countries.

Militarism, pure and simple, or disciplined brute force, I consider fit only for savages, whether it be in Germany, France, England or the United States, and there is some of it everywhere; but

when carried to the extent Germany has carried it it becomes abhorrent and should be suppressed.

It is this military spirit, this confidence in their army and brute force that makes so many Germans unsympathetic. There is little doubt in my mind that what made the German people so enthusiastic over this war, was the universal conviction that they would swallow the French army at a gulp and leisurely chew up Russia without any serious resistance; and their sudden and intense hatred of England is only due to the fact that they think it interferes with their little pleasure trip.

You say the dream of your life has been a federation of "England and the United States centering about Germany" to insure the peace of the world. Possibly some people think that France England and Russia should be intrusted with the job, and I think their chances of success not less probable.

It is this conception of the incomparable superiority of "German culture" and German righteousness, giving her the right to dominate and direct the world, that staggers me. After all, is not Germany, as a world power, and a great nation, a mushroom growth of fifty years' standing? Has no other nation a culture, a history, men of worth? Can you not respect in others a spirit of independence and patriotism, even of national pride, however small that nation may be? And you would entrust the domination and control to one nation or group of nations. No, Dr. Carus, no nation ever has been or ever will be so near God as to be worthy of that mission, and I believe my dream nearer realization than yours.

Contrary to you, I believe Austria's ultimatum to Servia the immediate cause of this war. One man and one man only could have stopped it between the 28th and 30th of July, and that man is the German Emperor. That ultimatum and the violation of the neutrality of Belgium are the two dominating facts of the crisis. All your history going back to Cæsar, and all your precedents, carry no weight with me. The crisis is here and so momentous that it behooves humanity to cry halt, and in some way make the repetition of two such atrocities impossible. When that is done there is a possibility of the commencement of the realization of my dream, and not before.

I am not an Englishman, but all the arguments put forward to prove that England brought on this war, seem to me silly twaddle. It is my opinion that if Germany had had a diplomat of the caliber of Sir Edward Grey, the war would not have been entered upon as it was.

I believe the world has greatly changed for the better during the last hundred years, the mentality of the lower classes as well as of the upper has developed, but you would seem to think that Germany alone has progressed.

The majority of thinking Frenchmen, while proud of the genius of Napoleon, admit that what he represented was doomed to failure. Similarly I believe that in a hundred years from now German thinkers and historians will feel humiliated when they read that famous "Appeal to Civilized Nations" signed by ninety-three of the most illustrious savants of Germany. Among other things they say: "Without our militarism our civilization would have been annihilated long ago," and "The German army and the German people are one." Evidently they have a different conception of German civilization and German culture from what I should like to see them pride themselves in. These ninety-three German savants will not help much towards the realization of my dream.

The intellectual element in France is as enthusiastic over real "German Culture" as Germans themselves. Goethe, Beethoven, Kant, etc. will live even if Germany and every German living were blotted out of existence. There is no need of a German army or a German navy to impose them on people of real culture.

One may differ from others, but I see no reason, when convictions are sincere, why they should alter friendship.

Yours very sincerely,

JOHN STEEL.

EDITORIAL COMMENTS.

While it is true that I was born in Germany and am an ex-officer of the German army, I claim emphatically that it is not without good reason that I am pro-German in this war. I took a positively anti-German position at the time of the Manila troubles, and I know that the larger number of German Americans were on the same side. I am not blind to certain German shortcomings, and I concede that many Germans present themselves to foreigners in a most unfavorable light.

I agree with Mr. Steel that the worst feature of the war is the hatred engendered between the various nationalities, and the worst hatred has originated where I lament it most, between Germany and England. I recognize that this hatred has been fostered in certain circles and in certain yellow journals; but it seems to me,

and facts confirm it, that in England this spirit has taken hold of the government, while the German government has done its best to come to an amicable understanding. Since England supported the Slavs and the French, popular indignation in Germany has so much increased that the Germans feel friendly toward the French and indifferent toward the Russians, but extremely bitter toward the English. It will be long before this hostility can be overcome. I have read in German papers that while the Germans in the field are on terms of hostile comradeship along the French lines, while they exchange little courtesies and under certain conditions abstain from hostilities, this spirit is absolutely lacking where the English are concerned, and a similar odium of the English has also been noticed among the French prisoners of war who express a strong aversion to their British fellows detained in the same camp.

Mr. Steel's view of German militarism seems to me strongly influenced by French and English representations of it. I know German militarism in its good aspect and all I can concede is that there are some blustering Germans who lack the necessary discretion and naturally make a very offensive impression upon foreigners; but I wish to insist that such unpleasant individuals exist in all nations, and I believe many Americans traveling abroad have often had occasion to feel ashamed of some of their fellow countrymen who have made themselves offensive when touring through Europe. The French as a rule are least blatant because wherever they make a display of national conceit it is done with such a child-like vanity that they appear amiable even in a display of their faults.

The dream of my life has indeed been an alliance between England, Germany and the United States, but I did not think the others should be "centered" about Germany. Smaller nations would form groups about each of the three. Mr. Steel has read the passage hastily, for what I said was that "if these three groups of nations, centering about Germany, England and the United States, stand together, the peace of the world will be assured."

Mr. Steel has given his conception of my view, and I will say that for different reasons I do not deem either the French or the Russians fit to sway the destinies of the world. Both are peculiarly liable to be prejudiced in their judgment of others. Neither can understand a foreigner; and I begin to fear that the British are little better in this regard. It is a great mistake to consider Germany's advance in the last fifty years as the whole of German history. The development of German strength is not a "mushroom growth," as Mr. Steel thinks. It is the slow development of a

healthy and vigorous race under most unfavorable conditions. The Germans were deprived of the results of their labor again and again, until, under the most dire stress of necessity, they developed what is now called militarism for the sake of self-defense. Now that they have become strong they are blamed for defending themselves and overthrowing their enemies.

I have never declared that the Teutonic race should be the sole arbiter of the world's history. On the contrary I have emphasized again and again that other nations, such as the French, and even such smaller ones as Switzerland, Holland, Sweden, and Norway, etc., have made most valuable contributions to the development of a world-civilization. At the same time civilization in these is not based on blood, that is, on the closeness of their relationship to the Teutonic people.¹ Please consider that France has constantly received a strong admixture of German blood, not only before Cæsar conquered Gaul, not only when the Franks, the Burgundians, the Visigoths, the Normans, and Alamans settled in Gaul, but also in recent times. Paris and other cities are constantly flooded with German immigrants, and the importance of this immigration should not be underrated.

I can only say that I differ as to the facts concerning Mr. Steel's statement that the German Emperor could have prevented the war by not standing by Austria against the regicide propaganda of pan-Slavism, vigorously and, I am sorry to say, ignominiously supported by Sir Edward Grey.

Together with this letter of Mr. Steel I am in receipt of a statement by Americans living in Munich who proclaim in most vigorous terms their support of the German cause on the ground that "England is *directly responsible* for, and must share the guilt of, this terrible war," saying that "at the most critical hour in the history of European civilization, England arrayed herself on the side of Servian regicide and in the interest of Russian autocracy and barbarism."

¹ See for instance my explanation of "Germandom" in the December number of *The Open Court*, pp. 769-772.

NOTE ON THE EUROPEAN WAR.

BY PHILIP E. B. JOURDAIN.

THIS note is not meant to blame those responsible for the war. nor even—usually a stage reached long after this process—to find out who were responsible or to investigate the causes of the war. It is enough to say that all the people of Great Britain are thoroughly convinced that they have come into this war for two reasons and two only. The first is an obligation of honor: an obligation to protect the neutrality of Belgium. They believe firmly, and on good authority, that the German statements that France intended to violate this neutrality, and that Great Britain would have meekly allowed her to do so, are false. The second is a love of liberty, and consequent hatred of militarism. To the outside world, Britain may possibly appear to be a country largely governed by a king or queen and an aristocracy of birth. This is not true. When a king of England thought he was appointed by God and consequently oppressed his people, the people bore it much longer than reasonable people ought, but at last they cut off his head. Long ago, when peers were respected far more than they are now, a Lord Ferrers, in a high-handed way, murdered a servant of his. He was tried and condemned to death. To show proper respect to the aristocracy, he was allowed to drive to the gallows in his coach and four, . . . *but he was hanged.* Britain is a pleasant place: there is a court and gay ceremonies which cost a lot of money and an aristocracy which is toadied, and yet nearly all Britons are republicans; the rest are social democrats.

Then think how the British nowadays show that they know the value that others put on liberty. Look how properly South Africa and Australia have been treated lately. I think that all thoughtful British people would agree that *all* the British possessions will be made self-governing when they have shown themselves to be fit for it, even though it should cost the mother country some sacrifices. If

Britons and their nominal ruler had all been as sensible in the reign of George III, Britain would never have lost the United States. Britons do not believe that Germany has the ability, experience or broad-mindedness necessary for dealing with colonies. German ideals would, they think, be forced on German possessions as German military ideals are forced on the German people. And this brings me to the chief point of this note.

Let us consider one aspect of the war: the aspect of the possible spread of German civilization where Russian, French, Belgian or British civilization now is. Whether or no the necessity for this propaganda is, as General Bernhardt seems to think, a cause of the war, I am not concerned to inquire. If the Germans are ultimately victorious, the spread in question will certainly be an effect, and may possibly be an effect which is a fulfilment of an ideal that made the war seem a righteous one to the Germans. If so, the ideal is not worthy of the sacrifice of even a small part of a nation's honor or life or even prosperity. We can neither shut our eyes to the disgraceful brutalities that war must necessarily involve, nor to the fact that such brutalities are exaggerated by enemies and hidden or excused by friends. It is the custom of people to speak as if they were far more bloodthirsty than they really are. The British are usually supposed to be very reserved, and yet I have heard a wish expressed by a kindly old woman in an omnibus that a certain foreigner who attempted to shoot a policeman in London should be boiled in oil. Another story illustrates the essential calmness and good humor of the British disposition, in spite of alarming words. An American visitor was listening to a very high-sounding oration in Trafalgar Square. The speaker was referring to some one now dead and who was a prominent member of the English royal family. "E ought to be shot, the swine!", said the orator. The American visitor said in an awestruck voice to a policeman who was standing by: "There, do you hear that? What are you going to do about it?" The policeman just smiled: "Lor' bless you, sir," he said, "e don't mean no 'arm." The policeman's view was quite correct.

It is nearly always misleading to draw distinctions between national characteristics; at the bottom all nations are very much alike. The ability of doing noble things in an emergency is common to all; the willingness to make a great sacrifice and to bear it through tedious years without making a noise about it, is not confined to any particular nation or group of nations. All nations are riddled through and through with vanity and snobbery. Indeed,

broadly speaking, snobbishness seems to be the main thing that differentiates civilized peoples from uncivilized ones. We all have a love of home and comfort. In the upper classes and among men and women of genius, a straining after ideals is often a more powerful desire than the wish for comfort; but martyrs, musicians, poets and scientific men are not the monopoly of Teutonic or Slav or Anglo-Saxon nations. I do not suppose that good humor is a peculiarity of one's own nation. The only things that seem to be possibly a national peculiarity are jokes; but even here inability to laugh at the jokes of other nations does not necessarily mean that the jokers of one's own nation are the only amusing jokers there are. Probably Americans and Britons have more or less the same sense of humor, and this may be due to their common origin. The two sayings about the war which appeal universally to Englishmen's sense of humor were both, if I am not mistaken, first said by Americans. One is: "Nobody seems to be on the side of the Germans except God, and we have only the Kaiser's word for that." The other is: "There is only one thing that the Germans could do which would be worse than the destruction of Rheims Cathedral, and that is its restoration." As further evidence that the American and English senses of humor are fundamentally alike, these two facts should be remembered: first, Mark Twain is appreciated in England; secondly, no American laughs at *Punch*, . . . and no Englishman does either.

Since all nations have a good deal of common ground on which to build up a friendship, it is necessary that each nation should use that understanding which discovers the lovability of the people one knows to make the thought of each nation well understood by all other nations. It is a great mistake to imagine that any of us can do merely with that part of the civilization of a particular people which finds expression in print, music or pictures; and this truth, which, as it happens, Americans have grasped more firmly and put into practice more fully than any other nation, I shall try to illustrate by considering shortly those contributions of Germany to civilization, with which I am acquainted. I think that, if one wishes to say anything of the least value, it is to be recommended that one should not stray out of the narrow domain of what one knows.

I shall then leave out of serious consideration the realms of art and most of the realms of science. Most of us know, with some reason for knowing, that almost the whole of the art of music is due to Germany, and that hardly anything in the arts of sculpture

and painting is due to Germany. In literature, it is a platitude that Germany stands far below almost every other civilized European nation. In philosophy, it is a debatable point whether the Germans can be put above the British: they can undoubtedly be put above all other nations. We come to the sciences.

In the first place, every one must admit that the bulk of the tremendously valuable work of the organization of research and reports of researches during the last fifty years has been done by Germany. In mathematics, physics, chemistry and other natural sciences, it is to German industry, German talent and German organization that we are indebted for abridged and permanent records of nearly everything that has happened in science over the whole world, and which otherwise would probably have been quite lost. Also—and what is far more important—there have been many eminent Germans who have supplied the ideas that other men write about. In mathematics during the nineteenth century, the work of German mathematicians like Gauss, Grassmann, Dirichlet, Riemann, Weierstrass, Steiner and Georg Cantor is certainly more important than the work done by the mathematicians of any other nation. In physics, any candid inquirer must admit that the most important work has been done by the physicists of Great Britain. If any of the physical works of that original and open-minded man Ernst Mach be examined, we shall find almost on every page warm and unstinting praise given to men like Maxwell, Kelvin and Joule. And Mach's praise is worth having. As a critic, he is just and penetrating, as witness his estimate of Dalton's achievements in his *Principles of the Theory of Heat* or of Newton's achievements in his *Mechanics*.

