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CHRISTIANITY AND PATRIOTISM.¹

BY COUNT LEO TOLSTOI.

[CONCLUDED.]

X.

HEROIC deeds are not required to effect great and momentous changes in human life. It is not necessary to have millions of armed men, or new railroads, or new machinery, or new expositions, labor unions, revolutions, barricades, dynamite outrages, or air-ships, and the like; nothing is required for the purpose but a transformation of public opinion. In order to bring about this transformation, no new efforts of thought are required, it is not necessary to overthrow the existing order and to invent something new and extraordinary. All we have to do is to resolve not to submit to the false, to the dead public opinion of the past, which is artificially kept alive by the governments. It is only required that every man should say what he really thinks and feels, or else abstain from saying what he does not really believe in. If only a small group of men were to act in this manner, then the old public opinion would disappear and we should have the new, the living, and real public opinion in its stead. With the change in public opinion would follow easily the transformation in the inner life of men. It is shameful to think how really little is required for men's deliverance from oppressing evils: *they must only not lie*. Let men not submit to the lies that are suggested to them, let them say only what they think and feel, and then there will come such a change in our life as revolutionists would not be able to bring about in the course of centuries, even if they had the power.

“What harm is there in yelling *Vive la France!* or *Hurrah!* for some emperor, or king, or conqueror? What harm is there in putting on a full-dress suit and in going and waiting in his hallway, in calling him by strange titles, and afterwards in telling the youth and the uneducated that such conduct is praiseworthy? What importance is there in writing up an article in defence of the Franco-Russian alliance, in defence of a tariff war, or a tirade condemning the Germans, the Russians, the French, etc.? What importance is there in going to a patriotic celebration, in drinking the health and making a laudatory speech in honor of the

men you do not like and whom you do not care about? What harm is there in acknowledging the usefulness of treaties, of alliances, or even in keeping still when people extol their own country and government and run down other nations, when they extol Catholicism, the Greek-Orthodox faith, Lutheranism, etc., or when they admire some war hero, like Napoleon, or Peter, or Boulanger, or Scobelev?” All this seems very unimportant. Yet in these seemingly unimportant actions, in our non-participation in them, in our demonstrating their foolishness where it is apparent to us,—in this lies our might, here is the source of the formation of real public opinion. The governments are aware of it, they quake before its power and make every effort to suppress it.

They know that power lies not in force, but in thought and in its clear expression, and consequently fear it more than armies. Therefore they institute censorship, bribe the press, monopolise the direction of religions, of schools. Yet the spiritual force which moves the world evades them nevertheless: it is not in the book, nor on the paper, it is always free and out of reach, it is in the conscience of men. That most powerful, and free force manifests itself in man when he is alone, when he is pondering over life's phenomena, when he is sharing his thoughts with his wife, with his brother, his friend, from whom he considers it a sin to conceal what he thinks to be the truth. No billions of dollars, no millions of soldiers, no institutions, nor wars, nor revolutions can achieve what can be achieved by the simple expression by a free man of what he considers right.

A free man may utter truthfully what he thinks and what he feels in the midst of thousands of men who by their actions and doings show something totally opposite. It would seem that the truthful man must stand alone, yet it happens mostly that the majority also think and feel the same, only that they do not express it. What was yesterday a new opinion of the one man, to-day is the joint opinion of the majority. As soon as that opinion establishes itself, men's actions commence to change slowly and by degrees.

Yet most free men say to themselves: “What can I do against this sea of evil and deceit? What is the use of expressing my opinion? What is the use of

¹Translated from the Russian by Paul Borger.

having any opinion at all? It is best not to think about these vague and complex questions. May be these incongruities are a necessary condition of all of life's phenomena. What is the use of my fighting alone the world's evil? Is it not more preferable to float with the current? If anything can be accomplished, it is not single-handed, but in conjunction with other men." Throwing away that powerful weapon of thought and its expression which moves the world, every man enters public life failing to notice that every calling he may choose is based on the very principles which he should fight, that in every calling one must at least partly recede from truth, that one must make concessions which nullify the effectiveness of the powerful weapon that is given to him. It is the same as if, being presented with an unusually sharp knife, one should commence to drive in nails with its edge.

