

The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER.

VOL. XXX (No. 11)

NOVEMBER, 1916

NO. 726

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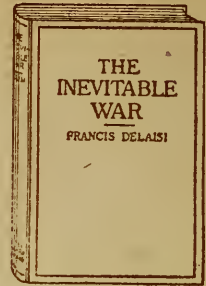
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There Would Have Been No War



IF the French government had said to the English
You shall not have our army
the French government had said to the Germans
You shall not have our money

Read these definitions taken at random from

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(La Guerre qui Vient)

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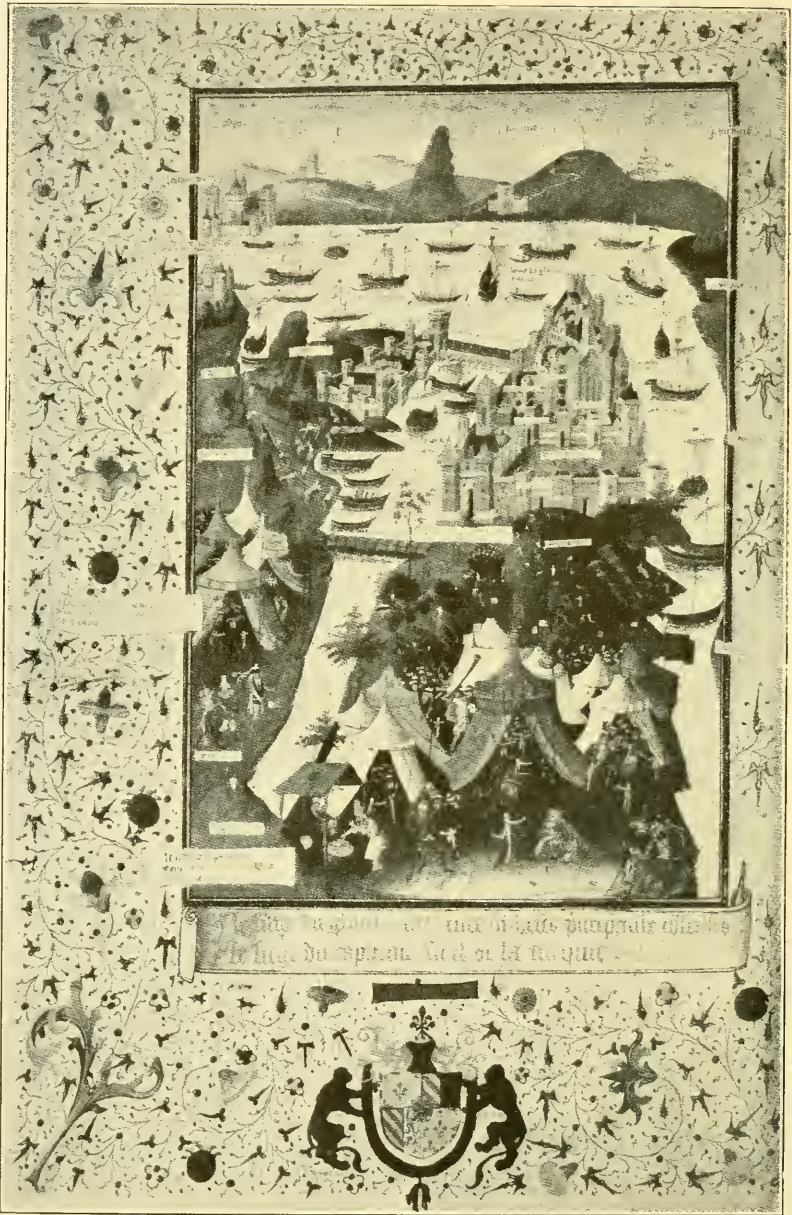
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MENTALITY IN WAR-TIME.

BY WILBUR M. URBAN.

THE shock of the great world war has been followed by cries of the "bankruptcy of civilization!" Culture, morality, religion—all have broken down! Everywhere there is an immense beating of breasts; everywhere a mad fear of bogies and a still madder search for scapegoats. But little has been said about the breakdown of mentality of which precisely these frantic cries are an infallible expression.

That the mental faculties of all the belligerent peoples have suffered a severe strain there can be little doubt. It is taken for granted, and possibly it is true, that the Germans have long since lost the power of seeing or thinking straight; there are those who do not hesitate to call them "gibbering maniacs." But an unbiased study of the newspapers and magazines of England and France will, I think, suggest that the gibbering is not all in one camp. A friend of mine, of English descent and of strong pro-English sympathies, expressed himself as follows: "When I read the English newspapers and some of the journals, I want to throw the blasted little island into the ocean. When I read the German, especially the *Tages-Zeitung*, I want to go out and kill a German." The French seemed to give him more comfort, but surely he had not yet heard of the lengths to which their fight against German *Kultur* has gone, certainly not of Camille Saint-Saen's diatribe against Wagner in the *Echo de Paris*: "After the massacre of women and children, after the bombardment of hospitals, etc., etc., how can there be found a single Frenchman to demand the music of this fakir?"

The impairment of the belligerent mind was to be expected and should be treated with sympathy and understanding. If, as Mr.

Arthur Bullard maintains, "you can count on the fingers of one hand the men of note in any of the belligerent countries who . . . have kept their heads level in the crisis, who have preserved any objective sense of justice," who will find it in his heart to blame? Leaving out of account the exigency of the manufacture of war sentiment, it is inhuman to expect a man to see straight when his eyes are suffused with tears, or to think straight when all his faculties are strained to the utmost upon the abnormal and demoralizing task of war. "To fight and to discuss ethics at the same time seems indeed impossible." But with the breakdown of American intelligence it is different. Here it is not so easy to have patience. Mr. John R. Mott tells of an English bishop who regretted our lack of restraint, saying that "he had hoped the Americans would keep their moral powder dry,"—that their influence might count in the settlement at the end of the war. Alas for our moral powder—of which we have always thought ourselves to have an inexhaustible supply! But of that perhaps the least said the better.

To one who has simply watched this *débâcle* of intelligence the whole thing has not been without its comic side. For those who seek some antidote to the ever-gnawing pain which the hates and misunderstandings of great peoples and cultures have brought us, it is a welcome relief. Perhaps a light and frivolous manner is the only treatment the subject deserves—or will bear. I have in my possession, for instance, a fine collection of logical "howlers," culled from the war literature, invaluable in a class in logic, but scarcely suited to wider publicity; they would be recognized in some instances, and these the best, as coming from distinguished pens! They comprise all the known fallacies, material and formal—"and then some"! The fallacies of ambiguity that have gathered about the words *Kultur* and militarism! The playing fast and loose with analogies—between burglars and national armies, between civil and international law, between a United States of America and a United States of Europe; between, I had almost said, our own back yards and the Universe! The fallacies of observation and inference! The irrelevancies! Arguments, even by distinguished men, to the effect that the Germans have never produced anything of importance in art and science, by the simple expedient of merely enumerating the achievements of the allied nations; and the cry of the man in the street, "If this is German science, I want none of it." The idols of the forum and of the cave! As when noted statesmen tell us we must go back to individualism in our constitutions because the Germans violated the neutrality of Belgium, or

when noted alienists determine the precise form of the Kaiser's insanity—*without even seeing him!*

I have said that it is hard to have patience with the breakdown of our own intelligence which the present strain has entailed. Yet this is scarcely fair. We, no less than the belligerents, have had a serious shock, and as is usual in such cases the shock has left characteristic "psychoses." "A man is inclined to fallacy on a special subject," says a recent writer on logic, "when he lies open to some cause impairing on that subject his interest and noetic power. He is inclined to fallacy generally when a wider cause of impairment extends over his whole character." "The student of abnormal thinking ought," he holds, "to look to such causes for the source of fallacy."

Why is my friend Jones so invariably fallacious when he talks about the war? Though otherwise a man of good understanding, when he gets started on this topic all the fallacies, verbal, inferential, and demonstrational, appear with fatal impartiality. Can any one doubt that such a wider source of impairment is here in question? That our brains have been unsettled and our tongues loosed? Amnesias, lesions, mob suggestion—are not all the signs of a great moral shock in evidence? Is it surprising that history is forgotten; that the touch with reality is lost, and the *non sequitur* triumphs? For my own part I verily believe, paradoxical as it may seem, that the distinctively *moral* shock of the war has been greater for America than for any of the belligerent nations. It is hard to take the protestations of the others seriously; in their hearts they knew too much.

"I can never get over the invasion of Belgium! I can never get over that." To this my friend Jones inevitably returns, and no matter what the argument may be his judgment is pre-determined by the emotion of that initial shock. Whether in the light of history and a knowledge of human nature and the European situation, we *should* have been so shocked, is a question that might well be raised. One might well ask with Mr. Gibbons in his *New Map of Europe*, "Where does history give us an example of a nation holding to a treaty when it was against her interest to do so?" But this is here beside the mark. The fact remains that we have been shocked—and deeply. "We had thought" that treaties had become inviolate, that international law was finally established, that war was an impossibility, an absurdity, that we were on the road to continuous and universal progress. We had thought, we had hoped,—how often I have heard and read this plaintive refrain! An almost

incredible innocency of mind, a *naïveté* almost unknown to the sophisticated European, was necessary to that faith. But that does not alter the fact that my friend Jones had it.

"With all their progress as a race and nation," says a recent writer, "Americans are singularly blind to the realities of national existence." We have been raised on the "optimistic fallacy," and in international matters we have given it full play. Can any one be surprised that the shock of disillusionment was overwhelming, that in our present state of mind we have had little use for either history or logic? But this is not all. Add to this lovable if dangerous ignorance still another invincible quality of my friend Jones, and the psychological picture is complete. If, as Mr. Brooks Adams has pointed out, in domestic matters the average American is unable to think of social and national forces except in terms of persons, it is even more true in all that concerns international affairs where the demands of knowledge and imagination are still more exacting. He thinks of national forces in terms of men, of states as though they were individuals who act on single and sentimental motives; and as the cry "guilt is personal" is often the limit of his wisdom in his national distress, so in his greatest of all distresses, to find a scapegoat seems his highest duty as it is his deepest need. The "will to believe" has slain its thousands, but the disillusionment of that will its tens of thousands!

II.

It is hard to resist the temptation to exploit my collection of logical howlers. After all, is not a light and frivolous manner really all the subject deserves? But that, I fear, would appear smart and pedantic, and—now that logic and reason have made the Germans mad, and we are even called upon to learn of the emotional and intuitional Slav—scarcely convincing. Besides, the experiences of Mr. Bernard Shaw are not precisely encouraging. Let us rather go straight to the heart of the matter, to the "psychoses" that beget the fallacies.

For one thing, as a result of the shock there have been *amnesias* of a profound and far-reaching character. The horrible Congo, the Boer War, bloody St. Vladimir's Day in St. Petersburg—all are forgotten. New national characters are born over night. There is a new France, her temperamental and moral qualities changed by the miracle of war. We suddenly find ourselves more akin to the contradictory and fatalistic Slav than the self-consistent, thinking German. The leopard changes his spots and the "bear that walks

like a man" has become a sweet and appealing child of nature simply masking in the head and pelt of a bear. What a miracle has been wrought in the decade since from being "an immoral race of blackguards with no sense of national honor," the Servian regicides have become "that brave and noble little race, spirited defenders of the liberties of Europe!" These two sentiments are quoted from the same newspaper. "It is indeed," as a distinguished historian remarked, "as though history had never been written!"

It was at the very beginning of the war that my friend thus expressed his amazement, as we heard on every side that the case against Germany was closed. Familiar with the workings of the individual and social mind, to him this finality was ominous of worse things to come. The signs of mob passion, of the profound forgetfulness that goes with it, and the inevitable loss of the sense of evidence, so dependent upon the ability to *remember* all relevant circumstances—all this was not to be disguised, even by the obvious if pleasing fallacy of the High Court of Humanity. For already in this first test of the quality of our judgment was revealed as in a flash the whole extent and meaning of the shock—the forgetfulness of all that wars and diplomacies have taught us in the past, the false assumption that the evidence is really all in, and above all the sullen indifference to the question whether it is or not!

But I pass over this. The case against Germany is closed. Who am I that I should seek to reopen it? The American people, a glorified jury of "good men and true," have had the white book, the yellow, the blue, the orange, the green, or whatever the colors may be, put before them; the evidence is all in; the jury has been charged by a distinguished lawyer; its judgment is passed; and the case is closed—with a finality as complete as ever marked any rough and ready justice of the Western plains, from which apparently we still get many of our ideas of judicial procedure. And yet the situation is not without its elements of humor. The apotheosis of the good men and true—the calm assumption that they are a match for the diplomatic cunning with which these documents were written and *selected*; and still more the fact that a distinguished lawyer should have taken them seriously at all!—surely these things argue a mentality as curious as it is amazing. But there is something more amazing still. For even granting the exactness and completeness of these documents—which no sophisticated European would think of doing at all, are not the probabilities of reaching a true judgment still almost *nil*? Twenty ambassadors and five ministers are at work at the same time to reach an understanding.

Twenty-five different voices crossing each other! What was the chance of a reasonable issue of the confusion then? What—and it is this that especially concerns us now—is the chance of *our* forming a true picture of the motives and the forces then at work? Recall what you know of permutations and combinations and reckoning of probabilities, and decide for yourself!

But I pass over this. It was indeed but ominous of worse things to come. I pass over the whole curious chapter of atrocity stories, our acceptance of which, had not the historian and the psychologist been able to predict it with almost mathematical certainty, would have staggered belief. I pass over our avidity for the most impossible tales—the wholly motiveless character of which would have been obvious to us in our saner moments—our curious insensibility to contradictory evidence when it appears. I pass over the logic—and the candor!—of the editorial in a leading New York daily which, while grudgingly admitting that we might have to revise our opinions on some of these points, still insisted that we “*need no longer consider the question of evidence after the destruction of the Lusitania!*”

The impairment of our mentality has gone deeper than all this. Beneath the loss of the sense for evidence in the ordinary meaning of the term, is a more profound disturbance of our feeling for credibility. It is not merely as though history had never been written; it is as though all our knowledge of races and peoples, even of human nature itself, had been thrown into the discard. Our credulity has grown with what it feeds upon. We no longer see in lights and shades but only in blacks and whites. As of Germany's enemies we are ready to believe an impossible goodness, so of Germany herself nothing has become too incredibly diabolical for us to accept. Of this deeper abnormality—this more fundamental loss of the touch with reality there have been instances innumerable, but I concentrate upon one splendid frightful example, an article in the *Saturday Evening Post* for July 3, 1915, entitled “The Pentecost of Calamity,” by Mr. Owen Wister.

III.

I have chosen this illustration, not because it is exceptional (everybody is doing it—there are fashions in thought as well as in clothing); but because both the emotion of the shock and its disastrous effects are displayed with something that approaches genius. I doubt whether there is a single fallacy of observation or

inference that may not be justly charged against it, but here again I have no desire to be either pedantic or hypercritical. I am interested in the psychoses that beget the fallacies.

First, then Mr. Wister gives us a picture of Germany in peace—a trifle roseate it is true to those of us who have spent much time in the land of music and philosophy, but then Mr. Wister must have his literary effects, and the picture is in the main true. "Nothing," he concludes, "can efface this memory, nothing can efface the whole impression of Germany. In retrospect this picture rises clear—the fair aspect and order of the country and the cities, the well-being of the people, their contented faces, their grave adequacy, their kindness; and crowning all material prosperity, the feeling of beauty, Such was the splendor of this empire as it unrolled before me through May and June, 1914, that by contrast the state of its two neighbors, France and England, seemed distressing and unenviable. . . . In May, June, and July, 1914, my choice would have been" (could he have been born again) "not France, not England, not America, but Germany!"

But almost over night Mr. Wister's beloved Germany is absolutely changed. A children's festival in Frankfort (I should like to reproduce his charming description, for it epitomizes what seemed to him the whole splendid *Kultur* of the people) gave rise to this exalted eulogy. But now another festival is to be recorded. A German torpedo sank the *Lusitania* and the cities of the Rhine celebrated this also for their children! (This has been authoritatively denied, but let Mr. Wister have it for his argument.) "The world is in agony," cries Mr. Wister, "over this moral catastrophe." Mr. Wister is in agony too, and in the throes of that agony he paints a picture of Germany as black as the first was white. "Is it the same Germany," he exclaims, "that gave these two holidays to her schoolchildren? The opera in Frankfort and this orgy of barbaric blood-lust, guttural with the deep basses of the fathers and shrill with the trebles of their young? Do the holidays proceed from the same *Kultur*, the same Fatherland? They do, and nothing in the whole story of mankind is more strange than the case of Germany."

There you have it—the readiness for the impossible to which the moral agony of the shock lays the mind open! "It would be incredible," he admits, "if it had not culminated before our eyes." It *is* incredible. To this Mr. Wister and all of us should have held fast—if we wish to save our reason. Not the *two events* perhaps, assuming that the latter took place (history is full of such contradictions—even our own), but Mr. Wister's and others' *explanation*

of them. Such a change as is here assumed is not only strange. Its possibility would make impossible all history, all knowledge, all prediction about human nature. The two Germanys are absolute contradictories. Either the picture of May and June—of the “contented faces” and “grave adequacy,” Germany as a supreme expression of reason and ordered life—was false, or the present picture of barbaric blood-lust and gibbering madness is a caricature. Either Mr. Wister’s eyes, and those of most of us, were blind then, or they are blind now. But if they were blind then, which by his own admission they must have been through all the long years of peace, who shall guarantee that they are any clearer now mid the shock of war?

You have your choice then; you cannot have it both ways and keep your reason. Mr. Wister tries to and comes perilously near losing his. For after all there must be some explanation of this incredible change. Mr. Wister has an explanation—one *far more incredible than the fact to be explained*. I had thought it limited to my friend Jones, “the man in the street,” but no one seems to be immune. It is precisely in this explanation, I hold, that the full extent of the impairment of our mentality is to be seen. Of this “gibbering madness” then—so long incubating, under a fair and rational exterior, he finds the explanation in a people schooled for generations in a long course of diabolical philosophy. He gives us a composite picture, what he himself calls “an embodiment, a composite statement of Prussianism, compiled sentence by sentence from the utterances of Prussians, the Kaiser and his generals, professors, editors, and Nietzsche, part of it said in cold blood, years before the war, and all of it a declaration of faith now being ratified by action.”

