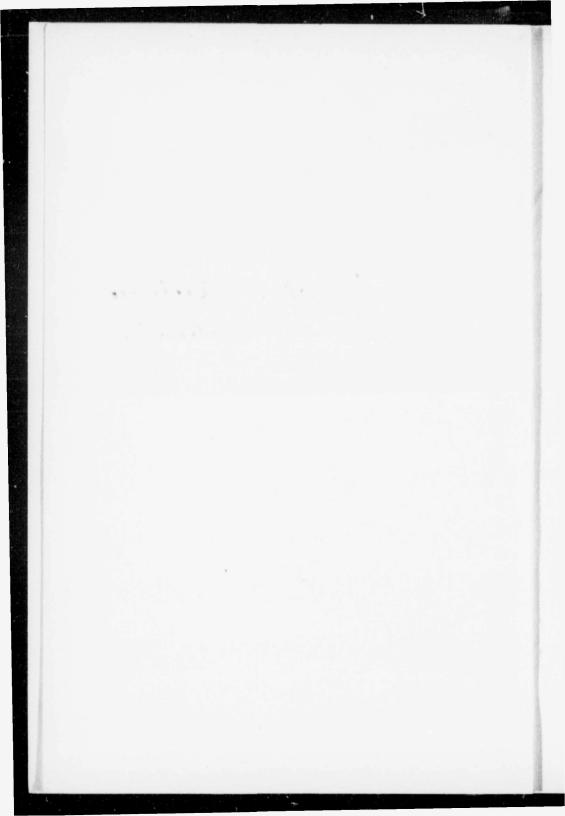


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## The Sword of Christ and The World War



# The Sword of Christ and The World War

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To Minnie Florence Stackhouse My Wife



## PREFACE

THE World War has forced many new, pressing, and perplexing problems upon the preacher. To him has been intrusted the gospel of reconciliation, of peace and good will to men, and how to preach that gospel in a world of war when nation is divided against nation and a man's foes are found even in his own national household, is by no means easy for him to determine. He may be successful in evading or ignoring the problems of the higher criticism and the doctrine of evolution; but war, with its terrible, insistent, and heart-searching questions, is a brutal, stubborn fact that must be met and answered.

Let it be granted that the preacher has fallen upon difficult days. New questions which go to the very core of religion and ethics are hurled at him. A hundred new demands are being made upon his time, and when he is asked to give up his service for the advertising of liberty loans or for a discussion of the problems of food conservation, he is sometimes in doubt as to whether the calls of country are the calls of God.

#### PREFACE

This book, in part, is based upon addresses given by the writer to members of his congregation and other audiences, on some of the questions raised by the war. The material, however, has been revised and rearranged, and four of the eight chapters are new. It is an attempt to interpret the gospel and the duties of Christian citizenship in an age of war to the people who wait upon our ministry.

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## PRAYER

#### FOR OUR SOLDIERS, OUR SAILORS, AND OUR ALLIES

For our gallant soldiers and sailors who are answering the call of country and of humanity, we pray.

For their spirit of devotion and chivalry and selfsacrifice and willingness to lay down their lives for our liberties and rights and the liberties and rights of other nations, we thank Thee.

For the high courage, noble adventure, and love of the intangible things of the spirit which have fired them in the fight for freedom, we give Thee thanks.

We pray for them. We pray that Thou wilt protect them from the dangers of the sea, from fire and tempest, and from the deadly vessel of destruction which lurks under the sea seeking its prey.

Guard them from flying bullets, from bursting shells, from the pestilence that walketh in darkness, from the poison gas and liquid fire that waste at noonday; and when hell is let loose upon them may

#### PRAYER

they find the secret place of the Most High and abide under the shadow of the Almighty, finding in Him refuge and fortress.

We pray that they may be preserved from the things that hurt the soul. Deliver them from the perils of strong drink, the lusts of the flesh, and the vainglory of life. In a foreign land may they honor the women of their friends and the women of their foes as they honor the women of their own country. Help them to be Big Brothers to all who are weak, to make the paths straight for the feet of little children, and to be Good Samaritans to all people, whether friends or enemies, who have fallen upon evil days. Grant that they may fight without bitterness, hatred, or cruelty, showing mercy upon their enemies, remembering that God is the Father of all men, and that it is his will that all men should live together as brothers.

We pray for the nations with whom we are allied in the great battle for righteousness. They have been bearing the heavy burden in the heat of the day, and in the months in which we were walking in the paths of comfort and safety they were fighting our battles, struggling for our liberties, and without stint laying down their lives upon the altar of civilization.

#### PRAYER

We thank Thee that in the darkest night, when it seemed as if right were on the scaffold and wrong upon the throne, they kept their tryst with Thee. In the name of humanity we bless Thee that when the kingdoms of this world and the glory thereof were offered to them at the price of dishonor, they chose the road that led to the cross.

O God, grant unto the war-weary nations of the earth a speedy peace, a peace of righteousness that shall outlast the days of our children and of our children's children. Bring our dear ones home safe in body and soul. This is the prayer of mothers and fathers, of wives and sweethearts. This is the prayer we all offer, in the name of thy Son, Jesus Christ.

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# The Sword of Christ and The World War

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#### HAS CHRISTIANITY COLLAPSED?

THE world war has been a merciless critic of men and governments, of political and economic theories, of rites and institutions. Nothing has been too sacred and nothing has been too common to escape the acid test of the great conflict. Into the melting-pot has gone man with his opinions, creeds, material and cultural possessions, loves and passions, to be tried with fire.

It has seemed to some like the great Day of the Lord, when every man's work shall be made manifest. Not a few are insisting that we are witnessing the breakdown of what we had proudly called our Christian civilization, and that upon the ruins of the old order we must slowly and painfully build up a new social 'structure from which the old de-

fects will have been struck out, that it may perhaps save posterity from another such holocaust of civilization.

The great war, with its unspeakable horrors, brutalities, and recrudescence of barbarism, has forced Christianity to look some ugly and sinister facts in the face. It had seemed to some of us that the awakening of the church to her social mission, the deeper recognition of the sanctity of human life as expressed in legislation for the protection of women and children, the new penology with its juvenile courts and probation officers, the multiplication of arbitration treaties among the nations, the great missionary propaganda with its slogan, "the evangelization of the world in this generation "----it had seemed that these things were heralds of a brighter and better day and confirmed us in our conviction that we were not far from the kingdom of God. We were looking for a new earth, with equality of opportunity for all, a world in which justice and brotherhood would walk together in the bonds of love, and nations as well as individuals would seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness.

In the midst of our pleasant dreams of the speedy coming of a world set free from some of the worst evils which have afflicted and tormented humanity, there fell from what seemed to the majority of us an unclouded midsummer sky the thunderbolt of war,

#### HAS CHRISTIANITY COLLAPSED?

We had been dreaming of world peace, and instead there was world war—of the conscription of the unearned wealth of the few for the benefit of the many, and instead there was a conscription of millions of men and billions of dollars for the manufacture and operation of engines of destruction that have drained the life-blood of Europe to the lees. We had been discussing the conservation of human life, planning to make it cleaner and safer and happier; and in a few brief years by the madness of war the world has been despoiled of the flower of its manhood.

It was inevitable that such a war as is waged to-day should affect Christianity perhaps more vitally than any other of our great social institutions. Christianity proclaims the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man; it exalts love as the solvent of all difficulties in the social and political world: it is a message of peace and good will. Its beatitudes are to the meek, the merciful, the pure in heart, and the seeker after righteousness. Against all forms of hate and greed and brute force it opposes the glowing ideals of love, service, and sacrifice for the common good. Over against all national and racial differences Christianity puts humanity, for in Christ Jesus there is neither Jew nor Greek, neither bond nor free, all are members of the one brotherhood.

This war, with its insensate brutalities, chants of

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hate, lust of blood, wholesale destruction of human life, and massacre of multitudes of innocent and helpless people, has seemed to not a few people clear evidence of the collapse of Christianity. The Bishop of London is reported to have said, "From end to end of England we find people who at the bottom of their hearts have grown to believe though they are afraid to admit it—that the war was the absolute breakdown of Christianity."

One of the keenest thrusts at the church is made by Israel Zangwill. He writes: <sup>1</sup> "The real religion of England, as of most countries, is patriotism. Listening to the preacher it is difficult to escape the conviction that Christ was in the army, and that the Madonna made munitions."

Henry Watterson editorially exclaims: "The conflict between Christianity and militarism, between freedom and autocracy is an irrepressible conflict, . . . Behold the flames of hell sweeping over three-fourths of Christian Europe. If this be Christianity, what is paganism?"

Naturally the established churches have incurred the most severe criticism, because of their failure to exercise any controlling influence upon the national policies of their respective countries. The Countess of Warwick has charged<sup>2</sup> that the established church of England is a "pitifully forlorn body, bankrupt in valor and policy, resources and

1 "The War for the World," p. 243.

<sup>2 &</sup>quot;The New Religion," "Hibbert Journal," July, 1917.

prestige, that . . . failed in the hour of need to 'play the game.'"

The Holy Father at Rome, perhaps, has cut the most sorry figure in the whole unfortunate affair. Reverenced by one-half of the Christian world as the Vicar of Christ, and with a claim of infallibility in regard to all questions of doctrine and morals, he was peculiarly qualified to speak with an authority that would be final to the Catholic peoples of the warring nations. His failure to pronounce definitely upon the rights and wrongs of war, his silence in the presence of crimes that have outraged the moral sense of the world, has seemed to many loyal Catholics like an abrogation of the rights of moral judgment.

M. Loisy, the famous French writer and theologian, probably voices the sentiments of the vast majority of the French people toward Pope Benedict XV when he writes:<sup>3</sup> "His conduct from the opening of hostilities assured us that he was completely neutral, even before his utterances confirmed it. He has tolerated the crushing of noble Belgium, the victim of her loyalty, the only country left in the world whose government is professedly Catholic; he has borne the sight of Louvain in flames, the destruction of the fairest and most famous of Catholic universities; he has been able to witness the massacre by the Germans of a multitude of helpless men, women, children, and priests. A judge

3 " The Saturday Review," December 23, 1916.

or a priest needs above all things to show impartiality; but the moment a judge becomes neutral in a question of justice he steps down from the bench, and the moment a priest shows himself neutral in a question of right and wrong he vacates his office."

The papacy, with supreme power vested in one man, is the most autocratic system in the world, and it may be that the neutrality of Pope Benedict XV is due to an instinctive feeling that, in the great war of democracy against autocracy, the triumph of democracy in the State may be the prelude to democracy in the Church. Whatever may be the explanation of the "damning neutrality" of the pope, be it moral impotence, or Germany's price for the old papal dream of temporal power, there can be no doubt that it has been a painful shock to millions of Catholics, and Benedict XV presents a most abject, humiliating spectacle, when compared with the heroic, self-sacrificing, saintly Cardinal Mercier, the Good Shepherd of the Catholic flock of martyred Belgium.

In times of great emotional upheaval, when the souls of men have been profoundly stirred by passion, and we seem to be watching the breakdown of modern civilization, it is easy to yield to a panic of fear and to accept the idea that religion, like the divine right of kings, is in the crucible of God, and when the fires have burned themselves out there will be nothing left but the memory of an old superstition.

The fact that war with all its inexcusable outrages and horrors has burst upon us, is no evidence that Corsica has conquered Galilee; it simply proves that the church has been a somewhat inefficient teacher of Christian ideals, and that the leaven of the gospel has not yet transformed the kingdoms of this world into the kingdoms of our Lord and his Christ.

Mr. G. K. Chesterton rushes to the defense of Christianity with the epigram: "Christianity has not been tried and found wanting; it has been found difficult and not tried." If the epigram were wholly true, it would be perhaps the most severe judgment that could be passed upon Christianity as a religion for humanity. But like most epigrams it is only partly true.

In various sections of our social order Christianity has been tried, and wherever it has been given a fair and honest trial, it has not been found wanting.

That in every age multitudes have found in Christianity an answer to the great questions which the soul propounds, an inspiration to the most unselfish service for others, a power that has stayed their souls in the evil day of temptation, comforted them in the bleak day of adversity, and given them the victory over sin and death, is supported by evidence that is within the reach of all.

Even in the present social order with its bitter

class struggle, merciless competition, and junglelaw standards, many men are applying the principles of love and service to commercial and industrial life, and are demonstrating that the gospel is sufficient for the salvation of society as well as of individuals. At a meeting of the Industrial Congress at Syracuse, New York, in 1916, the writer heard Colonel George Pope, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, make this significant statement: "I believe there is a new era in American industry. The new era implies less insistence upon private rights, greater insistence upon public duty. It means translating our industrial forces into a spirit of tolerance and mutuality. The new era is the Golden Rule applied to all men and women who work in American industry. For the sovereignty of manhood and womanhood is the basis of industrial nobility." If we could inject that spirit (which is none other than the spirit of Jesus) into employers and employees, into capital and labor, the grave problems of our economic order would not be far from a solution.

The great war is not an evidence of the breakdown of Christianity; it simply proves that international relationships have not yet come under the sway of the Christian ideal of brotherhood. But even here we note a great change for the better. War was once a normal condition of society. No one ever dreamed of apologizing for war. That

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nation should rise up against nation, that the weak power should become the prey of the strong, that the state should recognize no law but the law of might, were facts accepted without question.

To-day, war is on the defensive. Its consequences have been so terrible, in the loss of human life and the waste of capital, that no nation dare assume the responsibility. War is a monster for which no nation is willing to accept paternity. Millions of men are enduring the most awful hardships and sufferings, and are ready for the supreme sacrifice, because of a conviction that this is the war that will end war. It is safe to state that in no past war did men ever cherish the hope that by their sufferings and death they were preparing the way for an era of permanent peace.

Thus the war has brought a new recognition of the sanctity of human life, and it is a triumph of the Christian ideal that the life is more than territorial expansion and the body more than visions of the world empire. Sarah Grand, in her book, "The Winged Victory," has this pregnant saying: "Good may be made to flow from evil. On a little table stood a crucifix, symbol of the greatest crime ever committed upon earth, yet with what glorious results." If out of this world war, with all its bloodshed, agony, tears, and heartache, there should come the determination that the standards of Christianity, which have demonstrated their practicability in the individual, community, and national

life, must be applied to international relations, who can say that the end attained was not worth the terrible price that was paid?

The man who sneers at the breakdown of Christianity because of the wickedness of war, but who makes no distinction between protective and aggressive force, between those who fight for conquest and those who are giving their lives, not to exploit and oppress weaker nations, but to protect them from the selfish ambitions of the ruthless, between those who violate a solemn treaty as a mere scrap of paper, "a matter of international etiquette, that must be forgotten when life and death are involved," <sup>4</sup> and those who fight for the integrity of international law, has lost his mental equilibrium, and has allowed his sympathies or his prejudices to run away with his judgment.