We all complain of the mad, contradictory order of life, yet we not only neglect to utilise the only puissant weapon which we have,—the consciousness of truth and its expression,—but under the very pretext of fighting the evil, we sacrifice it. One man does not speak the truth which he is conscious of because he feels that he is under an obligation to certain men he is connected with. Another man does not speak it because he would lose by it a profitable position which enables him to support his family. A third does not utter it because he wishes to attain fame and power and then to use these weapons in the people's service; a fourth does not wish to violate some ancient and sacred tradition; a fifth does not wish to offend the people; a sixth is afraid that the utterance of truth will bring upon himself persecution and will blast the usefulness of his public activity.

One man is serving his country as an emperor, king, minister, officer, or soldier, and is assuring himself and others that that deviation from truth which is necessary in his position will be far outweighed by his usefulness.

Another man may be performing the functions of a spiritual shepherd, not believing in the depths of his soul what he is preaching, yet deviating from the truth in view of the usefulness of his occupation. A third man may be instructing students in literature, and though conscious of his total silence about the truth which he observes for fear he will arouse the government and society against himself, yet believes that his activity is useful. The fourth man is straightforward, fights the existing order, as do the revolutionists and the anarchists, and is fully persuaded that the aim pursued by him is so beneficent, that the concealment of truth and even the lies which are so necessary for the success of his operations, do not prejudice his utility.

In order to replace the order of life which is an-

tagonistic to men's consciences by a new and appropriate one, it is necessary that the old, the decayed public opinion be replaced by a new, live opinion.

In order to bring that about, it is necessary that men who are conscious of the new requirements of life, should express them boldly. Instead of that, however, the men who really are conscious of the new requirements not only keep their silence in the name of this, or in the name of that thing, but they go to work and confirm by word and by deed what is diametrically opposed to those requirements. Truth alone and its expression will establish that public opinion which is competent to effect a change in an obsolete and harmful social order; yet we not only fail to profess that truth but very often utter things which we know are untrue.

Let free men not rely on that which has no might and is not always free, let them not rely on external power, but let them always believe in what is ever mighty and free,—in the truth and its expression. Let men speak out boldly and clearly the manifest truth of the fraternity of the nations and of the criminality of an exceptional attachment to their own race, then the false public opinion on which is based the governmental power will drop off like a dried up skin, and in its stead will appear a young, a new one, followed by new forms of life better harmonising with men's conscience.

XI.

Men must understand that what is given out to them as public opinion, what is maintained by such complex and artificial means, is not public opinion, but only a dead remnant of an erstwhile public opinion. They must believe in themselves, must believe in what they are conscious of in the depths of their soul and what is striving to find utterance and is not uttered only because it is at variance with existing public opinion. Yet it is that very force which is changing the world and whose utterance is every man's mission. Men must believe that truth is not what they hear from others about them, but what a man's conscience is telling him. Then only will false and artificially supported public opinion disappear and a true public opinion be established.

Let men speak out what they think, and refrain from saying what is untrue; then all the superstitions bred by patriotism, all the evil feelings and outrages based on it, will vanish. The hatred and the enmity of States and races which is fanned by the governments will disappear, as well as the extolling of warlike deeds or rather of murder, and to a large extent also the respect for authorities will disappear; there will be no more subjugation of men nor despoiling them of the products of their labor, all of which is based on nothing but patriotism.

Let the governments have the schools, the church, the press, their billions of dollars and millions of disciplined men, converted into so many machines,—all this seemingly awful organisation of brute force is as nothing before the consciousness of truth arising in the soul of one man who fully appreciates its might, and from whom it passes to the next, to the third, and so on, just as from one candle is lighted an infinite number of others. As soon as this light will have its full play, then, like wax before the fire, all this seemingly mighty organisation will melt and vanish.