I confess that it is difficult for me to take this Nietzsche and other nonsense seriously. After some years of residence in Germany and many years of study of German thought, it all seems to me a splendid though pitiful hoax, over which the historian of the future will have many a laugh. Be that as it may, what concerns us here is Mr. Wister’s “composite statement” and the way it is made up. Without doubt he has made the Germans talk gibbering madness. But how has he done it? His statement is nothing but a mosaic of phrases and short sentences torn from their contexts and cemented together with asterisks! Has Mr. Wister never studied composite pictures of socialism, or any other *ism*, even of Christianity, made up in this way by men of equally fine sense for scientific method? Has he not heard them all made to talk gibbering

nonsense? I have. Does he not know that at this very time Nietzsche himself, by this very method, has been made to praise both peace and war? Now I contend that under ordinary circumstances Mr. Wister would be the first to see the fallacy of this method. I think also he would see the incredibility of this explanation of the incredible. My friend Jones is not a man of "ideas." Knowing nothing about them, before the war he was as ready to sneer at them as powerless as he is now to ascribe to them the miraculous. But Mr. Wister is. Surely he knows what they can and what they can not do.

But I will not press this point. It is enough to call attention to the fact that the Prussians themselves are playing this same game and finding it just as easy. To take one of many instances. Chamberlain in his war essays, entitled *Wer hat den Krieg verschuldet?* and *Grundstimmungen in Frankreich und England*, has built up composite photographs that for madness (more methodical than gibbering perhaps) also leave little to be desired. I wish there were space to reproduce them here, but I can merely suggest. What, for instance, must be the German estimate of the British frame of mind, and the ultimate British motive of the war, when he finds, in the leading English engineering journal, *The Engineer*, September 25, 1914, this enlightening proposal: "Now there is one way by which the end in view [of securing the trade hitherto carried on by Germany] can be attained. It is a ruthless way, but eminently simple. It is the deliberate and organized destruction of the plant and equipment of German industry in general, and in that organized destruction the great iron and steel works of the Fatherland should share. The occupation of German territory by the allied troops should be accompanied by the destruction of all the large industries within the sphere of occupation. It is held that if it were known and felt here and in France that such a scheme of organized destruction was to be carried out on German territory, capital would be at once stimulated in steady streams in aid of home industries, which would profit enormously by the course taken." Surely the German has a right to nightmares and bogies of his own! Or what do you suppose is the picture he forms of France when he learns from Chamberlain and others that in the French schools *la revanche* is constantly taught, and that there, no less than in the books of military writers, the revenge means the demand for the *Rhine frontier*? Or what his feelings when he is maddened by quotations from books that bear such titles as these: *La Fin de la Prusse et le démembrement de l'Allemagne*, or *Le*

Partage de l'Allemagne; l'échéance de demain, written by a French officer as late as 1912?

I do not believe in German bogies any more than in English. I am merely suggesting how fatally easy the whole thing is. But to return to our point. *It is to this silly and sordid business that we have sunk.* It is well enough for the belligerents themselves who have no longer perhaps any reason to save! But for us! For there is a way of keeping our reason, if we really care to. I can imagine a golden formula, a sort of sovereign specific against vapors and chimeras in war time. It should include meditation on bogies and how they are made—with special reference to antichrists, and for Americans a close study of contemporary characterizations of Cromwell and Lincoln. These exercises in memory should be followed by *daily repetition* of certain question-begging epithets—such as Kipling's description of the trenches as the "frontier of civilization" and Bergson's "scientific barbarism," *until their full meaning is realized.* And finally, daily exercises in common sense and credibility. This should include a relentless subjection of oneself to the reading and re-reading of Mr. Wister's paper, of Chesterton's paradoxes on German barbarism and Chamberlain's mouthings on England's immorality and degeneracy. This is, I admit, heroic treatment, but I have found the cure useful in my own case and believe that it may be found helpful to others. Anything to free us from this nightmare of fantastic ideology!

IV.

With this I come to what seems to me the most disastrous phase into which our precarious mentality has fallen—the rage against German *Kultur* and philosophy. In the bitter disillusionment the pricking of our optimistic fallacy has brought with it, we are not only raging against those who, we think, have taken our illusions from us; we are also wreaking our fury upon abstract ideas in a way that would be laughable if it were also not really tragic. The greybeard of to-day may rush into print with the cry that he "will never be able again to look a German in the face without a shudder," but it is quite certain that his grandson, and in all probability his son, will smile as I now smile over a book written by my soldier uncle in which all the "rebels" are brutes and barbarians. The man in the street may say, "If this is German science, I want none of it," and even first-rate men in the heat of the moment may set themselves to proving that there is no genuine art or science

except among the allies, but all this merely adds to the gaiety of nations—which will be sadly needed after the war is over.

But with those larger ideas and ideals that color our life and society the case is different. Here a sullen reaction against a caricature of the magnificent conceptions which bear the mark, "made in Germany" may for a long time estrange us from ideas that we sadly need; the mere accident of their temporal association with the German name may blind us to values that are eternal. Science and thought are not national, but the "fallacy of accident" to which our emotion makes us prone may easily tempt us into thinking that they are.

It is disquieting to realize that in this rage against ideas, and the orgy of fallacious thinking that has followed, the scholar has, alas, very nearly kept pace with the "man in the street." Fortunately English scholarship is beginning to cry *peccavi*. The distinguished classical scholar, Professor Gardiner, writes in the *Hibbert Journal*: "When I hear some of my colleagues whose books are full of references to German writers and who have been inclined in past days to pay perhaps too much attention to the latest German view, now belittle German methods of discovery, I think they are not speaking worthily and are allowing a natural indignation at recent events to warp their judgment." And again, in the same issue the Rev. A. W. F. Blunt: "To speak seriously as if German culture was entirely a fiction of German vanity is both silly and ungrateful and I think many must have writhed inwardly with feelings not unlike shame as they have read of late letters in the public press, with distinguished names at their foot, in which the tendency has been to cast doubt on the genuineness of Germany's titles to admiration from the world of intellect." Sane and noble words these! Would that we Americans might also cry *peccavi*! Would that we, who have not the Englishman's excuse, had never sinned!

It is no part of my intention to defend the German culture, although I owe it much. Others can do that better than I. I am concerned wholly with our present *attitude* and the mentality it displays. For this belittling of German thought and culture, shameful and ungrateful as it is to many of us, has a more serious aspect. In the "dark ages" men argued that if a man were a materialist in philosophy he must necessarily lead a bad life; if he did not pay his debts, his mathematical reasoning must be faulty. How great the improvement of the understanding has been! Now we merely argue, that if a man believes in the "great state" of Hegel, the

"categorical imperative" of Kant, or in Nietzsche's "overman," he must have an irresistible impule toward gratuitous murder; if he happens to believe his own nation in the right, his scientific reasoning is not to be trusted. Of the famous or infamous manifesto of the German professors and scholars much has been written, but the best of all was when an American colleague (himself a logician!) bemoaned the fact that after this self-stultification and breakdown of intellect, we must, alas, lose all confidence in their scientific and philosophical work! "Surely such foolishness," as an editorial in the *Hartford Courant* mildly says, "will not long survive the excitements of the war, even in perfervid minds."

"I regard it," says Mr. Blunt in the article already referred to, "as a public danger that a man like Lord Haldane is popularly suspected because he is known to be an expert in German philosophy." Is it not still more a public danger that this same German philosophy, and the ideas of society and the state so long associated with it, should, because of certain supposed practical consequences, be not only suspected, but condemned root and branch? Is not this, *even if the connection were established*, as the German himself would laughingly say, throwing out the baby with the bath? The grotesque and childish ideology which makes German philosophy the cause of the war is in itself no less a public danger because it is also a delicious hoax the like of which the world may have to wait centuries again to see. Our confusion of the real causes of things is in itself a public misfortune for it has for the present at least undone the work of years of clear thinking. But it is still more a public danger because of the contempt for ideas and true idealism that the reaction will surely entail.

In this recrudescence of ideology the philosopher has, alas, again kept pace with the man in the street. It is to be hoped that he will be the first to suffer when the reaction comes. First it was Nietzsche's "overman," then the Hegelian "great state," and finally the "categorical imperative" of poor inoffensive Kant. The mad philosopher, the man of the clouds and the pedantic little man of Königsberg—all of whom prior to the war it was good form to profess not to understand—are now seen to have forged the arms of German militarism. Those who were loudest in deriding theory then are the first to believe the incredible of it now. To one who knows, these three men differ so profoundly in their moral and political outlook that the effort to make each one of them responsible for the war should in itself constitute a *reductio ad absurdum* of the whole proceeding, and clear evidence that the "will to believe"

has here celebrated another triumph. But ignoring this point, and the professional shame it entails, let me proceed at once to what for me constitutes the tragic aspect of the whole situation. It is the unnecessary and wholly unpardonable pollution of international culture, the dragging into the dirt of free, pure, and abstract thought, the prostitution of it to base ends. More than this, there is the inevitable blinding of our own eyes—perhaps for decades to come, to the eternal values of this philosophy itself.

For in this Nietzsche and other nonsense there is at least one important half-truth. All these men, however much they may differ in moral and political outlook, agree in teaching one all-important thing, the sacrifice of the individual to the over-individual good. It may be an over-individual law, an over-individual will or state, or the overman—the principle is the same. Who that knows anything about the spiritual developments of the past century is unaware that this is Germany's great contribution to international culture? Who does not know that, notwithstanding its excesses and defects, it is the inspiration of much of our social advance? And finally who is there that—eschewing all false ideology, yet knowing what ideals really can do—does not understand that while the forces that have made our modern industrial world, and modern Germany itself, lie far below the level of these ideas, yet it is these same ideas that have served chiefly to guide the blindness of the will?

It is, I repeat, not my intention to defend the German culture and philosophy, though defense of its essential genius and central principle would not be difficult. It is even possible that the success of this principle in its struggle with individualism is infinitely more important than any of the immediate issues of the war either political or moral. But with this I am not concerned. In the end this philosophy will take care of itself; the struggle for national existence and social righteousness are the final tests to which any such philosophy must submit. Besides it is a question whether upon these ultimate problems argument is not almost if not altogether futile—whether for instance when the German and the American speak of freedom they do not use an entirely different spiritual idiom. With our *attitude* toward this philosophy I *am* concerned, and deeply—with the impairment of mentality it displays and the intellectual and moral dangers it involves.

How unreasoning that attitude has become is clear to any one who reads. It is because of his acquaintance with and admiration for this philosophy that Lord Haldane is popularly suspected! Only two years ago his brilliant presentation of this philosophy

before the American Bar Association was followed by columns of newspaper eulogy. Now reaction is heard on every side. Professor Kuno Francke says somewhat pathetically that "the German's conception of the state and his devotion to it is something that the American can scarcely understand." And forthwith editorial writers shriek: "We don't want to understand!" If this seems to you beneath notice, what shall be said of that speech of one of our leading statesmen before the New York constitutional convention wherein he actually argues, that after the invasion of Belgium and the destruction of the Lusitania, there is nothing for it but to abandon the entire philosophy of the state which produced them and go back unreservedly to the individualistic principles of our fathers? For irrelevancy, for adroit *argumentum ad populum* and for sheer Bourbon disdain of the popular intelligence, surely this has rarely been equalled. It has indeed been equalled only by those who, because the Germans have a disconcerting way of using both science and logic, would have us despair of logic and science themselves.

v.

It is to such lengths that the rage over our bitter disillusionment has brought us. I gave so much space to Mr. Wister's article precisely because you will there find—as every one will, I am sure, admit—the mentality of my friend Jones reproduced with a perfection that amounts almost to genius; certainly the *Saturday Evening Post* was an ideal place for its publication. But it will ever remain a mystery to me how Mr. Wister did it. With such an unbounded scorn of Jones's mentality as he professes in his *Quack Novels and Democracy*, with such a fine sense for the "optimistic fallacy" in our literature and politics, it is curious that he should have been wholly blind to the role it has played in our attitude toward the war, that instead of fanning the rage of a disillusioned optimism he should not have been the first to warn us against its dangers.

That we have always had this tendency to optimism and sentimentality in our own political life, Mr. Wister has admirably shown. How by the continual mouthing of the "blessed words" liberty and equality, by nourishing our optimism on phrases, we have acquired an instinct to look away from any reality that falls short of squaring with them. From all such unpleasant facts political and social, "we turned our eyes so quickly and so hard that our national sincerity ended by acquiring a permanent squint." Is it possible that he is wholly unaware of our "optimistic fallacy" in international

matters as well, and of the squint our national eyes have here acquired?

"We had thought we had attained to knowledge of and belief in an inviolable public right between nations, and an honorable warfare if warfare there must be," cries Mr. Wister. We had thought, we had thought—and now you have taken our belief from us! The cries of this disappointed sentiment one hears everywhere. They recall the vicar in *Trilby*, when he shrieked at little Billee: "You're a *thief* Sir! a *thief*! You're trying to *rob me of my Saviour*!" We had thought! We had thought! Yes, but what right had we to think so? When the most sacred rights of the individual in national and civic life are violated in the interests of business and property, what right had we to expect that the more intangible and uncertain customs misnamed international law, would hold against the strain of nations and cultures fighting, as they maintain, for their very existence? When our own civic and national existence is shot through with "official lies," what right had we to think there would be no "scrap of paper" in international life? Those large abstract ideas of universal peace, of the inviolability of treaties, of international arbitration and the international commonwealth, the emptiness of which has come home to Mr. Wister with such a shock—has not our sentimental belief in and attachment to them been just because we have kept, and (unlike the European nations) *could* "keep them," as Lowell says, "in the abstract?"

One does not need to justify the wrongs of Belgium and the Lusitania—which I would be the last to do—to see how cheap and easy much of our moral pathos really is, to see that our national sincerity has indeed acquired a permanent squint. I have been studying ethics all my life and it has been my business to teach it, but I am not afraid candidly to confess my growing disenchantment with its pathos. If not precisely a convert to the socialist's distaste and contempt for what he calls moral ideology, I have seen enough to know that it has gone a long way toward saving his own mentality in the present crisis. For of the few that have kept their heads the socialists are easily first. As in the participation in the war itself it was their necessity and not their will that consented, so in their judgments they have, on the whole, retained a remarkable balance. The openly confessed wish of the Russian socialists that Germany should be victorious in the East and defeated in the West, will remain one of the monumental things of this war. If we, as a people, could have attained to even this much clarity of

vision, if we could, as the good bishop hoped, have kept our moral powder dry; if we had not used up most of it at the beginning of the war, and soaked the remainder with our tears, what might we not have done, if not in the political, at least in the cultural reconstruction that must constitute the bitterest and the hardest task of the entire war! But for that it is now, I fear, too late.

"Comprendre et ne pas s'indigner!" This has been said to be the last word of philosophy. I believe none of it; and had I to choose, I should much prefer, when in the presence of crime to give my indignation rein and not to understand." These words are the fitting prelude of that amazing article published by Prof. Henri Bergson under the title, "Life and Matter at War." Of one who has consistently disdained intellect and analysis and has trusted to the revelations of intuition guided by emotion, this choice of indignation rather than understanding was perhaps to be expected. Nay more, it is to be pardoned in a Frenchman, as similar lapses of reason are to be pardoned in the German savant. But in us such things are not to be pardoned. Our task is decidedly to comprehend and not to excite ourselves either with vague moral enthusiasms or with large unanalyzed ideas. Good for stimulus and action—"for fighting," as Lord Roberts said, "the enemy with one's mouth"—they are fatal to knowledge and reflection. It is ours, I say, to comprehend and not to say, "we do not want to understand." Above all we must protest against all the cheap idealogists and idea mongers who have been raging and imagining a vain thing. Against those who frighten us with tales of science become diabolical, of logic and reason having made the Germans mad, and who, neglecting the plain facts of political and economic rivalry, bring the great world war under some cosmic metaphor "Life and Matter at War." This way lies madness! No more of that!

THE PRECURSOR, THE PROPHET, AND THE POPE.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF THE BAHAI MOVEMENT.

BY ROBERT P. RICHARDSON.

[CONCLUSION.]

AS the second merit claimed for Bahaism, we may take its alleged furtherance of scientific progress. This is the claim of Pope Abbas as cited by Mrs. Kirchner, and Mr. Morton asserts that the Bahais take an "eager interest" in science in "pleasing contrast" with the attitude taken by Christians and Jews! It is a pity Mr. Morton did not go into details as to just how he reached this conclusion. Perhaps he regarded the reception accorded his lectures at Greenacre as a tribute to scientific thought. The fact that the Greenacre Bahais listened with "extreme appreciation" to Mr. Morton's Single Tax theories does not however prove them to have a marked aptitude for economic science; indeed most scientific economists would draw quite the contrary conclusion. Neither does the gratifying reception given Mr. Morton's advocacy of Esperanto permit us to exalt the Bahais at the expense of our other fellow citizens. The Bahai Pope cannot be granted laurels as a patron of science merely because he has taken up Esperanto, and (according to a statement he made to the Esperantists of Edinburgh) has commanded all the Oriental Bahais to study this language. In the universal language movement the cause of Esperanto is, in fact, not that of science but the very reverse. Esperanto represents stagnation and traditionalism, those of the original Esperantists that were truly progressive having passed on to a more scientifically framed language, Ido.⁵ Only the less scientific of the advocates of

⁵ I must say however that all the artificial languages devised up to date, even when ruled grammatically by true scientific principles, seem to me to suffer from this fatal defect: that their inventors have been strangely anxious to provide for the discourse of the groom and the housemaid, or, at best, of the shop keeper and the tourist, while neglecting the vastly more important needs of the scientist and the scholar, the technologist and the merchant. The

a universal tongue are still content to accept the *ipsi dixit* of Dr. Zamenhof, and reverentially abide by the blunders of the "master," but it is the very attitude of submission to tradition in despite of reason which would appeal to the religious mind.