War is a great evil, as the amputation of a limb is a great evil; but sometimes both are necessary to conserve certain things that are of greater worth. The price of war is high, but there are moral and spiritual values that are priceless. If men had not been willing to fight for their homes, their liberties, and the homes and the liberties of their neighbors, we would live in a world dominated by the cunning, the brutal, and the powerful. In reply to the statement that war only settles which side is the stronger, Captain A. T. Mahan, writes: <sup>5</sup> "We have seen

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Münsterberg, "The War and America," p. 185.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> "Some Neglected Aspects of War," p. xi.

#### HAS CHRISTIANITY COLLAPSED?

war free four million slaves and establish on this continent a united people; a contribution toward the world peace and the welfare of North America, in sparing the expenses of large standing armies and the woes of probable collisions, which not a dozen Hague Conferences will effect." This war, therefore, instead of spelling the bankruptcy of Christianity, may from certain aspects be viewed as a shining evidence that man is of more value than a sheep, that for the sake of ideals men are ready to sacrifice material ease and comfort and to lay down their lives for others.

This war, with all its revelation of hate and greed, lust and savagery, has also evoked some of the finest qualities of Christian manhood. When the great war of liberation began, and the clarion call to fight for humanity was heard, many men who had been living lives of selfish ease-pleasureseekers, money-lovers, with apparently no thought of anything higher than the gratification of their bodily senses-suddenly rose to heights of moral grandeur. We have witnessed the miracle of men transformed by a great passion into the likeness of the sons of God, suffering privations cheerfully, pouring out their money like water, seeking the post of danger as the place of honor, facing death every day with clear eyes and untroubled hearts, counting not their lives dear unto themselves, if by their sacrifices they could contribute to the safety and peace of the world. Devotion to the common good, self-

denial, are Christian virtues, and greater love hath no man than this, that a man will lay down his life for his friends.

In the great experiences of life the superficialities, the trivialities, fall away, and men face the ultimate realities. A soldier is reported to have said just before going back to the trenches: "You may take it from me, they have been doing more thinking about God up there in the last six months than the most of them have done in the rest of their lives." This sentiment has been expressed in a beautiful little poem published in "The Spectator," entitled "Christ in Flanders." The poet puts the words in the mouth of a soldier:

We had forgotten You or very nearly— You did not seem to touch us very nearly— Of course we thought about You now and then: Especially in any time of trouble— We knew that You were good in times of trouble— But we are very ordinary men.

He argues that there were so many things at home they had to think of, that often they only thought of Him on Sundays, and perhaps not even on a Sunday.

Now we remember: over here in Flanders— It isn't strange to think of You in Flanders. The hideous warfare seems to make things clear. We never thought about You much in England, But now that we are far away from England, We have no doubts, we know that You are here.

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Then follows this prayer:

And so we ask for courage, strength, and pardon— Especially I think we ask for pardon And that You'll stand beside us to the last.

Armchair philosophers may see in the great war a breakdown of religion, but to many men the war has brought for the first time a knowledge of God, and has given a richer meaning to atonement by blood and to life everlasting.

This war is not only a struggle between two groups of nations, but also between two forms of culture. Irreconcilable forces are grappling with one another.6 "Individual liberty is drawn up against collective servitude, personal initiative against the tyranny of state socialism, old habits of international integrity and respect for treaties against the supremacy of the cannon." It is a contest between might and right, between autocracy and democracy, between the idea that the state is above the standards of individual morality and the idea that the laws which are binding upon the individual are also binding upon the state, between the idea that a good war hallows a bad cause and the idea that force must never be employed except in defense of liberty and national honor. It is a struggle between civilization and culture in the German sense of that term, a fight of freedom and

<sup>6</sup> Gustave Le Bon, "The Psychology of the Great War," p. 19.

the moral law against physical force and militarism. To many of us it seems like a battle between Christianity and a new form of paganism.

This war, so far as the allied nations are concerned, is not an evidence of the collapse of Christianity. On the contrary, it proves that there is in men and nations a heroic and sacrificial spirit, that bids them choose death rather than surrender moral values which alone make life worth the living. Paul Sabatier refers 7 to an engraving which symbolizes the soul of this war by two persons. On one side of the picture is the king of the Belgians. dreaming alone in a ruined house, in the midst of a landscape which reveals in all directions nothing but devastated villages; and Wilhelm II suddenly rises before him, and in a tone which he seeks to render amiable, asks him, "Then you have lost everything?" "Yes, I have lost everything," the king replies, "but I have saved my soul."

If England had stood aloof from the great struggle, and permitted the conquest-hungry Prussians to crush Belgium and France under her iron heel, would she not have gone down in history as a nation that in the great day followed the easy path of unrighteous neutrality rather than the thorny road of honor and sacrifice?

If the great Republic, that has stood before the world as the most notable exponent of liberty and democracy, had continued as a mere spectator of

7 " A Frenchman's Thoughts on the War," p. 107.

a war that is being waged in defense of the liberties of small nations and the principles of democracy, was there not a danger that her candlestick would be taken from her?

Let us cease our prating of the collapse of Christianity. It is an insult to the brave men who are carrying the banners of freedom and humanity upon the bloody battle-fields of Europe; it is a confession that ideals that are worth talking about are not worth the price of suffering and death.

This war is not an evidence of the collapse of Christianity; it is a proof that in an imperfect world it is sometimes necessary to oppose force with force to preserve the higher things of the spirit.

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#### WHY WE ARE FIGHTING

It was many months after war had actually commenced before the American people learned the real meaning of the conflict now raging. We were so far away from the actual scene of hostilities, there were so many charges and countercharges, the Allies were so inferior to the Germans in their press propaganda, that many Americans concluded that it was just a family row among the kings, and the wisest course for all outsiders to adopt was to stand pat and let the royalties fight it out to a finish. To tell the truth, there were not a few who cherished the hope that in the general mix-up some of the kings and emperors might get their crowns knocked off, and be forced into some less ornamental and more productive occupations.

We were to be neutral, not only in act but even in thought, and upon the grand-stand of American soil we took our seats and watched the teams as they lined up on the European gridiron. We had not watched very long before we discovered that one side, the stronger side at that time, was not playing the game according to the rules. Instead of keeping within the chalk-lines, they sent 30

#### WHY WE ARE FIGHTING

their battalions crashing through neutral territory, knocking down men, women, and children, and laying waste towns and cities. It is true that they scored a touch-down and nearly won the game in that first quarter, but our admiration for the efficiency of the German machine failed to compensate for the horror aroused by their treacherous and unfair fighting. However, we remembered that General Sherman had said that war was not a parlor game, and so we shut our teeth and waited to see what we should see. We had not long to wait for sights that cried out for more than the seeing.

For what things we have seen since this greatest and bloodiest war of all wars began! The violation of Belgium and the enslavement of her people was followed quickly by the desolation of Servia and Poland, the attempt to array Moslems against Christians in a holy war, the massacre of a million Armenians, the starvation of Jews and Syrians in the Holy Land, the deliberate sinking of hospital and relief ships, the zeppelin outrages upon unfortified cities, the intimidation of small nations, the ruthless submarine warfare in defiance of all international law! We saw American lives sacrificed by German autocracy, American soil filled with spies who blew up our factories and put bombs in our ships, and the German secretary of state caught with the goods on his person in his attempt to incite Mexico to invade Texas and dismember the Union.

Slowly but surely the conscience of America was mobilized against Germany, and we have felt, in the words of the Hindu saying, that "He who fails to protect morality when morality is being flouted is himself guilty of the violation of morality." Slowly but surely the conviction has seized upon us, that life on a planet dominated by a nation with a "submarine soul" and submarine methods of gaining its ends, would not be a life worth living, that it is better to die as a freeman fighting for the things we have always held dear, than to eke out a miserable existence, even with peace and plenty, at the cost of national manhood.

Lloyd George, the premier of Great Britain, in a speech delivered shortly after America entered the war, declared that "the United States of America of a noble tradition never broken, have never engaged in a war except for liberty. This is the greatest struggle for liberty they have ever embarked upon."

Sydney Brooks writes <sup>1</sup> in a like vein: "Three times in her history has America struck resounding blows for liberty. On the first occasion she assailed a great political principle. On the second she made an end of human slavery on this continent. Now she is taking up arms to beat back a tidal wave of deharmonized tyranny that threatens the very fabric of civilization itself. America has entered the lists under the compelling power of her primal passion

1" The North American Review," May, 1917, p. 681.

to serve and save the world at whatever cost to herself." These are something more than mere complimentary terms. We go into this struggle with clean hands and pure hearts. We have no song of hate to sing. We have no old grudges to work out upon any nation in Europe. We envy no country its prosperity. We have no territorial ambitions to gratify. We desire not an inch of land nor a dollar of indemnity. We go into this war not to get but to give, and we give our most priceless possession, the flower of our youth and manhood. We go not because we want to go, but because we must go.

Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide, In the strife of Truth with Falsehood, for the good or evil side.

That moment came to us. We procrastinated as long as we dared. We even got a European reputation as a nation of note-writers. Germany counted on our staying out just as she counted on England staying out. She thought that the wounds to our pride and the insults to our national ideals would be compensated by the billions of dollars we were making out of war and food supplies. She planned, as we learned from a speech of our late ambassador to Germany, Mr. Gerard, on picking a quarrel with us after the war, and sending over her army and navy to collect a huge war indemnity that would enable her once more to set up national housekeeping on the former lavish style

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Germany is a very efficient nation. Her powers of organization and her applications of the discoveries of science to the realm of material things have given her a foremost place among the nations. But Germany, with all her knowledge of science, philosophy, and statecraft, has shown a singular density in respect to the souls of other nations.

She thought that Belgium would put up a mere formal protest and allow her troops to march through the territory to strike a deadly blow at the heart of France. Her view of Great Britain was voiced by Bismarck when referring to the surrender by Great Britain of the Ionian Isles to Greece. Bismarck said, "A power that ceases to take and begins to give away can be accounted out of European politics." Bismarck's successors in office were convinced that England was a decadent nation which had neither the inclination nor the moral and physical fiber to stand up against a first-class fighting power.

The view that the Central Powers took concerning America is summed up by Constantin Dumba.<sup>2</sup> "On his way home Constantin Dumba spoke his placid mind about the peculiar policy of the United States. 'We do as we please over there,' said the banished envoy to an American friend and fellow passenger. And he pointed his cigar at the towers and cañons of Manhattan fast fading in late autumn

<sup>2</sup> Article by William G. Fitz-Gerald in "The Nineteenth Century and After."

#### WHY WE ARE FIGHTING

mist. 'Wilson is helpless. The English of his notes is impeccable stuff, but there is nothing back of it, as you Yankees say. So each remonstrance grows weaker, till the world laughs at the United States.'

"And so saying the ex-ambassador of the Dual Monarchy launched an able dissertation upon American continental immensity, her self-centered and often polyglot States, the multitude and looseness of her laws and peoples, the danger of dollar standards and the sure failure of them in the great 'Day' which the speaker saw ahead for the United States."

Germany, with all her knowledge of submarines, poison gas, and zeppelins, did not know the soul of America. She did not know all the heaped-up emotions of wrath and humiliation that had fired to a white heat the souls of the people. She knew the law of the jungle but not the law of humanity.

For nearly three years God has been speaking to the American people. At first we could but faintly hear his voice. The jingle of gold, the love of ease, the jangling voices of the pacifists and the hyphenated made poor receivers. But at last the divine voice became so loud and insistent that only the man whose moral and patriotic ear-drum had been pierced failed to hear. We know now if we did not know before the message that God has for the American people, "Speak unto the children of Israel that they go forward." And we go, with a picture of martyred Belgium flaming before our eyes; with the cries of men, women, and children

who have fallen victims to German under-sea piracy ringing in our ears; with the sobs of outraged and maimed Armenian and French maidens and women choking in our throats. We go not groaning and whining and half-heartedly because we have to go, but with clear eyes and full hearts, with the flag of humanity floating in the breeze, and rejoicing in the day and for the opportunity of striking a blow for world freedom and world peace.

We are fighting for democratic institutions. We believe in the words of President Wilson, that "the world must be made safe for democracy." We are convinced that we shall never have a safe world so long as Prussian autocracy is triumphant.

The fathers lit a torch in this new world. They lit it in the agonies and blood of the war for independence. Its light has penetrated to all parts of the world. It has inspired the men of France and the men of England and the men of Russia to set up beacon-lights of liberty and democracy.

A military caste arose in Prussia that threatened to extinguish that light. It was not a democracy; it was an army. Its sign and symbol was the Krupp gun. Prince Von Bülow, a former chancellor of the Empire, said, in 1914: "Prussia attained her greatness as a country of soldiers and officials, and as such she was able to accomplish the work of German union; to this day she is still, in all essentials, a state of soldiers and officials." Deliberate purpose has kept her so.

# WHY WE ARE FIGHTING

An army that is controlled by a parliament that is answerable to the people is not a grave menace to liberty, for the masses of the people are uncompromising foes of militarism. The most glorious chapters in English history are the chapters which deal with the struggle between king and parliament over the control of the army, and in that struggle it was the parliament that won, though at a considerable cost of human life. An army that is under the supreme control of a monarch may be a terrible instrument of tyranny, as all history proves.

In Germany the army is directly under the control of the Kaiser. Bethmann Hollweg, late chancellor of the German Empire, in a speech delivered in the Landtag, January 10, 1914, said, "The dearest desire of every Prussian is to see the king's army remain completely under the control of the king and not to become the army of parliament."

That the German emperor takes his position as an absolute monarch and a ruler by right divine, as seriously as the English Stuart king who lost, not only his crown, but also his head because of his persistence in attempting to dominate the English parliament and people, is evident in the following quotations <sup>3</sup> from the speeches and writings of the Kaiser: "It is the soldier and the army, not parliamentary majorities and votes, that have welded the German empire together. My confidence rests upon the army.

<sup>3</sup> Thayer, Quotations Book, "Germany vs. Civilization," pp. 51-53.

"The most important heritage which my illustrious grandfather and father bequeathed to me and which I entered upon with joy and pride is the army.

"Wherever the German eagle has thrust his talons into a country, that country is German and will remain German.

"A soldier must not have a will of his own. He must have only one will, and that will, mine.

"There is only one master in this country; I am he and I will not tolerate another.

"There is only one law—my law, the law which I myself lay down."