In a branch of science which is now very closely allied to mathematics—I mean modern logic—the part played by Germany is extraordinarily unimportant. It is true that one of the greatest of Germans, Leibniz, may be said to have originated modern logic, but the majority of his writings on it remained unpublished for more than two hundred years. The beginnings of it were rediscovered about the middle of the nineteenth century by two Englishmen, George Boole and Augustus De Morgan; developed importantly by an American, Charles Peirce; and developed less importantly and systematized in a work of incredible prolixity by a German, Ernst Schröder. I omit all lesser names. Then came the truly great work of a German, Gottlob Frege, which only began to be appreciated about ten years ago, and is not yet properly appreciated by any German logician or mathematician. Schröder, indeed, quite misunder-

stood the purpose of Frege's work. Later on came the work of the Italians, Giuseppe Peano and his school. Schröder misunderstood them and showed a miraculous obtuseness in asserting over and over again that he could not accept a distinction of ideas pointed out by Peano. Peano's distinction is quite easy to see when it is pointed out. At present the chief cultivators of modern logic are English, but important parts have been taken by Americans, Italians and Frenchmen. Germany has hitherto taken no part in one of the most important philosophical movements there can be, giving as it does definite information about the foundations of the exact sciences.

These lines have served to show, by a very important example, that if we confine ourselves to German science we miss a very important part of what has been done. There is not even an intelligent account of the principles of the exact sciences published in the whole of Germany. In this respect the Germans have shown unexampled obtuseness. This is not national prejudice, nor is it my intention to depreciate the noble work the Germans have done in many other branches of science. But I merely wish to express strongly my feeling that discovery of the truth is only to be reached by promoting the mutual understanding of nations. One of the features of the science of the last ten years has been the growth of international journals devoted to the discussion of scientific subjects. To this end both *The Open Court* and *The Monist* constantly contribute; and only by the help of a growth of understanding between nations and the perception that we are all really very much alike and all seek very much the same ends can a lasting peace be secured.

MR. JOURDAIN'S NOTE ON THE WAR.

BY THE EDITOR.

WHEN the editor of *The Open Court* came to the conclusion that the present crisis in international politics should be discussed, he thought at once of having an article published which would represent the position opposite to his own. He himself, who has always been a strong and outspoken friend of the English, has taken the German position and has done so for reasons set forth in the October issue of *The Open Court*. There is scarcely anything gained by attempting to defend either Russia or France, for their motives in entering into the war are plain. We are interested to learn the reasons which have moved England to join Russia and France in this tremendous struggle.

For a number of years the Open Court Publishing Company has been in correspondence with Mr. Philip E. B. Jourdain, a scholar of English training in close touch with the University of Cambridge, and we take pleasure in presenting on another page his "Note on the European War," but must confess that the amiable character of Mr. Jourdain has prevented him from speaking out his mind with special vigor, though he feels very strongly the justice of England's cause. We quote from a private letter the following passage: "For myself, the whole of the proceedings which led to the war seems to be to bear so strongly against Germany that I cannot believe that England can be considered as an instigator of the war or to have entered the fight through any but honorable motives."

In another letter Mr. Jourdain regards as the main reason of the war the difference between the English and the German people, saying that the English are superior to Germany in the development of individualism and have an innate dislike for German militarism. Mr. Jourdain has strong English sympathies, and I assume as a matter of course that the large majority in England feel as strongly as he, if not more so, that English politics are just. The editor of *The Open Court* himself feels just as vigorously that Great Britain

has done wrong, and if the people of England do not know why Germany feels so bitter against Great Britain, it is simply because they are not sufficiently informed about the secret treaties and the motives which have led the British cabinet to declare war.

Mr. Jourdain expresses the conviction of the English people as to the causes of the war as follows: "The first is an obligation of honor, an obligation to protect the neutrality of Belgium." Certainly it is an obligation of honor to Belgium to declare war, in view of prior promises and the inducements offered her to join the Triple Entente against Germany. If the documents found at Brussels and Antwerp which prove a secret understanding between England and Belgium are not falsified by the German authorities who claim to have them in their possession, the English were indeed in honor bound to come to the rescue of Belgium. But was it right to enter into this secret understanding? The English government did it, not the English people. The English people knew nothing of it and cannot be accused of having made these promises with France and Russia and afterwards with Belgium. I feel strongly convinced that the people would have objected to all of these entangling alliances.

In England the spread of democracy is apparent, not real. The English government has taken care to make the people believe in the prevalence of democracy among them, but democracy does not exist in fact. In Germany the people take a much greater part in politics and are a factor which the government must reckon with, while in England the opinion of the people can easily be ignored: in fact it *is* ignored and the masses of the people are absolutely indifferent to the foreign policy of the empire. Liberty in England is a fiction and only concerns the personal freedom of a man in his house—what he shall eat and drink and how he shall amuse himself, the laws which touch the price of bread, and labor questions. In imperial matters the people's interest scarcely goes beyond the question of home rule in Ireland.

I do not doubt the love of liberty in England. Nor do I doubt that every man there is free to pursue his business, and every farmer is master of his own fields and determines what he shall sow and what he shall do with his earnings; but he has no right, not even the slightest chance, to influence the politics of the country. He is kept in ignorance and is satisfied to be told that Great Britain is the freest country in the world.

The English hate militarism because they dislike the idea of service in the army. In my opinion it would be as good for the

English as for any other people in the world to serve in the army and be educated in strict obedience to duty whatever that duty may be, to learn something of manhood and be ready to come to the defense of their country. No doubt the English aspire to be gentlemen, and I must confess that great numbers of them become gentlemen, which makes it so pleasant to deal with them; but it would be to their own interest if they would attain to the higher ideal of becoming "men," and military service is a very practical method of imparting manhood to both the over-refined dude of the city and the awkward son of the farmer.

German militarism has been misrepresented in English periodicals all over the world. Above all, it is not known that German militarism makes the German people peaceful. It is one of the falsest statements to picture the Germans as aggressive and warlike. There is no German father or mother in the empire, nor any person of responsibility, who would not prefer to keep peace even at a sacrifice, for they know that their own sons, their own brothers, their own sons-in-law have to go to war to defend the country. It is a gross misstatement of the truth to represent Germany as going to war simply for the sake of waging war, either for glory, or in sheer aggressiveness, or for conquest. The present enthusiasm for the German cause is to be lauded the higher since there is no one in Germany who does not have to make sacrifices of the gravest kind. How many families have lost their only sons! and Germans of high culture, as young professors at the universities, are compelled to face the guns and sabres of the negro Turkos in the west or of the savage Cossacks in the east.

The Germans are fully convinced that it is England's policy that has encouraged both France and Russia to start the war, and only those who do not know the significance of the military institutions in Germany can expect that militarism should be abolished. If England possessed the same institutions of militarism as exist in Germany, the British government would never have dared to start the war, for the people would have censured it severely.

As to Mr. Jourdain's statement that the king of England is merely "nominal," I will say that the German emperor and king of Prussia has no more rights than the king of England, and infringes as little upon the liberty of the people. On the contrary, in case of war he cannot begin a war without the consent of all the people, including his political opponents, the social democrats who form about one-third of the *Reichstag*; and the idea that he is a tyrant who forces his people is utterly unfounded, for

the social democrats would not fight unless they felt the necessity of going to war. The Kaiser is not purely nominal; he has serious duties to perform. We may grant that he still regards himself as wearing the crown by God's grace, but whatever errors he may still entertain as to his divine rights, we must recognize that he is deeply impressed with his responsibility, and he interprets his office, thus held by the grace of God, as an obligation, a sacred trust, a religious duty, a right in which he is accountable to his conscience before God. Not even his enemies doubt that the Emperor is sincere, and that, however mistaken he may be in his views, he is honest and attends fearlessly to duty.

It is easy enough to ridicule the Kaiser for his frequent use of the word "God," and I would not deny that he lays himself open to criticism, but the impartial observer who has followed his life cannot but interpret this habit as the expression of a deep-seated conviction. The word "God" is no hypocrisy on the lips of the Emperor. It is a truthful expression of his attitude of heart.

Militarism has not been forced on the German people by the Kaiser, but by historic conditions, mainly by the danger which has threatened Germany from France, just as the origin of the German navy was due to the conviction that one of these days Great Britain would fall upon German, exactly as she has now done.

The German authorities saw the growth of the German mercantile fleet and encouraged it; knowing how Great Britain had dealt with Holland in former times, they felt that a navy was needed for the defense of their colonies. If they were wrong, was it not wrong for the British to reserve for themselves the right to have a navy? Never and nowhere has Germany shown any intention of falling upon English colonies as England fell upon New Amsterdam in North America and Cape Town in South Africa.

Liberty of speech as it exists in England, so humorously characterized by Mr. Jourdain in the permission given a violent orator to have his say in Trafalgar Square, is being tried in all Germanic countries, but there is a most serious other side, and England has naturally been forced now and then to restrict free speech, while Germany has learned to allow it. Yet have not the violent speeches of reckless orators caused much harm in the world? I will only remind our readers of the assassination of President McKinley, who was shot by a Slav that had been incited by violent anarchistic speeches to commit the deed. Who is the real criminal, the inflammatory orator who put the idea into the degenerate brain of Czolgosz, or the assassin himself?

Considering such incidents I do not blame a government for restricting free speech under certain conditions, and I remember that this was done in England at the time of the Boer war. At that time I was passing through London and attended a meeting of protest held in the club rooms of a liberal society, where the British government was denounced in the most violent terms. I tried to speak up for England and England's glory in preserving the ideal of liberty of speech, when I was hooted at and could not finish. The audience shouted, "There is no freedom in England!" and informed me that mass meetings had been broken up by the police; members of the club declared they had been ejected from meeting halls and bodily injured.

I have always spoken up for England. I like English people and enjoy their company. It is but natural that I have always justified their position when possible or at least made excuses for them against accusations that had some basis in fact. I have preached friendship for England in Germany and the United States and have encouraged the establishment of a Triple Alliance between the three countries in the interest of universal peace on earth.¹

I recognize the superiority of England in many points, especially in her successful methods of building up colonies which the Germans have yet to learn; I admire the executive ability of the English, and their far-reaching but often questionable diplomacy, in which the Germans are sorely lacking; and I have also unstinted praise for the English language, originally a Saxon (that is to say, a Low German) dialect which is unsurpassed in its simplicity of construction. But with all my admiration for the British I cannot help thinking that, like most of England's prior wars, the present war is not only a great wrong but a great blunder, for it will prove a dire calamity to Great Britain. How foolish it was for Edward VII to originate the anti-German movement at the time of the formation of the Triple Entente, was brought home to me when I saw in an American Sunday issue an article on the German family that has ruled England ever since the Hanoverian kings were called to ascend the throne. There in a cartoon stood Tommy Atkins, full page size, gaudy in his red uniform, holding on his hand a little figure of Lilliputian size representing German royalty on the English throne. Admiral Battenberg had to quit the service because he is of German descent. Why, the article said, should not George V follow him, on the ground that his grandfather was

¹ See for instance my address before the first congress of the *Verein aller deutschen Studenten*, published in the Proceedings of the society.

of German birth and his grandmother's family was imported from Hanover?

I will not enter into the details of Mr. Jourdain's exposition, although I differ from some of them, for instance his statement as to art, music and science. I believe that Germany ranks high in music, but the latest development in Russia ought not to be overlooked nor the prior merits of Italy. Germany is not the only country where music has been developed. On the other hand I do not believe that "hardly anything in the arts of sculpture and painting is due to Germany." I believe that Germany still ranks higher than France; and the sculpture in public places in England can scarcely be classed as art.

Germany has always been highly appreciative of the accomplishments of other nations, and I believe there is no country in the world where the latest books of merit of all countries are so frequently translated and so widely read as in Germany. Next to Germany ranks England, and I will further add that all the other Germanic nations rank very high and surpass the Romance nations considerably in many respects.

Certainly no one can regret the war more than myself, but I will add that according to a practical consideration of all the facts and, as far as that be possible, from an impartial standpoint, I blame England first of all for the outbreak. It is plain to me that England has created among English speaking people, the United States not excepted, an anti-German movement. England has founded the Triple Entente which, although it is not in the interest of England, allies England with two nations naturally antagonistic to her. Russia did not even discontinue her intrigues against Great Britain after the establishment of the Triple Entente, in Tibet as well as in Persia, Afghanistan and even India, but the men who hated Germany have set aside every other consideration for the sake of crushing Germany first. I believe that the ill-will created by the war among the different European nationalities is a great misfortune and will not so easily be set aside even after the conclusion of peace; and England will reap a very sorry harvest. That the French do not love the English became apparent in the treatment Sir Edward Grey's brother received from his fellow prisoners. The famous German chant of hatred proves that whereas the German fight against France and Russia it a sportsmanlike affair—a shot for a shot and a blow for a blow—England is blamed as giving a shot in the back. England has become the hated foe, and I fear it will be a long time before this sentiment can be outgrown.

I deem it highly necessary for the development of mankind that we have several great nationalities, and that in addition we have a number of smaller states which are independent and follow their own free government. The different nationalities complement each other, and the smaller states have frequently contributed very important ideas or interpretations of life to the development of humanity; and I will say that the German empire has practically solved the problem of having a strong union combined with individual development of the different small German states. The unity of the German empire has beyond any question been established through the political needs of self-defense, but the Bavarian considers himself very different from the Prussian, the Swabian again is different from his neighbor, the inhabitant of Baden, and likewise even the different provinces of Prussia cling each to its own peculiar individuality. In the same way this individualistic development in Germany is carried into the family life, and I have nowhere in the world found such a variety of character and of conviction as in the German fatherland.

I must insist therefore that the present characterization of German conditions in English, and often also in American papers, is very unfair, and, as it seems to me, due to an intentional misrepresentation in order to create a prejudice against Germany.

Mr. Jourdain concludes his article with an appreciation of *The Open Court* and *The Monist*, and I have not ventured to remove it in order to let his article be as independent as I intended that it should be. If I had known that he would praise my work, I would have asked him to omit it, but as he has done so, I wish my readers would regard it as but a manifestation of our author's amiability.

In conclusion I will repeat that I am not anti-British. On the contrary, I am in a sense pro-British. But while I am a friend of the English, while I fully appreciate their good qualities, I have a decided and well-founded conviction that the British government is guilty of this war, that this war will not bring any blessings to Great Britain, in short, that it is against all the interests of the British empire, of Great Britain and of the English people. It will prevent the progress of civilization and the peaceful cooperation of the three most powerful countries of the world, Germany, Great Britain and the United States, and is greatly to be deplored. It is not Germany that is guilty of the war, but the men who brought about the Triple Entente, an understanding which made it inevitable that England should feel in honor bound to inflict injury upon Germany—an injury which will recoil upon her own head.