If men only realised the mighty power which is given to them in the word of truth; if men only refrained from selling their birthright for a mess of pottage; if men only availed themselves of this power of theirs, then not only the rulers would not dare, as at present, to menace the people with universal extermination, but they also would not dare hold their reviews and manœuvres of disciplined murderers in the full sight of a country of peaceful inhabitants, they would not dare to form tariff treaties only to break them again as suited their own and their partisan interests, they would not dare pluck the people of the millions of dollars which they give to their following and wherewith they make their preparations for murder.

And thus, the change is not only possible, but it is impossible for it not to come, just as it is impossible for a dead tree not to decay, and for a young one not to grow.

Let individual men be not seduced by the attractions surrounding them, let them not be frightened by threats. Let them know wherein lies their all-conquering might,—and the peace so desired of all will be among us before long; not that peace which is acquired through diplomatic negotiations, by the moving about of emperors and kings, by dinners, speeches, fortifications, cannons, dynamite, and melinite, in short, by the ruin of people,—but it will be the peace which is acquired by a free profession of truth on the part of every individual man.

BELLIGERENT WRONGS.

BY DR. FELIX L. OSWALD.

THE attitude of the United States towards the Cuban patriots has been repeatedly denounced as an illustration of the injustice and inconsistency of the neutrality laws. What it really illustrates is the practical identity of might and right. The effects of neutrality, in anything like an equitable sense of the word, cannot be judged from the experience of similar cases for the sadly-simple reason that it has never been practised; but it is abundantly certain that the republican institutions of the New World have as yet not refuted the cynical assertion of Baron Helvetius that

power is the measure of privilege and that practically all legislation is class-legislation.

At the bidding of political-plunder associations our Government enforces all sorts of mischievous, economic fallacies. At the bidding of our religious monopolists twenty-two States of our Union suppress public amusements on the day when ninety-nine of a hundred workingmen get their only chance of leisure, and the members of a peaceful and charitable sect are dragged from their fields and workshops and caged like wild beasts for the crime of observing the scriptural injunctions of the Seventh-Day Commandment more scrupulously than the moralists of the intolerant majority.

And the alleged neutrality of a hundred million Anglo-American and Spanish-American Republicans in the struggle of their would-be brethren against the power of European oppressors is really a partisanship of discrimination in favor of the strong against the weak. As regards the population of the country more specially concerned, the Spanish sympathisers cannot even claim a numerical superiority. There is no doubt that a free plebiscite would cast nine out of ten Cuban votes in favor of absolute independence. But it is true that, as a part of the Spanish monarchy, the Queen Island of the Antilles cannot quite rival the material resources of the country that overpowered it four hundred years ago and has pillaged it ever since.

For that reason alone, or essentially alone, nineteen American Republics are expected to grant the transatlantic aggressors favors which they refuse their neighbor, and to connive at the atrocities of a war waged by methods rarely practised since the time of Simon de Montfort's crusade against the Albigensian heretics.

"It is not the brutality of using the advantage of superior strength to its utmost extreme;" wrote Mr. Scovil from Pinar del Rio, "the Russians did that in Poland and the Austrians in Italy; but what makes the Spaniards' present mode of warfare so specially odious is their habit of using the weapons of the strong with the tricks of the weak."

His remark referred to the stratagems by which the insurgents had been led to doubt the good faith of their own leaders; but later reports of American press-correspondents imply even more serious charges. Hundreds, if not thousands, of Cuban patriots were captured by the trick of ambiguous *pronunciamientos*. Trusting to the apparent meaning of these proclamations, which seemed to offer plenary amnesty to non-combatants, numerous fugitives returned to their homes or entered the lion's den of a Spanish fort to register an oath of allegiance, only to be arrested and exiled or shot, on charges of misdemeanors "not included in the exceptional provisions of the mani-

festos, as the casuists of the Spanish courts martial expressed it."

The passports, not only of General Weyler's, but of De Campo's adjutants, were in several cases as shamefully disregarded as the safe-conduct which Emperor Sigismund granted to the apostle of the Husites, and the two brothers Varena, who came from Cienfuegos as invited witnesses for the defence in the trial of a wealthy planter, were put under arrest the moment they had passed the Spanish outposts, and sent to headquarters with a chain-gang of outlaws.