This army dominated by the Kaiser became a national god, and all the resources of science, and all the human harvest, and all the brains of diplomats, writers, and philosophers were consecrated to the one end of making that army the most efficient, the most deadly, and the most dangerous that could be produced.

Europe looked on and trembled. It saw that army in recent times wage three wars, all of conquest, and within the short space of seventy years humble in the dust, in succession, Denmark, Austria, and France. It knew that when the time was ripe that great and growing war machine would strike a blow for world power. It knew that, if Prussian autocracy won out in the struggle, the light of liberty would be extinguished. It knew that nothing less than European civilization was

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at stake. That is what President Wilson meant when he said that the world must be made safe for democracy, for democracy is still an experiment, and there is no certainty that a triumphant autocracy would permit the torch the fathers lit to remain burning even on the American continent.

That this is a great war for democracy is recognized even by German writers. Notwithstanding the iron censorship we find Maximilian Harden, the famous German editor, writing in his paper: "The goal of our enemies is democracy and independence for every race ripe for freedom. If Germany sees blazing over that goal the great celestial sign of the times, then peace is reachable to-morrow. Over all questions agreement will be achieved easily, but if that condition of things for which millions of people sigh appears to her to be ignominious, then she must fight on until one group conquers and the other falls in exhaustion."

That the forces of democracy are working among the German people, and it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that the day is not distant when the German people will recognize that the Allies, in fighting against Prussian autocracy, are really fighting for their liberties also, is at least suggested in the abuse that is heaped upon democracy by the Junker press. For example the "Berliner Neueste Nachrichten" says <sup>4</sup>: "The most dangerous enemy of the German people is democracy.

4 Quoted in "New York Times," Aug. 19, 1917.

It is democracy that we shall have to fight when our arms have long been at rest, and the faradvanced frontiers of the new and greater Germany have been secured—in spite of July 19 and its Reichstag majority—in a German security peace."

Autocracy forced this war upon the world to exterminate democracy both in the German empire and in the world at large. At the beginning of the war it seemed quite possible that America might not be drawn into the conflict. But autocracy has a long arm, and its nature is essentially predatory, and it was not long before the American people felt the heavy hand of oppression reaching across the seas to strangle liberty on this continent as well as in Europe.

The world is so small to-day that autocracy and democracy cannot live together. This war has demonstrated the fact that the only adequate way to make the world safe for democracy is to destroy autocracy, and that is one reason why we are fighting.

We go into this war to defend the sanctity of international law, the rights and liberties of small nations, and to combat the diabolical doctrine that might makes right.

To what extent German writers, philosophers, and historians, such as Bernhardi, Nietzsche, and Treitschke, are responsible for this war with its unspeakable outrages upon neutral and warring powers is difficult to decide.

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We know that Nietzsche, who has a large following in Germany, taught the worship of the strong man, that he condemned many of the Christian virtues, such as pity, as keeping alive organisms that ought to perish. Nietzsche writes: "Man requires that which is worst within him to attain that which is best. His worst instincts are the best portion of his might. . . Man must become better and worse. . . 'Here is the new law, O my brethren, which I promulgate unto you. Become hard. For creative spirits are hard. And you must find a supreme blessedness in impressing the mark of your hand, in inscribing your will upon thousands and thousands, as on soft wax.'"

In a remarkable book, written by General F. von Bernhardi, which is said to be studied by every German officer, we have a rejection of all that Christianity and civilization have done in a thousand years to mitigate the horrors of war. Bernhardi teaches <sup>5</sup> that " Might is at once the supreme right, and the dispute as to what is right is decided by the arbitrament of war. War gives a biologically just decision since its decisions rest on the very nature of things."

Bernhardi contends, that efforts directed toward the abolition of war are not only foolish but absolutely immoral, and must be stigmatized as unworthy of the human race. He makes a sneering reference to the United States which is of special

<sup>5</sup> "Germany and the Next War," p. 23.

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interest in the light of recent history: " The United States of America, in June, 1911, championed the ideas of universal peace in order to be able to devote their undisturbed attention to money-making and the enjoyment of wealth, and to save the three hundred million dollars, which they spent on their army and navy. . . If they advance farther on that road they will one day pay dearly for such a policy."

According to Bernhardi the state is above the standard of individual morality. Its acts cannot be judged by the standards of individual morality. He writes:<sup>7</sup> "The increase of this power is thus from this standpoint the first and foremost duty of the state."

The German historian, Heinrich Von Treitschke, declares:<sup>8</sup> "The small nations have no right of existence and ought to be swallowed up." Like Bernhardi, he boldly differentiates the moral obligations of the private individual from those of a government charged with the destinies of a nation. He writes:<sup>9</sup> "Thus it follows from this that we must distinguish between public and private morality. A whole series of duties which are obligatory on the individual are not to be thought of in any case for the state. . . The state is power. For that is the truth and he who is not man enough to look the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ibid, pp. 28, 29.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, p. 47.

<sup>8</sup> J. P. Bang, "Hurrah and Hallelujah," p. 224.

<sup>9</sup> Heinrich Von Treitschke, "Selections," pp. 28, 32.

truth in the face ought to keep his hands off politics."

The doctrine that the end justifies the means, that military necessity knows no law, that the ethics of personal conduct do not apply to the acts of states, that a nation has no rights except those which she is able to defend with her arms, that the weak state should be swallowed up by the strong, is a doctrine so frankly pagan that we found it difficult to believe that a nation that plumed herself on her superior culture would translate the teaching into action. But during the course of the war, not once but many times, not in the heat of passion, but deliberately with malice aforethought, Germany by her deeds has put the sign of her approval upon this brutal, merciless, and immoral doctrine.

When anything particularly devilish was done, such as the invasion of Belgium, the slaughter of helpless non-combatants, the raining of bombs down upon unfortified cities, the sinking of the Lusitania, the massacre of the Armenians, the torpedoing of unarmed American ships, Germany calmly replied to every protest, "It was a military necessity." That is to say, she recognizes no law but the law of the mailed fist. It is the law of the pack, the law of brute force, the law that the strong shall survive and the weak go to the wall.

The United States of America could not stand for that kind of teaching without playing traitor to her whole history as a nation. In 1861 the

people of the North said, "We shall save the weak black man and let our strong sons whom we love better than life go to the wall." And out of that terrible harvest of death. liberty was born, and the fetters fell off the arms and legs, off the minds and hearts of the poor, weak, black man.

Europe, like America, cannot exist half slave and half free. We fight for the protection of weak nations. We fight for the sacredness of international law. We fight against the horrible doctrine that might makes right and that necessity knows no law. We are fighting for the things of the spirit against brute merciless force. We are fighting for the things we have always fought for. It is a fight for liberty, for the rights of those who are too weak to defend themselves. We are fighting for God, for justice, and for humanity. To such a task we can, in the noble language of President Wilson, " dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are, and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and the happiness and peace which she has treasured."

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It is a debatable question whether one is ever justified in taking liberties with a parable. To confess the overt act before committing it may be conceded as an extenuating circumstance.

In the parable, when the Good Samaritan arrived on the scene, the robbers had departed, leaving the victim naked, wounded, and plundered. Red Cross work was the only work open to the Good Samaritan, and he performed it so efficiently that his name has lived in history.

But suppose that the Good Samaritan had arrived at that particular spot on the Jericho road at the precise moment the bandits were holding up their victim, what would have been his duty under that new condition?

It is conceivable that he might have retired to a respectful distance and composed a note to the bandits, mildly protesting against their illegal and unwarranted course of conduct. Indeed he might have found vent for his outraged feelings by writing a series of notes, in the spirit of the famous Mr. Micawber who, when he was pressed too hard

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by his creditors, would give them a promissory note and exclaim triumphantly to himself, "Well, that bill's paid." Would the Good Samaritan have discharged his obligations to society if he had written a strong note of protest?

It is quite possible that the Good Samaritan might have reasoned somewhat after this fashion: "These robbers evidently understand their business. They have developed to a very high degree of efficiency the art of making war. They are equipped with the most deadly and modern weapons for wounding and killing people. If I get into this mixup the probabilities are that I will get hurt; and, after all, it is only a Jew they are manhandling, and there is no particular love lost between Jews and Samaritans. If the Jew had stayed in Jerusalem and minded his own business, instead of tramping the Jericho road with a pack on his back, thus putting temptation directly in the way of these men of predatory instincts, he would have escaped all this annoyance. It is guite evident that the Jericho road is not a safe highway, even for Good Samaritans. It seems to have been declared a war zone. I will make for that place that looks good to me while the going is still good, and in my bomb-proof cellar will pray to my God for the triumph of spiritual forces. Meanwhile it will be an act of prudence on my part to cultivate a spirit of neutrality even in thought, so when this unpleasantness is over I shall be good friends with everybody, and

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may be called in to arbitrate a settlement of peace."

Or the Good Samaritan might have said: "This is none of my business. I am a Good Samaritan, not a fighting man. It is unfortunate that men should be held up by robbers, but I am in no way responsible for the hold-up. It is true that if I get into this fight it may mean the defeat of the robbers, but the defeat of the robbers means that somebody is going to get hurt; and it is against my religious convictions either to get hurt myself or to hurt anybody else. I will retire to the cool shade of yonder tree and compose a speech on Peace at any Price; and when the robbers have completed the operations upon which they are engaged, and have ridden several miles away. I will render first aid to the wounded man, and perform the other duties which devolve upon a Good Samaritan under such distressing circumstances."

If the Good Samaritan had adopted any one of the three policies outlined, would Jesus have said to the lawyer, "Go thou, and do likewise"?

The word "robber" may possibly seem a harsh term to apply to Germany, but out of her own mouth she is condemned as a lawless predatory nation. It was for a large place under the sun that she prepared for forty years, and when, in defiance of her sworn treaties, she sent her troops crashing through Belgium on August 4, 1914, she did it with

the public announcement that "necessity knows no law."

The attempt of the German chancellor to palliate that crime by referring to her solemn treaty with Belgium as a scrap of paper will never be forgotten by the world at large. Here it is written in letters of fire upon one of the historic documents of the war—the letter <sup>1</sup> of the British ambassador at Berlin, to Sir Edward Grey: "I found the chancellor very agitated. His excellency at once began a harangue, which lasted about twenty minutes. He said that the step taken by his majesty's government was terrible to a degree ; just for a word—neutrality, a word which in wartime had so often been disregarded—just for a scrap of paper, Great Britain was going to make war on a kindred nation, who desired nothing better than to be friends with her."

The best defense that Hugo Münsterberg could put up for that outrage upon a weak and neutral nation was this curious plea:<sup>2</sup> "Germany had agreed to treat Belguim as a neutral state. . . Belgium knew exactly that these neutrality treaties were not treaties comparable to the contracts of private persons. . . Belgium knew that such agreements are at present not more than a matter of international etiquette. Germany could do what it did with a clear conscience; it did not violate the higher laws of honor."

1 White Paper, No. 160.

2 " The War and America," pp. 183, 185.

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That defense may have been eminently satisfactory to the German mind, but in the judgment of the people of the United States, for whose benefit it was written, it damned Germany beyond redemption.

The story of German atrocities since the war began is one of the most horrible that has been written upon the pages of history, since the days of Attila the Hun. It has been a deliberate system of terrorization, and reveals a strange ignorance of the souls of other nations. Theodore Roosevelt quotes<sup>3</sup> the comment of the Berlin "Lokal Anzeiger" after the sinking of the Lusitania: "We do not wish to gain the love of the Americans, but we desire to be respected by them. The loss of the Lusitania will earn that respect for us more than a hundred battles won on land." What Germany failed to understand was that such outrages. instead of cowing the world into abject submission, would rouse all self-respecting nations to destroy the mad dog that was loose upon the public highway.

Mr. Root is not a man addicted to extravagant language, but in a speech delivered just before going to Russia as the head of the American Commission, he referred to the barbarism of the German troops when, under the pressure of the allied forces, they were compelled to withdraw from a part of northern France, and in leaving they lifted their axes on every vine and fruit tree, that will take from ten to twenty years to be regrown, killed all the trees

<sup>3</sup> "Fear God and Take Your Own Part," p. 181.

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in the forest, poisoned the wells, and last of all drove into their camps girls and women between fifteen and twenty-five years of age. Mr. Root, in calling attention to the fact that these deeds are in the face of all international law, says: "The German people are quite outside the group of civilized nations. They have scientific efficiency, but in morals and law they have the tactics of the Red Indian and the naked savages of the South Sea Islands."

In the judgment of the writer a distinction must be made between the mercantile trading Germany and the official military caste headed by the Kaiser, who have been able to cast an evil spell over the masses of the people. Lloyd George, like President Wilson, has made a distinction between the German people and the Prussian militarists. In one of his speeches, the premier of Great Britain declared: "We are not fighting the German people. The German people are just as much under the heel of the Prussian military caste, and more so, thank God, than any other nation of Europe. It will be a day of rejoicing for the German peasant and artisan and trader when the military caste is broken." It is not fair in an autocracy, where a few men hold supreme power, to judge a great nation by the wanton acts of its leaders. Since the war began they have been fed on lies, but to-day there are some signs that they are beginning to awaken to the real issues of the great war, and when they finally get

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their eyes open, there will be a day of reckoning for the Kaiser and the Junkers who have plunged the world into this sanguinary struggle.

To refer to the United States as the Good Samaritan of the parable may be questioned on the ground of good taste. Indeed, it may be stated without reservation that, during the months when the American people were simply spectators of the great battle for freedom, and the stream of gold continued to pour into this country from the nations which we instinctively felt were fighting our battles, many citizens felt more like the robber in the parable than like the Good Samaritan. But without pressing the parable too far, and to interpret it in the spirit and not in the letter, it is true that for nearly three years Uncle Sam performed the duties of a Good Samaritan. To the starving women and children of Belgium he sent shiploads of wheat and other food products, and his efficiency in supervising the vast system of distribution has written a very brilliant chapter in the history of Good Samaritans. He went on tours in Germany, Austria, and Russia to inspect prison camps, and as he had an eagle eve and was not afraid to speak out in meeting, doubtless his visits greatly improved the condition of thousands of unfortunate prisoners.

But as the months slipped by, the rôle of a Good Samaritan became increasingly difficult to enact. The road from Jerusalem to Jericho became so in-

fested with bandits, and so many horrible things happened on that road, that the Good Samaritan could not sleep at nights because there kept ringing in his ears the heart-broken cries of the victims of the ruffians.

Finally, the robbers, grown bold or desperate, sent word to the Good Samaritan: "The road from Jerusalem to Jericho is closed to Good Samaritans. If you venture on that road, on your own head be the consequences."