SOCRATES.

BY WILLIAM ELLERY LEONARD.

INTRODUCTION.

I.

Shelley referred to the great man we are about to study as

“Socrates, the Jesus Christ of Greece,”

nor was the English poet the first or the last to institute the comparison. The fathers of the church, when answering the sneers of paganism, cited the martyr of the hemlock beside the martyr of the cross; free-thinkers of yesterday and to-day have exalted his ethics and his mission in challenge to the Christian world and its prophet. He has been compared to Buddha and the religious reformers of the ancient kingdoms of Judah and Samaria. Yet, as we shall see, the historic Socrates was no religious zealot and founded no religion. The traditional figure is slowly but certainly undergoing modification wherever men have learned to distinguish Socrates from the men who walk either side or in front of him; the genuine voice is beginning to sound more clear as our ears separate it from Xenophon's confusing oratory and the insistent music of Plato. And now is there to be any longer reason for numbering Saul among the prophets? Has the instinct of the generations been wrong altogether? I think not. Socrates, in a sense that would justify honorable mention of his name and fame in any work on religious leaders, proclaimed long before Paul the unknown God unto the Athenians.

Socrates concerns us from the point of view of religious leadership on several grounds: as a soul interested in the salvation of man, as a life witnessing the laws of the spirit, as the central personality of a great people, and as an historic contrast to other more specifically religious types.

Socrates was interested in the salvation of man. Salvation

shall be taken out of the vocabulary of the theologians where it has troubled the human race long enough: the salvation of man shall not mean any longer security on a day of judgment; nor even alone the loosening of these bonds of sin. It shall mean emancipation from all that hobbles or shackles the mind—emancipation from ignorance, uncouthness, stupidity, gloom, fear, and the whole interminable train of devils, among whom sin, though chief, is but one. The emancipators, the saviours, have been many: teachers in the village school, singers in the street, painters at the courts of kings, as well as prophets and poets on the mountain. What Socrates stood for in this multitudinous business of salvation will, I hope, be manifest to us in the sequel.

Socrates, as a life witnessing the laws of the spirit, is a proof of things beyond time. There is the universal, the transcendental implication in every man—in the farmer harvesting his grain against the winter snows, in the grimy machinist who sits in the night school, in the thief and the prostitute whose miseries, deducible from violations of the universal, hint at the implication no less. But there are a few men and women who have given majestic and imposing proof: they are the incarnations in that mythology which is our poor best interpretation of the truth and beauty of the divine something which sustains the world. Among them perhaps is Socrates. And in a humbler sense, too, he is beyond time. We of to-day have far enough transcended the pitiful helplessness of that old Greek world in turning nature to account for our own convenience. We have steamboat and railroad—we ride faster; we have telephone and wireless—we speak farther. But, though in devising these wonders we also be assisting in the emancipation of man, let us not deceive ourselves: the most vital matter is still not how fast we ride, but for what ends; not how far we speak, but to what purpose. The deepest problems are the same as then, and Socrates was perhaps nearer their solution than some of us.

He was the central personality of the Greek race, born in the fulness of time out of the folk and absorbed after death into the folk, the culmination of the old, the starting point for the new—besides the Olympiads, a numeral in the Greek calendar. If he suggests in this the founders of religions, there is also something of their potent eccentricity in the means he employed to drive his purposes home to his fellows—in his word of mouth lessons to chance individuals or groups and in his attaching devoted followers to his side. He was as primitive and vital in his relations to the Athenians as was Mohammed, declaiming his earlier surahs, to the

Meccans, or as was Jesus to the Galilean fishermen who marveled at his proverbs and stories. Pythagoras had founded a cult; Empedocles had boasted in sonorous hexameters—a medium itself betraying the inevitable remoteness of the man of letters—how,

“Crowned both with fillets and with flowering wreaths,”¹

he was followed “with his throngs of men and women” as he came “to thriving cities,” and was besought by thousands craving for oracles or healing words. But surely no other Greek so completely returned to that oldest and (where practicable) that most efficient pedagogy—the personal voice, gesture, and pause. The life of Socrates was one long conversation, as Mohammed’s was one long harangue.

Nevertheless, it is also for what he is not that I set Socrates here beside Buddha, the Prophet of Islam, and the rest; and his differing emphasis on the principal factors of life, his differing vision and temperament will serve to set in clearer relief those men who, to speak literally, called the race to prayer or proclaimed the acceptable day of the Lord.

II.

If Socrates were with us to-day, the shorthand reporter would soon have his pithiest sayings verbatim, perhaps publishing them subject to the sage’s own proof-reading. And the photographer would catch his characteristic poses, his broad face, his shabby mantle, his very stride; while the phonograph would respond with its infinitesimal and inerrant tracery to the modulations of his voice—for Socrates was a playful and curious spirit—and thus posterity might, merely by some care in preserving a few bits of dead wax and film, see his living image move across a screen or hear the old voice over and over, like one of the djinn in a magic box. Whimsical as this may seem, there may come a time, when once these marvelous inventions shall have been freed from their present associations as the fakirs of popular amusement, that serious and organized efforts will be made so to conserve such truly spiritual resources from the Heraclitic flux.

But the historic Socrates had not even the shorthand reporter. And how have we come by that which we have, and how far may we trust it? Plato makes Alcibiades say (in the *Symposium*, 32) that Socrates’s conversation was reproduced by other people, almost like the songs of a rhapsodist. A certain Simon, a leather-cutter, we are told by Diogenes Laertius, published memoranda of conver-

¹ See *The Fragments of Empedocles*, translated by William Ellery Leonard. Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago.

sations held by Socrates in his shop. Xenophon, in the *Memorabilia* (I, 4), alludes to several collections of anecdotes about him; and in his *Apology* notes that others had written on the theme of Socrates's defense and death—among whom, besides Plato, we know the names of Lysias and Demetrius. Tradition speaks also of Socratic conversations by Æschines, and a few fragments of Antisthenes. Aristippus and other *viri Socratici* are still extant. Had we no other information than the items just cited, we should still be able to infer that men began early and continued long to put Socratic dialogue and anecdote on paper, like the followers of the rabbis and of Jesus. But did they put them down right? We are told that men in those days were in the habit of using the verbal memory to an extent unknown now—how the rhapsodists had Homer by heart, how redemption rose up in the Attic muse at Syracuse for whoever could repeat a drama of Euripides. But hundreds of actors and readers have as large a repertoire to-day; and in any case the verbal recollection of human talk is not the same as studying a part or a poem for recitation. Nevertheless, many ancient words ring very true; and scepticism must reckon with the alternative in denying historicity, say, to the beatitudes or the parable of the prodigal son.

Aside from the difficulty involved in our trusting implicitly the initial act of verbal recollection, we have to reckon with the spirit of the times. With the Gospel records are intermingled indubitably folk-legends, interpolations, and traces of theological bias. The Socratic record has problems of quite another sort: we must reckon with *the literary fashion*. Socratic dialogues became a literary genre; Socrates a dramatic figure in the service of the ideas of a number of men of letters. Again, carefully wrought speeches were a literary device in historical writing. Thucydides gives us the funeral oration pronounced by Pericles, and, though he says (I, 22) of the men he quotes that he tries to reproduce the sense of what was spoken, Thucydides, the most scientific historian of ancient times, is here the Greek rhetorician. The set speech was a favorite adornment with Livy, and not until very modern days did it disappear from the pages of historians. In the classical world the distinction between history and rhetoric, between fact and artistic effect, was imperfectly understood. The significance of this will become clearer in connection with the brief examination of Xenophon and Plato that follows.

The *Memorabilia* appear to have been written in the quiet of an old age at Xenophon's estate at Scillus, a few miles from

Olympia—long after he had returned to Greece as the leader of the retreat of the Ten Thousand, some nine months following the execution of the master. He seems to have been a member of Socrates's little circle for ten years, though, if we may judge from his own writings (not to mention the significant fact that Plato does not introduce him among the speakers of the Dialogues), he was hardly one of its more speculative and clever personalities. Xenophon had something in him, bluff, adventurous, un-Attic, that took him off to the Orient as a soldier of fortune, or down into Sparta, away from the softer culture and the unstable democracy of the northern city. He was a veritable store-house of old-fashioned pieties and superstitions, as we see from the *Hellenica*, the *Cyropedia*, and the *Anabasis*, where oracles, dreams, thunder, earthquakes, and sneezing perpetually accompany the march of armies and the councils of chiefs. His ethics have a practical bias; and other questions of purely practical interest often engage his pen—horsemanship and "domestic science," though he writes with Attic clarity and ease. Such is Xenophon, without reference to the *Memorabilia*. We feel at once a temperamental limitation: Xenophon cannot readily understand and report Socrates—unless the historic Socrates be indeed the somewhat delimited individual that he too often does report. For the Socrates of the *Memorabilia* is now and then a good deal of a Polonius, and, if Athens possessed a Socrates not unlike him, it is a wonder, says Schleiermacher, that she was not emptied of her burghers in a week. Again, those portions of the *Memorabilia* which some critics have pronounced interpolations others have shown to be precisely the most like Xenophon in his other writings.

But the temperamental is not the only limitation. Boswell and Eckermann were vastly smaller men than Johnson and Goethe; and if Xenophon had had their objectivity and abnegation, he also might conceivably have builded better than he knew. A closer comparison of the *Memorabilia* with his other dialogues has a little shaken my naive faith, expressed incidentally in a former book.² The *Hiero* with its interlocutors, Simonides of Ceos and the Tyrant of Syracuse, is obviously and openly a literary fiction; the *Economist* and the *Symposium*, Socratic dialogues, are likewise literary fiction,—if only because in the former Xenophon quotes Socrates anent the expedition of the Ten Thousand, and because in the latter the scene is laid in a time when Xenophon was scarcely nine years old. Yet they have much the same atmosphere of verisimilitude that has

² *The Poet of Galilee*, B. W. Huebsch, New York.

long been the stock-argument for the documentary value of the *Memorabilia*.

It has likewise been urged against the work that it is a *Tendenzschrift*—a party pamphlet designed to refute either the criminal charges of the dicasts, or the philosophic one-sidedness of other biographers; saying to the former that Socrates was a good man and great, to the latter that Socrates was not merely a dialectician rather a practical servant of his kind. In so far as this may be true, I do not see why the *Memorabilia* should be thrown out of court any more than *any* witness for the defense. Nevertheless it puts us on our guard against exaggeration, and adds one more complication to the problem.

The Socratic writings of Plato have not always been entirely misunderstood. Aristotle (*Rhetoric*, II, 23) quotes Aristippus as remarking in answer to a saying of Plato, "Well, our friend Socrates never said anything of the sort." Diogenes Laertius (III, 35) repeats the anecdote that when Plato read the *Lysis* to him Socrates exclaimed, "What lies that youth has been making up about me!" We know that if the Platonic Socrates is the real Socrates, Plato himself as an original thinker vanishes from the history of philosophy; for practically all the beautiful myths, all the flashes of intuition, all the sustained dialectic in the Dialogues come out of the mouth of Socrates. We recognize the dramatist, the unfolders of a system, the master of a studied utterance where the protagonist-Socrates is too clever and his adversaries rather too stupid and redeless for real life. There is no parallel in literature to the glorious impertinence of Plato in thus publicly masking great thought under a great name not his own. Even the independent Landor, in his *Imaginary Conversations*, tried to reproduce the point of view of his character.

Yet, as we think we get glimpses of the real man even in the perplexing pages of the prosaic Xenophon, so still more perhaps in the frank inventions of the poet-philosopher. As historically reliable, I believe, we may consider Plato (as indeed to some extent Xenophon) in (1) his references to Socrates's personal appearance and habits; in (2) some statements of a biographical significance, and (3) in the intellectual and moral character of the man. We would know from Aristophanes—whose relations to Socrates and to the sources for knowledge of Socrates I shall postpone to a later chapter—we would know also from the martyrdom to which he was publicly condemned that Socrates bulked large in the public eye. Plato could have had no purpose for dramatically misrepresenting

his person, life, and character. It was indeed because the historic Socrates was so great that Plato chose him for the spokesman of his thought and the hero of his drama. We know moreover, how strikingly Plato's dramatic sketches of other historical figures coincide with what we learn about them elsewhere, as the brilliant and irresponsible Alcibiades and the grotesque mirth-maker Aristophanes in the *Symposium*—the same politician described by Thucydides and the same comic poet whose very words we may still hear. Again, wherever Plato and Xenophon are in close agreement, as in some sayings and in the story of the master's conduct at the trial and in prison, we—believe. Finally I would make mention of that unconscious fusing of our impressions, that intuitive reconstruction in the imagination—a process which, though it be too subtle to trace, is not too subjective in a measure to trust.

Aristotle's references, scattered through the *Rhetoric*, the *Metaphysics*, and especially the three *Ethics*, touch only on the thought of Socrates. Their purport will concern us later. It remains here to note that though he often cites "Socrates" by a kind of literary shorthand where he means the Platonic Socrates (as in his *Politics*, often the Socrates of the *Republic*), he had other Socratics besides his teacher of the Academy on whom to draw—Antisthenes, Aristippus, Æschines—and that (at least according to Joël) he neither mentions Xenophon nor apparently uses him as source. His brief citations of Socrates, however much exaggerated in their philosophic implications by Joël, are too circumstantial, accord in thought too closely with the line of development among some Socratic schools, and bear out certain hints in Xenophon and Plato much too strikingly to be dismissed *in toto* as by Roeck.

We pass from the book back to the city and the man.

THE ATHENS OF SOCRATES.

I.

The fierce wars had been won. The destinies of the west had been established on a hill. Freedom, opportunity, personality were not to succumb to the crude and undifferentiated bulk of barbaric splendor and blind power fostered by Oriental routine. And these matters had been settled within sight of the city, and her people had borne a main part. Her old temples were ashes; her dead lay under the tumulus on the plain of Marathon and under the waves of the bay of Salamis; but the Persians were gone forever—from the broad prospect back to the Asian fen.

And now, with the querulous voice of Sparta already threaten-

ing across the Gulf of Corinth, the Attic folk gathered to an ominous festival of toil—men, women, and children, day after day, night after night—till from the debris of the old walls, from tombstones and temple-fragments, rose the larger ramparts of Themistocles. The fortification of the Piræus followed: impregnable harbor for an impregnable city, in a few years to be united to the same by the long walls of Pericles. Athens could with safety house the stranger and repair her high places.