From my own observations I am inclined to say that to describe adequately the "science" in which the Bahais are so eagerly interested, one ought to prefix an adjective, and, for instance, speak of "Bahai Science," where the word *Bahai* is privative, like the *non* in "nonsense" or the *Christian* in "Christian Science." An example is afforded by the regard in which the true believers hold the number nineteen. This number is in their eyes important by virtue of a branch of "science" known as Cabbalistic Science or Cabbalology: the science of the numerical values of letters and words which in Christendom has produced so many ponderous tomes on the number 666 and the Beast of Revelations. Side by side with it goes an art: Onomatomancy or Gematria, the art of divination by the numerical value of words; adepts in this will tell all about a person's past, present and future by merely adding together the numerical values of the letters of his name.⁶ So important are these numerical values⁷ that, according to the Bab (who devotes no inconsiderable portion of the *Bayan* to Cabbalology, and commands his followers to commit to memory these sections in particular) seventy thousand angels are constantly watching over each letter of the alphabet! Because the numerical values of the letters of a word important in Babi and Bahai theology (*Vahid* or "Unity") sums up to nineteen, the Bab and Baha call upon us to revise not merely the calendar and have nineteen minutes in an hour, nineteen hours in a day, nineteen days in a month and nineteen months in a year, but also to adopt the nineteen system in all weights and measures whatsoever. Every nineteen days the Bahais hold "unity feasts," and the American believers in holding these make it a point to affect the conciseness of the vocabularies of such languages as Volapük, Esperanto and Ido is largely due to the small provision made for the well developed and highly specialized terminology current in business, science and technology.

⁶ Of course, quite distinct from all such absurdities is the contention that ancient writers sometimes practiced symbolism, using a word of a particular numerical value to convey to the initiated something of which they desired the casual reader to remain ignorant. Scholars recognize it to be no un-plausible conjecture that the author of the Apocalypse may have used the number of the Beast to fix its identity upon the Emperor Nero whom he would not dare to name outright, the reference being thus to the author's own time and not to a prophesied future occasion.

⁷ It may perhaps be worth while to note that when the numerical value of a letter (or of a word) is spoken of, the adjective "numerical" has here quite a different meaning from that of its mathematical use in which we speak of the numerical value of a quantity.

Oriental fashion of dining, not merely in the dishes served but in table manners as well. Under the original Babi law, when one had guests at dinner he was bound to endeavor to fix the number of partakers at nineteen or a multiple, though if this was impracticable the will might pass for the deed. The penal code of the Bab specified punishments lasting for nineteen periods of time or fines of nineteen pieces of money and with this naturally went a monetary system based on denominations of nineteen. Baha however has remitted the obligation to carry out this last scheme, so we may still hope to retain a decimal coinage when Bahaism holds sway.

The projected Bahai "reform" of weights and measures is not brought to the attention of the public by the American and European Bahais, but they never hesitate proudly to boast of their intention to inflict upon us the calendar devised by the Bab. An especially amusing instance of this occurred with me some time ago, when I attended a Bahai meeting in one of our larger cities—Philadelphia. On this occasion the sect could muster only four believers in attendance at their services, but none the less did the person at the head of the little flock tell me in a most impressive manner that when the Bahais got into power they intended so to alter the calendar as to give us a year with nineteen months of nineteen days each. Fortunately for us, at the present rate of their progress, it will be many a year before the Bahais are strong enough to put this plan into effect. Notwithstanding their grandiloquent talk, there are to-day assuredly not more than five thousand Bahais (Nakizis included) in the whole of the United States and Canada, and a conservative estimate would go far below half that number. The claim made some years ago that there were thirty thousand of the faithful in the United States may have been justified at that time—the time of high water mark for Bahaism—but in all probability it was not. The Bahais are by no means loth to exaggerate; even now, it is said, they do not hesitate to tell the Persians that half of the inhabitants of Chicago acknowledge the Bahai faith! The actual strength of the sect in Chicago may be judged from the fact that on a recent occasion (in the year 1915) a count of the believers in attendance at the devotional services of the Chicago Bahais showed precisely twenty-one women and nine men to be present, while in stormy weather the attendance drops to a still lower figure.

Ninety-five is 5×19 and is moreover the numerical value of the word *Lellah* ("For the sake of God"), and on this account Baha commonds his people to repeat ninety-five times every morning

the words *Allaho Abha* ("God is the most glorious"). Nine is a sacred number as well as nineteen, since the letters of the name of the Prophet Baha give this as the sum of their numerical values. Not infrequently the figure 9 is imprinted in large type on the front cover or flyleaf of a Bahai book "to indicate that it is related to the people of Baha." Prayers at morning, noon and night are prescribed for the Bahais, and on each of these occasions the believer is bound to say three prayers, each of which includes three prostrations towards the direction of Acre, there being thus nine prostrations in all. The Bahai temples are to have nine sides, and communities unfortunate enough to be under Bahai rule are to be governed by a council of nine true believers.

A further illustration to show that the phrase "Bahai Science" is not unworthy a place in our vocabulary alongside the expression "Christian Science" is afforded by the Bahai use of their "Healing Tablet." When a Bahai brother or maid-servant (a Bahai lady is not a sister but a "maid servant" or "leaf") becomes ill there is a more potent aid at hand than carnal medical science. Bahai science is called in, and at the next Bahai assemblage the Healing Tablet is repeated in unison nine times for the benefit of the patient, who soon recovers—or else does not, for in this strange world there have been known cases so grave that even the wondrous Healing Tablet could not bring about a cure. Here is the Tablet in question: "Oh my God! Thy name is my Healing, and Thy Remembrance is my Medicine, and Thy Life is my associate, and Thy Mercy is my need and my aid in the world and in the day of judgment. Verily Thou art the Knower and the Wise." Other practices in the matter of diseases, less pardonable than the use of the Healing Tablet, have been ascribed to the Bahais. It is said that when a Nakizi becomes especially obnoxious, the faithful will gather in a circle and concentrate their most evil thoughts in unison upon their enemy, thus applying what Christian Scientists call "malicious animal magnetism" to the suppression of heresy. I myself hardly credit this report, though the lady who gave it circulation, herself a Bahai, firmly believed that such doings took place at Greenacre and were very efficacious in inflicting ills upon the opponents of "His Holiness, Abdul Baha."

A third claim made for Bahaimism is the encouragement it gives to the cause of education. In this too, we are told, the Bahais take an "eager interest." Quite certainly this was not the case with the original Babis. The Bab utterly forbade the study of any branch of knowledge not founded on religious faith. Logic, jurisprudence

and philosophy were especially obnoxious to him. Books on other subjects, if found to be unobjectionable, might be left intact for 202 years when, if worthy of being handed down to posterity, they must be copied out and the original destroyed, this process of copying and recopying being repeated every 202 years. But works on the three subjects named were to be indiscriminately immolated whenever the Babis conquered a city. And only lack of power prevented the Bab from carrying out his literary reforms as ruthlessly and effectually as the Caliph who destroyed the Alexandrian library. In the sacred writing given the world by the Bab, we have what the Babis regard as a perfect code of laws and a system of profound philosophy, the exposition of which is most luminous and logical. What need then of studying jurisprudence, philosophy and logic, especially in view of the Bab's remark, in justification of his prohibition of such studies: "Assuredly I myself have never been instructed in these sciences." Professor Browne, to be sure, describes the sacred Babi books as for the most part "hard to comprehend, uncouth in style, unsystematic in arrangement, filled with iterations and solecisms, and not unfrequently quite incoherent and unintelligible to any ordinary reader," and tells us that what is good in the writings of the Bab is "lost in trackless mazes of rhapsody and mysticism" and "weighed down by trivial injunctions and impracticable ordinances," but he was a reader who did not see the Babi scriptures with the eyes of faith. In the eyes of the Bab himself his compositions were clear and convincing, and he forbids his followers to seek any proof or explanation of religion beyond what they will find in the *Bayan*. Here too other "sciences" besides theology have been brought to entire perfection, notably cabbalology, the believers being expressly prohibited from adding any further developments of their own to the "science of numbers" as expounded by the Bab.

The writings of Baha likewise, which his disciples so greatly admire, were the product of a mind which had never been submitted to scholastic instruction. The prophet says: "I have not learned the science possessed by the people and I have not entered the schools. . . . The gale of the Almighty passed over me and taught me the knowledge of that which was." None the less, according to Mr. Kheiralla, does the Prophet display a "knowledge which is beyond that of man." What he really displays is exemplified by the statement made in the *Book of Ighan* that copper "if it is protected in its own mine from superabundance of dryness, will in seventy years attain to the state of gold." This piece of misinfor-

mation was not original with Baha; it had long been a belief of the Oriental "philosophers"; but, in reiterating it, the Bahai prophet exhibited a gross ignorance of facts known to every schoolboy in the Occident. While the education of Baha was thus as deficient as that of the Bab, the views of the former on educational matters were more liberal than those of the latter. In the eleventh of his "Glad Tidings" Baha revoked the prohibition of his forerunner, and gave his followers permission to acquire "sciences and arts of every kind," making however the express reservation that only such study was permissible as is "beneficial and the cause of progress to the servants."

Knowledge for its own sake, the mere pursuit of truth, was not a merit in the eyes of the Blessed Perfection. The sort of education he recommends is that exemplified by the Catholic parochial schools, and in the ultimate working out of the scheme laid down by Baha it will be compulsory and will be supported by taxes levied by that board of nine believers which is to enforce the Holy Law wherever the Bahais get into power. Any one who thinks that those at the head of the Bahai flock favor any secular education that would be inimical to what they regard as the "spiritual development" of the people is woefully mistaken. The education they have in view is the education which strengthens the faith. The followers of Baha'u'llah are admonished by the prophet that "schools must first train the children in the principles of the religion." Commenting upon this statement, M. Dreyfus, a prominent Bahai, says "there is no danger of a prescription emanating from such authority ever being disregarded," to which remark he adds that, since Baha warns his people not to bring up their children in "ignorant fanaticism and bigotry" there can be no fear "of generations instructed in Bahatism ever falling into fanatical excesses. Presumably the Bahais think we ought not to regard as a sign of fanaticism the doctrine put forth in a pamphlet called *An Epistle to the Bahai World*, written by one of the sons of the Prophet Baha'u'llah. The author of this, Mirza Badi'u'llah, was the brother of Mohammed Ali and the half-brother of Abbas; at first he adhered to the former and was counted among the Nakizis, but in 1903 he recanted and abjuring his heresy became one of the most fervent upholders of the papal prerogatives. His *Epistle*, the English translation of which came out in Chicago in 1907, was translated and published, not merely with the consent, but by the express command of Pope Abdul Baha Abbas, so that it is absolutely authoritative.

In this precious treatise (which is not one of those that the

Bahais are in the habit of parading before the eyes of prospective converts and neophytes) we are told that the most important moral duty is submission to Abdul Baha, this being the one "which holds the first degree in importance, which is incumbent upon all" while "second in importance are the other commands of the Book of God. For instance, if a person commits a murder he has committed a crime the harmful result of which will concern him; but if he disobeys the word of the Covenant of God (disobeys Abdul Baha) and causes dissensions in the Law of God, the harmful result of it will touch the Cause itself (humanity at large)." [The parentheses of this citation are not inserted by me, but are to be found in the original text published by the Bahai Publishing Society of Chicago.] An American Bahai, Mr. Remy, tells us that "Abdul Baha commands that nothing but reality be taught. There is but one reality in the world to-day and that is the New Covenant." In other words, the whole of Bahai education must be overshadowed by the inculcation of submissiveness to Pope Abbas. Another Bahai tells us that "this world has an owner; Abdul Baha owns the world and all that is in it." Bahais may say that children impregnated with such doctrines and brought up to regard disobedience to the Bahai Pope as worse than murder will be "free from fanaticism" but they will find it hard to get anybody else to believe it.

A fourth feature in its favor is that Bahaism, we are told, unlike certain other religious movements, offers "no menace to the larger principles of liberty." This contention assuredly cannot be admitted by those of us who regard separation of church and state as one of the larger principles of liberty, since complete union of the two is definitely held up as the Bahai ideal. Never in this matter has there been any deviation from the original doctrines of Baha'u'llah; these his followers accept in all their pristine purity, though, as one of my critics remarks, "it would be too much to hope that Bahaism, any more than any other form of faith, should remain forever untainted." Many of the older religious bodies have been tainted by the doctrine of a free church within a free state and are tamely content to claim exemption from taxation and a few minor privileges of like character. But this "fatal error" (as Mr. Holley calls it) that "religion has made in permitting or compelling society to develop its governmental activity apart from its spiritual life" has not yet crept into Bahaism, which repudiates the "alienation of religion from government" and aspires to "a new social synthesis, in which the world-states and the world-churches are united and allied." As M. Dreyfus says: "The separation of Church

and State can only be temporary. . . . In the presence of religious unity the State will be religious." The very "inner significance" of such a temple as the Bahais are about to build near Chicago is "the union, after their long estrangement, of Church and State" (Holley, p. 184). And a third Bahai finds in the Bible a prophecy to the effect that this great blessing shall come to us in the year 1917 when "the opponents of this Great Truth shall find themselves in the minority; then the laws and ordinances of God [i. e., those revealed by Baha] shall prevail to guide, rule and govern the nations of the world." "These teachings," says Pope Abbas, "make tame every ferocious animal, give speed to those that only move, transform human souls into angels of heaven and make the world of humanity the center of the manifestation of mercy." Mr. Kheiralla, too, thinks that when the commandments of Baha dominate, unity and peace will be attained and "the Wolf and the Lamb shall live together." Those however who have heeded the lessons history teaches us and have not forgotten what has in the past been brought about by connection between church and state, will be less optimistic, and will see in the religious unity to which the Bahais urge us and the "Most Great Peace" which is to be its result, the kind of unity and peace that comes when the lion and the lamb lie down together with the lamb inside.

A fifth recommendation that Bahatism is said to have to the more advanced portions of mankind is its "departure from the crude anthropomorphisms of the old religions." Just how wide a difference there really is between the Bahais and the votaries of the older cults, who think of their deities as persons whom they might meet face to face, may be judged from the remark made to Professor Browne by a Persian Bahai while Baha'u'llah was still alive and residing at Acre: "God is something real, visible, tangible, definite. Go to Acre and see God!" Baha himself showed no desire to discourage his followers from taking this view of his personality. Two eminent believers, as we are told by Mr. Phelps (who, be it remembered, is not a hostile witness, but an ardent advocate of the Bahai cause) quarrelled about the precise relation of the Prophet to the Deity. When this came to the ears of Baha he summoned both the men into his presence, and "To the one he said, 'You say that I am God and that there is no other. You are right.' To the other he said, 'You say that I am but the reflection of God. You are right.' Then to both he said, 'You are both right.'" In the light of this, one can see a certain grim humor in Baha's statement

that the death of his Azalite enemies at the hands of his own disciples was the work of God.

The frank deification of flesh and blood by oriental Bahais has its counterpart with the occidental converts in an attitude well illustrated by what Mr. Horace Holley tells us of his feelings on meeting Abdul Baha Abbas, the son of Baha'u'llah, or as Mrs. Phoebe Hearst is said to have put it, "the son of God." Mr. Holley says: "He displayed a beauty of stature, an inevitable harmony of attitude and dress I had never seen nor thought of in men. Without having ever visualized the Master, I knew that this was he. My whole body underwent a shock. My heart leaped, my knees weakened, a thrill of acute, receptive feeling flowed from head to foot. I seemed to have turned into some sensitive sense-organ, as if eyes and ears were not enough for this sublime impression. In every part of me I stood aware of Abdul Baha's presence. From sheer happiness I wanted to cry—it seemed the most suitable form of self-expression at my command. While my own personality was flowing away, even while I exhibited a state of complete humility, a new being, not my own, assumed its place. A glory, as it were, from the summits of human nature poured into me, and I was conscious of a most intense impulse to admire. In Abdul Baha I felt the awful presence of Baha'u'llah, and, as my thoughts returned to activity, I realized that I had thus drawn as near as man now may to pure spirit and pure being."

As sixth point in the praise which my critics lavish on the Bahai body may be taken the allegation that it is radically different from "the many freak sects of our day." That is, if I understand this contention aright, the grotesque absurdities that mark the mushroom cults which spring up in our midst from time to time, are wholly absent in Bahaism; all that it has in common with such cults is recognition of the supernatural, and, whether its supernaturalism be wrong or right, Bahaism is at least a dignified and decorous religion. With this appreciation of the cult of Baha'u'llah I cannot agree, and I think it has been shown, by facts brought to light in my previous remarks, that Bahaism is by no means lacking in grotesque and absurd features. Its very phraseology, the phrases peculiar to it, used so unctiously by the American and European members of the sect, can only be described as ludicrous in the extreme. Take, for example, such phrases as "The Most Great Infallibility," "The Most Great Peace" (an expression which is forever rolling off the tongues of the American Bahais) and many others of like character, the Bahais being inordinately fond of superlatives so

formed. Take the Prophet's designation of Acre, his place of exile, as "This Most Great Prison" (a better description of Baha's abiding place, toward the end of his stay, would have been "This Most Great Palace") or the reference made by the very "Supreme Pen" of the "Blessed Perfection" to his own "peerless and wronged Beauty," quoted by a disciple who appears to think this a most admirable way of speaking of oneself. Or take the titles assigned to certain members of the flock at Acre. "The Sailor of Sanctity," "The Barber of the Truth" (which designated, it would appear, that barber who agreed for the sake of Baha, so the Azalites allege, to cut the throat of Azal while giving his ministrations to the latter), "The Baker of the Divine Unity," "The Confectioner of the Divine Eternity." Consider the habit of saying, in reference to Baha and Abbas, "May our lives be His Sacrifice," "May the lives of all the denizens of the world save Him be a sacrifice to Him," phrases to which Bahai assemblies will listen with profound edification. Take the names "maid-servant" and "leaves," by which the Bahai ladies are known to the faithful. (Imagine an American, like Mr. Remy, in telling of his meeting with a Bahai woman at Khazvan in Persia, saying: "We, in our turn, gave her the greetings of the *maid-servants* of the West.") Consider such a rhapsody as this, written by Mrs. Brittingham, after she had made a pilgrimage to Acre and met Pope Abbas: "I have seen the King in his beauty. . . The Master is here and we need not look for another. This is the return of the Lion of the tribe of Judah, of the Lamb that once was slain; the Glory of God and the Glory of the Lamb." Really, when we see how the American Bahais express themselves, we can hardly be surprised that Badi'u'llah, the brother of the Bahai Pope, should write: "Consider how great is the utterance of His Holiness Abdul Baha that inhabitants of America, notwithstanding the long distance and the difference in the tastes and customs, have been so attracted and enkindled as to cause the amazement of intellects." Without admitting the justice of the inference as to the greatness of the utterance of Abbas we must, nevertheless, concede the "amazement of intellects," especially in view of the next statement of Badi'u'llah: "In these days one of the believers and assured maid-servants from that land, known as the maid-servant of God [Mrs. Getsinger], is present in this blessed spot [Acre]. She is enkindled and attracted beyond description and sheds tears night and day, seeking permission from His Holiness Abdul Baha to go to Persia and quaff the cup of martyrdom."

