



The Nations at War—What of the Morrow?

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We are now almost at the end of the tenth month of the war, and it is possible to "take stock". The western line of war on the Continent has changed but a few yards since Paris was saved. On the East Russian and German surge backward and forward with the latter holding at present the ascendancy. In Nov., 1914, a new partner joined the Teutons, viz., Turkey, and now the Dardanelles is the third very interesting area of conflict. Italy, so long "uncertain, coy, and hard to please", has made the plunge, and the Adriatic has become a fourth centre. Greece, Bulgaria and Roumania are "prepared", watching each other narrowly, with rankling memories of 1913. If the Allies take the Dardanelles, the whole of the Balkans may reasonably be expected to move. Italy will probably get her heart's desire, that the Adriatic become an Italian lake. Poor Serbia, the immediate occasion of the war, seems to have dropped out of sight. Is she so plague-ridden that no army can be sent against her?

On the sea the results are all in favor of the Allies. German commerce has been swept away, and the losses in the number of armed vessels and tonnage are only slightly against the Allies. In submarine warfare alone does Germany seem to occupy more of public attention, but it is quite possible that the world is not in possession of all the facts on the British side.

The causes of the war are still what they were, *racial* (Slav or Teuton), *historical* (Teuton or Frank, Alsace-Lorraine),

national (the rise of Germany to world-power, Serbia), *diplomatic* (the Balance of Power, the Eastern question, Turkey), *international* or *economic* (trade rivalries, Imperialism), and *social* (democracy or autocracy).

The course of the war thus far has brought out clearly some notable features. If we consider the Teuton-Turks, we instinctively say Germany, because she is dominant over Austria and Turkey. And first we have had it forced home to us that the military party has for long years been planning, preparing and providing for this conflict. And even if the Kaiser was for over forty years the consistent friend of peace, as claimed by Jules Cambon (Yellow book), Alfred Fried (Nobel Peace-Prizeman) and hosts of genuine admirers, we must all feel that he has backslidden terribly. The atrocities against which Liebknecht protested, and upon which the Bryce Commission has reported within the last week, force one to believe that this great nation, or, because there are those within it who have not bowed the knee to the Baal of militarism, the military caste in it, decided upon ruthlessness as a means to the end, victory. And now that the horrible crime of the sinking of the Lusitania is fresh in all minds, and sorrow so deep in so many hearts, the wave of indignant protest that is sweeping over the world may well indicate that henceforth the German star is to decline, for surely the moral strength of the world is on the side of the Allies. But German efficiency and thoroughness will make it no easy task to win against her, if, as many authorities believe, she can still put millions of fresh men into the field. Nor can she be starved out, because any nation which produces 85 per cent. of her foodstuffs in normal years can easily make that amount do in war time, especially if they are so carefully and scientifically looked after as are the Germans. In regard to munitions of war, it is said that a shortage of copper, petrol and rubber exists. The scientific German will, or may, find some substitute for the first two but for the third the problem is very difficult.

The monetary situation seems the weakest spot because, although Germany had been growing wealthy, she has now

no commerce to speak of, and must be daily growing poorer. The course of exchange against her would seem to be an evidence of this. The longest purse will win in this as in so many other contests.

Among the surprising developments in public opinion in Germany have been the utter fearlessness of Dr. Liebknecht, and in that country at this time, it requires *ideal courage* to take the stand he does, who denounces the war, the atrocities, etc. (and he must be gaining in strength as the days go on), and the wonderful chorus of hatred against England. True, it is a "tragedy" that Germany's rise to world-power came so late that she found all the earth already plotted out among the nations. But that is no justification for her charge that England got this cream of the earth's habitable lands by trickery, fraud and deceit. Not all British methods can be defended, but she has dealt very fairly by her subject peoples, therefore the great response to the "call" which has surprised the Germans, but should not have done so, had they read the lesson of the Boer war aright. That war, though not so just as this, if any war can ever be just or "civilized", showed that the new firm was John Bull and Sons, *Unlimited*.

Summing up, we may say that though the Germans have shown great courage, great resourcefulness, great scientific skill, great faith in themselves, and have made for themselves on the sea a record for bravery, coolness and fearlessness in the face of death, yet the unanimity with which their apologists excuse and defend all their acts, men like Eucken, Haeckel, Rein, Ostwald, *et al.*, and the ruthlessness and inhumanity of their methods against prisoners and non-combatants, have gradually increased the horror and disgust of the whole world, so that now they bid fair to become moral Pariahs, outcasts. And yet not all; there is always a saving remnant.