And the Good Samaritan, whose left cheek had become disfigured because he had turned it so frequently to the robber when he had been smitten on the right, arose in holy rage, and flung off his hospital and relief agency accouterment, and said: "The world must be made safe for democracy. It may be true that the wicked fly when no man pursueth, but they make better time when somebody is after them with a club. It is up to me to help drive the bandits from the Jerusalem road, so that the wayfaring man can travel from New York to London and from Boston to Berlin without being beaten into a jelly by Prussian thugs. I am still a Good Samaritan, but I shall carry a rifle along with my hot-water bottle, and as faith without works is dead, the machine gun will give new emphasis to my earnest prayers for peace."

The future historian will record the fact that President Wilson did everything that mortal man could do to keep the nation out of war. He suf-

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fered so long and so patiently that many of our wisest and greatest men felt that the honor of the nation was being dragged in the mire. But the President simply waited until the cup of national indignation was filled to overflowing, and when the time had arrived that he could rally the nation behind him, he sent that ringing message, which meant war, to Congress; and to all lovers of freedom, justice, and humanity the sunshine seemed brighter, and the air sweeter, and we held our heads a little more erect and our shoulders a little farther back. and Old Glory seemed a little more glorious as it waved in the breeze, for to maintain neutrality in the presence of such colossal crimes against humanity seemed almost like the sin against the Holy Ghost.

What a glorious day it was for the weary, broken nations that had been carrying the heavy burden in the heat of the day when they learned that the Good Samaritan had decided to get busy in police operations on the Jericho road. Kipling has written a poem to celebrate that great fact. He puts the words in the mouth of the American spirit which speaks of the opportunity to "recover the road we lost in the drugged and doubting years." Three stanzas run:

> But after the fires and the wrath, But after searching and pain, His mercy opens us a path To live with ourselves again.

In the gates of death rejoice, We see and hold the good, Bear witness, earth, we have made our choice For freedom and brotherhood.

Then praise the Lord Most High, Whose strength has saved us whole, Who bade us choose that the flesh should die, And not the living soul.

There are certain people in our midst who insist that the Good Samaritan should have stood with folded arms while the dragon devoured the maiden. That nations should live in fraternity, that the strong should not oppress the weak, that hate and bitterness and strife are evil forces which should be cast into the outer darkness, that war is a hideous, monstrous thing that should no longer be tolerated in a Christian society, is a fair and alluring vision.

The man who protests against the use of force to achieve moral ends fails to recognize that even in times of peace we live in a continuous state of war. The policeman at the corner is a symbol of the force of the community in constant operation against the criminal, the discontented, the law-breaker. Every court of justice is a declaration of the fact that there is a power organized by the state at great expense to compel citizens to act justly by one another. In an ideal world, where all men were dominated by the law of love, we might be able to dis-

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pense with the services of the policeman, the penitentiary, and the court of justice; but so long as evil exists and men value the spiritual goods of life more highly than life itself, there must be force, and back of that force men who are prepared to make even the supreme sacrifice for the higher things.

A nation can be justified in going to war only as it adopts the ideals of the policeman. The duty of the policeman is to protect society, to defend the weak from the attack of the ruthless and the unscrupulous. If he bags a criminal with his loot he must have no part in the spoils. A nation that undertakes police duties must not think of territorial expansion and indemnities. Can any one doubt that the United States has gone into this war with pure aims and an unselfish heart? We go to perform police duties on the road from Jerusalem to Jericho, and to make the world's highway safe from the thugs who have held up the wayfaring man, stripped him of his goods, terrorized his women, and brought sorrow into a million homes.

This war is a war for freedom, for democracy, for international honor, and as a Scotch preacher has aptly put it, a war of the nailed hand against the mailed fist. It is therefore right for the Good Samaritan to fight. Any nation that sets up ideals ought to have sufficient back-bone to fight for those ideals. Any young man who can read the history of this war, with its crimes against women and children, and neutral peoples, and remain unmoved, is

not a man, but a lump of dough. The virtue has gone out of him. If it be right for the father to defend his daughter against the brutal attack of the abductor; if it be right for the policeman to protect the helpless citizen against the assaults of the highwayman; if George Washington and Abraham Lincoln are still worthy of a place among the national heroes, then it is right for the Good Samaritan to fight. For life for us and for our children is hardly worth while if it has to be lived under Prussian rule.

> For all we have and are, For all our children's fate, Rise up and meet the war; The Hun is at our gate.

> No easy hopes or lies Shall bring us to our goal, But iron sacrifice Of body, will, and soul.

# IV

# WHY DOESN'T GOD STOP THE WAR?

"Oh, that thou wouldest rend the heabens, that thou wouldest come down . . . that the nations may tremble at thy presence !"—The prophet Isaiah.

For over three years the most horrible, the most destructive war in all history has been raging. Into the great whirlpool of hate and passion, bloodshed and agony, nation after nation has been drawn, until to-day there is not a great power on the earth that is not struggling for its life in that seething caldron. In the battle of the giants the weak powers have been trampled under foot, their countries devastated, their men, women, and children practically reduced to a condition of slavery. The withdrawal of millions of men from the peaceable arts of agriculture, coupled with the ruthless submarine warfare, has resulted in a food famine that is bringing the world to the verge of starvation. It is perhaps no exaggeration to state that since the war began millions of people have perished of hunger.

Crimes have been committed against women and children, against peaceable and inoffensive neutrals, that have made us gasp with horror. The slaughter

of human life is so great that it baffles the imagination. Europe is one vast graveyard, and if a boy of fifteen were appointed to review the great procession of sightless, disfigured, and maimed men as they file by in single line, he would be an old man before the last one of that pathetic procession had passed.

It is a question who have paid the highest price in the great war, the men who have answered the call of country, or the wives, mothers, and sweethearts, who can only wait and pray and weep for those who may never return.

We know,

That not a shot comes blind with death, And not a stab of steel is pressed Home, but first it tore, And entered first some woman's breast.

Into the fiery crucible of war have gone and are going the accumulated savings of a half-century of peace. The billions of dollars spent upon engines of destruction were sufficient to abolish poverty from the earth, to clean up every slum district in every city of the world, and to make the wilderness blossom like the rose. Beyond the lifetime of any of us who are living to-day, Europe will be staggering under the burden of war debts.

War is hell—not the Universalist brand of canebottomed chairs, but the hell of agony set forth by Jonathan Edwards and Billy Sunday. War means

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the butchery of human life, the slaughter of innocent people, the breakdown of the family relation. It means the outrage of women, the starvation of little children, the destruction of great cities with their monuments of art. It means the emerging from the thin crust of civilization of the savage, the brutal, the lustful, and the fiendish. It means tears and blood, anguish, martyrdom, and heartbreak. War is hell, and if there were any stronger term, one would not hesitate in using it.

The question, Why doesn't God stop the war? has been upon the lips of multitudes since this awful carnage began. From a thousand pulpits, and from ten thousand homes, the throne of grace has been bombarded with prayers for peace.

If God be all-powerful, the King of kings and Lord of lords, the Governor of the universe who guides the destinies of nations and of men, why doesn't he rend the heavens and come down, that the nations may tremble at his presence? If God be a God of love, if human suffering moves him to pity, if the wail of a woman, the sob of a strong man in his agony, the pathetic cry of a starving baby, makes any appeal to his heart of compassion, why doesn't he stop the war?

What was God doing when the victims of the Lusitania battled in the billows and sank one by one to the sea-floor of the Atlantic? Where was God when the Turks maimed, tortured, outraged,

and killed a million helpless Armenians? Was he sleeping, or on a journey, when the tides of battle receded, leaving so many thousands of French maidens and women stranded upon enemy country. while he to all appearances heard not their screams of terror as they struggled in the lustful embrace of brutal and drunken soldiers? Is God indifferent to the things which give us sleepless nights and fire our souls with a passion to make any sacrifice of life and property to banish such hellish evils from the earth? Does war, with all its cruelties, its horrors, its unspeakable things, mean nothing more to him than the buzzing of flies upon the windowpane? Why does he "sit in the heavens and do nothing," to use a phrase from Carlyle? Is God the only great Neutral that is left in the world to- . day, who simply watches, and sees no distinction between the act of the soldier who lays down his life in carrying a wounded soldier to the rear, and the soldier who, in mere wantonness, drives his bayonet through a helpless man lying upon the battle-field? If he cares, why doesn't he rend the heavens and come down that the nations may tremble at his presence?

These are terrible questions—questions which sting and burn and stab—questions which are thrust upon us and demand an answer. It is not surprising that some who are unbelievers have been confirmed in their unbelief, that others have found their foundations crumbling from under them, that not a

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few have said: "There is no moral government of the world. We are simply left to ourselves, and therefore force, brutal, blind, non-moral force, rules everywhere."

These are not new questions. Read the book of Job, the Psalms, the Prophets, and you will find that the writers were assailed with the same torturing, staggering doubts. They lived in stormy times and faced brutalities and horrors even greater than the world is facing to-day. In three different psalms these words occur: "They continually say unto me, Where is thy God?" "Wherefore should the heathen say, Where is their God?" "Wherefore should the nations say, Where is now their God?"

God did not intervene when the Assyrians came down like a wolf on the fold and left Jerusalem a heap of smoking ruins and carried what was left of the people away into captivity. God did not intervene when, in the year 172 B. C., Antiochus Epiphanes sacked Jerusalem, massacred or enslaved large numbers of the inhabitants, and crucified women with their infant children strangled and hanging about their necks.

All of this is a hard saying and most depressing. but surely it is better to face facts than to live in a fool's paradise. 'A man who refuses to face a fact, because it happens to be an ugly fact, is either a coward or a Christian Scientist. It is better to live in a world of realities, however painful those real-

ities are, than to play the game of make-believe in a world of illusions.

Charles Robinson <sup>1</sup> relates this incident: "A boy, whom the writer of the article knew, said one day to a missionary, with whom he was staying in Central Africa, 'Did up-up (God) make me?' 'Yes,' was the reply. 'Did up-up make the buzz-buzz (mosquito)?' 'Yes.' He waited a moment and then said, 'Why does up-up let the buzz-buzz eat me?'" The question put by the African boy is really the same problem we are considering, Why doesn't God stop the war?

It may be granted that God is in no way responsible for this awful catastrophe of war that has involved the world.

The sober judgment of the neutral nations is that this war was made in Germany. There is documentary evidence to show how reluctant Russia and France and England were to enter into this conflict. Sir Edward Grey, the British foreign secretary, exhausted every art of diplomacy to have the questions at issue referred to a court of arbitration. But Prussia wanted war. She believed that her hour had struck. For fifty years she had been training for that hour. She knew how deadly and efficient her armies were, and how wofully unprepared the forces that would line up against her. When the

1" Our Sons Have Shown Us God," " Contemporary Review," May, 1917.

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great military machine started on the way to Paris it was confidently believed by the Kaiser and the general staff that they were on the road to world wealth and world power.

If Germany had won the battle of the Marne the war would probably have been over in six months, and as Prussian culture had conquered Germany, so it would have conquered the world.

This war was not the result of any outburst of midsummer madness; it was not any act of God imposed upon the world from without; it was not that some obscure apocalyptic passages in the book of Daniel or the Revelation might be fulfilled; it was not a scourge of God upon mankind because men had desecrated his Sundays, neglected his sacraments, and turned from the straight and narrow road of orthodoxy to follow the wandering lights of the new theology.

This war arose out of the conviction of a large group of German warlords, philosophers, and theologians, that Germany was an elect nation, appointed to impose her type of civilization upon inferior races and nations and to set the flag "Germany over all" flying in every land that looks into God's blue sky. One of the leaders of the association known as Young Germany wrote<sup>2</sup> in their official organ for October, 1913: "War is the noblest and holiest expression of human activity. For us too the glad great hour of battle will strike. Still and deep in

<sup>2</sup> J. P. Bang, "Hurrah and Hallelujah," p. 212.

the German heart must live the joy of battle and the longing for it. Let us ridicule to the utmost the old women in breeches who fear war and deplore it as cruel or revolting. No; war is beautiful. Its august sublimity elevates the human heart beyond the earthly and the common. In the cloud palace above sit the heroes. Frederick the Great and Blücher, and all the men of action-the great emperor. Moltke, Bismarck are there as well, but not the old women who would take away our joy in war. When here on earth a battle is won by German arms and the faithful dead ascend to heaven, a Potsdam lance-corporal will call the guard to the door, and old Fritz, springing from his golden throne, will give the command to present arms. This is the heaven of Young Germany."

It was such teaching that permeated Germany like the poison gas which they send on its death-dealing mission into the trenches of the Allies, and that prepared the way for this world catastrophe. Therefore we can at least absolve almighty God from all responsibility in bringing on this world war. It was made in Germany; it smacks not of the divine, but of the diabolical.

It is a fair proposition that God could not stop the war without abandoning his great experiment in endowing man with freedom of action.

God took fearful chances when he gave man the power to choose between good and evil. There was

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always the possibility that man might turn from the good and deliberately select the evil.

Men cry, "Oh that thou wouldest rend the heavens and come down." It is a prayer for God to impose his will upon the world, to coerce men into goodness, to override their judgments. But that means that man is to be no longer a responsible being. It means the degradation of man into an automaton.

God could convert the world into an Eden, and bloodthirsty, revengeful, ambitious, and selfish men into seraphs and angels; but he could not do it without making puppets of us all. God could not stop the war, because in a moral universe man has the power to choose; and one nation at least has deliberately chosen war as a way to a large place under the sun, and until they awake from that evil dream, war must continue with all its heart-break and horror, the innocent suffering with the guilty. Human freedom stands in the way of any arbitrary act of divine intervention.

God could not stop the war without interfering with his great principle, that in a moral universe men shall reap what they sow.

God does not intervene in the lives of individuals when they adopt some course of action which is bound to bring suffering upon themselves and perhaps upon others. He leaves them alone to work out their own salvation. They must learn by experience.

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The writer knows a boy who, when he was a little fellow, used to watch with the most intense interest his father in the act of shaving. He had been warned not to touch the razor, but when he arrived at the age of five years, he evidently felt that he had arrived at that physical period of development which called for the use of a tonsorial instrument. So he shut himself up in the bathroom, stropped the razor, or, to use exact language, razored the strop, applied the lather to his face, and proceeded to shave himself. When he came downstairs the blood was running from half a dozen cuts. It was not necessary to warn him again that a razor is a very dangerous instrument in the hands of a small boy.

When a man, or a nation, in defiance of the commandments of God, seizes some dangerous weapon and proceeds to use it, there is no voice from heaven, there is no fiat of the Almighty which compels him to drop it. He is permitted to go on his way without, any intervention. But the judgments of God, though slow, are sure. No man or nation can break the laws of humanity and justice and escape suffering.