One Bahai absurdity which I have not had occasion to touch

upon and which may be mentioned here is the ordinance of fasting. In this respect, Baha'u'llah was more rigid than his predecessor, the Bab, who did not make the practice obligatory on men and women above the age of forty-two. Baha, saying "I love fasting! Unless the people become old and weak they should fast," decreed that for all persons above the age of fifteen, except travelers, the sick and infirm, and women who are pregnant or have children at the breast, the law shall hold that for nineteen successive days in March of each year (throughout the whole month of Ola in the Bahai calendar) "no manner of food or drink is to be taken between sunrise and sunset. The nights are to be passed awake and in prayer. The Bahai periodical published in Chicago every nineteen days by the American Bahais, the *Star of the West*, in all seriousness set forth these regulations repeatedly in its issues of 1912, the year Pope Abbas visited the United States. The Bahais here have not yet been able to put this ordinance of fasting into effect, but appear to look upon strict observance of it as an ideal to be attained some time in the future.

A complement to the view which ranks Bahaim as a highly refined supernaturalism, free from the crudities of the vulgar cults, is the contention that the movement associated with the names of the Bab, Baha'u'llah and Abdul Baha embodies, to a certain extent at least, the modern rationalistic spirit of the West. As Professor Browne says. "No mistake could be greater." The Babis and Bahais, with their insufferable dogmatism, are the very antithesis of the eclectic and latitudinarian Sufis of Persia, "whose point of view is quite incompatible with the exclusive claim of a positive and dogmatic creed," and who, far better than their rivals, represent in the domains of the Shah that spirit which has brought the people of the Occident to look upon religious dissent with the eye of toleration. A Sufi philosopher would have little inclination to say that disobedience to a spiritual leader is worse than murder. Bahaim takes this stand because, in the words of the first American Bahai, Thornton Chase, it is essentially "a call to obedience." Not to it belongs the spirit which leads one to garner and make his own the best from all religions. To your true Bahai nothing save the commands of his Asiatic masters is worthy even of contemplation. As a very prominent American Bahai, Mr. C. M. Remy, puts it: "In those centers where the people have *clung exclusively* to the teachings of Baha'u'llah, shutting out from the meetings the very mention of all else, in these places there has been growth and fruition, fragrance and spirituality, because the people have been nourished upon the

pure life-giving spiritual food of The Word of God, and consequently have grown in the grace of the Kingdom." Abdul Baha is at pains to prescribe in advance that in the Bahai temple to be erected near Chicago "the words of Baha'u'llah only are to be read." When the faithful have raised the million dollars which Abdul Baha says must be expended on the Chicago edifice, other temples are to arise throughout the land to serve the same purpose, notably one on Monsalvat⁸ at Greenacre, the property recently captured by the true believers. Abdul Baha "hopes and prays that Greenacre may become the elysium of heavenly beatitudes." The religious parliament idea, the idea on which Greenacre was founded, that of giving a sympathetic ear to the religious views of others, Miss Farmer's idea, which Mr. Remy quite correctly says was "to provide a platform open to all, from which each might proclaim his message, whatever it might be, the only restriction being that each speaker should expound his theories in the spirit of toleration toward all holding views other than his own," was all very well so long as it brought about increased opportunities for carrying souls over to Baha, but it belonged only to a transitional stage. It would be a most pestiferous doctrine did it lead believers in the teachings of the Blessed Perfection to harken to any other religious preachings. As Mr. Remy says: "The original Greenacre ideal had its mission to perform. It gathered together people to receive the spiritual teachings of the Bahai Message. That being accomplished, it has fulfilled its mission according to the lines prescribed and outlined by its founder.[!] Little did Miss Farmer and her friends realize, when they started this work, that the Covenant of God would be proclaimed there, and that the Center of the Covenant would actually appear there and teach the people. Now, through the bounty of God, a new and a great opportunity is offered to Greenacre, that of becoming a great center for the study of the Covenant and the investigation of spiritual reality. Greenacre has diligently sought the Truth from all sources, and she has found it, and now her work lies in nurturing souls in the pure reality of the Word of God." On reading such a statement, one can only echo: True enough! Little indeed did the group of idealists who built the original Greenacre, putting into it not merely their money, but the

⁸ A little eminence called by the Eliot people "Sunset Hill" on account of the magnificent sunsets to be seen from it, but renamed Monsalvat (i. e., Mount Salvation). The project to erect a temple on this spot was, it seems, discussed by correspondence between Pope Abbas and Mirza Ali Kuli Khan (chargé d'affaires of the Persian Legation, but in this matter representing the American Bahais). See the *Star of the West* of July 13, 1915, p. 53.

best of their work of heart and soul, dream that the foundation for which they sacrificed so much would one day pass into the control of a sect whose most earnest desire is to propagate the doctrine of the infallibility of the Center of the Bahai Covenant and to deal damnation around the land on all who dare deny the claims of Pope Abbas.

Of the various points raised in contravention of my strictures on Bahaism, the most absurd is assuredly the contention (made by Mrs. Kirchner, if I apprehend her rightly) that Baha'u'llah cannot justly be termed a rival of Jesus, since "each have their own identity or station." It would be quite as sensible to say that in the United States presidential contest of 1912 Mr. Wilson was not a rival of Theodore Roosevelt, because, forsooth, he recognized the perfect legitimacy of Mr. Roosevelt's title to the presidential chair during an earlier period between Sept. 12, 1901 and March 4, 1909. There is, in Bahaism, a place assigned to Jesus, sure enough; but what? It is a place on the scrap heap. Jesus, in the Bahai view, is an obsolete prophet of the past. And when did he go into this category? As late as 1864 when Baha'u'llah announced his mission or in 1844 when the Bab began to preach? Far, far earlier than either of these dates. The Bahai view is that Jesus has had no message for the human race since the beginning of the Mohammedan dispensation which the Bab and Bahais fix at Anno Domini 612, ten years before the Hejira (the flight of Mohammed from Mecca, ordinarily taken as the commencement of the Mohammedan era.)

Since that time (until Bahaism arose in the nineteenth century) it has been the duty of all mankind to listen, not to the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount, but to the revelations put forth in the Koran by the Prophet of the Sword! The date thus fixed is sixty years earlier than that of the conversion of England to Christianity; it is one hundred and fifty years before the time Charlemagne brought the Saxons into the Christian fold. The Christian period in northern Europe was thus a sad mistake from the very beginning; the northern pagans should have been converted to Mohammedanism, not to Christianity. Through all these years of the Mohammedan dispensation, for thirteen centuries, the whole of Europe (outside of the fragment under Musulman sway) was wallowing in religious error; whether a man looked for guidance to Rome or to Geneva or to Wittenberg, he was turning away from God, for the divine will had, so the Bahais hold, fixed the center of true religion, not in Christendom, but in Islam. Only that

part of the human race (the Bahais would say, if they spoke with perfect sincerity and straightforwardness) could be regarded as heeding the admonitions of the Deity which took the teachings of His latest manifestation, Mohammed, as guide until these were superseded by the revelations of the Persian prophet. Jesus, the Bahais will admit, was indeed a greater prophet than any of his predecessors, and gave to mankind a doctrine as pure as the people of his time and the next six centuries were fit to receive. But as soon as the inhabitants of the earth were ready for loftier and nobler teachings, a far greater prophet, so the Bahais contend, arose in the person of Mohammed. And in Baha'u'llah finally appeared the greatest of all manifestations, the "crowning glory," as Mr. Phelps puts it, the prophet "in whom the perfect Divine Image was reflected." Christians of the present day are called upon to abandon Jesus and put Baha in his place; to forget the anguished figure on the cross who prayed, "Father forgive them, for they know not what they do," and give their reverence to the prophet who on the death of Fuad Pasha, the Turkish official that had banished him to Acre, penned in his palace "prison" a poem of bitter exultation consigning his enemy "to hell, where the heart boils and the tormenting angel meets him." "Jesus," as some of Baha's more ardent admirers would say, "lived for his own age and his own people. . . . But the Blessed Perfection. . . . lives for our age and offers his spiritual feast to men of all peoples." Jesus, the Bahais say, was but the manifestation of the Son; Baha'u'llah, however, was the "Appearance of the Everlasting Father" and the Bahai view is that "his knowledge, teachings, life as well as his personality are superior to those of Jesus Christ."⁹ The prophecy of the Bible, say the Bahais, is that after the Son shall come the Father, and the Father has come. As some believers look at the matter however several Sons came before the Father, and these minor prophets were reincarnated as the earthly progeny of the Blessed Perfection. According to this view, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Mohammed reappeared on earth as the four sons of Baha, as Ziah'u'llah, Badi'u'llah, Abbas and Mohammed Ali respectively. Abbas himself does not make this specific claim—to do so would be exalting his rival, Mohammed Ali, at his own expense—but he at times makes pronouncements in which he would seem to put himself in the ranks of the prophets. An example is his statement: "I am the manifestation of God. My paps are full of the milk of Godhead; whoever will, let him come and suck freely."

⁹ I. G. Kheiralla in *The Open Court* for October, 1915.

To any one aware of the facts about the cult of Baha'u'llah that have been brought out in this and in my preceding article, the case against Bahaimism is so convincing that the conversions effected in Europe and America appear to present quite a puzzling problem. How has such a sect gained a foothold in civilized communities? The answer to this question is that Bahai success in the Occident has had a twofold root: first, the nature of what passes for logic with men and women of the emotionally religious type; second, the fact that the Bahai leaders have, in their propaganda, made free use of the Persian practice of *ketman*. Let us consider the latter before we take up the former, and first of all let us see just what *ketman* is and ascertain the extent to which it has been and is used in the Bahai propaganda in the Orient.

Deviation from the truth occurs with men of all races and countries, but, as the Bahai author, Mirza Huseyn of Hamadan, says, it "is the principal vice of the Persians." In the land of the Shah religious dissimulation has been taught systematically for centuries under the name of *ketman* or *takiya* as a practice, not merely permissible, but in many cases highly meritorious. According to this doctrine, if you are among people of another faith than your own, and the disclosure of your true belief might cause you grave inconvenience, you are quite justified in denying your own religion, in making professions of faith contrary to what you actually hold, and in going through religious rites which at heart you thoroughly repudiate and condemn. Following these convenient precepts, Shiite Mohammedans, when they go to Turkey or other countries where the hostile Sunnite sect is in power, will quite commonly represent themselves as belonging to the Sunnite branch of the followers of Mohammed. And *ketman* does not alone allow your passing yourself off as a member of another sect than that to which you really belong; it also sanctions the most extreme misrepresentation of the doctrines of your own religion. "If," say the holy men of Persia, "you can produce a favorable impression upon an infidel by misrepresenting the nature of your religion, do so by all means, and God's blessing will be upon you. Even if there is no hope of making a conversion you must not cast pearls before swine, or expose a holy faith to the derision of scoffers. To avoid this you are justified in going to any lengths to deceive and edify the unbeliever, even to the extent of falsifying the sacred scriptures of your faith."

In the times before the Bab arose, the Persian casuists of all ages and of all sects had glorified the practice of *ketman*, and there would be nothing surprising in so convenient a custom being carried

over into a religion growing up on Persian soil. Early Babism, however, seems to have been comparatively free from it. Not until Baha began to remodel the work of the Bab did systematic dissimulation become one of the mainstays of the movement. Nowhere has *ketman* been practiced to greater perfection than in the religion of Baha'u'llah. One notable instance of its use by the Bahais was in the production of the *New History of the Bab* by the rewriting of the *Point of Kaf* of the Babi author, Mirza Jani. The Bahai writer who here distinguished himself by his suppression of inconvenient facts was that very Huseyn of Hamadan who so vigorously reproached his countrymen for their habits of prevarication. In his revision of Jani's matter, passages which show how well recognized were the claims of Azal to the spiritual throne on the death of the Bab are invariably omitted. Thus the story which Baha himself circulated of his mother, the "honorable concubine" of Azal's father, having had a miraculous dream which made known to the family the future greatness of Azal when the latter was yet a child (a story which is of value as showing the attitude Baha originally took toward his brother) is completely elided, and so is a passage indicating that even Kurratu'l-Ayn occupied a higher position in the sect than did Baha. As for the account given by Jani of the naming of Azal as the Bab's successor, a matter into which the author of the *Point of Kaf* goes with some detail, this is carefully omitted by the Bahai reviser, who passes over the subject in very significant silence. Again, there is suppressed a long passage concerning an Indian convert to Babism, Jenab-i-Basir, and his relations to Baha and Azal, a passage telling of many minor prophets or "manifestations" over all of whom stood Azal making "apportionment to every claimant of his rights." Jenab-i-Basir, claimed to be a reincarnation of the Imam Huseyn of the Muslims, and was awarded the right to recognition as this manifestation. Precisely what constituted a "manifestation" is not very clear, but at all events none of these minor prophets, not even Azal the master of all, was looked at in the light in which Baha later posed before his flock as a superior to the Bab himself. Jani regarded this "chaos of Theophanies," as Professor Browne describes it, as a proof of the greatness and dignity of the Babi religion, and called upon the Mohammedans to acknowledge that a religion which could produce so many manifestations at one time was assuredly of no slight merit. But, sad to say, scoffers were found who sneered at the manifestations of God, and regarded their wondrous

utterances as nothing more than the ravings of men unbalanced by excessive indulgence in opium and hashish.

The legitimate title of Azal to the post of successor to the Bab was a serious obstacle to the putting forward of the claims of Baha to prophetship. "The Bahais," says Professor Browne, "endeavored to get over the difficulty by ignoring Subh-i-Azal's existence as far as possible, and by suppressing all documents tending to prove the position he undoubtedly held." And when Browne was in Persia in 1887-1888 he found that the Bahais he met "generally feigned complete ignorance of the very name and existence of Subh-i-Azal." The early Babi books, which, if the assertions made by Baha and his advocates were true, ought to lend support to the Bahai side of the controversy, have been as far as possible kept out of sight or, as the Azalites think, largely destroyed by the partisans of Baha, into whose hands fell the major portion of the scriptures left by the Bab and his apostles. Professor Browne, in regard to this matter, says: "From my own experience, I can affirm that, hard as it is to obtain from the Bahais in Persia the loan or gift of Babi books belonging to the earlier period of the faith, at Acre it is harder still even to get a glimpse of them. They may be, and probably are, still preserved there, but for all the good the inquirer is likely to get from them, they might almost as well have suffered the fate which the Azalis believe to have overtaken them."

Fortunately the Bahais were not able to work their will with all the Babi books, and some very instructive works are still accessible to the historian. The *Bayan* of the Bab is, of course, of paramount authority in the study of Babi doctrine, but for historical investigation concerning the doings of the Babis, the most important of the early works now extant is the *Point of Kaf* of Jani. A copy of this, the only one now known to exist, was brought to Europe by Count de Gobineau and in 1892 was unearthed in the French Bibliothèque Nationale by Professor Browne. A few years ago an English diplomat, freshly returned from Persia, where he had held repeated and intimate conversations with many of the followers of Baha, made to Browne the following comment on the attitude of the Bahais toward this book: "As for the History of Hajji Mirza Jani, which you regard as of such incomparable interest on account of the light which it throws on various conflicting tendencies and rash deeds and doctrines which agitated the young Babi church, I do not doubt from what they said, that they would, if possible,

compass the destruction of the one surviving copy of the book, to which, unfortunately as they consider, you obtained access."

Since the power of destruction of the Bahai leaders did not keep pace with the will to destroy all damaging evidence against the cause, cases occur in which the only resort remaining is to endeavor to explain away the evidence that could not be destroyed. In one particular instance the character of the explanation put forward is especially noteworthy. Up to 1858, Baha "was, as his own writings prove, to all appearances as loyal a follower of Subh-i-Azal as he had previously been of the Bab," so Professor Browne tells us. How do the Bahais explain the apparent subordination of Baha to his brother when they are compelled to face such facts? By telling us that the Blessed Perfection practiced *ketman*; that he allowed outsiders and even members of the Babi flock to believe Azal was the supreme ruler of the Babis after the death of the Bab in order to avoid the persecution with which the government authorities and the Mohammedan mullas would be likely to pursue the leader of the obnoxious sect—that Baha so arranged matters that most of the trouble would fall on a mere figure-head in the person of his brother, while the true head of the faithful would be left in comparative peace!

Now Baha, be it remembered, is in the eyes of his adherents "the perfect manifestation of God," a phrase which one of them explains as follows: "The Bahais use the illustration of the sun and the mirror to explain what they mean by a Manifestation of God; the perfect Manifestation of God is the perfect mirror which reflects so faithfully the light, warmth and glory of the sun that it has a right to say, 'I am the sun.'" What, then, we see in Baha is a reflection of the divine attributes; and we may not unreasonably infer, from what the Bahais tell us, that God, like his prophet, is an unconscionable liar, delighting in the practice of *ketman*! This brings up a rather interesting question: If such be the case, why should any one believe in the revelations of the Deity put forth by Baha'u'llah? If the Deity delights in lying how can we rely on the truth of what He tells us? To the Bahais I leave the task of attempting a reply.

For falsification of history the Bahais find other uses besides its application in the factional fight against the Azalites. They quite carefully cover up all the unedifying features of the conflicts between the early Babis and the unbelievers. For example, in their *Traveller's Narrative* and other pseudo-historical works, the attempt on the life of the Shah in 1852 is represented as being

the work of a single aberrated Babi. As a matter of fact three Babis took part in the actual attempt and were caught *flagrante delicto*. This much seems certain; and further it is said, though perhaps without justification, that the attempt was proposed to the Babis of Teheran by one of the saints, Mulla Sheykh Ali (by honorary title Jenab-i-Azim), that twelve believers volunteered, that the three who were caught in the act began their work by a mistake half an hour too soon, so that the other nine would-be assassins were not on hand to lend their aid, and that to this unfortunate blunder the Babis subsequently ascribed the failure of the plot. Various other points of Babi history are perverted in the accounts given us in the Bahai books, and it is hardly unjust to characterize as a tissue of falsehoods what these works put before the public as the story of the Bab and his disciples.