A curious sidelight is that the "Society for the Purification of the German Language of Foreign Words" has been very active since the outbreak of the war. It has become the very serious concern of citizens to drive the foreign words out, and also to supply words expressive of their contempt of

the English. For instance, for *lügen, lie*, it is proposed to substitute *Engländern*.

Looking at matters as they affect the Allies, we note many instructive features. First, that Great Britain is the monied partner, having to finance Belgium, France and Russia, as well as herself. If she can outlast Germany financially, the Allies will win, and that we believe, even though at times it does look terribly like a stalemate. Gradually the Allies have been gaining the increasing moral support of the neutrals, no small factor in the conflict. Germany's claim that the war is one of defence for her is disproved by the fact that England was, as usual, very unprepared from the military standpoint, though not so in naval matters. So also were France and Russia. Interesting has been the socialistic trend of the conduct of the Government in Great Britain. To-day there comes the astonishing news of a coalition government, a very pat illustration of what may some day be a new and regular method of conducting sovereignty. What effect will this have upon the future of partyism there, upon the relation of labor and capital, of public and private ownership, of co-operation or competition? Splendid has been the conduct of the Canadians at Langemarck, volunteers against the German regulars; the Australians and New Zealanders have done equally well in Egypt and at the Dardanelles. No conscript armies for these new nations! And South Africa, so recently conquered, from which the Germans hoped so much, how their hopes have been dashed! What mistakes their spies made in their reports! A cardinal weakness of the German mind seems to be the inability to get the other man's viewpoint. What splendid courage the Belgians have shown, what bravery and old-time dash the French! And the Russians, those unknown peoples, ignorant, dreamy, patient, flowing on in great numbers to the front, now beaten, now winning, undemocratic, long opponents, now allies of Great Britain! What does this all mean for Russia? Our Eastern ally, Japan, has got rid of the Germans at Kiaochao. What is behind the trouble between Japan and China?

Slowly the "nibbling" will have to go on, for we all feel that Germany must be beaten, but when will the end be? What of the morrow?

Yes, what of the morrow? Many old slogans have been disproved. "In time of peace, prepare for war", for "upon might has civilization been based", and "the pacifists are wrong". But we human beings, in these days of "organization", "efficiency", etc., easily become the "slaves of things", as was shown by L. P. Jack in the last Hibbert journal, and if we heap up armaments, some irresponsible fellow will some day drop the match and the explosion will take place. That has been abundantly shown in this war. "War is the survival of the fittest." Such false biology has surely got its quietus at all recruiting stations. "War brings out the heroic in man." Surely the manly words of A. G. Vanderbilt as the Lusitania was sinking show that heroism is an inherent force in human nature. "Let us save the kiddies" is a thousand times more precious as an expression of bravery and sacrifice than any battle-word which means destruction for a fellow-man. A great many musty, time-worn expressions will have to pass under scrutiny as a result of this great conflict. Pacifists have been building strenuously along other lines, but they are a young party, and it takes time to overthrow old prejudices. There will be great opportunities for them at the close of this struggle, and great need for their work if the end should be a stalemate. That would, in the present temper of the nations, mean nothing but a postponement of the decision, the interval to be employed in strenuous preparations for the struggle.

With thousands of others, both German and English, I have long been a consistent advocate of friendship, and not hatred, between these two greatest world-powers. I fully recognized the danger of the enormous armaments that were being piled up and the possibility that an explosion might take place. But yet I did not foretell war, and am proud that I belong to those who hoped for wiser counsels and better understandings. I based my own hopes for peace on four ideas. I felt that the men of finance the world over

could be trusted, as they had been credited in the past, to do their best to prevent the great collapse to the world system of credit which had become a very intricate web in the last twenty-five years. But the men of finance, especially of Germany, did not give the help. *They failed us.* I believed that the great numbers of Canadians, Americans, Russians, Greeks, Italians, Japanese, English and other students from all parts of the world who had been privileged to do work at the twenty-two universities, the technical and trade schools of Germany would all do their best to enlighten the world as to the advantages of co-operation and friendship. But the most disappointing and incomprehensible effect of the war has been to set Germans to work to justify what a great many of us do not and cannot consider defensible. *Her men of education have failed us.* And a third hope was that the Labor parties of the different countries would be a mighty force for agreement and humanity. The joint declaration of the English and German Labor parties, October 1, 1912, and the joint manifesto of the French and German Labor parties, March 1, 1913, were splendid documents, and justified great hopes. *But with few exceptions the Labor parties have been a disappointment.* Liebknecht is one of the heroic exceptions, but such phenomena have been individual rather than typical. My fourth hope was based upon a very late development in the attitude of many prominent leaders in the Churches of Great Britain and Germany. It really looked as if they were becoming alive to their duties as messengers of the Prince of Peace. Ten thousand members in Great Britain, between four and five thousand in Germany of the "Associated Councils of the Churches of Great Britain and Germany" had joined "to promote a better understanding between the two nations". *But here, too, we have but present failure to record.* Many German pastors are now calling upon God to help their cause, which as Britishers we do not feel He can do. Russians, British, Turks, Italians, all parties, are making the same petition. Surely somebody is wrong, or maybe all are wrong. What is a possible solution?