An even more dastardly trick was that of the commander, or leader, of a Valentin infantry-regiment, whose spies discovered a rebel-hospital and who contrived to outwit an old gentleman, thus far spared by both parties on account of his charitable disposition, but now suspected of disloyalty for failing to report the existence of the neighboring lazaretto. On seeing the skirmishers approach, a boy at work in the caballero's garden, started for the house to give the alarm, but the Spanish leader allayed his panic in a manner of his own. "*No temas nada*," said he, simulating lameness, "don't get scared, I'm just going to get a bandage at the hacienda, and pay for it, too." With that report the youngster reached the mansion, and the venerable proprietor, on the point of departure, was induced to tarry to avoid the appearance of trying to evade a claim upon his charity. "Shoot that old hypocrite the moment I get him on this side of the gravel-walk," said the conductor of the surprise-party, "but don't let him see you too soon," then entered the house and after a minute or two returned, clinging, as if for support, to the arm of the white-haired hacendado. "Here he is," said the limping Judas, pointing to a bush where his companion probably expected to find a crippled comrade of his visitor, till he was undeceived by a volley of musket-shots from a neighboring thicket.

Dispatches in the well-imitated handwriting of a rebel-leader were made to fall into the hands of other insurgents, who learned to their surprise that the supposed champion of their cause was negotiating for a pardon and offering to betray them for a few thousand *pesetas*. Fictitious reports of outrageous inhumanities are sent in the opposite direction, to mystify foreign press-correspondents and provoke the wrath of the semi-savage Catalanian conscripts; and misleading memoranda on the causes of the insurrection have been printed in half a dozen different languages to bias public opinion on both sides of the Atlantic.

One of these circulars (issued about a week ago in an excellent English translation) represents the leaders of the revolt as reckless adventurers who hope to profit by the misfortune of their fellow-citizens, or prefer chaos, for its own sake, to the happiest cosmos.

Under the fostering care of the mother land, we are informed, Cuba enjoyed all the blessings of material prosperity; her industries and agricultural exports had developed at an almost unprecedented rate, when the insurrection of 1868 put a stop to that era of progress. The truth is that the sources of that prosperity were opened by causes entirely beyond the control of the motherly peninsula. The Civil War of the United States had stopped the production of sugar in the lower valley of the Mississippi; and the increased demand for the produce of the West Indian haciendas raised the exports almost six hundred per cent. in less than five years. And the abuse of that very *bonanza* was one of the main causes of the struggle for independence. While Spain gorged herself on the eggs of the miraculous goose, the goose herself was starved and penned up more closely than before. Not ten of those six hundred per cents. of increased revenue were expended for the benefit of the native Cubans; the leaders of the national party protested, respectfully first, then more emphatically, and finally advised a separate system of administration on the plan of the Dominion of Canada. Their delegates were snubbed, or jailed as mischievous agitators, and in reply to the mass-meeting of November, 1867, Spain dispatched a horde of Catalanian militia and put several seaport towns under martial law to enforce the restoration of "order."

Cuba, we are told, enjoyed the privileges of free speech and of peaceful assemblies; education was in the hands of native committees, and the organisation of scientific and literary societies was not only permitted but liberally encouraged. No doubt of that; the Cubans were permitted to form associations for the study of Spanish-American antiquities, geology, climatic phenomena, etc., and were granted the privilege of paying the expenses of public schools out of their own pockets. "Peaceful" assemblies were permitted to discuss the exhibition of West Indian butterflies at the Philadelphia Centennial, the effects of the last tornado, and the establishment of meteorological observatories; but the moment their controversies touched upon political topics they risked being dispersed or jailed like highway-robbers.

"There is no law," continues the memorial, "against the appointment of native Cubans to honorable and lucrative positions." No law whatever; nothing against it but an ancient and inviolable custom. "Why, even now your countrymen enjoy the chance of sharing all the rights and privileges of the British Protestants," said a wag in the era of Irish Catholic disabilities. "Enjoy the chance? What do you mean?"