But she would do more. Under the admiral Aristides she formed, against possible danger from the east, the league of the Ægean islands and the Hellenic towns of the Asiatic coast. Under Cimon, son of that Miltiades, she became in the boyhood of Socrates a maritime power. Meanwhile "ship-money" was pouring into the treasury at Delos. It belonged to the league. Pericles, statesman, patriot, imperialist, orator, controlled the Athenian assembly: "Let us build a more glorious Athens."

He bade rifle the treasury. He called to Ictinus and Phidias. Rangèd columns of costly Pentelic marble began to rise against the blue sky of Hellas on the Acropolis, and sculptured figures of ideal beauty took shape there under a hundred chisels, one of which may well have been held by the hand of the father of Socrates. Hordes of slaves laid the stone steps of the great portico that, from the base of the declivity just beyond the Agora and opposite the Areopagus, ascended the citadel. Between the Parthenon and the upper portals of the Propylæa now towered Athena Promachos, Athena Protectrix, colossal in bronze, the gilded tip of whose uplifted spear homecoming mariners saw from the sea.

And, in the vast Dionysiac theater, open to the heavens on the slope of the Acropolis farthest from the busy market-place, Æschylus, veteran of Marathon and Salamis, presented his *Oresteia* when Socrates was a boy of eleven. There too at thirty Socrates might have heard the singer of sweet *Colonus* and her child.

Then came the Peloponnesian war (431-404), the plague, the death of Pericles, the treachery of Alcibiades, the disaster of Syracuse, the defection of allies, the blockade of the Piræus, the Spartan camp before the walls, famine, surrender, subjection. Then in 404 was established by the victor the rule of Critias and the Thirty Tyrants, whose expulsion by the patriot Thrasybulus and his train the next year left the city under a coarse and reactionary democracy, ineptly calling for a return to the stern virtues of the men of Marathon. If there be anything to relieve the tragedy of the fall of this imperial city, it is that these same years gave to mankind the ripened

wisdom and character of him who, in becoming her chief citizen, became for after-times a chief citizen of the world.

II.

But the eye will turn from artistic background and political turmoil to certain phases of the life and thought unfolding through these days of glory and change beneath the temple of the Goddess of Wisdom on the hill. For Athena Protectrix was not carried off by Sparta, nor melted into chains and fetters by the Thirty; and the inquiring intellect of the Athenian succumbed neither to luxury nor to civic disaster.

It was awake in the Agora, where under the plane-trees or within neighboring porches and porticos, the citizen, whether in his busy hours he were an artisan in gold-work or ceramics, or importer of Pontic grain, or wine-merchant, or shipper at Piraeus, or banker, or physician, or farmstader of Attica, or keeper of bees on Hymettus, or pilot, or soldier, or public official—still found leisure for friend and stranger and for exchange of news and views. We of a colder zone, of a more secretive and sullen temper, and of a more competitive civilization, can scarcely grasp the educative function of the Agora, but unless we do we cannot understand Socrates.

This intellect was awake too in the social and political clubs, awake in that eminently Athenian institution, the dinner-party, where with the circling of the mixed wine from guest to guest, the entertainment was furnished not only by dancing girls and flutists and jugglers, but by that witty and imaginative conversation of the banqueters which suggested to several Greek men of letters an effective setting for literary dialogue and has since made the word "symposium" synonymous with enlightened discussion; awake, again, in the playgrounds outside the walls, where the young men wrestled and ran—the familiar gymnasia, lyceum and academia, which, girt by colonnades and halls, became meeting-places for rhetoricians and sages, and shortly the seats of the greatest Greek schools of philosophy, still known by those names.

But nowhere, at least outside the tradition of Socrates himself, have we a more useful hint of the level of the Athenian intellect than in the Dionysiac theater. I pass over as irrelevant here the creative originality that could invent the dramatic form, and the artistic imagination that wrought masterpiece after masterpiece. I pass also over the astonishing fact that any city could furnish year in and year out occupants for those thirty thousand seats as

spectators for such exalted art. It is as another phase of Attic talk that the Greek drama concerns us here. Compared to the hurly-burly of "Lear" or the romance of events in "Romeo and Juliet," there is no action. "All," says Grote, "is talk...debate, consultation, retort": talk, moreover, on human conduct, on right and wrong, and the purposes of gods, becoming, as we shall note more than once later, frank scepticism with Euripides.

The Athenian listened to others because he was interested in some new thing or thought; and when he spoke he desired to speak well, whether at symposium, or in law court, or assembly. He had both the speculative interest in ideas, and the rhetorical interest in form and effect. These two interests had been immensely stimulated by the arrival in the city during the earlier and middle years of Socrates of several teachers from the outlying Hellenic world, attracted professionally to the now maritime and thus cosmopolitan city, whose temper they understood and the opportunities among whose ambitious and curious youth they may well have surmised. They were in the main honest men, traveling professors of philosophy and rhetoric, independent of one another in conduct and opinion, and never, despite the sanction of modern usage, forming a school or cult. The Sicilian Gorgias of Leontini, who has given his name to a dialogue of Plato, came to Athens in 427, envoy of his native city (so close was then the relation between political activity and oratory), and the Athenians are said to have been captivated by his metaphors, parallelisms, antitheses, and other clever devices of style. He became the euphuist of the gilded youth. Protagoras, after whom another of Plato's dialogues is named, had come from Abdera. His interest was more in the (at that time new) problems of grammar and in argumentation. Like Gorgias, he served in the political world, being appointed by Pericles to draw up a code of laws for the new colony of Thurii, (as the philosopher Locke was to do later for Carolina). Such sophists instructed both in philosophy and in the arts of discourse. In the latter they aroused the hostility of the conservative by their attention to means and, as charged, by their indifference to ends, making for cleverness' sake the worse appear the better reason; in the former by their scepticism, Protagoras indeed being compelled to flee on account of a pamphlet questioning the existence of the gods, which was burned in the market-place (411). They were always in bad repute because they took pay, so naive and spontaneous was the Athenian's notion of the dignity of the professional educator and of systematized instruction. Yet they were the humanists and

encyclopedists of the fifth century, and Socrates himself is a greater sophist, as will appear in the brief exposition later of the philosophic antecedents of his method and ideas.

However, that the old religious beliefs are still living traditions at Athens during these years may scarcely be disputed. Anaxagoras is banished—because the sun *is* Phoebus Apollo, *not* a ball of fire. Alcibiades sets the town by the ears for mutilating the busts of Hermes and engaging in a mock celebration of the mysteries. Her envoys go to Delphi, the navel of the earth, to consult the Pythian priestess on affairs of state; her generals govern their military operations by the phases of the moon; Pericles himself is advised in a dream by Athene (if Plutarch is reporting correctly) of the plant wherewith he heals Mnesicles, one of the contractors of the Propylaea. Nor stand Parthenon and Erechtheum here above the throngs simply as museums of sculpture and halls for promenade. The Orphic and Eleusinian mysteries, popular throughout Greece, are venerated as indicated above, in Athens; and in secret grove or hall the cult unfolds to the Attic neophytes, apparently by startling dramatic presentations, the fantastic doctrine of metempsychosis as its best hope of immortality, and inculcates primitive tabus against meat and beans, along with its finer ethics of purity and self-control. And, moreover, the Greek writers of the time, when they speak of God (Θεός), by their use of the singular imply not unity of the Godhead but indefiniteness, not monotheism springing from a higher knowledge, but the ignorance of embarrassment and uncertainty.

There is nothing for surprise that these things be so. Cicero, several hundred years later, it to fill a book, the *De divinatione*, with the grossest superstitions, not only chronicled, but very plausibly and energetically defended. Two thousand years are to follow in which millions in Christendom are to be good polytheists, with prayers and formulas for a Pantheon quite as complicated as that of Greece; years in which millions, not only in the uplands and on the heath, but in the great cities and centers of western culture, are to ring the temple bells in the thunderstorm against the witches, to read their fates by the aspects of the stars, to establish justice by red-hot iron, or to ward off diseases by uncanny specifics hung round the neck or carried in the pocket. And, if we can compass in imagination the whole human race—not only in its history but in its geography—watch the Buddhist cranking his prayer-mill, peep into the Indian's medicine-bag, hover on the outskirts of an African village during a ceremonial meal of human

flesh, confront the Australian fleeing in breech-clout from the pointed stick of death, count the Carolina negroes of an August night on their knees in the fields beneath the shooting stars, or steam into an American metropolis at an hour when fifty churches are simultaneously petitioning heaven for the conversion of a recalcitrant mayor, we must have borne home to us that, unto this present, superstition in one form or another—varying of course too in ethical content, but still from the point of view of the emancipated intellect, superstition—is all but a universal factor in human thought and practice. The folk-mind of ancient Athens reappears, as the folk-mind of the race, with gods and incantations and amulets differing chiefly as to name, in London and Paris and New York, though all the discoveries of science lie between. Down through time the ancestral clan of the enlightened has been the smallest organization on the planet.

Out in the southern Pacific, under the tropic of Capricorn, two thousand miles from Chili and a thousand miles from hithermost Polynesia, far off the beaten route of steam and sail, lies a small volcanic island, but a brown dot on the blue and green map of the world. It is the dwelling place of the dead idols of men. Colossal heads of bleak black stone, quarried by a populous and awful race that came no one knows whence, people its treeless slopes: some are still half carved in the pits never to be fully born of the primordial rock; some lie cracked and prone in the upper brush; others have rolled down to the narrow beach where the incoming tides are wearing them away; but many are standing erect, fantastic, austere, their gigantic necks firmly imbedded in the tufa and talus, with wide grim lips compressed, and with sightless eyes staring vacantly through times of solstice and trade-wind out upon the eternal seas. It is the dwelling place of the dead idols of men. For the men are gone. And then only do the idols die.

Down through the years the ancestral clan of the enlightened has been the smallest organization on the planet. Yet its forefathers, as we have seen, were not unrepresented at Athens. But they were not exclusively among the sophists, metaphysicians, and physicists. Thucydides, born in the same ward of the city with Socrates, though no sceptic in morals and one who lamented the break-down of the old religion, was an out and out rationalist as historian. Human nature through its thousand manifestations in individuals and communities, not the gods, had produced the events he recorded and examined; and he took little interest in prophecies of oracles and signs. And, though not an Athenian, even Herod-

otus (for all his proverbial credulity) had occasional rationalistic suspicions: those troubles in Thessaly were not due to Poseidon but to an earthquake, and the prophetic doves at Dodona were really only Egyptian priestesses. Euripides, influenced as he was by the rhetoric and philosophy of the sophists, represented his characters questioning the justice, even the existence, of the gods; and, as to life after death, that was matter of individual opinion, *le grand peut-être*, as Rabelais was to say many generations later, and, as to prophecy, "He who can reckon best is the best prophet"—just as God is on the side of the heaviest battalions. Euripides had not the Titanic energy of Æschylus, the thunderous, nor did he like Sophocles see life steadily and see it whole; yet he was a much more restless and inquiring mind, and threw out more questions than either—a fact which has, quite as much as his romantic sentiment, I believe, been a source of his greater popularity from the beginning. Critias in the extensive fragment of his drama Sisyphus (quoted by Roeck, pages 167-8) was a declared atheist—

" 'Twas first some man
Who fooled his fellows into god-beliefs."

Aristophanes, however, who brought on the stage with such reckless irreverence the gods along with men, was as far from the sceptical spirit as the medieval inventors of the Mysteries who depicted God-Father clad in white gloves, and patriarchs of the Bible engaging in horse-play. The things were so sure that they could be handled with jolly familiarity. A different matter altogether was Lucian's ridiculing burlesque several hundred years later.

Aristophanes, indeed, the *laudator temporis acti*, satirist of Euripides and the encyclopedists, is, perhaps, our best testimony to the persistence and importance of the conservative element which, unsusceptible of being reasoned away by modern scholarship as something entirely formal, furnishes environment and setting for those few radical minds that give the age its peculiar intellectual interest, as the age of enlightenment—the Athenian *Aufklärung*.

But the enlightenment brought its dangers; and the folk clung to the old gods and customs not simply because it was in all things very superstitious but perhaps quite as much because it had the instinct of moral self-preservation. We must remember that the absurdest superstitions may house the sturdiest ethics and the most genuine religious feeling and that the destruction of the former is too likely for a time to turn both the latter out of doors.

Into this world comes Socrates.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

GREECE, THE MOTHER OF ALL RELIGIOUS ART

BY THE EDITOR.

IF revelation means the discovery of eternal principles we may justly declare that the Greek nation has been the medium for the revelation of art to mankind as well as the founder of science. The Greek style of literature, Greek methods of artistic representation, Greek modes of thought have become standards and are therefore in this sense called "classical." We stand on the shoulders of the ancient Greeks, and whatever we accomplish is but a continuing of their work, a building higher upon the foundations they have laid. This is true of sculpture, of poetry and of the basic principle of the science of thought, of logic, and also of mathematics. Euclid, more than Leviticus or Deuteronomy, is a book inspired by God.¹

Whatever the non-Euclideans may have to criticize in the outlines of Euclid's plane geometry, we must say that the author of this brief work is, in a definite and well-defined sense, the prophet of the laws that prevail in the most useful of all space-conceptions. By Euclid we understand not so much the author of the book that goes under his name, but the gist of the book itself, the thought of it, the conception of geometry and the principles which are embodied in it. In our recognition of Euclid's geometry we include his predecessors, whosoever they may have been.

The man who for the first time in the history of mankind conceived the idea of points, lines, planes as immaterial quantities, as thought-constructions or whatever you may call the presentation of pure figures and their interdependence, was really a divinely inspired mind. Whatever flaws there may be in Euclid's presentation of plane geometry as to parallel lines, the main outline of the book, the scientific conception of the underlying thought, is the

¹ By "God" we understand that superpersonal presence which shapes the world and is the standard of truth and right. See the author's book on *God; An Inquiry into the Nature of Man's Highest Ideal and a Solution of the Problem from the Standpoint of Science.*

revelation of an eternal truth, and such an outline was written in Greece.