It is not true that Germany is the only sinner among the nations. Not one of the warring peoples can pose as a saint. There is good reason why all of us should beat our breasts and cry, "God be merciful to me a sinner." But it was Germany that seized the razor, and in cutting others she has

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inflicted terrible wounds upon herself; and it may be that, when the blood finally stops flowing and the nations get around the council table and see the deep and unsightly scars made by that keen and dangerous instrument, they will decide that war is a razor that must henceforth forever be kept under lock and key.

We have been discussing this subject on the assumption that God does not intervene in human affairs. That is true of intervention in an arbitrary external sense. But in a very real and vital way God is continually intervening. There is a divine spirit working in the hearts of men.

Not many years ago slavery was regarded as a natural and righteous institution. To-day slavery has been abolished in every part of the world. Why? Because of the Spirit of God moving in the hearts of men. Not many years ago there was little or no sentiment against the liquor traffic. To-day it has been placed under the ban, and is struggling for its very life in every country of the world. Why? Because of the Spirit of God moving in the hearts of men. In former times men never dreamed of apologizing for war. They exulted, they gloried in it, and if it were not as destructive as modern warfare, that was not the fault of those who engaged in it. As Shailer Mathews aptly expressed it, the spirit was willing, but the ammunition and transportation facilities were weak. To-day war is under

the ban like the liquor traffic. Germany is an outcast among the nations because of the conviction that she, more than any other nation, is responsible for the conflict. We are actually witnessing nations going to war for the sake of peace. Militarism has received a knock-out blow, and the time is at hand when the peace dream of the Hebrew prophet will be realized. Why? Because of the Spirit of God moving in the hearts of men. In that sense God is intervening to stop the war.

# THE CALL OF THE NATION

"Atthinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation, rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her intincible locks; methinks I see her as an eagle mething her mighty youth, and kindling her unduzzled eyes at the full midday beam."—Milton.

LORD ROBERTS, one of England's greatest soldiers, who died in the early months of the great war, at a crowded meeting in Manchester, in 1912, delivered a speech which created a sensation in every capital of Europe. It closed with a solemn warning addressed to his fellow countrymen: "Arm, and prepare to quit yourselves like men, for the time of your ordeal is at hand." Roberts knew, as did other great Biritish leaders, that Germany's hour for world conquest was about to strike.

But England, threatened with civil war in Ireland because of the refusal of Protestant Ulster to submit to Home Rule, which Ulster believed was only another phrase for Roman rule, menaced by a class struggle which had already cost the lives of many men, harassed by the violent acts of the militant wing of the Woman Suffrage Party, filled

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with idealists who insisted that the conscience of the world had outgrown war and that the money spent on the army and navy should be diverted to schemes of social amelioration—England refused to take Roberts seriously.

Then came the declaration of war with all the horrible, unspeakable things which have happened since that time. What Lord Roberts said to the English people two years before the great war began is a fitting message to the American people at the present crisis: "Arm, and prepare to quit yourselves like men, for the time of your ordeal is at hand."

For nearly three years we have been occupying reserved seats on the grand-stand, watching the greatest war spectacle of all history. To-day the nation is out in the dust and agony and blood of the common field, and the time of our ordeal has come.

The first imperative call that comes to the nation to-day is, America, awake, and prepare!

We have gone into this war with the holiest and purest motives. In the words of our President: "We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifice we shall freely make. We go to fight for the things we have always carried nearest our hearts, for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government, for the rights and liberties of small nations, and for the ultimate peace of the world." Such an objective commends itself to the American soul.

But however pure our motives and worthy our ends, something more is necessary. This is no comic-opera war. It cannot be won on paper. We shall never defeat Germany with our mouths. We must back up our ideals with something that can bite. We must awaken to the fact that by the act of our representatives at Washington we are engaged in war, and not in any international Marathon race; that our interests to-day in the world struggle are as great as those of France and England who are slowly bleeding to death; that if by some unhappy combination of circumstances England or France should collapse, we would stand a mighty good chance of seeing German forces landing on our coasts and teaching our men, women, and children some lessons in German culture that the people of Belgium and northern France learned at tremendous cost. Is it not time for some of us to guit our trifling and dawdling and fairly face the music of our battle?

Herman Hagedorn, in a poem published in "The Metropolitan," entitled "The Riders," pictures the men who have died for American freedom rising out of their graves and riding through the land with the bugle call, "Awake, Awake, Meet at the Common, The World's at Stake." The last two stanzas are especially fine:

On the highways they ride, our fathers, They knock at our doors in the night. Have you no ear for justice? Have you no hands for the right? Up from your beds, you dawdlers, Say not we died in vain. Out of the rusty scabbard Whip the spirit again.

The ghosts are not an army With swords and gleaming gun, They are riders like the riders Who rode to Lexington. And every sash they rattle, And every door they shake, And to every goal-forgetful soul, They cry, "Craven, Awake!"

The call of the nation is to increase our food supplies and to suppress all forms of national waste.

For the first time in centuries the nations of the world are threatened with famine. According to Henry Clews, in his weekly report of the financial world dated August 18, 1917: "The world's food situation is more serious than generally appreciated. Destruction of life, of wealth, and of commodities in Europe has lessened food production in various parts of the world, while the difficulties of transportation aggravated the serious shortage in nearly all lines of animal and vegetable food." If America can solve the food problem of the Allies and the transportation of the food, Germany is defeated as sure as there is a sun in the heavens.

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The man with the hoe is as important to-day as the man with the machine gun, and the blisters on the hands of ten thousand amateur gardeners who have sprung to their spades and rakes overnight are honorable scars for which no apologies are necessary. If you have a back-yard and wish to serve your country, buy a spade and dig in. A patriot is a man who is willing to convert his beautiful lawn into a potato patch, and the man who gets down on his knees to weed his tomatoes is offering a very beautiful and appropriate prayer for home and country.

Mr. Herbert Hoover, the head of the Food Commission, has started a great campaign of food conservation and food control. He did not hesitate to tell the members of the Senate and Congress that food speculators have been robbing the people of fifty million dollars monthly, and that the flour which has been fourteen dollars a barrel on the average, ought not to have been more than nine dollars a barrel. In this food crisis we have a right to ask of our representatives at Washington the summary punishment of all men who are seeking for private gain to corner the food products of our country. These men may be very influential citizens, may wear an American flag on the lapel of their coats. and may be very ardent in their expressions of loyalty, but if it be correct, as was recently testified before the Federal grand jury at Chicago, that food brokers and speculators have been making a profit out of food supplies of from twenty-five to

two hundred per cent, then it is true that such men are fighting the battles of the Kaiser as truly as any of his soldiers who have been decorated with the Iron Cross, and the proper place for such disloyal citizens is the penitentiary.

Mr. Hoover, in the name of the President, calls upon us to eliminate all forms of national waste. Lloyd George did not hesitate to tell the English people that they were fighting three enemies: the German army, the German submarine warfare, and the English liquor traffic. One of the compensations of the great war is the fact that it has forced the nations involved in the struggle to conserve their resources, and has brought new and stringent legislation against that traffic which is responsible for the waste of so much money and manhood. Russia took the advanced step of totally suppressing the sale of vodka. The greater part of Canada is dry, and in France and England restrictions have been placed on the sale of all intoxicating liquors.

In these days when the shortage of food has become a world problem, nation-wide prohibition has become a question of national self-preservation. According to statistics supplied by the Department of Agriculture, during the fiscal year ending June, 1916, 68,439,849 bushels of barley, corn, rye, oats, wheat, and other cereals were used in the manufacture of fermented liquors, 39,341,566 bushels of grain were used for distilled spirits, 117,-143,205 pounds of grape-sugar, hops, and other material were used for fermented liquors, and 154,-885,086 gallons of molasses and glucose were used for fermented liquors and distilled spirits.

A dry zone around the military camps to protect our sons from an enemy worse than war is an excellent and necessary measure; but a more excellent measure is to put a dry zone around the whole of the United States. In a world threatened by starvation, food is too precious to be rotted by the hundreds of thousands of bushels, simply for the sake of the alcohol that comes from putrefaction and decay. Leaving the moral side out of consideration, and viewing it on no higher ground than an economic war emergency measure, one of the most insistent calls of the nation is for the enactment of national prohibition.

The call of the nation is the ancient call of sacrifice.

That call comes to young and old, to rich and poor—to all alike. If you are exempt from the call of service, and have no sons to offer your country in her hour of need, then thank God you have at least the privilege of paying taxes and thus making it possible for other sons to go.

Two men met on the public street, and one said to the other, "Well, I see we have got to pay an income tax," and his voice was about as cheerful as that of an undertaker who is bidding the friends of the departed to step up and take the last look:

and after he had advanced some reasons why the tax should have started on incomes a little higher than the one he was receiving, his friend said to him, "Perhaps you are planning to enlist," and before he had hardly finished his sentence the man replied, "Oh no, I am too old." "But what about your sons?" And his face became almost as cheerful as he made answer, "Oh, they are too young."

Then his friend said to him, "Do you not think that, in a world where millions of people are making the supreme sacrifice for human freedom, you are getting off mighty easy if your only contribution is the few dollars it will cost you in increased taxation."

There should be but scant sympathy and little patience for the man in comfortable circumstances who is groaning and grumbling because war is going to add a few dollars to his tax bill. If through selfishness or thoughtlessness you have been inclined to lift up your voice against the impending war taxes, quit it, and when the tax bill arrives welcome it as you would a "raise" of salary, whistle the Star Spangled Banner, and rejoice that there are more ways of killing Prussian militarism than by pulling the trigger of a gun.

To the young men of our nation there comes this insistent call to sacrifice and, if need be, to die for the common good. Before the war it was claimed by many writers that man had become enervated through ease and luxury, that the old heroic fiber had been atrophied, that modern civilization had destroyed the old frontier spirit of heroic adventure.

But the war has dispelled that illusion. It has proved that man to-day in his willingness to take the most desperate chances, to die for the sake of ideals, is in no way inferior to men of former ages.

Here is a letter dated "Somewhere in France," and signed "Dean Rogers." Because it is typical of the spirit of so many boys who are fighting in the trenches, a few paragraphs are quoted:

"The job of scout has been doped out to me, and with it a lot of excitement. Every night we go out into 'No Man's Land,' and crawl around between the lines in the shell-holes and mud, listening for Fritz and his doings. . . Lots of narrow shaves these days. Got hit twice last night by flying shrapnel, but not hard enough to cut through my clothing. You can see his old 'rum jars' coming, and keep your eye on them like a baseball fly, and judge it while in the air. If you judge correctly, all's well; if not, you are liable to lose almost as good a game as baseball, hey? Mother, please don't worry about me, I am just letting things go as they happen and seeing where it will take me. My life is in the strongest of all hands, and if it is His will for me to pass over, why it is O. K. A fellow gets to take things as they come. We see so many slip out that if your number is on a shell,

why take it and that's all. I'd a darn sight rather pass out here doing my bit than be in those shirker's shoes in Canada."

It is the letter of a boy well known to the writer, who three years ago was only worrying how he could pass his examinations in the high school and bat a home run for the team when there happened to be three men on bases and two men out. Now he is facing death every day and perhaps even now is lying in an unknown grave, *somewhere in France*.

The call to-day is for men of courage and the sacrificial temper, men like Dean Rogers, who will not shrink in the hour of danger, men who will give their heart's blood for humanity and democracy.

The call of the nation is to every man, woman, and child of the nation. This war is distinguished from other wars in the fact that it is a war of nations and not simply armies. The men and women employed in the munition factories, the people who dig in the back-yard gardens, the farmers, the bankers who direct our financial operations, if you please, Sister Sue knitting stockings for the soldiers, and all that vast organized Red Cross and relief work which Sister Sue symbolizes—all are fighting as truly as the soldiers in the trenches.

We must go into this war a united people, and we shall come out of it like steel that has been tempered by fire.

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Kipling tells a story of "The Ship that Found Herself." It is a description of a ship on her maiden voyage, when every part of the ship, beam and brace, rod and piston seemed to be complaining and grumbling—a ship divided against herself. But a great storm arose, and then it seemed as if all parts of the ship drew together. The discordant sounds ceased, and the ship met the crisis of the storm triumphantly.

The American ship of state has had a like experience during these past months. The officers have not always carried out the commands of the captain, and there has been not a little grumbling and complaining on the part of the crew. The passengers have criticized the captain; what they have said concerning some of the chief officers would not look proper in a Sunday School quarterly. The people on the east side of the ship thought the captain had inscribed upon his compass the motto "Safety First," and the people on the west side of the ship were sure that the captain was one of those marine scorchers who would surely drive the vessel upon the rocks. In addition, there was a number of professional " stay-at-home-at-any price " people, who claimed that the only way to have a safe voyage was to keep the ship in a dry-dock and to say "Thank you, sir" for every insult that was handed across by any pirate that rose up above the horizon.

For nearly three years we had been sailing in

troubled waters, and Kipling's ship never groaned more than the American ship of state. But to-day we are out in the storm. The wind is blowing a gale. The heavens are black with clouds. But the discordant voices are becoming less discordant; the sound of the pacifist is low; and where disloyalty once shouted on the housetop, it now whispers in the closet. All true men are asking, "What service can I render?" and with the slogan, "Stand by the Captain," the American ship is finding herself.

The call that rises high above all other calls is that of sacrifice. It was perhaps nothing more than a coincidence that the joint resolution of Congress declaring a state of war was signed by the President on Good Friday. It is the call of Calvary that the nation is hearing to-day, the old call to go out and suffer for world freedom. Therefore, "Arm, and prepare to quit yourselves like men, for the time of your ordeal is at hand."

# $\mathbf{VI}$

## THE SWORD OF CHRIST

"Think not that I am come to send peace on the earth; I came not to send peace, but a sword."

-Jesus Christ.

It is perhaps one of the minor compensations of the great war, that it has added a number of new words to the vocabulary of the plain man. One of the words that has become a part of the current coin is "pacifist." But though the word has become a very familiar headline upon our newspapers, it is employed in such a variety of senses that it may describe the gentle Quaker, with his hatred of all forms of compulsion, the Tolstoyan non-resistant, and the speaker who at a meeting of the Federated Union for Democracy held recently in New York shouted amid great applause, "Peace on earth, good will to men, and hanging the food speculator on the nearest lamp-post will bring us nearer to social justice every hour."