"Well, there is nothing to prevent any one of you from joining the Church of England."

By joining the party of the "Peninsulars," or emigrating to Spain and renouncing all sympathies with the West Indian Island of Sorrows, some native Cubans have really managed to be rewarded with an opportunity for getting a share of the public plunder; but these renegades are closely watched and at the first symptom of "disloyalty" are pushed back into the ranks of the ineligible native masses.

Cuba, we are told, enjoys a fair share of representation and preferment in the Spanish army, though the natives have been exempted from direct conscription. Reduced to explanatory facts, that statement implies merely that the benevolent mother country could not entirely dispense with the military talent of her impious stepsons, and that several native Cubans rose to rank in the service of the Coast Guards, the topographical survey, and similar semi-military employments overtaking the climate-resisting abilities of the European officials. It is also true that there are several brigades of Cuban volunteers, enlisted by hunger and hard times, but these loyalists are generally detailed on the hardest service, such as coast-jungle expeditions, dreaded by the Spanish regulars, and besides they are rarely entrusted with the improved rifles of the line troops, and have to content themselves with the refuse of the Havana commissariat. If they succeed, they have done nothing but their duty, and their loyalty is apt to be put to still harder tests; if they succumb to fever and fatigue, they are removed from the temptation of revolt, and the predominance of West Indian females is again increased. King David may have pitted Uriah against the deadliest spear-men of the Philistine host, but he hardly can have condescended to blunt his sword and stint him in his rations of barley-bread and dried figs.

To these misrepresentations the Spanish officials add ceaseless calumnies of the Cuban patriots and do not hesitate to eke out the deficits of the military chest by manufacturing or exaggerating pretexts for wholesale confiscations.

Nor do they scruple to increase the terror of martial law by inhumanities recalling the partisan outrages of the Thirty Years' War. Reluctant witnesses are tortured "within half an inch of their lives," as a correspondent from Matanzas expresses it; prisoners—mere "suspects" many of them—are turned into beasts of burden and brutally beaten and kicked if they try to rest, and in scores of admitted—actually perhaps in hundreds of—cases delinquents have been scourged before being dispatched "with imprecations and six musket balls."

Yet the flames of insurrection are only fanned by these barbarities; volunteers first and involunteers since last August have been poured in by tens of thousands, till the severity of the conscript laws led

to mob-riots in Southern and Eastern Spain; but the conflagration continues to spread; the conflict has become clearly irrepressible.

"Oh—has it?" sneers Colonel Zorra of the Casino Espanol, "why, this revolt of blackamoors and bush-whackers would have been stamped out months ago if it had not been for the mischievous interference of the States and their open and repeated violations of international law,"—alluding to the demonstrations in favor of the Cuban patriots, and the few expeditions which, in spite of vigilant coast-guards, have contrived to leave our eastern seaports under cover of night and pitiful disguises, while Spain has been permitted to buy shiploads of naval supplies in broad daylight and to worry our customhouse officials with bullying emissaries, demanding the prosecution of Cuban refugees.

On the other hand, our Government has been urged to cut the Gordian knot of the Cuban embroglio by insisting on a test-vote and compelling Spain to abide by the result; but bona-fide neutrality would still be a better plan. The merits of a cause cannot always be decided by ballot-box criteria; President Balmaceda, patriot, reformer, educator, liberal, and would-be liberator, had every claim of prestige but that of a numerical superiority of adherents. Paoli and Parnell were out-voted by the very classes they tried to befriend. Nor is it always easy to decide between the conflicting claims of rival pretenders to the prerogatives of legitimacy. In our Spanish-American sister-republics the authority of legitimate supremacy has been claimed by as many as three presidential candidates, who denounced and anathematised each other like the popes and anti-popes of the fourteenth century; and supported their claims by election statistics not easy to verify.