But the same praise is due also to men of science in general, to the first formulators of philosophy, and to the founders of art, and it is no accident that the principles of all higher artistic productions go back to the Greeks.

I know very well that the Greeks had predecessors in Egypt, in Babylon, in Phenicia and perhaps elsewhere; that other nations developed along the same lines and reached similar, sometimes almost the same, goals, but the *ensemble* of all the arts and the very spirit of human ideals had nowhere, prior to the birth of Greek thought, found a better expression, and our own intellectual and artistic conceptions are practically Greek; our science is Greek, or, to say the least, it is a development which has risen from ancient Greek thinkers, among whom Aristotle is one main representative. All our philosophers were foreshadowed in ancient Greece. All our poetry and art is an off-shoot from Greek poetry and art, or at least has been profoundly influenced by it; the most significant productions of our art have their root ultimately in Greek prototypes.

Our religion too is Greek. We are accustomed to derive Christianity from Judaism, but that is a mistake. Judaism had an influence on the development of Christianity, and a Galilean whose religion was Jewish was selected as the universal Saviour; yea the Jewish literature, called the Old Testament, has been recognized by the Christians as inspired. Nevertheless the dominating and essential thoughts of Christianity are Greek.²

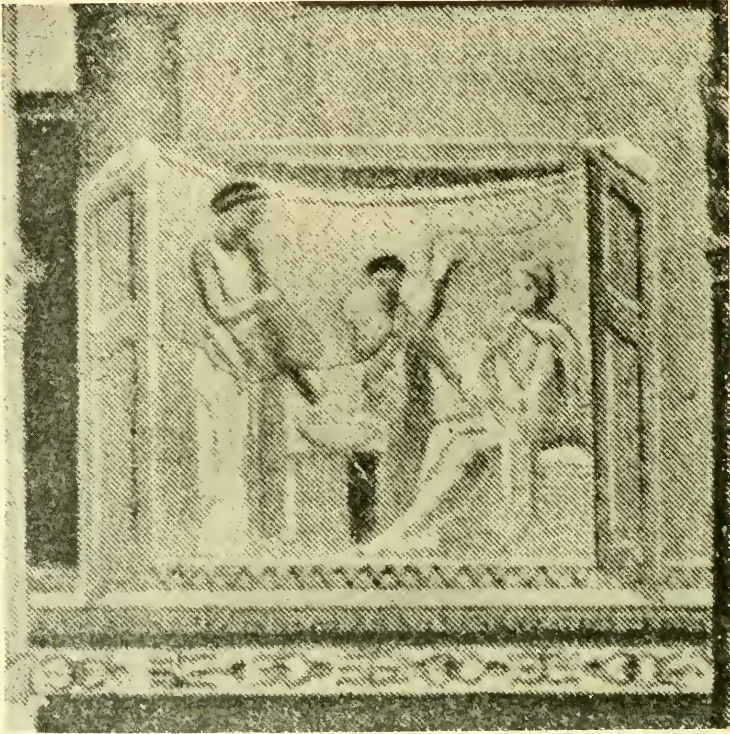
Christian art, likewise, is Greek. Just as the figure of the good shepherd goes back to Greek lamb-bearing shepherds and a calf-bearing Hermes,³ so the highest representations of saviours go back to the Greek conception of Apollo, the god of light and intellectuality. The figures of Buddha and Christ have their ultimate prototypes in conceptions of Greek artists, and so we must grant that Greek art has given to mankind the artistic formulation of its highest and best ideals.

About a year ago, in October 1913, I was sauntering through the ruins of the Palatine in Rome, and reached the place where the house of Livia has been dug out from the dust with which it had been covered for nineteen hundred years. We entered a small

² See the writer's book, *The Pleroma; An Essay on the Origin of Christianity*.

³ See the author's article on "The Nativity" in *The Open Court*, XIII, pp. 717-718.

atrium, apparently very secluded, and before us lay three rooms. Here Livia,⁴ the third wife of Augustus, lived, here she received her guests, here was the home of Augustus where he felt at ease in the most complete seclusion. There may still be seen the leaden pipes which served to carry water, the frescoes of exquisite workmanship on one wall and portions of the mosaic on the floor. The frescoes interested me. A large one on the left represents a



FRESCO IN LIVIA'S HOUSE.

street scene; some women are knocking at a door while a few persons on a balcony above are looking over the balustrade to see who the callers are. Another picture, on the right, is the well-known scene of Io watched by the thousand-eyed Argus who is stealthily approached by Mercury. Neither subject is of special significance, but there is a third fresco, in the center, which shows an altar with a bright fire and on either side a female figure. At the

⁴ See the author's article, "The Religion of Ancient Gaul and Caesar Worship, in *The Open Court*, XXIV, p. 743.

left we see a priestess standing ready to perform a sacrifice, and to the right a dignified matron seated comfortably in an arm-chair, while in the background a shepherd is carrying a lamb on his shoulders after the fashion of the Christian good shepherd. It is strange that this picture of unequivocal heathen provenience has not yet received the attention it deserves, and indeed the art photographer



GRECO-INDIAN BUDDHA FROM PESHAWAR (Gandhara).

has so far ignored its existence. Not even the large firm of Anderson has considered it worth the trouble to reproduce this little piece of art which, being exposed to the open air, is decaying rapidly in the moist atmosphere of rainy days.

In articles on the development of the Christ-picture⁵ we have learned that the older representations of Jesus as a beardless youth

⁵ Published in *The Open Court* for December, 1913, January, March and April, 1914. See especially the issue of December, 1913, pp. 716ff.

have originated from the custom of picturing Christ as the good shepherd, and the type of the good shepherd is a loan from pagan art. The pagan prototype, however, was not invented to represent the shepherd saving a lost lamb, but a youth bringing from the fold to the temple a sheep to be sacrificed. In this sense we must interpret the bas-relief on the so-called *Hermes Kriophoros*, a Mercury carrying a ram, and this too is the obvious meaning of the picture in Livia's house.

What a favorite *motif* the lamb-bearing shepherd was in pre-Christian times appears from the fact that it is found in the second century B. C. in the Gandhara sculptures of far-off India whither it had been imported by the Greek artists, the same who, in the service of the Yavana (i. e., Ionian) kings also chiseled the oldest marble statues of Buddha still extant, modeled after the prototype of the Apollo statues with the Attic topknot on the head and a halo about the face.

That Buddhist sculpture was imported into India by the Greek conquerors who followed in the wake of Alexander the Great, has, as we have stated in former articles in *The Open Court*, been pointed out by Grünwedel of the Ethnological Museum of Berlin, and other German scholars, and the arguments have been reinforced of late by M. Fouchet, a French scholar, who in one of his lectures at the Musée Guimet shows that the oldest Buddha sculpture has been found in Peshawar, the modern name of the ancient kingdom of Gandhara. Chinese pilgrims visited the town in the time when Buddhism was still flourishing, and the environs of Gandhara were crowded with monasteries and Buddhist monuments of all kinds. Excavations in recent times have brought to light a great number of Buddha statues, and there is no doubt that these statues were made by Greek artists imported by the Yavana kings.

We here reproduce the ruins of an old Buddhist monastery situated in a most romantic spot on the top of a mountain surrounded by ranges of other high mountains.

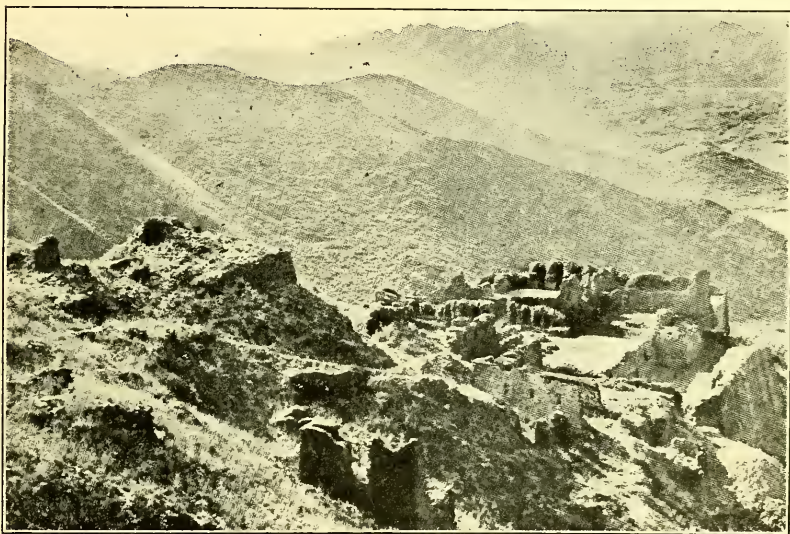
India was most accessible to invaders on the northwest, and it was here that the Greeks, and later on the Scythians, invaded the fertile valleys of the Indus and the Ganges. The coins tell the stories of the history of this part of the country, and from Gardner's collection of Indian coins M. Fouchet selects four pieces of money which show the successive conquests and the gradual trend of the country towards the supremacy of Buddhism.

The first coin shows on the obverse Alexander the Great; and on the reverse, Zeus, holding a scepter in the left hand and an

eagle on his right hand. It characterizes the Greco-Macedonian conquerors of India soon after the time of Alexander the Great, being Greek in style and indicating the ruler's religion also as Greek.

The Ionians change into Yavanas and become Indianized. The second coin, bearing the name of Demetrius, shows Indian influence in so far as the helmet of the king is made in the shape of an elephant's head, but the obverse is still Greek, showing Hercules with club in hand.

The Indianization grows stronger. The third coin is that of the famous king Milinda, the Greek Menandros, who appears to have



THE RUINS OF TAKHT-I-BAHAI.

shown a great interest in Buddhism as he is made the hero of a Buddhist book called *The Questions of King Milinda*, in which he praises and also endorses the views of the Buddhist patriarch Nagasena. We might almost believe that King Milinda had become a convert to Buddhism, but the coin before us shows Athena in full armor on the obverse, indicating that in his admiration for the Indian faith Milinda did not make such concessions to Buddhism as to cut off his official allegiance to the gods of Greece. In fact we find among the Gandhara sculptures a figure which closely resembles Athena, the favorite goddess of King Milinda, and we may assume that this indicates that while the king unreservedly

showed his admiration for the Buddhist faith, as described in the Buddhist book, the Buddhists on the other hand allowed his favorite goddess a place among religious works of art.⁶

Times changed again, and now we find the Indo-Scythians in possession of northern India. Greek rule was replaced by that of the barbarians of the Asiatic north, and among their kings we find Kanishka who in Asiatic pride calls himself the Shah of the Shahs. He is the immediate predecessor of Ashoka and appears on the fourth coin in barbaric dress, clothed in a kind of tunic; he is full-bearded while all the Greeks are shaved. At the same time we notice



INDIAN COINS.

(1) Of Alexander; (2) Of Demetrius; (3) Of Menander; (4) Of Kanishka.

the progress of the Buddhist faith, for the obverse shows a Buddha statue surrounded with two halos, one oblong mandola covering the whole body and another one of a circular shape surrounding the head. The inscription in Greek is ΒΟΔΔΟ. King Kanishka reappears again on the reliquary of Buddha's tomb discovered at Peshawar.

The origin of the Buddha type from Greek ideas may be considered as firmly established, and later developments still show Buddha always with western features, while the saints of Buddhism

⁶ See "Greek Sculpture the Mother of Buddhist Art," *The Open Court*, XXII, 306.

have been more freely modeled and show more the type of the Asiatic ethnology.

The Greek simplicity of the first Buddha statues was soon lost. Later Buddhas were decked more and more with Asiatic ornaments and suffered from Asiatic taste, but it is interesting to notice that ultimately the Buddha ideal is Greek, and we add that the Christ ideal has been derived from the same source, as can be proved by a juxtaposition of the two representations, where the original features of the Greek prototypes are not yet completely wiped out.



GRECO-CHRISTIAN CHRIST AND GRECO-BUDDHIST BUDDHA.

M. Fouchet, in his lecture on the Greek origin of the Buddhist image, places side by side a Christ statue and a Buddha statue, which both have been derived from the type of a Greek figure, commonly called Sophocles, or "the orator," and the similarity in attitude of this noble piece of work to the Buddha and Christ statues is obvious.

In comment on the two statues we will say that the Indian

treatment shows a great lack of proportion in so far as it shortens the lower part of the body and thus gives the impression of a stumpy figure, while the Christ figure exhibits a better proportion of the limbs.

One important difference between the two Saviour ideals is explained by a consideration of Buddhist traditions, which are



THE ORATOR.

older than Buddhist art. The Greek artist has done his best. He has changed the lump on the head, supposed to be indicative of the higher intelligence of the Enlightened One, into a knot of hair such as Greek youths used to wear and as appears on the head of

Apollo, the Greek prototype of Buddha, the god of light and the leader of the Muses.

The halo was used in the Alexandrian period in Greece for the purpose of representing the gods of light in paintings, but it did not appear in Greek sculpture. So we may assume that its presence in the Gandhara statues of Buddha presupposes previous painted pictures, in which a halo was more appropriate without undue violence to the principles of art. The Greek sculptor would probably not have represented it if it had not been imposed upon him by the common recognition of haloes in Buddhist imagination. So we may very well assume that the Gandhara marble statues of Buddha are not the oldest prototypes, but presuppose a religious school of painters whose works were not substantial enough to be preserved.

Whether the painted Buddhas were produced by Greek artists can no longer be determined, but it is probable. We may fairly well assume that the halo was a Greek invention, and that the Greek painters who introduced it into India were imported by the same Greek conquerors who imported the Greek sculptors.

Christianity owes much more to Greek civilization than the early Christians were inclined to concede. We know that Christianity originated in opposition to Greek paganism, and there can be no question that it came as a protest against polytheism, the worship of idols and pagan sacrifices, but for all that Christianity accepted the fundamental Greek ideas and also the moral aspirations of ancient Greece. Whatever we owe to ancient Israel, and especially to Judah and its development of a religious monotheism, we must not be blind to the fact that the main elements of our civilization were in their outlines first developed among the Greeks, and we note among them the conception of the Logos idea as the second God, the divine mediator as a means of creation, and the moral aspiration toward a love of one's enemies.

KING ALBERT'S POLICY.

BY THE EDITOR.