Equally disingenuous have the Bahai publicists been in dealing with the movement headed by Baha'u'llah. Of their falsification here I have already given some account in this and in my previous article. In addition however I may mention that different texts sometimes come to light of the same epistle addressed by Baha to some ruler or potentate. One text is that really sent; the other appears to be that circulated in the Bahai flock, and in this much bolder language will be used, language which, if in the original epistle, might have got the writer into trouble, but which impresses the faithful with the idea of the perfect fearlessness of their prophet. An obvious advantage of this procedure is that vague premonition of impending evil in the original document can after the event, by change of a few words, be turned into a fairly definite prophecy of something that has actually come to pass, and the believer thus be greatly edified.

Another variety of *ketman*, of which the Bahais have not been slow to avail themselves, especially in connection with the Christian missions of the Orient, is that of simulating a faith other than one's own. In Persia a Bahai will go to a missionary and, denying that he is a Bahai but saying that he is a Musulman dissatisfied with Mohammedanism, endeavor to obtain employment. He will take any position he can get, from teacher of language to cook, and once he has obtained a foothold he will do his utmost to fill the mission with his coreligionists (likewise sailing under false colors) where they will secretly work in unison for the good of the faith. Some missions have become thus so surrounded by Bahai employees that they were more Bahai than Christian, and it has been quite a while before the innocent missionaries realized that their subordinates

were covertly working against Christianity and for Bahaism. A Bahai will not hesitate to become baptised as a Christian, and to pose as a Christian evangelist if the missionaries will so employ him. The tale is still told in Persia of the Swedish mission where two Bahais so crept in and received salaries for preaching the Gospel to their countrymen, while in fact the propaganda in which they were very actively engaged was in behalf of Baha and not of Jesus.

Turn now to the use of *ketman* in putting forth a religious faith in colors other than its own—the use which is especially relevant to the problem of the occidental Bahai conversions. To the American and European inquirer Bahaism is never presented on first sight in all its ugly nakedness. It is dressed up for the occasion in a guise quite different from that in which it appears to the initiated. The movement is represented as having been a constant fight for human freedom, and to its opponents is ascribed a blinding bigoted fanaticism. The essentially sectarian nature of the cult of Baha'u'llah is kept out of sight, and it is portrayed as a means of rendering the Mohammedan bigot tolerant and of leading the Hindu out of his narrow caste system. By softening down religious prejudice it is to bring about a cessation of religious strife. Stress is laid on the humanitarian aspects of Bahaism, and the dogmatic side is ignored or glossed over. Its purpose is represented, not as the bringing over of souls to Baha, but as the promotion of progress and all forms of social betterment. "Love and Unity," we are told, "are its sole principles; and on this broad program all believers in various faiths can unite." The prophet is pictured, not as the founder of a new sectarianism, but as a utilitarian philanthropist who, with vision wondrous clear, laid plans for the amelioration of man's lot and developed a scheme which comprehends "the sum of all and every dream or plan for human betterment, from the Republic of Plato on through all the Utopias that men's minds have planned and men's hands sought to materialize." Baha'u'llah's message to mankind is represented as including the best that science has to offer in aid of human progress, and, if it be but heeded by ever increasing numbers of believers, the world, so the Bahais say, will be on the way to become a terrestrial paradise.

By painting so idyllic a picture, the Bahais can gain the sympathies of men and women who would look upon the new religion with quite a different feeling were they at the outset brought face to face with its true nature. Once in the toils of a religious move-

ment, many people can, unfortunately, be gradually led on and on by playing upon their emotions until they are finally brought to accept doctrines which would in the beginning have been utterly abhorrent to them. And this is what takes place in Bahatism. The true Bahai doctrine is disclosed by degrees as the mind of the convert is found prepared to receive it. How deep a disguise is laid on the cult of Baha'u'llah at its first presentation depends upon the circumstances. Things that would shock the American or European neophyte if put before him at too early a stage, can be disclosed at once to the Asiatic proselyte without any fear of disturbing his equanimity. Even Americans and Europeans in the Orient are told far more than the proselytizers for the sect in the West think it advisable to put before the public. The good souls in Christendom, who from afar cast admiring eyes at the Bahai communities of Persia and Turkey, can be kept in ignorance of many features that it is hardly possible to veil from the inquirer on the spot. And moreover, the native Bahai, in his ignorance of the standards that prevail with the inhabitants of civilized countries, will often make the most unedifying statements without the slightest idea that what he is saying could in any way prove a stumbling block to a prospective convert. But while the oriental Bahais by such naivety make many damaging disclosures, they never wantonly tell the inquirer what they do not deem him apt to assimilate. When Professor Browne was in Persia the Bahais had high hopes of converting him, and no pains were spared to instruct so prominent a proselyte. He was told much that the present Bahai missionaries in Europe and America wisely refrain from putting before the outsider, yet his instructors took great care not to disclose immediately the doctrines of Bahatism in their entirety. If one of the more impetuous propagandists seemed inclined to advance too rapidly in revealing the nature of the Bahai faith to the stranger, older and wiser heads would check his indiscretions by saying that Professor Browne "was not yet ripe" for these things.

Just such an attitude is taken by the Bahai leaders in the Occident. Here too the pious propagandists feel no compunction in keeping the real essentials of the Bahai faith out of sight of the unripe inquirer, and only bringing them to the notice of the thoroughly corrupted convert. In my previous article I told of an occurrence, coming under my own observation at Greenacre, which showed how far the Bahais there were from esteeming frankness as a virtue. At this place a pamphlet expounding the doctrines of the papal pretensions of Abbas came into the hands of a visitor

to the summer colony of the Bahais, a man who gave his full sympathy to the humanitarianism which is put forth to the public as the Alpha and Omega of Bahaism, but felt only aversion and contempt for such doctrines as the dogma of the Most Great Infallibility. Naturally Bahaism took a sudden drop in the esteem of this attendant at the Bahai meetings. And the Bahai view of the matter seemed to be that there was nothing to be ashamed of in resorting to misrepresentation for the good of the faith. The saints had hoped, it would appear, to overcome gradually the natural broadness and love of liberty of their prospective convert, expecting to pervert him in the course of time to the full bigotry of Bahai sectarianism. And they felt it was really too bad that an indiscrete member of their circle should have disclosed the essentially dogmatic and intolerant nature of the cult of Baha'u'llah before the inquirer had been inveigled into the fold.

This is merely a single exemplification of Bahai methods; the American Bahais systematically practice *ketman*, and, if I were to attempt to characterize the Bahai leaders of the United States in a single phrase, I would feel quite justified, from what I know of their procedures, in describing them as amateur Jesuits. For them to be entirely frank and open, where this might prove a stumbling block in the path of the convert, would indeed be in flagrant contravention with the commands of Pope Abbas, who specifically bids them keep certain of their deliberations hidden that they "may not become a cause of hindrance" to the weaker brethren. The Bahais show their amateurishness by actually putting this admonition into print, though they take care not to disclose what particular deliberations are referred to. Again do they show themselves to be amateurs when they deliberately put on record the fact that *ketman* was practiced by their Pope in connection with the doctrine of the Covenant. "Abdul Baha," the *Star of the West* tells us, "has always maintained his position as The Center, although for some years this Centership has been veiled from the people because of their spiritual blindness." In other words, in order to gain a foothold in the United States and Europe, it was thought advisable to keep carefully concealed from the proselytes as well as from the public the claims of the head of the Bahais to papal power. Not until 1912 did the leaders say to the faithful that "the time has now come when the Bahais of the West should understand what is intended by 'The Center of the Covenant.'" For twenty years Abdul Baha had been continually deceiving the Occidental members of the sect (with the exception of the few

belonging to the inner circle of the propaganda) and his apostles had been making public declaration that "The spirit of Bahatism is anti-papal." But in 1912, when he made his trip through Europe and America, he and his lieutenants thought it safe to disclose the true doctrine to the rank and file of the believers; to explain to them that the head of the sect was a pope and not a mere episcopal shepherd; and to inform them that "To-day the most important affair is firmness in The Covenant." And so ensnared in the meshes of fanaticism were most of the Bahai dupes that they felt no resentment at the deception that had been practiced upon them, but docilely acquiesced in the papal claims of Abdul Baha.

It is hardly necessary to say that for the Bahai propaganda to prosper there is another requisite besides the application of *ketman*, namely a certain cast of mind in the public addressed. Men and women whose minds run in logical channels, though they may be temporarily deceived by the advocates of the new religion, will not become converts to Bahatism merely because the Bahai movement appears at first sight to have very laudable ends in view. They will look below the surface; they will ask whether the means proposed are likely to be conducive to the ostensible ends; and they will above all inquire whether the Bahais are committed to anything else besides the humanitarianism they parade before the public eye. Fortunately for Bahatism there are many persons who do not answer this description. The Persian cult depends for its career in the Occident on people of the emotional type who do not investigate so closely a religion they are inclined to favor. These, once their emotions are touched, are liable to succumb without further question, and are always prospective converts to a religion upheld by propagandists skilled in the use of rhetoric and possessing the gift of oratory.

To take rhetoric as evidence of religious truth is a rule that has few, if any, exceptions with the Bahai proselytes. Such a criterion has in fact been in vogue from the very beginning of the movement, even with the Babi progenitors of the Bahais. The former explicitly recognized, as among the "signs of Godhead," "verses spontaneously uttered, which are the greatest of all signs." By these signs, by the Bab composing within five or six hours "over two thousand verses" of "exceeding eloquence and beauty of expression" was it that Seyyid Yahya of Darab became a convert and was brought to the point where he was willing to slay his own father "for the sake of the Beloved." And a like view of the func-

tions of rhetoric as an evidence of divinity is taken by the Occidental Bahais.

An illustration of their point of view is afforded by the following passage from an article by Mr. Harrold Johnson: "That he was in very deed a Divine Manifestation Baha'u'llah speedily proved. For from Adrianople, and a little later from his fortress-prison of Acca, this tortured prisoner penned and dispatched astounding epistles to the Pope, to the crowned heads of Europe, and to the Shah of Persia." Another excellent exemplification came to me personally at Greenacre in the course of a conversation with an American Bahai, who told me that his conversion was brought about, not by calm and deliberate consideration of the merits of the movement, but by mere perusal of the eloquent composition of Baha'u'llah known as *Hidden Words*. Reading this had filled him with enthusiastic fire and caused his bosom to thrill with a feeling that had been hitherto unknown to him. It is men and women like this that the Bahai leaders hold in their toils; those of a saner type may sympathize and lend their support to what they have been led to believe is a humanitarian cause, but they will not remain in the Bahai ranks when they learn the true inwardness of the movement.

Though beautiful rhetoric and *ketman* are the mainstays of Bahaism, two other things brought to our notice in the arguments of its advocates are worthy of mention here: prophecy and marvelous events. Of the former, and in particular of Mr. Kheiralla's efforts to show that the Bible prophesies the advent of Baha'u'llah, little need be said. The remark, so well made, that study of the Apocalypse either finds a man crazy or leaves him so, applies equally well, I apprehend, to any attempt to find prophecies in other parts of the Bible applicable to the present day. As to the prophetic foresight attributed to Baha himself, we have already taken note of the facilities afforded for the production of such alleged wonders by the willingness of the Bahai flock to accept as authentic "Tablets" not precisely the same as those put out before the events they are supposed to have predicted.

Of another type is a Babi prophecy which modern Bahais cite as a proof of the divine guidance of their predecessors. The story goes that Mulla Mohammed Taki, while discussing Babism with his niece, Kurratu'l-Ayn, was "led to curse the Bab and to load him with insults." At this Kurratu'l-Ayn looked into his face, and said to him: "Woe unto thee, for I see thy mouth filling with blood!" The following day, as the mulla was crossing the threshold of the mosque, he was struck upon the mouth by the lance of a Babi who

continued his attack until Mohammed Taki was mortally wounded. In the Orient such an occurrence may pass as proof of the possession of prophetic gifts, but an Occidental jury would be likely to see only a proof that the "prophetess" was accomplice before the fact to a murder. In behalf of Kurratu'l-Ayun let me say that this "prophecy," of which the Babis and Bahais so curiously boast, may perhaps be a figment of the imagination. Under the same head as such "prophecies" comes the rumor spread in the bazaars of Teheran, shortly before the Babi attempt to assassinate the Shah in 1852; a rumor to the effect that the end of the month of Shavval would be fatal to the Persian monarch. In fact the attempt took place on the last day of that month, but its failure prevented the Babi historians from recording here a case of prophetic foresight.

As to the miraculous features of the movement I can only endorse the well-put comment of P. Z. Eaton, formerly a resident of Tabriz, that "Persian flattery, Persian imagination and Persian falsehood easily account for all the wonders mentioned," and the remark of another author well acquainted with Persia that, considering the fact that "the Persians of to-day are ready to believe the most incredible report of miraculous performances by dead or living saints, it is really to the credit of Bahatism that it has so few alleged miracles to offer when it would be so easy to impress a much larger number on the credulity of its votaries."

Bahatism proper indeed makes but a sorry showing as regards miracles in comparison with its progenitor which, according to the accounts of its advocates, has quite a respectable number to its credit; and if we go by the strength of the miraculous element in the claims of a religion, we must needs rank the Bab as a much greater prophet than Baha. Even as a child he predicted the earthquakes that occurred, and frequently told pregnant women the sex of their future offspring. Later in life a locked door would fly open when he merely laid his hand upon it, and a box of sweetmeats, which at the beginning of a journey he consigned to the hands of a hostile guard, proved miraculously inexhaustible, the Bab each day making a liberal distribution of the contents to his companions. During another journey occurred the miracle of his transfiguration; the Bab's companions "looked and saw the form of His Holiness erect in the saddle like the *Alif* of the Divine Unity, while a continuous flow of light hung like a veil round him and rose heavenwards; and this light so encompassed him, forming, as it were, a halo about him, that the eye was dazzled by it, and a state of disquietude and perturbation was produced." At his touch

a pipe cover of base metal was miraculously changed into gold, and a spoonful of sherbet administered by his holy hands cured his first disciple, Huseyn of Bushraweyh, of the palpitation of the heart from which the latter had suffered. When the Bab was at Milan, "an old woman brought a scab-headed child, whose head was so covered with scabs that it was white down to the neck, and entreated His Holiness to heal him. The guards would have forbidden her, but His Holiness prevented them, and called the child to Him. Then He drew a handkerchief over its head and repeated certain words; which He had no sooner done than the child was healed. And in that place about two hundred persons believed and underwent a true and sincere conversion." Invalids at a distance, too, he healed. At Tabriz, when he was taking afternoon tea in a garden, "one Mash-hadi, Ali by name, entered the garden in a state of great trouble, saying, 'Three of my family are sick, and I despair of the lives of two of them, since there is no hope of their being restored to health; but the third, whose recovery appears possible, I pray thee to heal.' 'Be of good cheer,' answered His Holiness, 'all three will get well.' After a while the man departed, but next morning he came to me [says the narrator] saying, 'On arriving at my house I beheld all three sitting up in perfect health, as though they had never been ill.' This man became a sincere believer, and was converted, and set himself to perform humble and devoted service. So likewise others who heard and understood were amazed at the might and spiritual virtues of His Holiness." The very water in which the Bab washed his hands proved a sovereign cure for divers maladies, and at Chikrik the water in which he bathed was regularly sold and brought the price of eighty tumans.

To no such miracles as these can Baha lay claim. When called upon to apply his divine powers to the alleviation of human ills he found it most convenient to devise excuses for not exercising them. Thus a blind man in Teheran sent to the prophet begging that his sight might be restored, but the answer was sent back that it was to the glory of God that he should remain blind! The marvelous events of which the Bahais tell us in connection with their Messiah consist almost exclusively of the divine retribution falling upon the princes and potentates who disregarded his admonitions. In the opinion of the Bahais, the loss of the temporal power by the Pope of Rome and the loss of the throne of France by Napoleon III were alike due to the failure of these rulers to take any notice of epistles addressed to them by Baha'u'llah! Here, though we may be sceptical as to the agency of Baha in bringing about the events,

we can hardly find fault with the results ascribed to him. There is a third case however, in which the exultation of the Bahais over the wonders wrought by their prophet is more open to criticism. Frederick the Third of Germany, when crown prince, made a trip to Syria, and an invitation was extended to him to come to Acre and do homage to Baha'u'llah. But "The Most Great Invitation," as the Bahais term it, was disregarded, and for this (as Mr. Kheiralla puts it in his book, *Beha'u'llah*) the Prince "was judged by the statement that he should never rule his country. He was crowned on his sick-bed and died three months later without having actually ruled Germany a single day."

Nakizis and orthodox Bahais alike glory in this demonstration of the power of their prophet, and point out as a contrast that the blessings of God were liberally showered upon the Czar of Russia whose officials gave protection and a certain amount of support to Bahaim in the Russian provinces bordering on Persia. From all accounts Frederick was a prince of unusually high type and of great promise; his death would seem to have been a very decided loss to humanity. And as to the Russian Czar, it is hardly necessary to characterize the system of government carried on in his name. So, on looking at the matter from a merely worldly point of view, we must regard the divine judgment said to have been brought about by Baha as decidedly discreditable to the Prophet.