A neighbor's duty in such cases was excellently illustrated by the attitude of the Swiss Republic during the Franco-Prussian war. Sympathisers of either party enjoyed the free use of the press and were permitted to controvert their opponent's views to their heart's content, but had to keep the peace or fight out their scimmages on the other side of the border. Refugees of all sorts were protected as long as they behaved themselves. In a purely commercial capacity representatives of either government were permitted to buy commissary supplies, but overtures for the purchase of arms were impartially declined. Even near the close of the war the victors enjoyed no privilege that was not granted as readily to the vanquished. Armed parties crossing the borders of the Bund were embargoed and eventually released, but not unconditionally. Before being paroled they were divested of their panoply.

Neutrality in the domestic squabbles of a neighboring household is recommended by prudence as well

as by that sense of justice that mistrusts the fairness of a personal bias. Without the authority of a freely-invited arbitrator no nation should assume to discriminate between the legal status of its neighbors' liberals or loyalists, reformers or conservatives, seceders or opponents of secession. We may not always be able to promote the cause of evident belligerent rights, but we should at least avoid the risk of being compelled to assist in the perpetration of outrageous belligerent wrongs.

PATRIOTISM AND CHAUVINISM.

COUNT LEO TOLSTOI presents his readers in the series of articles now concluding in *The Open Court* with a scathing denunciation of that wrong kind of patriotism which preaches the hatred of other nationalities, and is based upon the notion that the perdition of our neighbors will be conducive to our own welfare. However, in his praiseworthy desire to promote the sentiment of good-will toward all mankind, our distinguished author seems to overlook the important fact that there is also a right kind of patriotism which consists in the love of one's own country and in the legitimate aspiration of preserving all that is good in the character and institutions of one's own nationality. Wrong patriotism is national selfishness, and we had better call it "Chauvinism;" but patriotism proper is the determination of keeping intact the honor of one's own kind.

Is it difficult to distinguish between right patriotism and its perversion, Chauvinism? I believe not! Right patriotism will always be compatible with the broadest and most cosmopolitan humanitarianism. It is a noble ambition that one's own nation should do what is right toward others, that she should do her best in the general progress of civilisation and keep abreast with the progress that is being made in industry, invention, science, and art.

If Chauvinism is national selfishness, patriotism is national self-respect and aspiration. The extinction of selfishness does not imply the extinction of self-respect and aspiration. On the contrary, we must encourage that proper kind of self-love which makes a man ambitious to accomplish something in life which in the measure of its usefulness to others will bring home to him the reward of his labors.

Let us retain as a designation for the proper love of country the noble word patriotism, the etymology of which reminds us of the sacred inheritance that children receive from their fathers; but let us brand all jingoism and national selfishness as "Chauvinism." Patriotism must be cherished dearly, but Chauvinism should not be countenanced. Our children must be educated to appreciate the right kind of patriotism,

which in time will abolish all unnecessary warfare and military rivalry among the nations.

As we must not condemn patriotism because of the existence of Chauvinism, so we must not regard the governments of nations as nuisances on account of the abuses of which they are guilty. Governments, it is true, are always inclined to encroach upon the rights of their citizens, whom those in power are in the habit of calling their "subjects," a term that should be discarded from the law-books of all nations; but for that reason the function of governments is by no means a redundant office. The function of governments does not consist in ruling the people, not in bossing or domineering; the function of governments is the administration of the public affairs of the people, a duty which is of paramount importance and cannot without great harm to the community be dispensed with.¹

We Americans have the confidence that, in spite of the various drawbacks in our politics, our government is the nearest approach to the ideal of a truly popular administration of the common interests of all citizens, rendering it more truly than other governments a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

The more the narrow Chauvinism of national vanity is replaced by the pure patriotism of national integrity and love of country, and the more the various governments of the world become pure-handed administrators of the true interests of their people, the rarer wars will become, the more apparent will be the solidarity of the whole human race, and thus the nations of the earth will be readier to have their disputes decided by arbitration.

While, in the sense here set forth, we would not join Count Tolstoi's sweeping condemnation of all governments and of all patriotism, we agree with him in his denunciation of all Chauvinism and jingoism; and we are convinced that his expositions will set people to thinking and will contribute a great deal toward the realisation of the cosmopolitan ideal of peace on earth among the men of good-will. P. C.

