

are comfortably busy taking money into the till and preparing nothing but high speeches at conferences. That would simply be to abandon civilization to the control of the more brutal forces. I suppose that is why the great official churches of Christianity, Catholic or Protestant, have never absolutely refused to acknowledge the principle of war, but only peculiar sects who have no idea of the struggle by which man has advanced from a state of nature, as the jurists call it, to civil society. The nations, therefore, that mean to support this process of civilization or humanity must do it and may long have to do it with the sword by their side. Human affairs are very mixed; in one century it may be one nation that is menacing others and in another, another. It may even be that such domination or hegemony is in the circumstances justifiable by the spiritual force it brings with it and it may succeed.

Some high idea of his destiny in this respect seems to have supported the German in his present aggression on the humanitarian principles and standards of civilization. "Our might shall create a new law in Europe," writes Maximilian Harden, though I would not quote him were it not that he only says more frankly what many other German writers have said in a more roundabout way. In any case the nations can only do their best to discern in what direction freedom and progress lie on any given occasion and act accordingly.

But this form of pacificism at least contains a moral ideal, however vaguely it may be founded on the idea of applying certain sayings of the Sermon on the Mount to international affairs when we never think of applying them anywhere else. It is a spiritual ideal which has its value as a modifying force.

#### *Commercial Pacificism.*

A less ideal form of pacificism is that which would avoid war at all costs because it disturbs trade and throws the financial world into confusion. In the last days of diplomatic efforts when the war-cloud drew nearer England, the grave issues revealing themselves ever more clearly in Germany's action, the *Daily News* made the following pathetic appeal to the heart of the nation:

"If we remained neutral we should be, from the commercial point of view, in precisely the same position as the United States. We should be able to trade with all the belligerents (so far as the war allows of trade with them); we should be able to