IT is strange that although Belgium's policy is well known in Europe and the questionable character of Belgium's neutrality is recognized by Sir Edward Grey himself, yet in this country Belgium is persistently made the main reason for keeping up a propaganda against Germany and condemning her as the most faithless and barbarous of nations. Almost all my critics fall back on Belgium and treat the discoveries in the Brussels archives either as inventions or as of no significance. Nor have our daily papers been sufficiently unprejudiced to publish the facts which speak loudly against British policy.

One of the most important documents discovered by the Germans in the Brussels archives is a letter written by Baron Greindl, Belgian ambassador at the court of Berlin, who claims that in planning to enter into a close alliance with the Triple Entente and open its country to a British army for the purpose of proceeding against Germany, the Belgian government has violated the laws of neutrality and has thereby exposed herself to the danger of surrendering her fortresses to her foreign friends whom he deems not less dangerous than the Germans. The letter reads in part as follows:

"From the French side danger not only threatens us in the south, by way of Luxemburg, but also along our whole common frontier. This assertion is not based on conjectures alone; we have positive support for it. An encircling movement from the north forms without doubt part of the scheme of the *entente cordiale*. If that were not the case, the plan to fortify Flushing would not have raised such a hue and cry in Paris and London. There the reasons have by no means been kept secret, why it was desired that the Schelde should remain without defense. What they wished was to be able to transport English troops to Antwerp without hindrance, i. e., to create with us a basis of operation for an offensive movement against the Lower Rhine and Westphalia, and then

to compel us to fall in line, a thing which would not have been difficult, for in handing over our national stronghold we should have deprived ourselves, by our own foolhardiness, of every possibility of resisting the demands of our questionable protectors, once we had been so unwise as to let them in. The overtures, as perfidious as naive, of Colonel Bernardiston at the time of the conclusion of the *entente cordiale* have shown us plainly how the matter really stood. When, eventually, we allowed ourselves to be intimidated by the pretended danger of a closing of the Schelde, the plan indeed was not given up, but so altered that the English auxiliary army was not to be landed on the Belgian coast but at the nearest French ports. For this we have as witness the disclosures of Captain Faber which have been contradicted just as little as the reports in the newspapers, by which they were confirmed or supplemented in individual points."

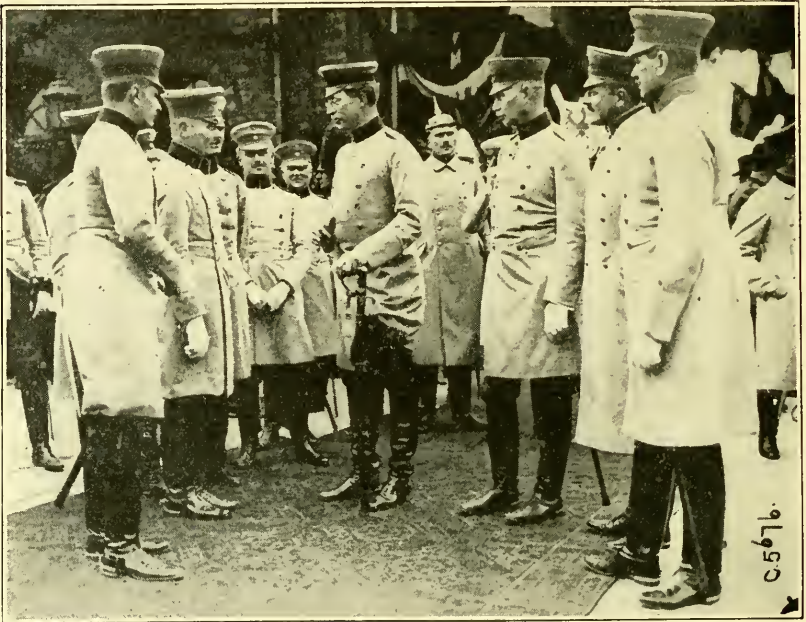
We will not here condemn Belgium for breaking her neutrality, for to remain absolutely neutral under such circumstances is very difficult and actually prevents the self-assertion of a small nation. Belgium had been intended as a buffer state. It was established for the purpose of separating the frontiers between France and Germany and its establishment was mainly in the interest of England whose policy is well described in the recent article of Field Marshall Earl Roberts in the *Hibbert Journal* of October, 1914.¹

England naturally has an interest in the coast of the continent facing her own shore and has always been anxious that it be retained in the hands of a weak nation. An invasion of Belgium is felt by English statesmen as an invasion of English territory, and we must understand that this feeling is a sort of Monroe Doctrine to Great Britain. This explains why the English could go to war in defense of Belgium.

Upon the whole England has always favored the smaller countries on the continent and has always been the enemy of whatever power took the lead in continental politics. Originally the neutrality of Belgium was aimed against France, but since the establishment of the German empire the tables turned and it was intended to be used against Germany. But just here lies the equivocal nature of England's attitude. She wished to use Belgian neutrality against either France or Germany, but did not intend to respect it herself; this two-faced policy is positively proved by the documents found in Brussels and is plainly indicated in Baron Greindl's letter.

¹ Quoted in the December number of *The Open Court*, pp. 761-762.

King Albert is apparently an ambitious monarch. King Leopold, his uncle, had a keen mind and enriched himself as well as enlarged Belgium by the acquisition of African territory. Experts in international law have considered that this step threw doubt on the old neutral character of Belgium or even entirely disposed of it, and this view was shared by no less an authority than Gladstone. King Leopold's policy induced Gladstone to establish a new treaty during the war of 1870-1871, which was to last for one year after the close of the war. A correspondent of mine who prefers that his name be omitted, writes to me as follows:



KING ALBERT AND HIS STAFF.

“It has often occurred to me that very little explanation has yet been offered as to the real reason for Belgium's siding with the allies. They must have had more motives than just plain neutrality. Is there anything in the fact that the throne of Belgium personally owns such large tracts in Africa that, had the throne been neutral in spirit, they would have been endangered by the English and French? Might it not be a purely selfish motive which induced the king of Belgium to join with the Allies, believing that he would thereby avoid losing his estate, which I understand is the largest in the world?”



THE QUEEN OF BELGIUM AND HER CHILDREN.

Of whatever value, or lack of value, the old treaty concerning Belgium's neutrality may be, King Albert has certainly not respected it. He has been on very friendly terms with England, and this in itself is certainly commendable; but he has also shared the view of the British government which regards Germany as the main foe of English supremacy on the seas and is expressed in the formula, *Germania est delenda*. He did not doubt that Germany could easily be crushed between France and Russia. He seemed fully confident that Belgian forts could resist invaders for an indefinite length of time and could not be taken except at an enormous loss of life, and so he saw no danger in joining the Allies. He even ventured so far as to extend his own influence over the other small powers by proposing to establish an alliance among them of which he was to be the leading spirit. This in itself was also a breach of neutrality. Like the English he regarded the neutrality of Belgium as a protective measure against Germany; he saw in it a privilege, not a duty.

The alliance between the small states, however, fizzled out because Holland, which was the very first one approached, became suspicious of its purport and hesitated to join. And since Holland was more important to Belgium than Denmark, Sweden or Norway, and since the latter were influenced by Holland's misgivings, the whole scheme was abandoned.

We do not know what part Albert will play in the future, but it is certain that he is a unique character not to be underrated. His wife, too, is a distinguished woman. She is the daughter of that Bavarian prince, Rupert, who studied medicine and practised among the poor just like any other physician except that he would not take fees. He lived like a civilian, and, among his children, the present Queen of Belgium was brought up like a professor's daughter.

We will repeat in extenuation of King Albert's mistakes that it is by no means an easy matter to play a truly neutral part; and while his ambitious plans for an alliance of the smaller states failed, he has cut a dashing figure in recent history, and has shown sufficient energy to overcome even the traditional antipathy against royalty in democratic Belgium. He has never been so popular as now in times of war, and his popularity has spread into France so that in the present dissatisfaction with the republican government isolated voices have been heard which would welcome him to the throne of France.

AN AMERICAN SYMPATHIZER WITH GER- MANY.¹

MY DEAR M.:

I have your letter expressing your astonishment and dismay at learning that my sympathy is with the Germans in this conflict, and giving what you allege to be "incontrovertible facts" that challenge the soundness of my position.

You charge:

1. "That the Germans represent a military system which has long threatened the peace of Europe, and which will dominate the world if they win."

2. "That to give support to them is to 'glorify the hideous doctrine that might makes right.'"

3. "That any impartial consideration of the official documents submitted by the various contending parties must convince any one that Germany could have prevented this war had she sincerely wished to avoid hostilities at this time."

4. "That the cause of free institutions and of civilization makes it imperative that England and France should win."

You point to the fact that no newspaper of any character or influence in the East pretends to conceal its sympathy for the allies, and that, of all your acquaintances, save those connected with Germany by ties of blood or marriage, you know of no other

¹ The writer of this article prefers not to have his name mentioned, for reasons which need not be set forth in detail; but for the benefit of our readers we state the following facts concerning his identity:

He is of pure Anglo-American extraction and has neither direct nor indirect relation to Germany either in his own ancestry or that of his wife's family. At the same time he is of high social and professional standing in his native state, his father having served in the Court of Appeals and in other public services of the state for over thirty years. He himself holds high rank in the legal profession, so that by heredity and training he is well equipped to be impartial.

His reasons for writing his views are explained in a personal letter to the editor as follows: "I and my wife and daughters are among the few persons of English descent in — whose sympathies have been with the Germans in this conflict. My wife and my daughters found themselves beset on every side by their friends and acquaintances whose sympathies were not with the Germans. The arguments that they most frequently were called upon to meet

person who takes the side of Germany, except J. S., whom you "have regarded for several years as being unbalanced."

Accept my assurances that I am prompted to write you now, at some length, not because of any anxiety at being seriously classed by you among the mentally deficient, but solely because I believe that the intimacy which has characterized our friendship for so many years entitles you to know why I sympathize with the Germans, whilst the vast majority of our friends and acquaintances can only see the other side.

To begin with, I feel confident that the difference in our viewpoints may be largely explained by a failure to agree on the facts, or inferences to be deduced from the facts.

I.

Take your first allegation, namely:

"That the Germans represent a military system which has long threatened the peace of Europe, and which will dominate the world if they win."

This statement I believe to be in the main correct, but I fail to see why the Germans should be condemned for this situation. The reason the German military system has threatened the peace of Europe is because the Germans have made it so efficient that, together with their navy, they have upset the balance of power in Europe, which the other European governments, and more especially that of England, have sought to maintain with so much concern ever since the battle of Waterloo. The German military system has threatened the peace of Europe not because of its existence as a military system, but because the other powers of Europe have come to see that it is the most efficient probably in the world to-day. France, Russia, England, each has a military system, but none of these nations has been willing to make the sacrifice in time and money necessary to bring their respective military establish-

were those set out on the first page of the manuscript, and the article was prepared with a view to fortifying them in their position, and enabling them to advance arguments to meet the contentions of their acquaintances. The article has been thrown into the form of a letter to make it more colloquial, and in the hope that thereby it would be more readily grasped and understood by the average person."

Friends of the author of this letter who were impressed with the clearness of his judgment urged him to make public his statement of the case, and it was in this way that his manuscript reached *The Open Court*.

We do not doubt that there are many of our readers who will be glad to receive from a purely American source a fair and unbiased statement of the case for Germany written by a man whose scholarship and training fit him for judging the merits of both sides of the case.—EDITOR.

ments to the point of excellence that has been reached by the Germans.

In addition, each of these nations has, of course, a naval establishment. The policy sedulously followed by England with respect to her naval establishment for years has been that it must be equal in power and efficiency to that of the combined fleets of any other two powers in Europe. This policy England has followed simply because no other state in Europe was strong enough to challenge her right. When, however, the strength of Germany on land and sea is descried looming higher and higher on the horizon by the other military powers,—they see protection by alliances, offensive and defensive, that would have been wholly unnecessary had they each set for themselves the same standard of efficiency that the Germans have striven for so successfully in the last forty years.

Now, I submit that it is not only the inherent right but the paramount duty of every sovereign state to maintain such military and naval establishments as its people may deem necessary for the proper protection of their interests on land and sea. This right has been accorded to France, Russia and England without question. If the German military establishment had been characterized by the morale which characterized the Russian army prior to its conflict with Japan, had its naval establishment been characterized by the morale which is generally held to characterize that of Russia and France at the present time, nothing would have been heard in regard to the danger to the peace of Europe, so far as Germany is concerned.

Is it right then that Germany should be penalized for having applied successfully the doctrine of efficiency to her military and naval establishments, when the other powers have been unwilling to make the sacrifices to the same end; and if the balance of power in Europe has been upset as a result, should she be destroyed?

Whilst I agree with you that her military system has threatened the peace of Europe, I cannot admit that that threat has been accompanied by any act of aggression on her part up to the time of the outbreak of present hostilities.

The development of her military and naval establishments has gone hand in hand with a commercial development and expansion that has been unequalled in modern times. The German people have excelled in peaceful pursuits under conditions that find no parallel, not even in this country, and whether they succeed or not, I confidently believe that the efficiency which they have striven for

will be the goal set by the other progressive nations of the world.

By this I do not wish to be understood to mean their military system in detail. What I do mean is that other nations will be taught that if they are to give a good account of themselves when their rights are challenged, they must see to it that their military and naval establishments are efficient.

In this sense, and in this sense only, I agree that the German military system will dominate the world until such time shall arrive when some method can be substituted for deciding international disputes, other than that which has hitherto been employed, namely, the arbitrament of arms.

I cannot, therefore, see any menace in the persistence of the German military system for the future, unless you ask me to subscribe to the doctrine of those well-intentioned but misguided persons who demand that armies and navies shall from now on be abolished. On the contrary, I hold that by enforcing a system making for efficiency Germany will, in the end, win the lasting gratitude of those nations that at the present time spend enormous sums of money on their military and naval establishments without getting results in any way commensurate with the same.

Did you see the editorial in the New York "Evening Sun" of November 5th, on the defense of Kiao Chau? For fear you did not let me quote the following:

"British statesmen and journals have delighted to tell the world that Great Britain is making war to save the German people from militarism, to bring independence to the oppressed Teutons. Was there ever a more complete, a more crushing answer to such cant than that supplied by Kiao Chau, by the response of the Germans of the East to a call not to battle but to disaster, to a summons not to possible victory, but to inevitable defeat and destruction."