So much, then, for the "evidences" of Bahaim, and the causes that have contributed toward the success of its propaganda. There remains but one question to be asked. Has the cult of Baha'u'llah any merits at all? The reply is that merits, minor and relative, it undoubtedly possesses; even its progenitor, Babism, had these. Though in the Babi scriptures "precept bore but a small proportion to dogma, and dogma a still smaller proportion to doxologies and mystical rhapsodies of almost inconceivable incomprehensibility" (as Browne well says); though the positive precepts of the Bab that were not maleficent were "generally quite impractical and not rarely extremely inconvenient," yet there remains a modicum of sense and of sound prescriptions not unworthy of praise. The Bab, for instance, told the people of the Bayan to clean their teeth carefully each day; he told them not to put too heavy a load on a beast of burden; and he admonished parents not to deal harshly with their children. But even with these precepts, just as in the Bab's advocacy of "integrity" in dealing with European merchants, we find the grounds upon which Babi practice is based to be very far from those upon which a rational ethical system can be founded. Thus

the Bab urges that children shall be treated with consideration, not out of any regard for the happiness of the millions of ordinary human children that may exist, but because at some time in the future a great prophet shall arise who will begin his career of incarnation as a child, indistinguishable from other children, and it would be a fearful thing for any one to have to reproach himself for having harshly treated the divine infant.¹⁰ And when from meritorious practices we pass to the absurdities prescribed by the Bab; when we learn that he forbade his followers to wear beards, to drink asses' milk, to eat omelettes or any other dish in the preparation of which eggs were broken before they were cooked, above all when we consider the downright immorality of the Babi ordinances enjoining holy wars and the robbery of all unbelievers, we see that the claim of Babism to our sympathies is exceedingly slight. Of Bahatism, likewise, this is true; the merits of both reside chiefly in the purely negative part of their teachings.

When the Bab abrogated a useless or pernicious ordinance of Mohammed he did well; when Baha in his innovations went still further in removing the trammels of the old tabus he did better. The ill was in the work of construction and conservation; in reiterating some of the worst of the old dogmas and in replacing others by new ones equally bad or worse. Baha, for instance, made a step forward when he lifted the Bab's embargo on beards and permitted his followers to let their hair grow at their will. It was a step backward however when he made more stringent the Babi regulations concerning fasting. It was progressive to remit the obligation to propagate religion by conquering infidel countries and dispossessing of their property those inhabitants blind to the merits of the religion of their conquerors; and we must recognize as a merit of the Bahai revelation that the Prophet bade his people associate with the followers of other religions "with spirituality and fragrance." But when we consider the excommunications of Pope Abbas and his forecast that eventually even kings who disregard the New Covenant shall be "cut off," and recall that a number of Baha's Azalite opponents actually were cut off by the sword or by poison, we realize that the Bahai faith, though it may be a step in advance of the original Babism, is no whit more tolerant than Mohammedanism. For, as has already been mentioned, even sincere and devout believers in the law of the Koran have been

¹⁰ This remark alone is sufficient to confute the partisans of Baha, who contend that the latter is he whose coming the Bab predicted. For when the Bab's ordinance concerning the treatment of children was framed, Baha had already passed out of the stage of childhood.

known to contend that the authorities of a Musulman country ought to extend their protection to all citizens save heretical and renegade Mohammedans, allowing people of every religion to live in peace under Mohammedan rule. And it is giving a very favorable interpretation to Bahai doctrine to allow that it concedes this much: to suppose that excommunication and "cutting off" are processes intended to be applied solely to Nakizis and one-time Bahais that have relapsed into infidelity. History shows indeed that intolerance so attenuated in precept would be likely to count for even less in practice.

Bahatism is, we must conclude, far behind the liberal Protestant Christianity of to-day, and even behind the Mohammedan in its best and most tolerant phase. There are however many Mohammedans and likewise many Christians who have nothing to lose by becoming Bahais. Let the apostles of the cult of Baha'u'llah be content to work in such fields. Let them go to Naples and convert the pious members of the Camorra, or to Sicily and labor with those brigands who are highly scandalized and shocked if a prisoner they are holding for ransom asks for meat on a Friday. Let Bahai missionaries go to "Holy Russia" and seek to wean the Orthodox peasants from their pogroms. But let them keep away from the more civilized portions of humanity and not attempt to drag down to the level of the Asiatic barbarians who originated the Bahai cult men and women with ideals infinitely above this narrow sectarianism.

A JAPANESE AUTHOR ON THE CHINESE NESTORIAN MONUMENT.

BY FRITS HOLM.

[It may be remembered from this magazine's January, 1909, issue that in 1907-8, the Danish author of this paper, Dr. Holm, commanded an expedition to Sian-fu, which succeeded after many hardships and great expense (more than \$14,000) to make and transport to New York a two-ton, ten-foot replica, carved out of the same kind of limestone as the original, of the Chinese Nestorian monument of A. D. 781, excavated accidentally in A. D. 1625. For his work Dr. Holm has been distinguished by over thirty governments, universities and learned societies, and the present pope recently conferred upon him the highest decoration ever bestowed by the Vatican on a non-Catholic in this country. Dr. Holm's replica of the *Chungchiaopci* was on exhibition, as a loan, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York from June 1908 until June 1916, when it was purchased by Mrs. George Leary, it being as yet undecided where its permanent home is to be. Meanwhile, besides lecturing and writing about the monument, Dr. Holm, although not a man of means, has managed to present to six governments (Denmark, Spain, Greece, Venezuela, Mexico and the Holy See) full-size reproductions in colored plaster of the flawless replica, while he allowed Yale University, in 1910, to purchase a seventh cast at cost. It is, therefore, no wonder that the Nestorian monument has, so to speak, come into its own during the past eight years since Dr. Holm undertook his hazardous mission, whose results he is so energetically and disinterestedly pursuing; and, in this connection, it is singularly pleasant to contemplate the arrival of a new volume, by a Japanese savant, concerning the famous tablet.

People interested in the subject who may wish to communicate with Dr. Holm, can reach him at 14 John Street, New York City.—Ed.]

NOT only the orientalist, but the general reader, will feel under an obligation to Prof. P. Y. Saeki, a valued member of the faculty of Waseda University, at Tokyo, for his most interesting and stimulating book entitled *The Nestorian Monument in China*.¹

Professor Saeki's work is illustrated and contains a few introductory lines by the Rev. Canon Lord William Gascoyne-Cecil, author of *Changing China*, and a younger brother of the Marquess of Salisbury who generously guaranteed the outlay caused by the

¹ Published recently by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Northumberland Avenue, London, W.C., England. Price 7s. 6d.

publication of Professor Saeki's book; a brief preface by that great Oxford assyriologist, the Rev. Prof. A. H. Sayce; another preface and an introduction of 165 pages by the author; his new translation of the "luminous" inscription; and extensive notes on the text.

One important point, upon which Professor Saeki insists, is that we should not translate *ching* by "illustrious"—Nestorianism having for so long been termed "the illustrious religion"—but "luminous."



THE ROOFS OF SIAN-FU.

In the beginning of his long and interesting introduction, which to many, no doubt, will form the most fascinating part of the book, Professor Saeki describes Sian-fu, the provincial capital of Shensi, and informs us that Kioto in Japan was laid out after the model of Changnan, the name of Sian-fu when that wonderful center was the Tang emperors' capital, and when Christianity was first brought to China in A. D. 635. At that time Sian-fu, the author states, had 25 inner and outer gates, but in 1907 I found but four, though they were impressive enough.

Leaving behind all such data, more or less well known, Pro-

fessor Saeki's book becomes distinctly alluring, if not almost sensational, when on page 48 he starts discussing the never fully explained fate of the millions of Chinese Nestorian Christians, saying "and we are glad to announce that we have discovered some remnants of the Assyrian Christians in China."

There is little doubt that Professor Saeki's learned theory pos-



PAGODA OF THE TANG DYNASTY (618-906) NEAR SIAN-FU.

sesses a great many winning points, and, in brief, they are the following:

It will be remembered by students of the Nestorian inscription, that this historical document itself clearly states that it was "written by Lü Hsiu-Yen, Assistant Secretary of State and Superintendent of the Civil Engineering Bureau of Taichou." While all former translators of the inscription have endowed Lü Hsiu-Yen with a

military title, Professor Saeki disputes the correctness thereof, making it clear that Lü was decidedly a civil mandarin. He furthermore points out that Lü, at the time he "penned" the inscription, according to native experts on Tang calligraphy, must have been



THREE MOHAMMEDAN SERVANTS AT SIAN-FU.

quite a young man, since the calligraphy employed is, indeed, that of a youth.

Now, it so happens, that one of the foremost Chinese "secret societies" of yore and of to-day is the Chin-Tan Chiao, meaning the "Religion of the Pill of Immortality." It was founded by one Lü Yen, who was born in Shansi A. D. 755.

In A. D. 781, when the Nestorian monument was erected, or rather in A. D. 780 when the inscription was chiselled, Lü Yen, of great fame as poet and calligrapher, was a young man twenty-five years of age, who had lived the life of a student surrounded in Shansi and Shensi by Nestorian converts, high and low; and Professor Saeki asserts, with no inconsiderable force of conviction, that Lü Yen is no other person than our Lü Hsiu-Yen of the inscription.

That the middle part of the name, represented by Hsiu, should have disappeared during the centuries, Professor Saeki considers not very exceptional, citing other cases of similar nature.

If, therefore, Professor Saeki is correct in his attractive assumption that Lü Yen of everlasting fame, founder of the Secret Society of the Pill of Immortality, is identical with Lü Hsiu-Yen of the Nestorian inscription, then it is fairly easy to follow our learned author another step into the enticing realm of reconstruction. We must admit that a great many of the teachings of to-day of the afore-mentioned society, the Chin-Tan Chiao, are similar to those of the Syrian church, and that consequently its millions of members, of whom some fifteen thousand were slain in 1891, members who are found mostly in northern and northwestern China where the Nestorian converts used to reside, are the logical descendants of that Christian community at Sian-fu which set up the Chingchiaopei in A. D. 781. It is probable that the founder of the Chin-Tan Chiao himself played an important part in the creation of the tablet as the youthful calligrapher who assisted the Persian prelate Adam, or Ching-Tsing, the "luminously purified" pope of China, our learned composer of the text on the monument.

May the merit of identifying Lü Hsiu-Yen with Lü Yen forever remain one of the most treasured possessions of Professor Saeki!

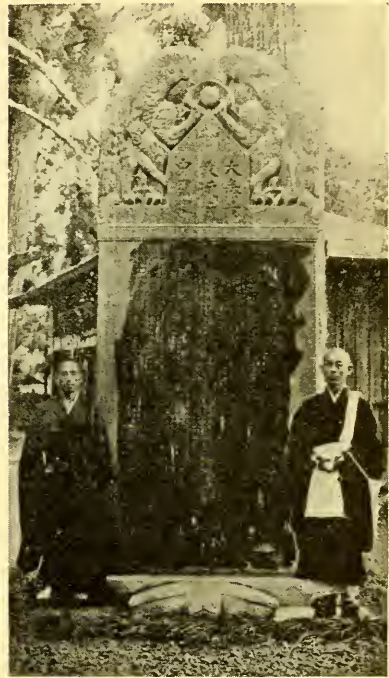
It is, of course, a great pity that Professor Saeki, like the late Father Henri Havrêt, S. J., of Shanghai, who wrote a magnificent treatise on the monument in three volumes, has never as yet had time or opportunity to visit Sian-fu and inspect the Nestorian stone. In fact, I fear that Professor Saeki has before his mind's eye quite an inexact picture of the old stela, because, while he has seen neither the original, nor the replica in New York, he is evidently acquainted with the "second replica" of the monument which Mrs. E. A. Gordon caused to be placed in 1911 on Mount Koya in Japan. Undeniably Mrs. Gordon was actuated by the noblest and most generous of motives. But however great the care exercised may have been, it must be conceded that the "replica" on Koya San

is indeed not a *replica* of the Nestorian monument, nor a facsimile, nor a reproduction, nor a copy of any kind whatsoever.

It is true that the interpretation of the word "replica" has been slightly broadened in the latest editions of both the Webster and Standard Dictionaries, but only slightly. A replica of a monument surely must possess its accurate dimensions. And Professor Saeki, enthusiastic about Mrs. Gordon's enterprise, tells us about this "second replica" on the top of Mount Koya, that it "was dedicated—,



THE ORIGINAL MONUMENT.
June 1907. Photo by the author.



THE MT. KOYA REPLICA.
Jan. 1912. From *Chinese Recorder*.

on October 3, 1911, and is an exact copy of the original stone" (*italics are mine*).

A glance at the accompanying two photographs, one of which is a hitherto unpublished photograph of the original monument which I took in June 1907 outside the western suburban gate of Sian-fu and the other a picture of the Mount Koya "replica," is enough to convince even the most casual observer that Mrs. Gordon's workmen had very unusual ideas of accuracy as to dimen-

sions and as to the way in which the six dragons at the top should be reproduced, which apparently must have been done from sketches or blurred photographs. Their success in creating this "second replica," therefore, can hardly be characterized as being more than moderate.

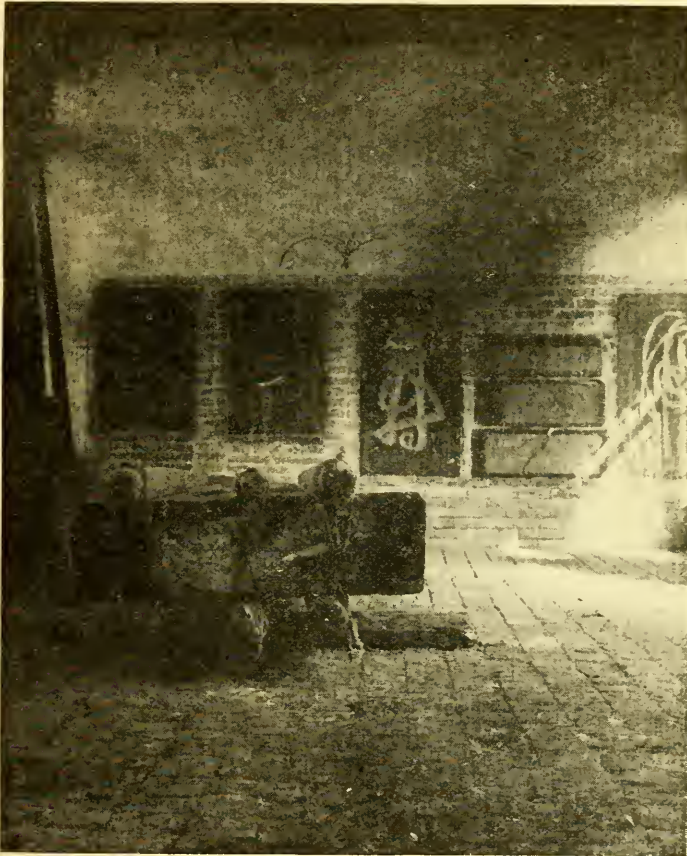
On the other hand, it is quite possible that the inscription itself on the Japanese stela is entirely faultless, especially if rubbings (*décalques*) of the original text were employed in chiselling the inscription. Photographs indeed would never suffice.

My illustration of the "replica" in Japan has been rephotographed from *The Chinese Recorder*, Shanghai, January, 1912, whose editor was not willing to publish some information which I sent him at that time concerning the deplorable lack of accuracy that makes Mrs. Gordon's gift such a questionable addition to the world of eastern archeology.

But while I sincerely regret that Japan does not possess, in spite of Mrs. Gordon's generosity, anything more than a large slab of stone looking somewhat like a Chinese memorial monument and giving the Nestorian inscription, it is only proper that I should be permitted to point this out, inasmuch as Professor Saeki, no doubt in excellent faith, informs us that the stone *is an exact copy of the original*, and that the reason for putting up the intended replica of the Chingchiaopei on Koya San, the noted Japanese Buddhist stronghold, was one of reverence to the sacred memory of the famous teacher Kobo Daishi (A. D. 774-835). This great traveler is supposed to have seen, during his years of wandering in China, the original Nestorian monument near Sian-fu, when he visited Shensi, where he studied the teachings of the Syrian church and extracted those things that he felt would be of value to those who sat at his feet at home to be taught. Professor Saeki tells us how thousands upon thousands of Japanese pilgrims to Mount Koya will behold this "replica," so it is to be deeply regretted that it was not made with more care for accuracy of detail.

Personally, I am, on the other hand, profoundly grateful to find it mentioned by Professor Saeki that "in 1909, when Prof. Y. Okakura went to New York, he examined Mr. Holm's replica in the Central [*should have been Metropolitan*] Museum and found, to his satisfaction, that it was a very good replica indeed." But then it must be remembered that my replica had the advantage of being made by *Chinese* artists and stonemasons only a few yards from the original monument, prior to its removal on October 2, 1907, into the Peilin ("Stone Coppice") of Sian-fu where it still

stands well protected under the shelter of a roof. It was most gratifying to me, and to many friends when they learned about it, that my expeditions to Sian-fu had been instrumental in thus having the monument removed to a safe place, in which endeavor the *corps diplomatique* at Peking, and various missionary bodies, had hitherto, for over twenty years, unfortunately failed.



ROOM IN THE PEILIN WHERE THE NESTORIAN MONUMENT IS PERMANENTLY HOUSED.

Professor Saeki inserts a new stone into that elusive arch known as "The Mystery of Fu-lin," but it is not the keystone. Much has been written about the meaning of the two ideographs that make up the word *Fu-lin*, which name has been said to stand for anything from the township of Bethlehem to the entire Roman empire or the metropolis of Constantinople. Such learned men as

Friedrich Hirth, who read a most interesting paper on the subject before the International Congress of Orientalists at Copenhagen in August, 1908, Sir Henry Yule, Pauthier, K. Shiratori, and the indefatigable Edouard Chavannes, have theorized about Fu-lin, but they have never succeeded in agreeing upon a common solution.

It seems to be certain that the Ta-tsin of the inscription stands for Syria, or Palestine; and it is obvious from a number of sources, Chinese and foreign, quoted in various writings, that Ta-tsin and Fu-lin are practically one and the same country. In fact, Professor Saeki maintains "that we are quite safe in saying that Li-kan, Ta-chin and Fu-lin are names connected with lands where the Graeco-Roman civilization was grafted on Hebrew thought and culture. But in our Nestorian inscription, Syria, or at least part of Palestine, where Christ was born, was intended."

Professor Saeki's direct contribution to the question of Fu-lin is his pointing out, that the transliteration of the missionary Ephraim's name is undertaken by employing the two Chinese characters that stand for Fu-lin. Consequently, our authors says, Fu-lin is likely to be the "Country of Ephraim," or the land from where the missionaries originally came. But he also admits that we are hardly any nearer than we were before to finding out exactly where that land lay.

As to the new translation of the long and beautiful inscription on our monument, Professor Saeki's version, while different in parts from all other translations—as has, indeed been the case with every additional translation since the second quarter of the seventeenth century—, possesses the stimulating quality of having been painstakingly worked out by an *eastern* scholar. Inasmuch as Professor Saeki's knowledge of western languages and lore is amazing, any possible mistakes that may be found will not be in his English, and, therefore, it may be concluded with certainty that this new translation will start many a friendly controversy among those who are entitled to speak.