Under the flag of pacifism march the religious objector who interprets the commands, "Thou shalt not kill," "Resist not him that is evil," in a narrow literalistic sense, the orthodox socialist, the philo-

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sophic anarchist, the man who believes in war, but not in America's participation in this war on the side of the Allies because of his pro-German sympathies, and a certain group of young college men who are respectfully called "idealistic intellectuals" by one writer, but who, according to Mr. Roosevelt, are preaching the doctrine of international cowardice, and are unfitting themselves for any career more manly than that of a nurse-maid.

For the religious objector with his hatred of the stark barbarism of war, who believes that no weapon of violence can be an instrument of love, and who finds in Jesus of Nazareth the supreme inspiration to conscientious objection, we can have considerable respect. In these days when passions run high, it may require just as high a degree of courage to bear witness against war, and against universal military service, as actually to face the possibilities of death upon the battle-field. It is unfortunate for the conscientious objector that he should have as bedfellows the coward, the slacker, the pro-German, and the man who uses the sheep's clothing of pacifism to disguise his wolfish hatred of the ideals for which the Allies are fighting. It ought to be possible to provide some alternative form of service that would not compel the conscientious objector to violate his conscience. Mine-sweeping might provide one such form of service, for its object is to save and not to destroy life. It is true, that mine-sweeping is very dangerous work, but that would not be an objection to one who is willing to suffer for conscience' sake. It would also be a real test of the sincerity of the men who are claiming exemption on conscientious grounds.

The religious objector, with his moral protest against war, his refusal to use physical constraint, even though freedom perish and his country is ravished by the invader, his appeal to the Bible and to Christian ethics as a justification of his refusal to participate in war, his somewhat contemptuous references to militaristic ministers of the gospel of good will who have surrendered to the Red God Mars and betrayed the Prince of Peace into the hands of his enemies, has awakened a fresh interest in the teachings of the Bible on the rights and wrongs of war.

The candid pacifist must admit that there are few passages to be found in the Old Testament Scriptures that support his position. Even the commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," which has been used so freely by pacifists for propagandist purposes, is a part of a code which elsewhere commands that men shall be killed if proved guilty of certain specified offenses. The heroes of the Old Testament story for the most part are men of war, and the unknown writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, although an ardent disciple of Jesus, has so little of the spirit of the pacifist that it is largely the names of soldiers that he enrolls upon the calendar of fame. That a war for righteousness met with his

hearty approval is evident in the passage (Heb. II: 32-34), "And what shall I more say? for the time will fail me, if I tell of Gideon, Barak, Samson, Jephthah, of David and Samuel and the prophets: who through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the power of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, from weakness were made strong, waxed mighty in war, turned to flight armies of aliens." George Hodges has reminded 1 us that when Ulfilas, the apostle of the Goths, translated the Bible into the language of the people, he omitted the books of Samuel and Kings because there is so much fighting in them. He feared that his belligerent countrymen would find these books more interesting than the Sermon on the Mount.

However, it is not so much upon the Old Testament as upon the example and teachings of Jesus that the pacifist depends to maintain his position as a conscientious objector.

Was not Jesus the Prince of Peace? Did not the angels sing at his nativity, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will to men"? Did he not himself say to the multitude, "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God"? Is he not pictured as the Good Shepherd, placid, gentle, who laid down his life for the sheep? Did he not lay this command upon his followers: "Resist not him that is evil; but

1 " Religion in a World of War."

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whosoever smitch thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also; and if any man would go to law with thee, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also"? Did he not leave as a legacy to the disciples the benediction of peace, "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you"?

The only answer that we can give to these questions propounded by the pacifists is an answer of affirmation. Jesus wept over Jerusalem. His life was so graced with gentleness that even little children found a refuge in his arms. When he was reviled, he reviled not again; and in almost the last glimpse we get of the great Sufferer, he is on a cross surrounded by a jeering Jerusalem rabble, and looking away over the wagging heads of the mocking mob into the shadowed sky of the eternal heavens, he is praying, "Father, forgive them, they know not what they do."

There are few higher authorities in New Testament teaching than Charles Foster Kent. In a book recently published,<sup>2</sup> he discusses the doctrine of non-resentment as taught by Jesus. He writes: "Jesus' oft-discussed teaching regarding non-resistance is but a dramatic and hyperbolic illustration of his law of love. His aim was to free his followers absolutely from the older and still prevalent rule of force, whose motive power was anger, or a spirit of revenge. Tolstoy and certain other modern pacifists have interpreted this passage with a

2 " The Social Teachings of the Prophets and Jesus," pp. 207, 208.

blind literalism which has obscured its real meaning. . Obviously the passage must be interpreted in the light of Jesus' other acts. No one could be more stern than was he in his denunciation of the hypocritical Pharisees, and in his open rebuke and attacks directed against the grafting high priests. In most cases, as experience has amply demonstrated, non-resistance prompted by good will is the most potent agency in disarming aggressive force. No true Christian citizen will hesitate to use it to the uttermost. At the same time he must be loyal to the highest demands of the Golden Rule. If non-resistance will not disarm the unprincipled aggressor, this law may sometimes call for the discipline of force."

There is another side to the character of Jesus that pacifists strangely overlook, and that is his keen sense of justice, his moral indignation in the presence of wrongs, his hatred of shams. The wooing note is not the only note to be heard in the Gospels.

While Jesus never resorted to force for his own defense, he did not hesitate to employ force to defend the rights of others when all other means had failed. Mr. Roosevelt's reputation has been made in other fields of thought than that of biblical interpretation, but he is in line with the best exegetical thought on the subject when he writes <sup>3</sup> concerning the cleansing of the temple: "When the

<sup>3</sup> "Fear God and Take Your Own Part," p. 26.

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Saviour saw the money-changers in the temple, he broke the peace by driving them out. At that moment peace could have been obtained readily enough by the simple expedient of keeping quiet in the presence of wrong. But instead of preserving peace at the expense of righteousness the Saviour, armed with a scourge of cords, drove the moneychangers from the temple. Righteousness is the end, and peace a means to the end, and sometimes it is not peace but war, which is the proper means to achieve the end."

In the Gospel of Mark (3 : 1-6) we have an account of Jesus entering a synagogue on the Sabbath Day and finding before him a man with a withered hand. The Pharisees, who were waiting an opportunity to bring some charge against the Master that they might destroy him, watched him narrowly. And Jesus said unto them, "Is it lawful on the sabbath day to do good or to do harm, to save a life or to kill?" And "they held their peace." And Mark tells us that Jesus, being grieved with the hardness of their hearts, looked upon them with anger. Why was he angry? Because of their inhumanity. Because they put more emphasis upon the letter of an institution than upon the sanctity of a human life.

He who said, "Resist not him that is evil," also spoke such words as these: "It is profitable for him that a great millstone should be hanged about his neck, and that he should be sunk in the

depth of the sea" (Matt. 18:6); "He will miserably destroy these wicked men" (Matt. 21:41); "He sent forth his armies, and destroyed those murderers, and burned their city" (Matt. 22:7). Jesus' condemnation of Pharisaism as recorded in Matthew 23 is speech of invective blazing with moral indignation against the heartless exploiters of the poor, who for a pretense make long prayers, that they may with greater facility prey upon the widow and the fatherless.

The elements of justice and gentleness, of tenderness and severity, found in the character of Jesus need not surprise us. He was the perfect man. His virtues were mixed in the right proportions. He had a character that would melt with tenderness and flame with indignation. He was the Prince of Peace, but he was also the Lion of the tribe of Judah. The gospel is at once a message of love and a declaration of war. It comes to bind up breaking hearts and also to break oppression, to put down the lofty from their seats, and to exalt men of low degree.

We have put great emphasis upon the cross as the symbol of Christianity, and in these days of war that symbol has taken on a new and richer meaning. It is deeply significant that the highest honors that are bestowed upon the soldiers for gallant and distinguished service, are crosses, the Military, the Iron, and the Victoria.

But the cross is not the only symbol of Chris-

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tianity. Said Jesus to the disciples: "Think not that I am come to send peace upon the earth; I came not to send peace, but a sword."

His ideas are a sword. It was said by Carlyle that democracy was born at Bunker Hill. However flattering that may be to national pride, it is not correct. Democracy was born at Bethlehem, and cradled in the arms of Jesus. If the ground of democracy be defined as optimism concerning the masses, then it can be said that in Jesus' teaching, that man as such is a creature most dear to God, we have the beginnings of democracy.

The application of this revolutionary idea to life involved the destruction of an ancient civilization. It meant the emancipation of millions of people from a slavery that not only crushed the body, but also destroyed the soul. It meant the abolition of monopoly, of aristocracy, of special privilege, both in the Church and in the State. It meant that nations as well as individuals are under the law of love, and that the weak nation as well as the weak individual must be protected from the defiantly ruthless exploiter.

Let it be frankly admitted, that the gospel is a trouble-brewer; it is an inflamer of the masses; it is a flaming sword as well as an olive branch of peace. Its latest manifestation as a destructive agency is the revolution in Russia, by which an ancient monarchy which claimed to rule by right divine tumbled over like a house of cards, and mil-

lions of the common folk who had never known anything but the chains of servitude, awakened to the new day of liberty.

If war be defined as a conflict of ideals, then in this great struggle we are witnessing the free nations of the earth wielding the sword of democracy, which is the sword of Christ, against an arrogant, autocratic military caste that is seeking to subjugate the world.

In the days when the victorious German armies were trampling their opponents under foot, and it seemed as if the Prussian dream of world empire was to be realized, Maximilian Harden wrote these words in his paper:<sup>4</sup> "The most distinguished ornament of the Germans is that they do not fit in with the crowd of peaceable nations. German manhood has not become effeminate by a long peace. War was always the most successful business of the Germans. Germany means to grow. Germany strikes out. Who has given Germany permission? Germany's power is Germany's might. Hence the present war is a good war."

There baldly, without ambiguity, you have expressed the old pagan idea of the right of might, that he shall take who has the power, and he shall keep who can. 'Against that evil thing the sword of Christ has been drawn again and again down through the centuries. Once more the battle is joined. Shall brute force become the ruler of the

4 " Zukunft," Sept. 5, 1914.

nations? Must the weak submit to the pitiless domination of the strong? Our only answer to that brutal, merciless, monstrous thing is the sword of Christ.

The sword of Christ suggests that there are some things that are worth even the supreme sacrifice of life itself. Peace at any price is as materialistic as it is a cowardly creed. It is based on the idea that the greatest evils that can befall a man are physical pain and death. Every normal man desires peace, if it be a peace of righteousness, that offers protection to his wife and children, that enables him to enjoy the blessings of civil and religious liberty and the fruits of a good conscience. If, however, the price of peace be the surrender of the good to the evil, then the normal man will break the peace rather than sacrifice the things which give dignity and meaning to life. In adopting that course he is fulfilling the Royal Law, for a love that does not hate and will not fight its opposite, is a love without self-respect.

William Adams Brown has reminded <sup>5</sup> us "that if love and non-resistance were synonymous, pacifists would be in the right, but it is not clear that this is true. To refrain from fighting when others than myself are concerned may be the part of selfishness rather than of courage. Had Belgium not resisted Germany, it might have been better for Belgium, but what would have been the conse-

<sup>5</sup> " Is Christianity Practicable? " p. 176.

quences for France? Shall we condemn Washington and Mazzini as unchristian because, when peaceable means had been tried in vain, they turned to the sword as a last resort? Shall we say that Lincoln was no Christian when he answered the gun fired on Sumter with his call for volunteers? To do this would be to unwrite some of the noblest pages of human history, and rob our children of examples by which our own lives have been inspired."

A love that can remain neutral in the presence of injustice and inhumanity, that can dispassionately observe the violation of women, the wanton destruction of churches, the dropping of bombs upon children sleeping in cradles, is not a love that can be ranked among the virtues. It is written that when Jesus saw the inhumanity of the Pharisees toward the man with the withered hand, he looked upon them with anger. And the man who can witness the spectacle of Germany riding roughshod over the world, without feeling the desire to draw the sword of Christ in defense of liberty and democracy, lacks the spirit of heroic Christianity.

In this great war we have still another illustration of the truth of the words spoken by Jesus to the disciples so many centuries ago: "Think not that I am come to send peace on the earth; I came not to send peace, but a sword."

## VII

## CAN WAR BE ABOLISHED?

It may seem an inopportune time to discuss the abolition of war while the conflict is still raging. But we have learned by experience that it is only while we are still under the shock of some great catastrophe that we are likely to work out provisions against another recurrence. Legislation for the protection of life usually follows fast upon the heels of some ocean tragedy or factory fire, when disaster has stung indifference into thoughtful care.

Discussions of the abolition of war before the great conflict began were almost as academic as the question, Is Mars inhabited? The men who were prominent in peace discussions were rated by many level-headed people as impossible idealists. To-day war has so thrust itself upon the attention of the world, has entailed so much suffering, waste of life and money, has so limited our individual liberties, has imposed such a staggering load of agony upon the shoulders of the world, that instead of being a mere academic question it impresses us as the only real, important question that demands an answer. Now while the brutal god of war is wading through human blood, is the time to take counsel

how he may be banished forever from an afflicted and sorrowful world.

We must recognize the strength of the influences which are operating against the abolition of war.

It is claimed by many that war is an inevitable phenomenon. It is an immutable law of life, like the law of gravitation or of germination. There have always been wars, hence there always will be wars. According to Treitschke, the German historian: "The hope of banishing war is not only meaningless but immoral. Its disappearance would turn the earth into a great temple of selfishness. Our age is an iron age. If the strong vanquish the weak, it is the law of life." If it be true that struggle is the universal law of life, that the weak must ever become the prey of the strong, that the decision of the fifteen-inch gun is the judgment of God, then our only course is to bow to the inevitable and accept war as an unfortunate but natural law of life.

It is also contended that war is a necessary factor in the march of progress, a teacher of morality, and a regenerator of the nation.

The late Hugo Münsterberg, in his defense of Germany, tried to popularize that view of war among the people of America. As the most famous exponent of German culture on this continent, an exchange professor in one of our leading universities, his words are especially significant as illustrative of the cultivated German mind on the subject of war.

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He writes ': "It is easily said, and the average American likes to say it, that nations ought to respect the possessions of other nations, as individuals respect the private property of their neighbors. But this apparent highest morality would be the grossest immorality. . The world's progress at all times has depended upon the expansive ascendency of the strong, sound, solid, and able nations, and the shrinking of those which have lost their healthy qualities and have become unfit or decadent."

Professor Münsterberg then gives an alarming picture of the decadence of a nation under a longcontinued peace, and continues: "A victorious war may bring to such a nation a complete regeneration; the moral energies awake; vice is repressed; life is protected; education flourishes; hygiene spreads; science rebuilds the land; prosperity grows; temperance and self-discipline prevail; family life can expand in the new abundance. For every boy who dies, a score of men and women in the next generation will find the means of health and happiness."