So much for German militarism.

II

Now, as to your second charge:

By this, I presume, you refer to the violation of Belgian neutrality. I do not permit my sympathies for the misfortunes of the Belgians to obscure the view of the general question relating to the violation of their neutrality.

Conceding that Germany was a party to the treaty of 1839, through the signatory participation of Prussia, and conceding the adherence of Germany to the Hague declarations as to the in-

violability of neutral territory, I am not prepared to grant that she was bound to respect the neutrality of Belgium in the face of *military necessity affecting her national safety*. National safety is the supreme law of the world. No nation can bargain away irrevocably its sovereignty in the form of a treaty or by any other instrument that has ever been devised. Such a treaty is binding only so long as the sovereign powers signatory to it are willing to be so bound. Its force and effect is, as the lawyers say, simply and solely *in terrorem*. At least two sound reasons can be advanced to support this contention. One is that to which I have adverted, viz., No nation has the power or right to bargain away its sovereignty, so as to bind posterity for all time.

It seems curious that there should be so much public misapprehension on this subject, and it all comes about because people have confused a treaty between sovereign nations with a contract between individuals. A treaty between nations is essentially different from an ordinary contract between individuals, and yet there are certain things that even an individual cannot make the subject of a binding contract.

The principle that a state cannot bargain away its supreme rights is the same in its fundamental concept as the principle recognized and enforced in private municipal law,—that an individual cannot bargain away his supreme rights.

You could not, my dear M., bargain away your right to live, or to engage in a lawful, gainful pursuit to enable you to live, by the most solemn instrument ever devised by a Philadelphia lawyer. It would be at best a mere “scrap of paper.” So with this treaty respecting Belgium’s neutrality. This treaty could not bind the Germans under circumstances which affected their national safety.

Now, I do not mean to beg the question; I hear your protest before you even voice it—the question is, did the military necessity exist? Frankly I cannot say. How can any one, until all the facts are disclosed?

I am willing to suspend judgment until all the facts are in our possession, which an interrupted communication with Europe and especially with Germany, apart from other reasons, make it impossible now to secure.

The second reason for supporting the contention that nations are not bound irrevocably by treaties to which they are parties, is this:

Nations frequently enter into treaties under the compulsion imposed by the military supremacy of the other powers to the treaty.

A nation can hardly be irrevocably bound by a treaty which it is forced to sign. This principle also finds its analogy in private municipal law. As you well know, no one is bound by the terms of any agreement which is signed under the compulsion of superior physical force.

This last reason, I must admit, cannot be availed of by any signatory power to the articles of the Hague Convention. It can hardly be claimed that they were entered into under the compulsion of a superior physical force. I do hold, nevertheless, that no state has the power to make a binding agreement, even through the instrumentalities of a Hague Convention, that will result in imperiling its national safety.

If the doctrine that the safety of the state is the supreme law of the land is to give way, and admit of denial, as is now contended for in some quarters, I can only say that it has never been questioned before, and Germany can hardly be held censurable for regarding it in full force and effect when the demand was made for peaceful passage over Belgian territory.

I accordingly submit that entrance into France through Belgium cannot be regarded *ipso facto* as unwarranted by the Germans, nor as an assertion of the doctrine that "might makes right."

If the military necessity affecting her national safety existed, I contend that not only was it the right, but the supreme duty of Germany to violate Belgian neutrality, despite any treaties that may have been previously entered into by her or on her own behalf, and despite any views to the contrary which may now be entertained as the result of a newly awakened attitude toward international obligations.

III.

I now come to the third contention. This has to deal with the so-called "White Papers."

The only value of these official documents, to my mind, is in disclosing the occasion and the immediate events leading up to the outbreak of hostilities. If one is to fix the responsibility for this war, one must be familiar not only with the *occasion* but also with the *causes* which brought it about. There exists much confusion in the public mind between the *occasion* and the *causes* of the war. It is not sufficient to fix the blame for the *occasion* of a conflict of this kind. It seems to me that every fair-minded person in dealing with the question of responsibility must have respect rather to the *causes* than to the occasion. Now, if the causes of the war be

analyzed, it will be found that a train of events had been set in motion many years ago which had gathered such momentum that they could be no longer controlled.

It is well-nigh impossible with this titanic conflict at its height to project oneself sufficiently into the future to view the situation as it will appear to the historian of to-morrow, and yet, unless one is willing to set aside one's predilections in favor of one side or the other, and to strive to assume an attitude of strict impartiality, no sound judgment can be reached.

Much hostile criticism was directed at the Kaiser, at the outbreak of hostilities. Many persons blamed him for the war. It was claimed that the German people were the victims of an oppressive military system fastened upon them by selfish class legislation; that they did not want war and were reluctant to fight. The argument was that, as the Kaiser declared a state of war in Germany, it was equally within his power to have refrained from so doing.

In the publication of the White Papers of England and Germany persons have found what they consider satisfactory proof of the charge that the Kaiser must bear the blame for the outbreak of hostilities. I am convinced that the historian of the future will not fix the blame for this war on the Kaiser, nor find in him either its cause or occasion. When the secrets of the several chancelleries shall have been disclosed the cause of the war will be found in a sequence of events beginning, perhaps, with the victory of Germany over France in 1870 and culminating in the ambitious projects for Servian hegemony in the Balkans, and the murder of the successor of Francis Joseph in June last.

United Germany has been employed during these forty-four years in developing its resources and expanding a marvelously active and successful overseas commerce, only to find herself completely isolated by an alliance offensive or defensive between the three most powerful nations of Europe, who have viewed with suspicion and apprehension for many years her development into a great power on land as well as on sea. Rightly or wrongly it had become an obsession with the German peoples that these powers were prepared at the first favorable opportunity to attempt to accomplish by force that which they had long wished for and frequently attempted by moral suasion, viz., the curtailment of her power to fight on land and sea. The Germans had come to believe that, if their national destiny, whatever it might be, was to be achieved, it must be by the arbitrament of arms taken up in defense of their national integrity. These, briefly, are the main causes leading up to the war.

Now, for the occasion :

I hold that the conviction existed in Germany that in furthering the aims of the Serbs in the Balkans, Russia had formulated plans which must inevitably bring disaster to the dual monarchy on the death of the aged Francis Joseph. Through Russian machinations the break-up of Austria-Hungary had been tremendously promoted by the removal of the Crown Prince. The immediate question for Germany to decide was whether she should espouse the cause of Austria-Hungary, which demanded that for the preservation of the integrity of the dual monarchy a mortal blow be struck at Serbia's pretensions ; or wait until these pretensions should assume a yet more definite form of hegemony in the Balkans and thus risk being deprived of the assistance which her ally was in a position to give at this time.

Austria was in duty bound to seek reparation for the blow aimed at her by a counter blow calculated to smash the plans that had been conceived against her sovereign and territorial integrity. Should she hesitate to do this, she must face with certainty the progressive and successful development of the plans secretly formulated against her by Serbia, and fomented and promoted by Russian diplomacy. Strike she must, or be stricken in turn.

Under these circumstances, I submit that it was not only incumbent upon Germany to support her ally's position, but equally necessary to her own safety.

If you entertain the idea at this stage of the conflict that this is not the war of the German people, but is the war of the Kaiser, let me call your attention once more to the editorial in the *Evening Sun* (New York) from which I have already quoted :

"It is no longer possible for any but the wilfully blind to mistake the fact that it is not the machine that is making German armies potent in an attack still continuing. The songs of the boy conscripts of 1914 are but the echo of the songs of those other boys of 1813 and 1814 who freed Europe from Napoleon and saved Germany from complete subjugation. It is inconceivable that there should remain a single person who could honestly believe that the German phenomenon which fills Europe to-day is less than the complete, solidified, fused resolution of a whole nation."

People have commented, with a sneer, on the fact that the life of a Crown Prince should be of sufficient importance to bring on a world-war. It can hardly be necessary to point out to you that under any existing form of government, whether republican, monarchical, imperial, absolute, or otherwise, the person who, for the

time being, is the head of the government is an integral part of its sovereignty, together with all other persons designated by law in immediate succession. No self-respecting power, hoping to retain its voice in the council of nations, can permit its ruling head or his immediate successor to be assassinated by a citizen of another power without taking such steps as it may decide are necessary to vindicate the principle of sovereign integrity.

No, my dear M., this is not the Kaiser's war, nor is the Kaiser either the cause or the occasion of it. The causes I have briefly referred to above. The occasion will be found in the brutal murder of the successor to the aged Francis Joseph, and Russo-Servian designs upon the integrity of Austria-Hungary.

IV.

Finally, you claim that the cause of free institutions and civilization makes it imperative that England and France should win.

I yield to no one in paying ungrudging tribute to the debt which we all owe to England and to France as well, for what they have done to advance the sum of human happiness in the largest sense in which that word can be used. The science of government, the security of life and property, the advancement of learning, the development of art, scientific research—all the countless things that go to make life worth living, in this year of grace 1914;—the leaders in thought which they each have produced, the deeds of valor with which the history of these peoples is replete, none of these things I forget or overlook.

But if you ask me what nation in Europe to-day stands in the forefront of progress, and whose welfare means more to the immediate civilization of the world, and the free institutions, which are the most precious possession of that civilization, I would say unhesitatingly, Germany.

I contend that the great questions of the future, not immediately connected with national defense, with which we will be most concerned, are those relating to the distribution of wealth and the socialization of industries. These are the problems with which we are struggling in this country, which have caused England so much inquietude, and which will surely sooner or later vex France.

Let us not forget that the best social legislation of the age is that which has been devised and first put in practice in Germany. Germany is but another word for *efficiency*.

In letters and science, in the arts, in governmental activities, and especially in legislation designed to promote so-called social

justice, she is the leader in the world to-day. Her destruction would be an incalculable loss to the world.

If we are to have progress we must have creative work.

I presume you will admit that those individuals make most for the progress of any community who are engaged in creative work. It is equally true that those nations are doing most for civilization whose activities at the moment can be characterized as creative.

England and France have not been for the past two decades leaders in creative work. Their places have been taken by the United States, by Germany and by Japan. In this sense England and France have exhibited unmistakable signs of decay, England perhaps more than France. Ever since the battle of Waterloo she has lauded it over Europe and the world: sated with power and the riches that come with power, she sees her place, hers the foremost in the seats of the mighty, challenged by a young and lusty power. That the coming of age of this young state spells disaster for her she senses with unfailing accuracy, resulting from years of experience in world affairs. Confident in the supremacy of her naval arm, but unwilling or unable to strengthen her military arm, she accommodates her quarrels with her age-old enemies and strengthens it with the support of the Latin and Slav. Thus she girds herself to readjust, if necessary through armed conflict, the balance of power, which has kept her supreme in the affairs of Europe for a hundred years, and to dictate peace in terms which will secure to her a quietude that for her advanced age, her reduced vitality and her yearning to enjoy the fruits of an active and phenomenally successful youth and middle age, seem so greatly to be desired.

England faces the setting sun, Germany faces the rising sun. These, dear M., are some of the reasons that persuade me that the cause of free institutions and of civilization are safer in the keeping of Germany to-day than they are in that of England and France.

I have not mentioned Russia. I know your views too well to find it necessary to answer any claim advanced in behalf of this young and powerful barbarian to be the champion of free institutions and of civilization. As to the little yellow fellow, whose ambition is to be the Britisher of the Orient—well, we shall see what we shall see!

As ever sincerely,

E. P.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE ORIGIN OF THE LEGEND OF BOS ET ASINUS.

It is not always possible to trace back the legends which have clustered around the life of Jesus, to their sources. I believe, though, that I have succeeded in finding the origin of the legend of *Bos et Asinus*, and it might surprise some of my readers to learn that a wilful or at any rate ignorant corruption of the biblical text is responsible for this legend. The prophecy that the Messiah was to be born *in medio duorum animalium* is to be found in the breviary in the *Responsorium to Lectio vi., In ii. Nocturno, In Circumcisione Domini* and is ascribed by the author of the Alsfeld Passion play of the year 1501 (verses 4859-4862) to the prophet Habakkuk. While engaged on my essay on the prophet scenes in the medieval religious drama¹ this pseudo-biblical prophecy caused me great trouble, for I was unable to find the passage in the Bible to which it might be traced back. In this German essay I had undertaken to find the corresponding biblical passages for the prophetic sayings in the medieval German church plays. The Vulgate version of the Book of Habakkuk does not contain these words. Prof. Wilhelm Meyer in his book *Carmina Burana*² also calls attention to this pseudo-biblical passage in the Alsfeld play and traces it back to a medieval pseudo-Augustinian sermon, *Contra Judacos et Paganos*, XIII. The passage, however, is much older and was already contained in the Itala translation of the Bible from where it was brought over through the prayer-book into the mystery plays,³ and rests on a false vocalization of the unvocalized Hebrew text. The Hebrew word corresponding to the Latin *annorum* (*shānim*) can, if unvocalized, also mean *duorum* (*shenáyim*). The passage in the second verse of the third chapter of Habakkuk, which should have been and was rendered by the Vulgate *in medio annorum vivifica illud* was translated by the Itala as *in medio duorum animalium*.⁴ The word *animalium* came from the misreading of the text by the patristic translators who, in their great zeal to find a christological prophecy in each and every word of the Old Testament writings, read *chaiioth* (= animals) instead of *chaiëhu* (= revive it). The Vulgate has restored the old text, but this corruption is still to be found in the Roman breviary and has given birth to the legend of *Bos et Asinus*.

PURDUE UNIVERSITY.