In concluding I may perhaps be allowed to repeat that the orientalist is not the only person who will be interested in Professor Saeki's scholarly work on one of the world's four or five foremost monuments. The general reader, indeed, will encounter inspiring vistas of the history of the easternmost empires, interwoven with those views of the history of western lands that he may still retain from school and college days; so no library, public or private, may be considered complete without a copy of *The Nestorian Monument in China*.

MISCELLANEOUS.

"ITALY AND THE WAR."—A DISCUSSION.

A LETTER FROM A ROMAN PATRIOT.

(Translated from the Italian original by Percy F. Morley.)

To the Editor of The Open Court:

"It is difficult to understand why Italy entered the war." Thus begins the article which you, esteemed Doctor, published under the title "Italy and the War," in the October (1915) number of the delightful and scholarly periodical so ably edited by you. Permit me, by a substitution of terms, to tell you that I find it really difficult to understand how Dr. Carus, whose rare capacity for penetrating and explaining spiritual events separated from us by hundreds or thousands of years, has not succeeded, nor is succeeding, in diagnosing the facts of a contemporaneous event, even though remote in space, namely, the war into which Italy has now so willingly entered.

The premises upon which you confess your inability to discover the motives which could have induced Italy to take up arms against Austria, are two: first, the notable sense of aversion to war, and the irreducible pacifism of the Italian spirit, which factors, according to you, render our people unfit for the rigors of warfare, and which were responsible for our military reverses in the wars of independence; in the second place, the fact that our real and dangerous rivals in the Mediterranean are the French and the English, not the Germans or the Austrians.

I hope you will not take offense at a clear and frank reply. First of all you fall, involuntarily no doubt, into a serious and unjust perversion of the facts of history, resurrecting, as you do, our military reverses of '49 and '66 and completely forgetting our brilliant campaign of '59 which led directly to the proclamation of the military sovereignty of Italy. And moreover you commit a rather serious piece of psychological injustice when you state that the deeply pacific spirit which imbues our social life renders our people altogether incapable of military prowess. Even if our great and noble traditions and the high state of civilization to which we have attained, make us admire more ardently an epoch, purely fantastic though it be, in which the emulation of the people does not take the form of war, but rather of works of progress and beneficence, there is no justification, it seems to me, for painting us a nation of faint hearts and cowards. If our national rebirth is not an epic of leaders, it is nevertheless an authentic and wonderful epic of the people. And though you may have thought yourself quite justified in launching your

ironical phrase, that "it is not likely that the Italians will reap laurels on the battlefield," here in Italy we hear from those who have returned from the front (among whom I have a brother who has been wounded in an Austrian fusilade on the Isonzo), reports which are more than sufficient to give us a lively sense of pride in the stoical serenity with which Italian soldiers are fighting one of the most extraordinary mountain wars that can well be imagined.

Perhaps the accounts of the dying utterances of our soldiers on the field have not reached *The Open Court*; but in my opinion more than one of our men has given utterance to words of beauty and gentleness without parallel. Let me cite an instance. An officer, Decio Raggo, mortally wounded on the edge of a hostile trench which had been captured by his soldiers, was removed to the hospital, where, though fainting from loss of blood, he writes with his trembling hand which was soon to be stilled in death, these epic words: "O youth of Italy, envy my fortunate end. In the love and for the love of all that is Italian, I die happy. You who wish me well, do not abandon yourselves to useless lamentations. Place flowers on the graves of those who die for their fatherland." If you, esteemed Dr. Carus, would not award laurels to such pure forms of heroism and patriotism, I do not know to whom you would ever award them;—perhaps to the aviator who destroyed the fresco of Tiepolo in Venice, or to the naval officer who only yesterday sank a passenger-boat in the Mediterranean?

But, you observe, the interests of Italy in the Mediterranean stand in clear and striking contrast to those of England and France, whence, ranging herself with the Entente, Italy is really laying the foundation of her own vassalage. Now, esteemed Dr. Carus, I can even agree with you in your contention that causes for Franco-Italian or Anglo-Italian disputes may arise in the future, as they have in the past, in this sea which the Romans used to call "ours" (*nostrum*). But every day brings its task, and we must be prepared to face it the moment it presents itself. To-day a much more serious game is being played in Europe than that for mere dominion in the Mediterranean. Do you not perceive reasons of a purely material nature which would justify the adhesion of Italy to the Entente? If, however, there were none in reality, you would have been driven to the conclusion that Italy was fighting an idealistic war, without any material advantage.

But a war is not unjustified or foolish simply because the object for which the people who have undertaken it are striving is not immediately discernible. History is not a usurer's register, and for us Latins there are conquests and spiritual liberations more precious than the annexation of provinces or improved financial conditions. Milan would not suffer economically under Austria, yet it is taking its part in the war. In reality, whoever wishes to understand our conduct must get away from the narrow materialistic and purely political view of the events which are transpiring in this tragic hour.

It is the spiritual logic of all our history that led to the present conflict, reduced from a fortuitous concurrence of circumstances to their most typical and schematic expression: a struggle of Latins against Teutons for the full settlement of their respective economic and cultural capacities in Europe. And we all feel clearly that the arduous undertaking not only involves the acquisition or loss of territory and wealth; it implies also the solemn affirma-

tion or cowardly renunciation of inestimable spiritual values and sacred social traditions.

From the time when a Saxon sovereign, Otto, summoned by an exiled princess, came down to Italy to assume the imperial crown that a genial pope had taken under his own protection against other barbarians who had poured down from the north, and inaugurated his mission by beheading the district chiefs of Rome, or plucking out their eyes,—the history of Italy was but one unflinching and unceasing effort toward freedom from the power of the Teutonic sovereign who had made of the empire a fief of his own, and in which the duty of protection had been transformed into a license to spoliage and tyrannize. The court and the soldiers of the new emperor had scarcely returned from the solemnities of the consecration when the monk Benedict, discerning them from the slopes of Mount Soracte, foresaw the bitter vicissitudes which were to result from the consecrating act of John XII: "Oh, woe unto thee O Rome; behold, the Saxon king has thee in his power; thy sons have fallen beneath the sword. Thy strength has softened. Thy gold and silver are vanishing into the treasuries of the Germans." Through long centuries, with alternating successes and reverses, Italy and the papacy have struggled against the Teutonic empire to regain the liberty taken from them by a ruler who ought to have been, by definition, a protector. It would seem that the German soul has no conception of treaties which impose duties, and knows only those which assure rights. When the legates of the Roman people appeared before Frederick Barbarossa and invoked their traditions to the safeguarding of their autonomy, the future destroyer of Milan haughtily replied, according to the account of Otto of Freising: "You sing to me the praises of your republic and your senators. But your Rome has inherited only its name from ancient times. It is we who have inherited the power and the glory of the ancient Romans, and the only legitimate government is my imperial authority. The empire was not created by your will. Charles and Otto liberated you from the Greek and the Lombard, and gained the imperial crown by the force of their arms. Their successors are not degenerates. Try to snatch the key from the hands of Hercules! You have no right to impose conditions; you are simply to obey my orders." Against this insolent Teutonic vanity which had made of the imperial government a pretext for every kind of injustice and oppression, the pontificate and the people rose in arms. In the long epic of events the pontificate and the people count two glorious names: Canossa and Legnano.

It may be, and it is, singularly painful to recall to-day old conflicts of peoples and revive dormant race rancors. It would seem that a common culture should now definitely blot out the memory of the struggles of the Italians against Germanic tyranny and reconcile us for ever with the peoples of the Rhine and the Elbe in the joint labor of social progress. The political alliance, the tremendous changes in the methods of science, had revived a certain mutual sympathetic friendship which might even seem the precursor of an historical collaboration destined to a great future. But the shock of reality has shattered appearances and brought again to the surface the irreducible elements of fatal dissension. The Italians to-day have spiritually renewed the pledge which, on August 7, 1167, the Lombards swore to James of Pontida. And in the presence of this unforeseen and instinctive rallying of souls, and of such sudden unrestrainable eruptions of the will of a people—

a people which is not new to political greatness—it is completely superfluous to dwell on political considerations and the calculation of probabilities which might enable us to foresee or invoke success.

ERNESTO BUONAIUTI.

ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF ROME.

Editorial Reply.

I take pleasure in presenting Prof. Ernesto Buonaiuti's views on the war and making them known to our readers in contrast to my own. I will not try to convert him nor even to refute him. I will be content to say that we would better agree to disagree. Our convictions are diametrically opposed and will remain irreconcilable.

Professor Buonaiuti's argument is ultimately an accusation of the German race as being barbarous and brutal. The Saxons and Swabians were vigorous conquerors, and Kaiser Frederick Barbarossa's answer to the legates of the Roman people appears to be one of the principal reasons, and a most formidable one, why the Italy of to-day should declare war on Austria in the moment when she and her ally, Germany, were attacked on all sides by the dangerous foes, Russia, France and the British empire.

Was not this speech of Barbarossa of the year 1177 known before? I should say that it was, and if it was of such a serious consequence for to-day why was it not taken into consideration at the time when the Triple Alliance was concluded with the two Teutonic powers? Why was the hatred of the Italians roused afterward, when England offered a goodly inducement in cash for joining the Triple Entente against the allies of Italy? In other words, the Italian army was hired to fight her own confederates for the sake of Great Britain.

I will not say that it is a disgrace to enter the military service of a foreign power and receive payment for it, but it seems to me treacherous to change sides at the critical moment and it is hypocritical to bolster up the Italian cause by artificial reasons and generalities that are not even "glittering." Most assuredly the arguments are not genuine; they remind me of the reason which I once saw in an Italian newspaper for the legitimacy of Italy's claim to Tripoli. It consisted of the statement that Tripoli had once belonged to the Roman empire. Why then does Italy not take France as well on the ground that it was ancient Gaul, and England, ancient Britain,—likewise Spain, Egypt, etc.? She has the same right to take all these countries as to take Tripoli. But she lacks the power, and even in this civilized age power is indispensable to the assertion of one's right; yea, more than that, power is sufficient to establish right, for even such barbarians and Huns as the Saxon princes and the Ghibellines can lay down the law if their sword is victorious.

Summing up the gist of Professor Buonaiuti's arguments, Italy must take up arms because the Germans are bad people and must be crushed. Strange that the Italians forget that England is also a German power and that the English are closely related in blood to that Saxon emperor Otto, whose name is mentioned by Professor Buonaiuti with horror!

It strikes me also as strange that a Roman of to-day who is proud of the glorious past of Italy should find fault with the Germans of former centuries on account of their conquests. What is the history of Rome but a

series of conquests in which justice was mostly on the side of the vanquished? The history of ancient Rome reveals to us how violence and wrong triumphed over the destroyed states and devastated the cities of Carthage, Corinth and others. Was conquest by arms the glory of Rome but the shame of Otto and Barbarossa? I will not glorify military prowess nor defend the aspirations of conquest, but I wish to call attention to the inconsistency of a Roman condemning the Germans for having come to Italy as victors, while the Romans did not hesitate to invade *all* the countries round the Mediterranean which they claimed as their own with no more right than that of Great Britain to rule the seas to-day. The Romans subjected the nations to their dominion and extorted their last possessions from the conquered people with unspeakable cruelty. Wholesale crucifixions of the inhabitants of conquered cities, as for instance in Jerusalem, were common occurrences and by no means exceptional. It was not unusual to sell as slaves the inhabitants of states that persevered in their resistance, and that was humane for Roman victors—at least more humane than the treatment of captured Judea.

In their career of conquest the Romans in due course turned toward Germany and began to subject the German tribes; but unfortunately the Germans at that time were—as they are still—barbarians with not the slightest conception of the blessings which Rome was bringing to them, and in their ignorance they expelled the Romans, the carriers of civilization. This was abominable, and I wonder that Professor Buonaiuti does not mention the fact.

The unkindness with which the Cherusci under Armenius treated the legions of Varus in the year 9 B. C. is as good a reason for declaring war on Austria as Frederick Barbarossa's speech of 1177. Perhaps the atrocities of the Teutoburg Forest were not applicable for the present war, because the Cherusci belonged to those northern German tribes whose descendants were later known as Saxons, and some of the ancestors of the English people probably participated in the battle in the Teutoburg Forest. Indeed England would not exist to-day if Armenius had been beaten by Varus and the ancestors of the Saxons had been either exterminated or Romanized at that time.

By the way, I have never thought, nor did I say, that the Italian reverses are due to "their pacific aversion to war." Their inefficiency has other reasons than their pacific tendencies. It is by no means impossible that a man or a whole nation may be extremely bellicose and boisterous and at the same time inefficient in actual fight. The pugnacious man frequently turns out to be a coward when he meets his equal, and the lover of peace is usually a valiant warrior when war becomes unavoidable.

The Italians were induced to join the Triple Entente by the clever operations of English diplomacy, but it is unintelligible how Italy could be induced to fall upon her former ally Austria in Austria's hour of dire need and take the consequences of such a stupid (I will not repeat to say "treacherous") step. Treachery is bad enough but stupidity is worse. I believe that Italy will pay dearly for her folly.

I cannot now prove my contention that Italy's treachery was not (as some Italians think) smart but stupid, nor do I intend here to enter into a discussion of the question but must leave the justification of my view to the future. In a year or two we shall know the result without wasting words or being obliged to prop up our contention with arguments. If Italy should

prosper on account of this war, she will certainly be the only one who will not have sorely to regret having become an ally of England.

I do not wish to harp on historical data, for I believe with Professor Buonaiuti that "a common culture should now definitely blot out the memory of the struggles of former centuries, and that we should become reconciled forever with former foes in the joint labor of social progress." I believe in this principle just as strongly as Professor Buonaiuti, and yet it seems to me that Italy did not act upon it, but did the very reverse. She preferred to draw the dagger of war; and when her ally was attacked in the northeast stabbed her in the back. If that was justified on account of the degraded character of the German race, why had Italy joined the two Teutonic powers, Germany and Austria, in an alliance which was not only not to be kept, but changed into an inexcusable feud, an attack from the rear? I leave it to the Italians to find a term to designate their behavior.

Of course the Italian war is an attack not only on Austria but also on Prussian Germany, and here we must mention that Italy has entirely forgotten the history of recent events. She has forgotten that she owes to Prussia the possession of Venetia and of Rome, and the war which she now wages on Austria and which hits Germany in an indirect way is simply the thanks she offers Prussian Germany for the acquisition of Venetia and Rome! Nevertheless the Italians believe themselves justified in their wrath against the Teutons, because 800 years ago Kaiser Frederick Barbarossa treated some impudent Roman legates with the haughtiness of a victorious conqueror! That is the Italian explanation for giving an ally a stab in the back.

Italians have proposed other reasons why their country ought to join in the present war, and these reasons consist, bluntly speaking, in the demand of the Irredentist party to have all territories in which Italian is spoken incorporated into the modern state of Italy. The principle that the right to possess a country depends upon the language of the people is absolutely untenable and would as a matter of course subject the United States to the sovereignty of England; likewise, some districts of New York and Chicago would have to go to Russia, others to Turkey, still others to Greece and Italy, while large tracts would go to Germany. The argument is positively ridiculous, but even if we granted it the Italians would not be entitled to any portion of the present Austria, because there are no purely Italian-speaking provinces left in Austria's possession.

It is true that some districts in the south of Tyrol are sometimes called Welsch Tyrol, or, inaccurately speaking, Italian Tyrol. It is a country where the population is mixed, but it is certainly not an Italian country. The whole Tyrol numbers, according to the most recent census, 949,000 inhabitants, of which 657,000 live in the larger districts of South Tyrol. Northern Tyrol is purely German, but in the southern part the German language is the mother tongue of 272,000 people, which is a little more than one-third, but less than one-half, of the entire population; of the others, 291,000 speak an Italian patois, and 94,000 a peculiar dialect of their own which is called Ladino. There is no definite border line between the three languages, for they are mixed; and the two Latin dialects, Italian and Ladino, both strongly influenced by the speech of the indigenous Rhaetic inhabitants, are commonly regarded with contempt by Italians.

Since the Roman empire broke down, Tyrol (and here South Tyrol is

included) has never belonged to Italy nor to any Italian state or principality. It belonged successively to the Ostrogoths, the Lombards, and since Charlemagne to the Franks, and from the foundation of the Holy Roman Empire until 1803 formed a part of that empire. For some time it belonged to Bavaria, and temporarily also to Carinthia. Two bishoprics were established by Conrad II in 1027 in Brixen and Trent, but both prelates were recognized as princes of the Holy Roman empire. Since 1363 the Hapsburg family has been established as the sovereign counts of Tyrol and has represented the powers of government even in the districts of Brixen and Trent, attending to the functions of government jointly with the prince-bishops of those places.

It is an indubitable fact that the Tyrolians cling with an intense love to the Hapsburg monarchy, and Andreas Hofer, the leader of the insurgents against Napoleon I, is still revered all through Tyrol as their national hero. The Austrian emperor finds his most faithful subjects in Tyrol, where he is always spoken of as "our Kaiser," and this sentiment is not limited to the north of Tyrol nor to the German portion of the population, but extends to the Welsch Tyrolians, including those of Italian speech. Dr. W. Rohmeder, who has traveled much in Tyrol, says in his report (published in the quarterly *Das Deutschtum im Auslande*, 1915, pp. 332-345) that he has often heard the answer from Welsch Tyrolians: "*Parliamo Italiano, ma siamo Tedeschi,*" or "*Tirolesi noi siamo, ma non Italiani, e vogliamo restarlo.*"

Far from feeling Italian or having a desire to join Italy, they hate the Italians with an intensity which they do not hesitate to express, and while it was under discussion whether the Welsch portions of Tyrol should be surrendered to Italy there prevailed a great anxiety all over Tyrol, mainly in the Italian portions of it, and the relief of the people found vent in outbursts of joy when Italy declared war. The Welsch Tyrolians are said to fight the Italians with almost greater bitterness than the German soldiers of the Austrian army because they were not at all willing to be delivered from what the Italians and their English allies term the "Austrian tyranny."