It seems absolutely necessary to assume, indeed it is generally felt, that this war, which is trying the spirits of true men of all nations very sorely, and which is proving how thin a veneer this civilization, culture, *kultur*, or whatever name we call it, really is, will send us back everywhere in our thinking in all departments of life, back to essentials, back to face the facts of life as they are known in this present day. It will be absolutely necessary for every one, but most of all the duty of every scholar and trained student, to decide whether the material or the moral and spiritual interests of life are to take first place in our thoughts and aims and hopes for the future.

A "peace-man" from conviction, who believes that the differences that led to this disastrous war were not so great that they could not have been settled by conference and arbitration, I yet must hesitate to believe that we are in the midst of the last great conflict of armed nations. I often wonder if any other war ever needed or had so much apology made for it. That brings to my mind an element of cheer because it gives hope that my main thesis can be established. This basic thesis is that the whole question of peace or war is a question of evolution. Gradually the evolution of man has made humanity the highest type of animal, a thinking person, a moral person. Lapses from the ideal or perfect take place in each and all of us, in every nation, race and tribe. The great, the absolute necessity is to develop the spiritual and moral forces, so that reason and right may command our lives and actions *at all times*. Unless that is done during and after this war, then there can be no guarantee that wars will not recur. Culture or civilization is shown in the degree that individuals and nations allow the moral to have precedence in conduct and life. The best short guide to what this culture is may be found in I. Corinthians, chap. 13, and for a long time to come nothing will supersede that. The trouble is that in each of us there is lacking *the will* to put that code into practice. Indulgence in the passion of hatred of neighbors and nations, and of all the other weaknesses flesh is heir to, prevents the acceptance of this *universal law*. Then, too, we

all show a tendency to exalt the accidental, the conventional, to undue prominence and to many of us culture is synonymous with fine clothes, polished manners, money possessions and various other "externals". All these are good enough in their way, but are not "essentials". The German "kultur" as defined by Professor Harnack takes in the whole life as shown in thought, word and action, as an individual and a citizen. But unfortunately the ideal type seems to be lacking there as well as our ideal type here.

"Peace plans" have been published by the score, but who is to keep the peace, the contract? Every nation in its evolution has had its "scrap of paper", and it is by no means certain that the last of the infractions has been seen in any individual case. Abolish armaments is a splendid cry, but if any nation will not show *the will to peace*, what is to be done? Everything depends upon *the will*, the desire, transmuted into conduct.

How is this will to peace, to live "love to your neighbor", to be produced and trained? By education and by education alone. This may be acquired by the reading of history, acquaintanceship with literature, travel among foreign peoples, by the study of economics and philosophy. Because in these new lands, the United States and Canada, with their freer democracies, we have an unexcelled opportunity to approach these problems from a fresh viewpoint, I should like to see our general university education modelled, not upon the curricula of the old world universities, but upon what we might call the needs of the future. These needs we know. The world is now very small. The north and south poles have been discovered, there can never be any more new-found-land. "Expansion" from this time on must give place to "development". Racial questions which in the past have been problems of lesser dimensions will now become very important, especially since the conduct of the war by the French and British has brought them into great prominence. "Nationality", a result of the French Revolution, a virtue in the early nineteenth century in the case of Greece, has become a doubtful blessing in the case of Germany, a very disturbing

element in Austria-Hungary and the Balkans, a thorn in the flesh in Ireland, the nationalist movement in our own Quebec, an element of division in Norway and Sweden. Some writers go so far as to call it a curse in world politics. Internationalism will doubtless succeed it. In its train will come the Federation of Europe, of the world.