This glorification of war by one of the great leaders of German thought came as a painful shock to a non-militaristic people, and was an important factor in arousing the nation to the danger that a triumphant autocracy, mad with the lust of war and world empire, would bring to the entire group of the family of nations.

1 " The War and America," pp. 190, 193, 195.

But although such teaching impresses peaceloving nations like the United States and Great Britain as inhuman and horrible, it is the orthodox doctrine of almost the entire German people. For more than a score of years German professors and writers have been the humble and obedient instruments of the high bureaucrats at Berlin, in preparing the common people mentally and morally for the great war that was to make Germany the undisputed master of the world. This doctrine, that war as such is desirable, held by a great nation, is a powerful influence operating against the abolition of war.

President Wilson, in his reply to Pope Benedict's peace proposals, dated August 27, 1917, clearly shows that there can be no proper basis for an enduring peace with the present rulers of Germany, for the object of this war, as the President points out, "is to deliver the free people of the world from the menace and the actual power of a vast military establishment controlled by an irresponsible government, which having secretly planned to dominate the world, proceeded to carry the plan out without regard either to the sacred obligations of treaty, or the long-established practices and longcherished principles of international action and honor; which chose its own time for the war: delivered its blow fiercely and suddenly; stopped at no barrier either of law or of mercy; swept a whole continent with the tide of blood-not the blood of soldiers only, but the blood of innocent women and children also, and of the helpless poor; and now stands balked but not defeated, the enemy of fourfifths of the world." These are words that will live in history as an expression of American sentiment against the horrible doctrine that might makes right and that war as such is a desirable thing.

In opposition to this iron creed of militarism must be placed certain influences that are making for the abolition of war.

There is first the conviction that has seized upon millions of people, that this must be the last great war.

It has been stated, that one thing which has strengthened the soldiers of the Allies to remain in the trenches and undergo the terrible sufferings and hardships that have fallen to their lot, is the conviction that this is the war that will abolish war, that they are sealing with their blood the new long day of peace and brotherhood. Not only the soldiers, but high officials in all the warring countries have expressed similar sentiments. A member of the Italian war mission that toured the United States, was reported by the press as stating in one of his speeches: "This must be the last war. Nations cannot in the future squander all their money on military preparedness. The new spirit must make us live together in the ideals of peace and justice."

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It is probably true that man is a fighting animal, and when the war-drums beat and the bugles blow, the old fighting spirit which he has inherited from a thousand ancestors breaks through the thin crust of acquired habits of ease and culture. The fatal fascination of war, even to the man who hates war, has been put very beautifully by Richard Le Gallienne:

## War I abhor, And yet how sweet the sound along the marching street, Of drum and fife, and I forget Broken old mothers, and the whole Dark butchering without a soul.

Oh, it is wickedness to clothe Yon hideous grinning thing that stalks Hidden in music, like a queen That in a garden of glory walks, Till good men love the things they loathe; Art, thou hast many infamies, But not an infamy like this.

And yet the old chivalry and romance of war is a thing of the past. It really began to disappear when gunpowder came in. "War," as Frederick Palmer sees it, after representing the American press in the trenches of France, "is a huge industry, in which men are engaged in the business of killing by machinery." To kill a man three, six, ten miles away, whom you never saw, and never will see, by a gun that will send a shell twenty miles, is not an act that will make any very strong appeal to even the most brutal of God's creatures.

The naked realism of war by machinery, with its blood-stained trenches, torpedoed ships sinking amid the wails of women and children, blocks of houses blown up by shells which fall from the sky, regiments of men crumbling into fragments through mine explosions, is revolting to any man of even limited fine feeling and sentiment.

There are few honest militarists left in Europe to-day. After two years of war even the German chancellor had experienced a sufficient change of heart to state in the course of an address in the Reichstag, "The peace which ends this war must be a lasting peace, and must not bear the germ of new wars, but that of a peaceful arrangement of all European questions." The conviction that this must be the last great war, a conviction that has been burned into us by the horrors of the present conflict, is a powerful influence making for the abolition of war.

A second influence that is making for the abolition of war is the keener sense of the solidarity of the race.

When Washington warned his fellow countrymen against entangling alliances, America was a Robinson Crusoe among the nations. The ties that bound the United States to the old world were so few that they could be ignored by the five million people

living in this country. To-day, as a result of modern inventions, the whole world is a neighborhood and every man a calling acquaintance. This war has taught that the world is one big family, that if one member suffers all suffer, that a nation can no more be indifferent to this present reign of blood than the brain of man can ignore a violent attack of appendicitis in that part of the body where appendicitis manifests itself.

We have seen the fire started in one of the Balkan states spreading from country to country. until practically the whole world is ablaze. In the modern world war cannot be localized. There are too many ties, commercial, social, and racial, binding us together. The neutral nations must suffer along with the belligerent states, the innocent with the guilty. War can no longer be regarded as a private matter. We have learned in the bitter school of experience that the race is a unit, that the nation that breaks the public peace is an enemy of the public good, and must be dealt with by the common will and law of humanity. This war, which has so strongly emphasized the solidarity of the race, is a most potent influence making for the abolition of war.

The strong stand that the working people of the world are taking against war must of necessity prove itself a powerful influence in favor of permanent peace.

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If the case against Germany as the aggressor in the world war had been less convincing, England and France would have collapsed in the early months of the war through lack of support and loyalty on the part of the masses of the workers. So deep is this passion for peace that a war of conquest would not be tolerated to-day in any of the free countries of the world.

In an autocracy the common people have no voice in the affairs of state; they are not permitted to direct the machinery of government. That fact, coupled with a rigid censorship and the summary punishment of all who refuse to submit to those in authority, explains the ignoble stand of the socialists and working men of Germany. Indeed, the orthodox socialist party has permitted itself to be used as a tool of despotism by attempting to incite to sedition the working men among the nations of their enemies, and thus bring about the triumph of autocracy and fasten the chains of servitude more firmly upon the workers of the world. It also explains the refusal of the Allies to begin peace negotiations with the overlords and military despots of the present German régime.

The part that Russia has played in the war since the Revolution has been most disheartening to all who believe that the Allies are fighting the great battle of freedom and democracy. From another standpoint it is prophetic of the dawn of a brighter day. It proves that the hatred of the masses against

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war is so instinctive and violent, that when democracy wins out and the common people come to their own, war is one of the evil things that will be abolished.

• One of the strongest influences making for the abolition of war is the conviction that war is unprofitable.

The new and improved methods of transporting food and munition supplies, by which millions instead of hundreds of thousands of soldiers can be kept on the firing-line; the multiplication of terrible engines of war for the destruction of human life; the fact that as a result of the invention of the submarine, the aeroplane, and the zeppelin, death and destruction can burst forth from under the sea and out of the sky—all these fruits of modern warfare are so horrible, that the common sense of mankind demands that war shall be abolished.

H. G. Wells pictures <sup>2</sup> Mars sitting like a giant above all human affairs for the next two decades, and declaring his will in speech blunt and plain. Mr. Wells writes: "Mars will say to us all: 'Get your houses in order. If you squabble among yourselves, waste time, litigate, muddle, snatch profits, and shirk obligations I will certainly come down among you again. I have taken all your men between eighteen and fifty, and killed and maimed such as I pleased, millions of them; I have wasted

<sup>2</sup> "What is Coming?" p. 93.

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your substance. Now mark you, you have multitudes of male children between the ages of nine and nineteen running about among you. Delightful and beloved boys. And behind them come millions of delightful babies. Go on in the old way, obstruct, waste, squabble, and presently I will come back again, and take all that fresh harvest of life I have spared. And I will squeeze it into red pulp between my hands, I will mix it in the blood of the trenches, and feast upon it before your eyes, even more damnably then I have done with your grown-up sons and young men. And I have taken most of your superfluities already; next time I will take your barest necessities.""

War can be abolished as other evils have been abolished. Chattel slavery, feudalism, gladiatorial contests, ecclesiastical tyranny with its machinery, the rack, the thumbscrew, and the dungeon, have been abolished. War is a survival of a barbaric age that now in its turn must go the way of these other evils.

So strong is this sentiment against war, that in the countries of all the nations concerted action is being taken for some program that will make impossible another such world tragedy as we are now witnessing.

In this general movement for a peace that shall be permanent, the churches should have a leading part, for we are faced with the fact that, under the

strain and agony of war, the veils of our civilization have been torn away, and there has been a near relapse into barbarism. For the church to lag or to remain passive in the peace movement, is to show herself unworthy of her position as a teacher of the public conscience. The churches can make a contribution to world peace by combating the pagan passion for reprisals, by crystallizing public opinion in favor of a peace that shall be based on the laws of humanity and justice and will not contain the germ of new wars, and by putting emphasis on the Christian doctrine of the sanctity of human life and the duty of forgiveness. If peace is to mean something more than the disbanding of armies and the resumption of diplomatic relations, it must carry with it a change of spirit; and for that change of spirit the churches have a special mission and responsibility.

There have sprung up during the past three years a number of peace societies, dominated, and in some cases financed, by men of pro-German sympathies, whose one object was to keep America out of the fight for freedom and to help Germany to win the war.

The Socialist party in America has been under the thumb of German influence since the beginning of the war. Many of the most prominent members of that party have resigned as a protest against a program that was essentially unneutral, un-American, and pro-German. It is to be hoped that

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the example of such men as John Spargo will be followed by other men in that party who believe that, to maintain the ideals of liberty and democracy, an ounce of fighting is worth a pound of talk, and that so long as the Socialist party converses with a German accent, it is not a good place for men who are fighting Prussian autocracy and submarine piracy.

Peace is not a matter of sentimental evangelism. It will not come through talk, even if it be talk from such an illustrious person as Pope Benedict of Rome. The most dominant fact in the world today is brutal, merciless force. The strong man fully armed is out to impose his will upon a weary world, and it would be as profitable to hold a peace conversation with a lightning flash or an earthquake as with him. The only way that the strong man can be dealt with, is by opposing to him a force so strong and irresistible that he will be compelled to take to his corner and bow his head in subjection.

Peace is a matter of practical statesmanship, and not of sentimental moonshine. In the League to Enforce Peace we have, in the judgment of many good authorities, an adequate organization for the preservation of world peace. It has been approved by such men as President Wilson, former President Taft, Lloyd George, and other leading statesmen of the world. The feature in which it differs from other peace organizations lies in the point that obliges all the members of the League to declare

war on any member violating the pact of peace. Robert Goldsmith writes <sup>3</sup> on how the forces of the League would be employed: "The forces of the League would be used for one purpose only, to compel submission of matters in dispute to a court of inquiry before any war was begun; they would not be employed to execute the judgments of the court or to enforce the unwilling acceptance of awards. The appeal to arms would still remain available to the several nations as a last resort. It is believed that the prolonged postponement, plus the public discussion, plus the justice of the award, would all tend to insure its acceptance in the majority of cases."

It is true that the League has been attacked on the ground that it is a league to enforce peace. Moral suasion is good, but in the present evil world a man must sometimes fear God and take his own part. Why is it that life and property are safe or comparatively safe in the country in which we live? It is because between us and the strong man with the predatory instincts there is the bulwark of force. Abolish that force which keeps order in the community, and substitute moral suasion, and lawlessness and crime and anarchy would run riot.

The world had already taken one step in the formation of an international court for the settlement of disputes that may arise among the nations. Its weakness is that no nation is compelled to bring

<sup>3</sup> "A League to Enforce Peace," p. xxiii.

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her case before the court. The contribution that the League to Enforce Peace makes toward world peace, is that behind the court it puts the sheriff.

Let us suppose that in the summer of 1914 there had been in existence such a league, and when Austria put the pistol to the head of Servia, the League had said: "This question of the assassination of an Austrian archduke must be submitted to an international court. If you refuse, we will employ against you our combined military and economic resources." Do you think that the Teutonic powers would then have leaped into the arena? Unfortunately the machinery for preserving peace was not ready. It is our solemn obligation to-day to get it ready.

Peace is on the way. Militarism, with its battleships and standing armies, secret diplomacy, and worship of the state as independent of the laws of God and humanity, with its brutal creed that might makes right, that the states are natural enemies, that the strong should gobble up the weak, stands condemned by the conscience of the world.

The only thing that will save society from another such world cataclysm, is the application of the social principles of Christianity to the present international order. We have clung to the old gods of hate and greed and pride, and they have nearly wrecked our civilization. Idealism is forced upon us, and we cry with Tennyson:

Ring out old shapes of foul disease; Ring out the narrowing lust of gold; Ring out the thousand wars of old, Ring in the thousand years of peace.

Ring in the valiant man and free, The larger heart, the kindlier hand; Ring out the darkness of the land, Ring in the Christ that is to be.

# VIII

# WHEN THE WAR IS OVER, WHAT?

Into the crucible of God is cast The laboring earth and all that dwell therein, Groaning and travailing in pain and sin, Meighed down by heavy burden of the past, There to be cleansed by sorrow's bitter tears, Tried in the fire, purged of all the dross, Humanity itself nailed to the cross Until—regenerate, Man reappears.

-Francis Annesley, in "Chambers' Journal."

For more than three years we have been living under the shadow of a great world horror. Somehow the sunshine has not seemed so bright, the trees and flowers so beautiful, and human life so valuable, since this great conflict plunged the world into bloodshed and anarchy. When we consider the fearful carnage in Europe, devastated cities, starving women and children, men by the thousands dying in agony upon blood-stained battle-fields, without a sympathetic face or a kindly word to cheer them as they make the leap into the unseen, multitudes who have been broken in body and mind, sightless and disfigured, crippled and impoverished, peace seems the most desirable thing that could come to an af-100

flicted world. It is natural, therefore, that in these days of war our minds should instinctively turn to thoughts of peace, and that the phrase, "When the war is over," should be heard continually from our lips.

It would be an unwise procedure to make any attempt at forecasting the probable duration of the war. There are so many forces hidden from the gaze of the ordinary individual, that to assume the rôle of a prophet is a most perilous undertaking. Germany made the great mistake at the beginning of the conflict in assuming that the war would be over in two months, and that miscalculation has cost the lives of millions of men. It is said that the Kaiser told his soldiers that they would be away about six weeks, leaving Germany as soon as the wheat had been put in shock, and returning in time for the threshing in September. When Kitchener organized the fighting forces of Great Britain on the assumption that the war would last three years. even the military experts refused to take him seriously. Perhaps the best answer was that of a South African who remarked reflectively to the interviewer who sought a definite time limit, "Well sir, I can't hardly say, but it looks to me as though this 'ere war 'as settled down into a sort of institution." One thing is certain, that if the war continues at the present rate of expenditure of human life and money, it must speedily come to a close from sheer exhaustion on the part of the nations

involved in the struggle. And the expenditure does not grow less.