So far the Italians have not succeeded in conquering even a portion of Welsch Tyrol, and I doubt very much whether their army will make any headway. Let them try. The Tyrolians will do their utmost to defend their homes against *Italia irredenta*.

Just a word about the German migration into Italy. The northern portions of the peninsula possess a strong admixture of Gothic, Lombard, and Frankish blood, and the descendants of these German immigrants have always played the leading parts in Italian history. The farther south you go in Italy the less there is of German admixture; it disappears entirely in the southern provinces, and in exactly the same proportion the population becomes the more inferior.

One instance will suffice. The great Italian poet Dante (originally written Durante) is a scion of an Ostragothic noble family and is known to have been an ardent partisan of the Ghibellines. There have been many great men in Italy, but when we investigate their descent we will probably find few of them to be purely Latin Italians.

This theory of the inferiority of the Italian race where it has not been improved by Germanic or Norse admixture is not borne out in Italy alone; it shows itself also in the United States. Statistics teach us that the Italians head the list of criminals in America; but the northern Italians, that is, the

Italians having a goodly admixture of Germanic blood, cannot be classed among these. One of the typical crimes of Latin Italians, rarely found among other people, is the Black Hand—a modernized brigandage.

The story of the dying Italian officer told by Professor Buonaiuti is beautiful, but it is not new. Some time ago I saw in a German paper the same words attributed to a German *Landwehrmann*, and I fear it will be difficult to decide which of the two reports is original. Perhaps both have been copied from an old story founded on fact, the events of which may have taken place in ancient Greece.

It is a pity, however, that the Italian officer to whom Professor Buonaiuti attributes these sweet words was mistaken on the main point: He did not die for Italy, but for England in whose interest alone Italy joined the Entente. The war was not undertaken for Italy; on the contrary it was an un-Italian war, a war that was against the honor of Italy and also against Italian interests. It served the purpose of helping the Russians in their attacks on Germany and Austria, and of relieving the French and English in their anxiety concerning the outcome of the present war. The heavy sacrifices which the Italians offer now will in no way bring advantage to Italy; on the contrary they involve Italy in great dangers and serve only to impede the success of the Central European powers and afford a temporary advantage to France, Russia and England. But be comforted; to die for Old England is also a consolation. Is not England as good as Italy?

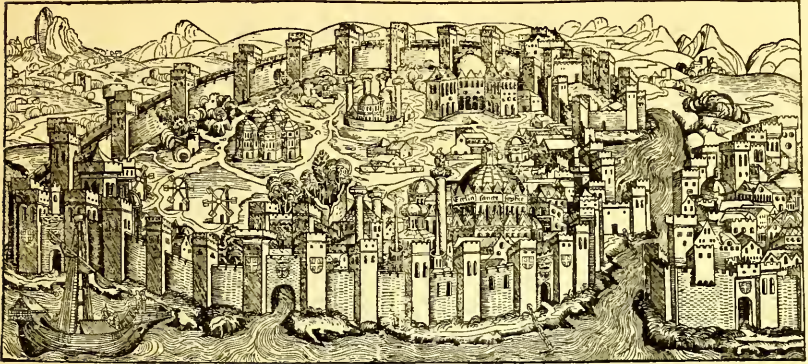
I have been puzzled why the Italians entered upon this war against Austria; now I know they have ancient and sore grievances against the German race, especially the Saxons. Further, I have learned that the Italians are very pacific, in spite of their expedition to Abyssinia and the conquest of Tripoli. But I only wonder whether in a few years they themselves will not adopt my views concerning the present war and criticize those politicians of theirs who have induced them to go to war. *Nous verrons.* EDITOR.

THE SIEGE OF CONSTANTINOPLE IN 1453.

In 1453 Constantinople fell a victim to the besieging Turks and it has remained in Turkish possession down to the present time. The reason why this important city could not be saved is not so much because of the weakness of the Greeks—at that time the rulers of the city—as because of the dissensions which prevailed in the Christian world. Greek Christianity had established itself independently of Rome, and the Roman church insisted on the submission of the patriarch of Constantinople as the condition of protection against the Turk. But the patriarch preferred to submit to the Turks rather than to Rome. He capitulated to Mohammed II on the condition that he should be guaranteed the right of exercising his authority within the domain of the Christian population. Emperor John VIII was ready to surrender the autonomy of the Greek church in exchange for assistance against the Turkish invasion. The proclamation of the union with Rome was solemnly read in Florence on July 6, 1439. The leading men of the orthodox Greek clergy were bitterly opposed to the step and only the Syrian sects of Armenians, Roumanians and Ruthenians who were already allied to Rome accepted it, but Christian Byzantium would rather belong to the infidel Turks than to the

Romans, and so the catastrophe of May 29, 1543, could not be averted in spite of the brave defense of the Greek garrison.

Our frontispiece represents a miniature contained in the book of travels of Bertrandon de la Brocquiere of the fifteenth century and is preserved in



CONSTANTINOPLE.

From Hermann Schedel's *Weltchronik*, Nuremberg, 1493.

the National Library at Paris. It represents the siege of Constantine's city and the firm establishment of the Turkish empire whose fate is now dependent on the outcome of the present war.

AMERICA FIRST.

BY LOUIS DORN.

Last night, at a meeting of Germans, I heard
 The thundering song of the Rhine, and it stirred
 My soul to its depths, so that mightily grew
 The love for the land of my fathers anew;
 And firmly it held me with powerful reins:
 The blood of the Teuton awoke in my veins.

I stepped to the street and I glanced at the stars
 That smile upon peace and that frown upon wars;
 My heart was entranced, for they seemed to bring down
 For Germany's head the victorious crown.
 But, passing along, by a friend I was hailed
 Whose ancestors whilom from Britain had sailed.

He said: "Do you see yonder stars in the sky?
 "As far as they travel, they shine from on high
 "On British domain; and your Germany must
 "Submit to my England and squirm in the dust.
 "Britannia rules o'er the lands far and wide,
 "She's queen of the oceans, we sing it with pride."

And soon we are hot in the midst of debate
 Repeating the words coined by frenzy and hate.
 He calls the good Germans barbarians wild,
 I shout: "That is slander by liars compiled!"
 "The Teutons are war-mad!" he cries and I hold,
 That British hypocrisy fights for its gold.

Our eyes were aglow with an unholy light,
 With quivering lips we put friendship to flight;
 We felt that the ties, which the heart bind to heart,
 From anger and passion were snapping apart:
 When suddenly, softly, a voice clear and sweet
 Was heard in a hymn from a house near the street.

We stopped and we listened; the song we knew well.
 Like waves of the ocean the notes rose and fell;
 They sounded a message of glorious times,
 Of love for the home, for American climes:
 The "Star Spangled Banner" so noble and fair
 Rang out and it hallowed the evening air.

The spell of the strains like an angel came down
 To silence the storm and to banish the frown;
 And out went my hand, it was fervently grasped:
 In friendship the Briton and Teuton were clasped.
 We spoke not a word, but we pondered it long,
 The message for us from America's song:

"Love, Teuton, thy people, its learning and grace,
 "Love, Briton, thy splendid and glorious race:
 "But let not that love tear the neighbors apart,
 "Shoot not at each other the poisonous dart
 "Of galling remark; and unitedly stand
 "For waving Old Glory, the flag of the land!

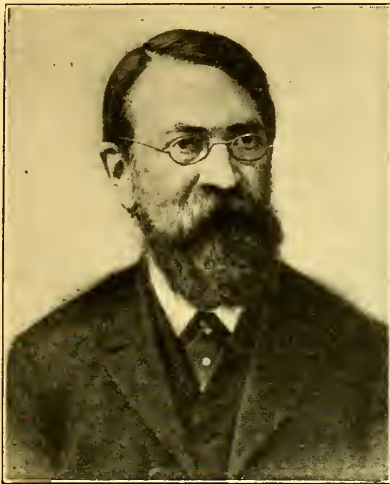
"The Stars and the Stripes are protecting a home
 "For every good folk under heaven's great dome,
 "A haven of refuge for all the distressed,
 "A promise of freedom for peoples oppressed,
 "An island of peace while the world is at strife:
 "For love is its spirit and justice its life!"

We stood there in silence, the song died away,
 The hour was sacred, we could not but pray:
 "Grant peace among nations, Allpowerful Lord,
 "And teach Thou our brothers to bury the sword!"
 From Briton and Teuton two prayers had gone,
 They rose up to Heaven united as one.

The Analysis of Sensations and the Relation of the Physical to the Psychical

By Professor Ernst Mach

Price \$1.50



PROF. ERNST MACH
(Died February 19, 1916)

The late Professor Ernst Mach's book entitled *Analysis of the Sensations and the Relation of the Physical to the Psychical* is highly praised in an English review which appeared September 29th, 1916, in a periodical entitled *Education*, published in London.

Its appearance at this time is most opportune as it will serve to remind readers that all things "made in Germany" are not to be condemned.

It is a hopeful sign to find an English scholar who has escaped the blighting hand of prejudice and who honorably and fearlessly recognizes and proclaims Dr. Mach as "a gentleman and veritable scientist."

We quote from the review as follows: Dr. Mach is a "specialist" in Physics; that is to say, he is primarily and specially a physicist. But, at the

same time, his equipment and record as a psychologist might well be the despairing ambition of many well-known psychological "specialists." And much the same thing might almost be said with regard to his physiological researches and attainments. So, although this has militated and still militates against his acceptance as an "authority" it gives an otherwise unexampled weight to his utterances for the ordinary man. We listen with all the more respect when he says, for example, that "the great gulf between physical and psychological research persists only when we acquiesce in our habitual stereotyped conceptions. A color is a physical object as soon as we consider its dependence, for instance, upon its luminous source, upon other colors, upon temperatures, upon spaces, and so forth. When we consider, however, its dependence upon the retina . . . it is a psychological object, a sensation. Not the subject-matter, but the direction of our investigation, is different in the two domains. . . . There is no rift between the physical and psychical, no inside and outside, no 'sensation' to which an external 'thing,' different from sensation, corresponds. There is but one kind of elements, out of which this supposed inside and outside are formed—elements which are themselves inside or outside, according to the aspect in which, for the time being, they are viewed.

His book is one to be read and pondered over. It cannot be read with superficial attention, if any good is to be gotten out of it. But, accepted as the utterance of a real and fearless thinker, addressed to those who are not afraid or incapable of thinking for themselves, few like it have come under our notice for many a long day."—*Education*, London.

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[Howard Mumford Jones is now head of the school of general literature of the University of Texas. He took his M. A. at Chicago U. of C. in 1915. He is a graduate of the University of Wisconsin and his home is in that state. He was chosen to write the ode celebrating the quarter-centennial of the University of Chicago in June, 1916; the ode has been privately printed. He is the author of a booklet of verse, and of contributions to various magazines—Poetry, The Forum, Contemporary Verse. He is much interested in the problem of getting foreign literatures before the college students and general public in good translations.]

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GERMANY MISJUDGED

By ROLAND HUGINS

Cloth, \$1.00

Pages, 114

The late Samuel W. Pennypacker, Ex-Governor of Pennsylvania, in the last letter written just prior to his death expressed himself as follows to Professor Roland Hugins of Cornell University, author of *GERMANY MISJUDGED*:

"It is the most valuable contribution to the literature on this war. In fact, I am inclined to think that it is the strongest and clearest presentation of the cause of the Germans that I have anywhere met. You have evidently selected your facts with great care, and the conclusions from them are unanswerable. I wish it were possible by some means to get your book generally into the hands of American readers."

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The Activities of English Intellectuals Curbed by the War Office

The Honorable Bertrand Russell, Cambridge scholar and author of "Justice in War Time," has been forbidden to enter any prohibited area, on account of his activities against war and his theories of non-resistance.

The following notice which was served by two Scotland Yard officers upon Mr. Russell was widely published in English newspapers:



"HIS COUSIN'S ORDER"

The Hon. Bertrand Russell
forbidden to enter any
prohibited area.

"Very Inconvenient"

The Honorable Bertrand Russell was yesterday served by two Scotland Yard officers with a notice signed by the competent military authority for London forbidding him to enter any prohibited area. The notice in the following terms:

"I, Lieutenant-Colonel the Honorable A. F. V. Russell, M. V. O., being a competent Military Authority under the said regulations (Defense of the Realm), do hereby order that the Honorable Bertrand Russell, of 34, Russell-Chambers, Bury-Street, in the City of London, shall not, except with permission in writing from me or from other competent Naval or Military Authority, reside in or enter any of the following areas:

"Any area specified as a prohibited area by virtue of any order now or hereafter made under the Aliens Restriction Act, 1914.

"(Signed)" Alick Russell, Lieutenant-Colonel, Competent Military Authority.

Lieutenant Russell is a cousin of the Honorable Bertrand Russell.

It will be remembered that recently Mr. Russell was fined at the Mansion House as the author of a leaflet published by the No-Conscription Fellowship.

"I cannot conceive what they have done it for," he said. "It is not as if I was out to get military information about things. It is most outrageous. It is very inconvenient to me. I have lodgings in Sussex, where I was going to spend my holidays. I have left half my things there and cannot fetch them because Sussex is a prohibited area.

"The order prevents me from going to a great many large towns in England. I had been thinking of giving lectures in various towns, not about the war, but matters quite unconnected with it.

"I am proposing to do what I can to get the order rescinded. I think the authorities must be under some misapprehension."

Mr. Russell later received a letter from the War Office:

"I am to say," runs the letter, "that it is not the desire of the Council that any such imputation should rest upon you, and to acquaint you that the order of the competent military authority was issued under No. 14 of the Defence of the Realm Regulations.

"I am further to state that the Council would be prepared to issue instructions for the withdrawal of the order if you, on your part, would give an undertaking not to continue a propaganda which, if successful, would, in their opinion, militate to some extent against the effective prosecution of the war."

Professor F. C. Conybeare, eminent Oxford scholar, was forced to resign his position and to retract his statement that Earl Grey, England's foreign minister, was responsible for the secret diplomacy which kept the English people in ignorance of the treaty with France that bound England as her ally.

Professor Conybeare is now on the Continent in some friendly neutral country, awaiting the day when the normal good sense of the English people will refuse longer to allow "the blood of the many to be spilled for the benefit of the few."

Norman Angell, the well-known British writer and author of "The Great Illusion," has been sent to prison for eighteen months for refusing upon conscientious grounds to serve in the English army. Norman Angell stands as the leader of the pacifists in England. Up to the time of the war he held a position as one of the greatest Englishmen of the day but, since he has stood true to his principles, he has been held up as a dangerous fool.

EGYPTIAN AESTHETICS

By Rene Francis Price, Cloth \$2.00

The author of *Egyptian Aesthetics* gives his chief attention to Egyptian life of today. He is a "master of style" and the reader actually lives through the emotions which the author is able to stir up by his descriptions of the spell which Egypt evokes. It is both a descriptive and an actual trip through Egypt and while it is principally concerned with pictures of present day life, there is enough archaeological and historical information to give the book permanent value.

Just now with Egypt one of the centers of interest in the great world tragedy this book will bring us closer to the Land of Pyramids and help us better to understand the causes which make Egypt and Turkey the logical battleground of the world.

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The Works of William Oughtred

By FLORIAN CAJORI

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William Oughtred (1574(?) - 1660), though by profession a clergyman, was one of the world's great teachers of mathematics and should still be honored as the inventor of that indispensable mechanical instrument, the slide-rule.

His earliest and best-known book was his *Clavis Mathematicae*. Though in its first edition of 1631 it was a booklet of only 88 small pages, yet it contained in very condensed form the essentials of arithmetic and algebra as known at that time. As compared with other contemporary works on algebra, Oughtred's is distinguished for the amount of symbolism used, particularly in the treatment of geometric problems.

Oughtred introduced an interesting, and at the same time new, feature of an abbreviated multiplication and an abbreviated division of decimal fractions. On this point he took a position far in advance of his time.

A word should be said on Oughtred's definition of + and -. He recognizes their double function in algebra by saying (*Clavis*, 1631, p. 2): "*Signum additionis, sive affirmationis, est + plus*" and "*Signum subductionis, sive negationis est - minus*." They are symbols which indicate the quality of numbers in some instances and operations of addition or subtraction in other instances. In the 1694 edition of the *Clavis*, thirty-four years after the death of Oughtred, these symbols are defined as signifying operations only, but are actually used to signify the quality of numbers as well. In this respect the 1694 edition marks a recrudescence.

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JUSTICE IN WAR TIME

By

The Hon. Bertrand Russell

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Pp. 250

PRESS NOTES

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"Mr. Russell is a strong writer, and *Justice in War Time* will make a strong appeal to many Americans. . . . he aims to present the facts accurately and with a sense of fair play."—*Detroit Saturday Night.*

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England's legalized piracy in the present war is well set forth in a pamphlet entitled—

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"The Government of Great Britain has virtually set up in the midst of the busy seas an arbitrary court, claiming unheard-of powers and exercising the most tyrannous police functions; seizing and haling into the dock as suspects all travelers upon the ocean highways, and visiting many of them with heavy penalties for unproven, and indeed unprovable, offenses. This lawless assizes of the seas, contemptuous alike of its own precedents and of the rights of others, scarcely stoops to the pretense of citing authority for its actions, which are determined solely by its brutal will, and enforced, though indeed largely through intimidation, by the gigantic power of its naval police. The extent of the earth's surface over which this extraordinary court is permitted to wield its self-arrogated jurisdiction, the magnitude of the interests which its actions vitally affect, and the supineness with which sovereign states submit to the erection, upon the ruins of their self-respect and the debacle of their highest commercial and political interests, of an island's municipal statutes into international formulas, unite to render this one of the spectacles of history."—*Preface.*

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By Grover J. Shoholm

Pamphlet, price 25 cents

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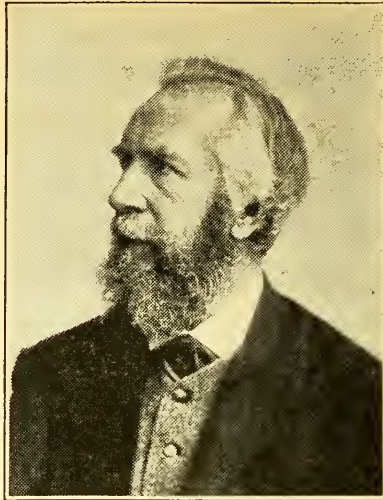
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PRESS NOTES.

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