Along with "armaments", the diplomacy of the past has been discredited by the war. Some evolution must take place. The part of Britain in the division of Persia did not appeal to millions of Britishers, the course of secret diplomacy in regard to Morocco, the ominous character of Japan's proceedings in the Far East, all these and Germany's terrible failures are making men feel that the lives of millions must not be at the mercy of the very few "black coats", as Alfred Noyes calls them. Sir Edward Grey is one of the cleverest diplomats in the world, and every Britisher admires him greatly. But he is none the less one of the greatest autocrats the world has ever seen. The democratization of foreign policy will take a long time, but every "progressive" should be pondering carefully how it may be effected. This very problem and that of "efficiency" show what a long, tedious road the people of Europe have to travel if they desire to become democratic nations. The essence of democracy is that each individual, possessing a sane trained view of life, shall recognize his responsibility or duty to himself, to his neighborhood and to his country, and freely, voluntarily and self-sacrificingly live up to it. This "obedience" to the law within the heart is very different in quality from the obedience to an external authority. And yet Canadians have every cause to believe in it. The wonderful stand of our volunteer troops at Langemarck against the long-trained conscripts of the Kaiser's army can be explained only on the assumption that in our free democracy we are developing and will continue to develop the obedience to the "inner law". If we look all along the line of duties which each citizen of a democratic country should perform and sum them all up, we get what the Germans call *kultur*. It will be felt at once, however, that a democratic *kultur* must be diametrically

opposed to theirs, and yet produce what we have all been praising so much and desiring so much in this century, *efficiency*. This democratic efficiency cannot be desired too strongly nor striven after too steadfastly. Therefore, one of the chief aims of democratic education should be a thorough training in *citizenship* which should begin in the public schools, be carefully thought out and properly graded. If this were done politics might and would become a respectable word.

There is but little space left to indicate how this all affects Canada. Her problems fall into three natural subdivisions. First, Canada's *international problems*. These are mainly racial and commercial. How shall we make our first real effort to get acquainted with our French citizens and adjust properly our relations to them? How shall we treat our allies the Japanese, and our shoulder-companions on the field, the Sikhs and Ghoorkas? Shall tariffs, of which Germany and the United States can tell us so much evil, produce in this young land the same problems which other lands are now finding so difficult to solve? And are not tariffs just another form of war, making for the formation of undesirable class divisions in our citizenship?

In the second place we need to consider Canada's *Imperial relationships*. A Cambridge writer, L. C. Jane, thinks that one result of the war will be a further extension of the principle of nationality. This will mean for the British Empire, independence for such overseas dominions as Canada, Australia, South Africa, and India. The binding links would then be very light, pride of origin, kinship in language, literature, inspiration derived from common laws, customs and such like things. Or shall we join with the home-land and the other overseas dominions to establish a real Imperial Parliament, and Tariff Union, delegating certain of present prerogatives, such as defence questions, army and navy, to this new parliament, and being content with lessened rights in our own governance? These Imperial problems will doubtless become prominent.

Thirdly, our own *national problems* must be attended to, and some of them are very pressing. If it be true that our

politics are of a horribly low standard, as many declare, and various events within the last six months seem to show, then there is great need of some parts of our "citizenship training". If it be true that the fate of Canada is already in the hands of the foreign-born citizen, then it is imperative to look after their education at once, if Anglo-Saxondom is to survive here. The relations of capital and labor, those of our urban and rural population, manufactures and agriculture, the interests of the mines, the forests and fisheries, all need careful study and investigation. Tariff questions are already dividing between the East and the West. Thanks to Hon. W. J. Hanna, Ontario occupies a very forward position in regard to prison reform and the treatment of the insane. Saskatchewan is ahead in temperance reform, advanced in relation to banking. These are splendid beginnings, but only such.

Canada is the "coming" country. There may easily be 100,000,000 people in Canada at the end of the century. What are we of this generation doing to lay the foundations deep and wide for our future citizens? Churches, schools, parliaments, all must grow more and more interested in "social work", not of the kind dabbled in by so many well-intentioned people at the present time, but a well-grounded, history-trained, purpose-filled, well correlated, steady and persistent, forward looking policy and rule of life. Study groups are necessary everywhere, all public schools in our towns and cities should be made permanent centres for the encouragement of the thorough study of our various problems, political, social, spiritual and intellectual. Canada's sons and daughters would then grow into efficient citizens, free and independent in judgment, influential in the formation and guidance of public opinion. This is our century if we make it ours by character, attainments, diligence and probity. And this is the "new patriotism" to which we are called now and "after the war". What of the morrow? It will be what we live for, work for, die for. It is a question of Willing Power.