UNIVERSAL RELIGION AND SPECIAL RELIGION.

THE Rev. Alfred Martin, Pastor of the First Free Church of Tacoma, Washington, has printed a statement of the twenty-four cardinal convictions in explanation of his faith in "universal religion." The leaflet contains many excellent sentiments, but it contains at the same time a warfare against "special religion" which, we cannot help repeating, is based upon a misconception.

In order to become universal there is no need of calling oneself universal. There is no objection to

¹For a brief discussion of this important subject see my pamphlet *The Nature of the State*, The Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago, Ill.

Mr. Alfred Martin's proposition of calling his religion "universal religion," but we most decidedly object to his implication that no religion except his own which he calls universal, is truly universal. He says: "Between special religion and universal religion there can be no middle ground." And "one cannot consistently hold both special religion and universal religion, because they represent exactly opposite ideals." This is a mistake, for every faith, in our opinion, contains the germs of universality, and every religious aspiration tends towards catholicity. Mr. Martin forgets that his "universal religion" is the matured product of what he calls "special religion." It is a generalised abstract of it, and he wages an unnecessary warfare against all the unessential details of special religion.

We agree with Mr. Martin that all incidental features of religion should be treated as incidentals and the essentials should be made paramount; we also agree with him that all error should be removed; but for that reason we need not drop or decry or ridicule or abhor any of those special features which are harmless. Why should not the Episcopalians continue to be sticklers for form and endeavor to make religious service beautiful? Why should not the Baptists try to rouse an enthusiasm for religion with their methods of appealing to sentiment. Why should not Roman Catholics use rosaries and celebrate mass, which is a kind of dramatic performance in the style of oratorios? Why should not the Unitarians and Universalists emphasize their peculiar reasons of secession? The former oppose the irrational in religion, the latter the idea of eternal damnation. Let every one of the various denominations have their preferences, only let all recognise the catholicity of truth, the common ideal of all religious aspirations. The formulation of the religious problem which we propose reads as follows:

"While we propose to avoid quarrels about accidentals, we are anxious to come to an agreement concerning the one thing that is needful. Rituals and symbols may vary according to taste, historical tradition, and opinion, but the essence of religion can only be one and must remain one and the same among all nations, in all climes, and under all conditions."

There is no need of suppressing the special characteristics and individual features of anything, but there is a need of attaining catholicity which is developed by breadth of thought, openness to conviction and the confidence that truth is attainable. He who believes in "universal religion," as Mr. Martin does, need not request a Christian, a Buddhist, a Jew, a Mohammedan, to cut himself loose from his religious traditions. He need not ask others to surrender their names or those rituals which have become to them expressions of some truth. To be sure every one must surrender all that which is in conflict with truth, that which hinders him from attaining clearness of thought

and purity of morals; but he may grow by reforming the old and inoculating new truths upon the traditions of his fathers. Mr. Martin's request to surrender what he calls "sectarian names, claims, and affiliations" would be the greatest hindrance that universal religion could have. It means, if applied to civic affairs, that in order to become true men we ought to renounce our special family-names and all the special and incidental features of individual personality. We ought to discontinue to be blond or brown, blue-eyed or black-eyed, tall, medium, or small, and we ought all to accept the name and the same features of universal man, and we all ought to be cut after the same pattern, containing only the universal features of manhood and nothing else.

What would Mr. Martin say of a man who came to the fruit market, and inquired for fruit at the banana stand, and when bananas were offered to him he said: "No, I want fruit, I do not want bananas." When he came to the pears, he said: "I do not want pears, but fruit," and he gave the same answer to every one who offered him a certain kind of fruit, apples, peaches, plums, cherries, etc. The fruit venders would suggest that bananas, pears, apples, plums, and cherries were fruit, while he would insist that there was a great difference between universal fruit and special fruit, protesting that all the special elements in the various kinds of fruit were antagonistic to the "universal" fruit; that they ought to be destroyed and that there should be fruit extract only. Of course, if a man likes fruit extract he may start a factory, prepare it and have it for sale; but there is no necessity for denouncing apples and pears and peaches for the mere reason that they retain their individual features.