When the war is over, the world will be confronted with great and serious problems.

Victor Hugo, writing of the battle of Waterloo, described it as a change of front on the part of the universe. He meant by that rather far-fetched phrase, that some of the great political and social movements of history dated from Waterloo. But if the Napoleonic wars resulted in great changes, we may confidently expect that the after-war world will be confronted with new and gigantic problems of every kind, national and international, economic and religious.

All writers on the subject are agreed that the changes will be far-reaching and serious. Gilbert Parker declares:<sup>1</sup> "This world war is a purgatorial passage through which mankind is moving into a new existence. Whatever be the end, whoever the victors, the active, peopled, fighting, organized, yet disordered world of our knowing, with its arbitrary boundaries and errant ambitions, will never be the same again. Many of the old landmarks, political, social, economic will be obliterated. The old lamps will be exchanged for the new."

Paul Sabatier thinks that out of the bloody womb of war a new civilization is to emerge into the light of a better day. He writes: "Instinc-

1 " The World in the Crucible," p. 380.

tively we walk on tiptoe, we lower our voices and say but little, when we enter a house where a child • is about to be born. Now to-day it is more than a child that is about to see the light; a whole civilization is on the point of entering life."<sup>2</sup>

John Haynes Holmes hopes for the best, but is prepared for the worst. He writes:<sup>3</sup> "What this end will be no man at the present moment can dare even so much as to surmise. For the first time since the pyramids were builded in the Egyptian deserts, men find themselves living in an age, and looking upon a situation, wherein the forces of human life have passed beyond the control of those who have madly created them and as madly set them free. For the first time perhaps in history, anything may happen."

It may confidently be expected that when the war is over we shall have witnessed the downfall of autocracy and tyranny in every quarter of the world.

This is the last great war for democracy. It means that the final nail is to be driven into the coffin of that hoary falsehood, the divine right of kings. The three free nations of the earth, Great Britain, France, and the United States, are to make the world safe for democracy. The clock that marks the hour of democracy is striking. The day

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> " A Frenchman's Thoughts on the War," p. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> "New Wars for Old," pp. 4, 5.

of the little nation and of the common man is about to dawn. The unspeakable Turk, whose hands are dripping with the blood of a million slaughtered Armenians, will be driven out of Europe as an undesirable citizen, and his future operations in Asia will be under police supervision until he has demonstrated his fitness for a place among the family of nations.

The triumph of democracy means that the Kaiser and his military machine must be smashed into smithereens. The man who talks of peace with the Kaiser, however conscientious and sincere, is an unconscious tool of a despotism that would keep the world in slavery. President Wilson, in his reply to the peace proposals of Pope Benedict XV, has clearly shown that there can be no enduring peace so long as the world is menaced by the actual power of a vast military machine controlled by an irresponsible government. Mr. Wilson is absolutely correct in his contention that "this power is not the German people. It is the ruthless master of the German people. It is no business of ours how that great people came under its control, or submitted with temporary zest to the domination of its purpose; but it is our business to see to it that the history of the rest of the world is no longer left to its handling." This military caste, headed by the Kaiser, and assisted by their tribal deity, rules Prussia. Prussia rules Germany. Germany controls Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, and aspires to H

dominate the world. It is that evil thing we are fighting; and when we win—and win we must for the sake of those who come after us—then, and not until then, will the world be made safe for democracy.

It is the hope of many, who believe that to make the world safe for democracy means something more than the defeat of autocracy, that when the war is over there will be ushered in a new era of social justice.

When the millions of men who have struggled and suffered on the firing-line return to their different countries, they will constitute a mighty army that will demand a more equitable distribution of the wealth created by society. Our civilization has so developed in peace times, that a comparatively small group of men control the greater part of the world wealth and are rich beyond the dreams of avarice, while multitudes of people live in squalid, hopeless, and crime-producing poverty. An Australian statesman, in a speech at Cardiff, told the men of Britain they must face the facts: "You cannot have a great nation when the base is rotten, when twelve millions of people are on the verge of starvation. There can be no peace until we have purged the world of the monstrous cancer which is eating out the vitals of civilization." Economic conditions in the United States are by no means ideal. As nearly as can be estimated, the distribu-

tion of wealth in this country is as follows: The rich, composing two per cent of the people, own sixty per cent of the wealth. The middle class, thirty-three per cent of the people, own thirty-five per cent of the wealth. The poor, sixty-five per cent of the people, own five per cent of the wealth. There is something wrong with a society, in which two per cent of the population control sixty per cent of the wealth, while sixty-five per cent of the people are living a hand-to-mouth existence, and by their back-breaking labor, are supporting a host of parasites who reap where they have not sowed, and gather where they have not strawed. Neither in Great Britain nor in the United States have economic conditions been made safe for democracy.

This unjust distribution of wealth and income has been the main factor in bringing about a class war which is growing in bitterness, and threatens the very existence of organized society. In accordance with figures compiled by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, between the years 1881 and 1905, 36,757 strikes, affecting 181,407 establishments, took place. Nearly nine million employees were thrown out of work by these industrial disputes. While statistics are of value, they are totally inadequate to reveal the real cost of labor disturbances. They may record the number of men involved, the property destroyed, the lives sacrificed, but they throw little light on retarded development, deferred payments, hungry and

starving children, women driven into prostitution, and the kindling of the fires of animosities, hate, and bitterness.

An American publicist who has a reputation for sane speaking, recently predicted <sup>4</sup> that the end of our present social order will come before 1930. He points out that "many of the social tendencies of the present are strikingly like those which preceded the French Revolution. The parallel, between present social unrest and that which preceded the storm of the French Revolution, would probably be assented to by nearly all students of social history. The blindness and ultraconservatism of many of our privileged classes on the one hand, the fanatic radicalism and one-sidedness of many of the leaders of the non-privileged on the other, would breed trouble in any social order."

The end of the war will bring critical days, and it is not improbable that what has happened in Russia will happen in other countries that are under despotic rule. In the three great democratic countries, the United States, France, and Great Britain, the changes in the social order will, we trust, come about through the orderly processes of law and government, rather than by the bloody path of revolution. We must, however, fairly face the fact, that there are stormy days ahead of us. If ever we needed statesmen, it is at the present moment. Whether the war will give birth to a monster that

4 " American Journal of Sociology," Jan., 1915, p. 487.

will devour us and our children, or an angel that will lead us into the promised land of peace and social justice, will depend largely upon the vision of the men who to-day are directing the affairs of our country.

Under the strain of war we have seen the governments of the various belligerent nations taking over the control of much of the principal means of production and distribution. It was found that the old way of unrestricted competition and private control was totally inadequate in a time of national emergency. Regulation of food prices, the commandeering of entire stocks of food supplies, the direct operation of mines, railways, and shipping, were forced upon the governments in the interests of public economy and safety. Not only capitalists and employers of labor, but the working men as well were compelled to submit to restrictions and to surrender rights and privileges which had been won only after years of bitter struggle.

War has given us a coercive cooperative commonwealth. It has written the principles of brotherhood, of public service, of sacrifice for the common good, into the fabric of our economic order. These lessons we have learned in days of war, we shall not forget in times of peace. The old kaisers of the industrial and commercial world, who ruled by right divine, who hired and fired, and profanely warned the general public not to meddle with that which was none of their business, will not be toler-

ated in the new social order that is already growing up before our eyes.

Mr. H. G. Wells is of the opinion <sup>5</sup> "that by 1926 we shall be going about in a world that will have recovered very largely from the impoverishment of the struggle; we shall tour in state-manufactured automobiles upon excellent roads, and we shall live in houses equipped with a national factory electric light installation, and at every turn we shall be using and consuming the products of nationalized industry—and paying off the national debt at the same time."

The new order will not arrive without meeting the most determined hostility from selfish and ruthless individuals, who have fattened themselves so long out of the huge profits bled from a helpless public that they have come to regard it as a gracious arrangement of divine Providence. It is conceivable that, before the common man comes to his own, some painful and bloody chapters must be written in our social history. We have good reasons for believing that the lessons of self-sacrifice and cooperation all classes have been compelled to learn during the war, will result in the downfall of that iron materialism which has been the religion and the curse of all countries for so many years. The readjustment to new conditions will be painful and costly, but one almost certain result will be the emancipation of the common man from economic

5 "What is Coming," p. 122.

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wrongs into the new liberty of equality of opportunity. The full triumph of democracy means that predatory classes, as well as predatory nations, must be abolished.

The women have not escaped the high cost of war. They have paid the price equally with the men. What the women of Belgium and the women of northern France have suffered in the past three vears. God only knows. It is said that the French government is considering in what way such women can best be helped to bear their almost unfathomable misery. The stories told concerning some of these innocent victims of Prussian hellishness are so horrible, so unspeakably devilish, that even men of humane dispositions, who have more than an average regard for the sanctity of human life, would consider it an honor to fire a gun that would blow to the place where they belong the men who are responsible for such outrages against womanhood and motherhood.

Whatever may be the glamor of war to the man of ardent temperament who has the spirit of heroic adventure, to women it is nothing but a hideous, monstrous evil, and to mothers it is hell. John Bennett in a poem<sup>6</sup> savagely realistic, entitled "The Accounting," gives an indictment of the warlords who have taken men out into the bloody shambles. The account is to be paid to the mothers.

6 " Harper's Weekly," Aug. 29, 1914, p. 203.

You have left them to rot where the stars blaze hot, You have left them astare in the ice;

You have boughten your place and power and pride; But God! Who has paid the price?

We the mothers of men who bare them, Who suckled them at our breast, Stand row on row, on cliff and voe,

North, East, and South, and West.

But the women have been something more than passive spectators and sufferers in the world war. Since it began, the world of industry has been invaded by great armies of working women, and that invasion is prophetic of a new day for women in the after-war world.

In England, there are estimated to be more than four and a quarter millions of paid women workers engaged in regular occupations, and in this number are not included the voluntary hundreds of thousands, the many nurses and part-time workers. Millions of women, heroically, cheerfully, have faced death and mutilation in munition factories, and thousands have performed this service, not from necessity or the hope of gain, but from a fine sense of public duty. S. S. McClure relates <sup>7</sup> this incident: "Lord Haldane told me an illustrative anecdote of a house-party in Scotland. A young lady excused herself at half past nine o'clock. Lord Haldane asked her where she was going so early.

7 " Obstacles to Peace," p. 420.

She said she was on the night shift. This girl, the daughter of a wealthy and noble family, was working nights in a munition factory."

The old argument against woman suffrage, that men must fight and women weep, no longer holds true. The women have done something more than weep during the past three years. Thousands have gone to the front as nurses and hospital attendants. and endured all the physical dangers and discomforts of war, while millions of others have taken the places of men in almost every kind of industry, thus freeing hundreds of thousands of men for the firing-line. It is the opinion of almost all writers upon the subject that woman suffrage is absolutely sure. The women, by their sacrifices, their readiness to submit to long hours of hard and monotonous labor in occupations that were formerly regarded as the exclusive possessions of men, have demonstrated their fitness for the vote. One thing seems reasonably certain, that after the war woman will occupy a position of political and economic independence unknown in all her past history.

One of the saddest after-effects of the great war will be the legacies of hate and passion which must result between the groups of nations now engaged in the great struggle. This war has cut so deep into the souls of the nations that generations must pass before the scars have disappeared. It has been proposed to follow up the present war with a

commercial war upon the Teutonic powers, by instituting a boycott against German goods, and if possible prevent Germany from regaining her overseas trade. It is evident that such a policy, if carried out, would perpetuate the spirit of hate and keep alive the fires of animosities for a fresh conflagration of war.

It is the plain duty of the church to oppose this spirit of revenge by emphasizing the Christian teaching of forgiveness. She must set her face like flint against reprisals, boycotts, and all forms of national aggrandizement at the expense of the conquered. Christian leaders must put new emphasis on the gospel of social reconciliation. The love, which sent us out to fight when liberty, democracy, and the rights of the weak were imperiled by merciless brute force, must also express itself in the forgiveness of enemies and in binding up the cruel wounds that war has made.

As an antidote to this spirit of revenge, we can remember that the masses of the people are in no way responsible for this bloody war. They believe that they are fighting in defense of home and country, and the motives that inspire them may be as pure and noble as those which fire the soldiers of the Allies.

W. N. Ewer, in a beautiful little poem,<sup>8</sup> pictures the souls of five men, a peasant of the Polish plain, a Tyrolese, a native of Lyons, a German, and a

8 " Five Souls," in " The Nation,"

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Scotchman, who were slain in battle, meeting and explaining why they fought. All had good reasons for fighting and all were able to say,

> I gave my life for freedom—this I know, For those who bade me fight, had told me so.

The sentiment expressed in the poem is absolutely true. The great majority of people accept their opinions ready made, from those to whom they have been accustomed to look as their political and moral leaders. This is particularly true of the German people. They are by nature and training docile and obedient, reverencing the Kaiser as almost the representative of deity on earth, and with an unreasoning submission to any commands that may be laid upon them by those in authority.

When the war is over, forgiveness. Unless we banish the spirit of hate and cultivate a spirit of good will, no league of peace can guarantee us against another such war. There can be no mechanical solution for a moral fault. The church, which was not able to prevent the present war, if she be loyal to the Christian ideals of love, brotherhood, and forgiveness, may be able to eradicate the evils of hate, greed, and national pride and ambition, which are the fruitful sources of all wars.

The glad day when the war is over! How many wives and mothers with husbands and sons in the trenches are longing for that day!

There was recently published in one of the popular magazines a poem by Laura Spencer Porter, interpreting a painting by C. Arnold Slade, entitled "Peace." In the glories of the dying day a woman sits in a chair by a dining-table, and a little child upon her knees is saying her evening prayer. The face of the woman is worn and her eyes are closed. She sees a vision, for behind her is the shadowy form of a soldier in blue and he is pressing a kiss upon her brow. Underneath are the words of interpretation:

When the day is ending he shall come some day, Even as of old, yea, in the same old way. Naught shall be changed. The sunlight still shall fall With lengthening shadows on the floor and wall. The little tasks all finished, once again I'll wait for him, but shall not wait in vain.

For he shall come and place upon my brow The old sweet kiss, and he shall say, "O thou, Thou who hast waited, I am come at last. The hideous dream of war is past, is past. O my beloved, let thy grieving cease— For once more men are brothers—there is peace."

It is for that day we hope and fight and pray, the day when the vision of the old Hebrew prophet shall be realized, "when men shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks," the day when "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