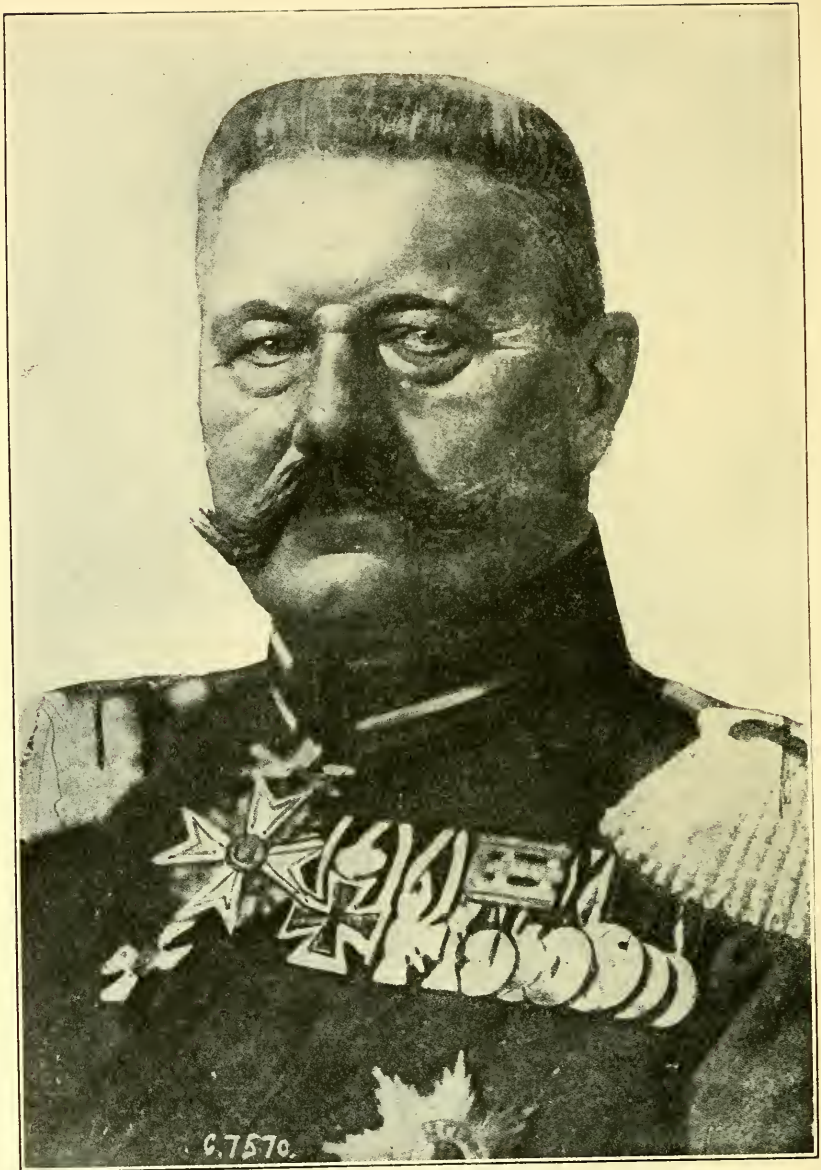
MAXIMILIAN J. RUDWIN, PH. D.

¹ Josef Rudwin, Ph. D., *Die Prophetensprüche und -zitate im religiösen Drama des deutschen Mittelalters*. Leipzig and Dresden, 1913.

² Berlin, 1901, p. 50.

³ Cf. my essay "Zum Verhältnis des religiösen Dramas zur Liturgie der Kirche," *Modern Language Notes*, April, 1914, pp. 108-109.

⁴ The corresponding passage in the Septuagint, which may have greatly influenced the Itala version, is also a patristic interpolation, if we do not wish to discard altogether the tradition which ascribes this Greek version to Alexandrian Jews who lived before Christ.



GENERAL VON HINDENBURG.

OUR ILLUSTRATIONS.

It is difficult to procure illustrations directly from the theater of war, because all parties, both allies and Germans, are fearful of spies who might use snapshots for hostile purposes, but we have succeeded in procuring a few photographs which we take pleasure in presenting to our readers.

First of all we reproduce a portrait of General Hindenburg who displayed unusual talent as a strategist against superior numbers in checking the onrush of the Russians and was raised to the rank of prince in appreciation of his services. He has become the popular military hero of Germany.

Brussels has always been a gay city, and has frequently been called "Little Paris," though it is even more pleasant than France's brilliant capital



THE GERMANS IN BRUGES.

because of its greater seclusion.⁹ We learn from Genoa papers that since the fields of battle have been removed from Belgium, Brussels has resumed its old life. Theaters are open and well attended, and the *cafés dansants* are frequented as usual. At the same time, however, poverty still prevails because there are not enough laborers to supply the factories, and German authorities suspect that the soup kitchens now established by Germany are rather a hindrance to the reestablishment of the old industrial state than a benefaction to the destitute. We here reproduce two pictures of scenes where food is being given to the poor in Belgium. One shows German soldiers distributing food to the poor inhabitants of Bruges in the *Grande Place*. The other shows



GERMANS DISTRIBUTING FOOD TO THE BELGIANS.



LORD ROBERTS INSPECTING RECRUITS IN LANGLEY PARK, ENGLAND.

Captain Martins at the left, the German commander at Malines, who personally took upon himself the relief of the poor of the town.

Our next picture carries us into the ranks of the British where the late Field Marshal Earl Roberts is seen inspecting the colonial recruits of the British army. It is probably the last snapshot obtained of the veteran commander. It seems to us that the appearance of the new troops is not very favorable. When passing through the streets of London one is impressed with the fine figure of the British guards, but here the men seem to be under-sized and underfed, merely "food for powder" as Falstaff says.

PRECONCERTED ARRANGEMENTS OF THE ALLIES.

BY A. KAMPMEIER.

In the report of Baron Greindl to the Belgian government [quoted above, page 42] we have the key to the explanation why Holland, some years ago, decided to fortify the mouth of the Schelde at Flushing, a decision which caused such a great outcry in Paris and London. Holland had apparently got wind of the fact that England, disregarding Dutch neutrality, intended to bring supplies and war material to Antwerp on the Schelde. This would of course have brought about reprisals on the part of Germany, something which could have been avoided only by Holland seeing to it that its neutrality was defended not only on paper but with armed forts.

Captain Faber is the same member of Parliament who was angrily reproached by Sir Edward Grey with "political alcoholism." This happened after the Morocco-Congo agreement between France and Germany in November, 1911. At that time the question was discussed whether England had had any intention of attacking Germany during the last chapter of the Moroccan crisis. English politicians who were irritated over the final outcome of the matter, which they considered had been weakly handled and to England's disadvantage, gave vent to their vexation at a dinner by letting out the secret that the plan had been to transport an English army to Belgium and fall on the right flank of the German army. It also became known at this time that there had been differences of opinion in the English government, some being for war while others were against it, and that finally the declaration of the admiralty that it was unable to guarantee unconditionally the safe transport of the troops in the face of the German fleet, was perhaps the deciding factor in there being no decision for war. These revelations, of course, aroused public opinion in Germany not a little. Sir Edward Grey was very much provoked at the disclosure of the plan, and gave assurances that there was no truth in it whatever, calling those who spoke of it and believed in it "political alcoholics." But perhaps there is some truth in the old saying, *In vino veritas*. Thus writes Dr. P. Rohrbach in No. 43 of *Die Hilfe* (October 22), a publication edited by Dr. F. Naumann, member of the German Reichstag.

The same writer also compares an article in the *Westminster Gazette*, the British official organ, with some notes from St. Petersburg on a conference of the Russian naval staff. He points to ten documents which the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* has published in its second edition concerning an Anglo-Russian naval agreement made last summer. Mr. Grey made the announcement in June that "there is no naval agreement and no negotiations

are going on in regard to such between Great Britain and Russia." Several weeks before, in May, the following minutes were recorded at the quarters of the Russian naval staff: "Proceeding from the fact that an agreement between Russia and England is desirable regarding the cooperation of their marine forces in the event of war with France participating, the conference reached the following conclusion: 'The contemplated naval convention shall regulate the relations between the Russian and English forces at sea; therefore an understanding is to be arrived at regarding signals, special ciphers, radio-telegrams and the mode of intercourse between the Russian and English naval staffs. The two staffs shall also regularly make mutual communications regarding the fleets of third powers and their own fleets, especially regarding technical data, recently introduced machinery and inventions. Following the example of the Franco-Russian naval convention, there shall also be brought about a regular exchange of opinions between the Russian and English naval staffs concerning matters which interest the marine ministry of both states. . . . The Russian interests in the Baltic demand that England confine as large a part as possible of the German fleet to the North Sea. In this way the overwhelming superiority of the German fleet to the Russian would be offset, and perhaps a Russian landing in Pomerania be made possible. To this latter end the English government could render a signal service by sending, before the commencement of war operations, a large number of merchant ships to Baltic ports, that the lack of Russian transport ships might be remedied. . . . Russian ships should be allowed, with the consent of England, to use English ports in the English Mediterranean as a basis, just as the French naval agreement allows the Russian fleet to use as bases the French ports in the western Mediterranean.'"

CRITICISM.

One of the critics of *The Open Court's* editorial position on the European war stated that every nine out of ten Americans are pro-British in their sympathies in the present war; but judging from letters received and practical results in the way of subscriptions and renewals to *The Open Court* the very opposite of this statement is true. I have published every criticism which contains pro-British sentiment, but if I were to publish pro-German replies I should not find room in the magazine if I doubled the size of the regular edition.

One of these anti-British critics advises me to omit the word religion from the cover of *The Open Court*, because, he says, religion is wrong and science is right, and that science teaches one to fight his way and not to be trodden under foot. For this reason he sends in his subscription, saying that *The Open Court* is not so "silly" as he had expected it to be.

I will say, however, that religion is by no means the entanglement of ancient superstitions which hold man in subjection. Religion is the world-conception which we hold, and its application to practical life is called ethics, and the basis of our ethics is science. If science teaches us that life is a struggle for the survival of the fittest we must learn to be the fittest, and to be the fittest is sometimes not possible without severe struggle. It is wise to avoid war, and we do so by trying to live peaceably with our fellow creatures. We sometimes consent to terms in which we make concessions that would be

less costly than war, but there are times when there is simply no alternative except surrender and submission on the one hand or war on the other, and it is such a case which presented itself to Austria-Hungary and Germany at the beginning of the present war.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

THE OLD WORLD IN THE NEW. The Significance of Past and Present Immigration to the American People. By *Edward Alsworth Ross*, Ph. D., LL. D. Illustrated by many photographs and a frontispiece by Wladyslaw T. Benda. New York: Century Co. Pp. 327. Price \$2.40 net.

Professor Ross is at his best in this thorough and fearless investigation of the American problem of immigration. He first discusses historically and industrially the original elements that had gone to make up the American people when it first became a nation. Then a full chapter is devoted to each important racial element which has been added since then, the Irish, the German, the Scandinavian, the Italian, the Slav, the eastern Hebrews and the lesser immigrant groups. Professor Ross treats for each racial group the time and occasion of the successive emigrating waves, the distribution of the group in this country, and its contribution intellectually, temperamentally, morally and politically to our social, industrial and national life. Then follows a general discussion respectively of the economic and social effects of immigration and the relation of immigrant peoples to our political institutions. It is clear that Professor Ross believes that something must be done permanently to lessen the great influx from southern and eastern Europe (temporarily, of course, the European war has put a stop to it). In reply to the protest of employers of labor that immigrants are an industrial necessity because "Americans nowadays aren't any good for hard or dirty work," our author cites the strenuous life of the extreme west and northwest, and adds: "The secret is that with the insweep of the unintelligible bunk-house foreigner there grows up a driving and cursing of labor which no self-respecting American will endure." The reason that the character of our immigration has changed so that "the confessed illiteracy of the multitudes coming from southern and eastern Europe is 35.8 per ct. as against 2.7 per ct. for the dwindling streams from the north and west," Professor Ross states as follows: "The streaming in from the backward lands is sensibly converting this country from a low-pressure area into a high-pressure area. It is nearly a generation since the stress registered in the labor-market caused the British workingman to fight shy of America. It is twenty years since it reached the point at which the German workingman, already on the up-grade at home, ceased to be drawn to America. As the saturation of our labor-market by cheaper and ever cheaper human beings raises the pressure-gage, we fail to attract as of yore such peoples as the North Italians and the Magyars."

The great danger socially is in the way of lowering our standards. This is shown in the success of yellow journalism, in the slowness with which the woman's movement is gaining ground in the east, and in countless other ways. The hope that the second generation will be sufficiently Americanized to overcome the present defects is contradicted by the increasing influence of the parish schools.

"When, now, to the removal of the second generation from the public school there is added, as is often the case, the endeavor to keep them away

from the social center, the small park field-house, the public playground, the social settlement, the secular American press and welfare work in the factories, it is plain that those optimists who imagine that assimilation of the immigrant is proceeding unhindered are living in a fool's paradise."

In the last chapter, "American Blood and Immigrant Blood," Professor Ross is very earnest in his warning. He thinks the proportion of lower races will get so overwhelming that the result to the Americans as a nation will be loss in good looks, loss in stature and physique, loss in moral standards, loss in natural ability and intellectual vigor. We commend the book to the thoughtful consideration of those who sanguinely regard it to be the mission of America to furnish a haven of refuge to all the lowly and oppressed of earth.

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THE MIRACLES OF JESUS. A Study of Evidence. By *E. O. Davies*, B. Sc.
New York: George H. Doran Co. Pp. 240. Price \$1.25 net.

This work is the 1913 "Davies Lecture" under the Davies foundation of 1893 of Liverpool in the interest of the "Welsh Calvinistic Methodist" denomination. In the first part of the book the author assembles the evidence for the alleged facts and in the second part discusses the physical and moral impossibility and possibility of the miracles in the Gospels and their antecedent probability. The conclusion arrived at is: "That if the miracles attributed to Jesus in the Gospels are believed to be 'events which cannot be explained from the totality of intramundane factors,' then, on the assumption that the fundamental postulate of Christian Theism is valid, and that Jesus was a direct personal representative of God on earth, the evidence in support of those miracles is sufficient to justify the belief that they happened, speaking generally, as recorded."

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ORIGIN AND MEANING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By *Theodore Wehle*. New York: Fenn. Pp. 199.

This brief outline of the history of the people of Israel is a strictly historical treatment, with "neither a religious nor irreligious bias," of one of the most important nations of ancient times. The results of the most painstaking and recondite labors of Old Testament critics are here summed up in a concise and popular form, and nothing of importance is omitted. The book will provide a most valuable compendium for the collateral reading of Bible classes, and is equally valuable for the historical departments of secular schools.

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The October, 1914, number of *The Open Court* (page 601) contains an error in a quotation from the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, where the author of the passage quoted refers to the British breach of Portuguese neutrality as "an unfortunate precedent." Through some slip *The Open Court* reads "important precedent." There is not much difference in meaning, but the British author's regret at the occurrence is more strongly expressed by the word "unfortunate."

January 1915



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