Mr. Martin is an enthusiastic fighter for truth and pure religion. We have watched his movements and sympathise with his aspirations. But we believe that his work would be more efficient if he ceased to denounce Unitarians, Universalists, and other denominations, which are working on parallel lines, simply because they do not sink their names and individualities into the pure abstraction of universal religion.

PRESIDENT J. B. ANGELL ON "PATRIOTISM AND INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD."

James Burrill Angell, President of the University of Michigan, delivered a baccalaureate address, June 23, on "Patriotism and International Brotherhood," in which he said: "We profess, as individuals and as a nation, to be governed by the principles of Christian ethics. We are all agreed that patriotism is so commendable a virtue that we despise, if we do not hate, a citizen who is devoid of it. We are all agreed that our nation, if it is to be respected by others or by us, must maintain its rights with dignity and self-respect. . . . The contradiction which Tolstoi sees between patriotism and Christianity does not necessarily exist. They are not exclusive of each other.

"Providentially we are so situated that it has been easy for

us, with a genuine patriotism, to develop our resources and to attend to our own affairs without much complication with the great powers of the world, and without cherishing sharp animosities toward them. But it is too much to expect that questions will not arise from time to time—many of them serious and difficult questions—between us and other nations. Our army is none too large, perhaps hardly large enough, for the police power which it is called to exercise over our large expanse of territory. Our navy is none too powerful to represent us and protect our citizens and their interests in the various countries of the world. The coast defenses of some of our great cities might well be strengthened. I regard the maintenance of a moderate force and of defenses of our chief harbors as peace measures, which will make nations hesitate about imposing on us. Nevertheless, we need not be bristling with excitement about the constant danger of attack from foreign powers, but our attitude toward them should be one of dignified independence and of a friendly desire to settle all questions with them on a just and reasonable basis by peaceful methods.

"Of late years there have been some notable expressions in favor of the arbitral settlement of controversies between nations. . . . A body of three hundred men, representing forty states of the union, and comprising many men of high influence and reputation, have recently held a meeting in Washington for the express purpose of urging our government to establish a permanent court of arbitration at once with Great Britain, if practicable, and as soon as possible with other nations. It is believed by eminent jurists and statesmen that a court can be constituted by Great Britain and the United States whose decisions would command the assent of both nations.

"Remembering that 'God hath made of one blood all nations of men,' what higher honor can we wish for our people than that they should add to all their triumphs in the industrial arts and in the establishment of free and republican institutions the splendid triumph of teaching all nations to live together as brothers under the blessed command of the Prince of Peace.

NOTES.

The sketch "Christianity and Patriotism," by Count Leo Tolstoi, which concludes with the present number of *The Open Court*, was published last year in Russian at Geneva, Switzerland. It necessarily enjoyed but a limited circulation, having been mainly restricted to the Russian exiles residing in Western Europe. Its first English translation, made by Mr. Paul Borger, appears now in *The Open Court*, and will be reissued within a few weeks in pamphlet form, having as frontispiece a half-tone portrait of Count Tolstoi similar to that which accompanies the present *Open Court*. This portrait, which is from a photograph taken in Moscow, is highly characteristic of the extraordinary Russian, and will be a rare addition to one's collection of noted men and authors, as Count Tolstoi is now one of the most commanding figures in the world. Countess Tatiana Tolstoi writes, in the name of her father, for the purpose of authorising the present translation, as follows: "My father bade me write and tell you that he will be very happy to have his sketch appear in your journal, which he appreciates very much, and always reads with great interest and pleasure."

The Liberal Congress of Religions will be held this year at Indianapolis, Ind., Oct. 6, 7, and 8. We are informed that the prospects of the meeting are very promising, and several prominent men from both the liberal and orthodox ranks are expected to appear on the platform. As the Congress depends entirely upon voluntary contributions and membership fees, which are very low in order to place it within reach of everybody, we commend the cause of the Liberal Congress, for the sake of liberalism in religion, to the generosity of our readers.

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