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WHITHER?

A brief consideration of the direction in
which by reason of the War,
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to advance.

BY

BENJAMIN APTHORP GOULD

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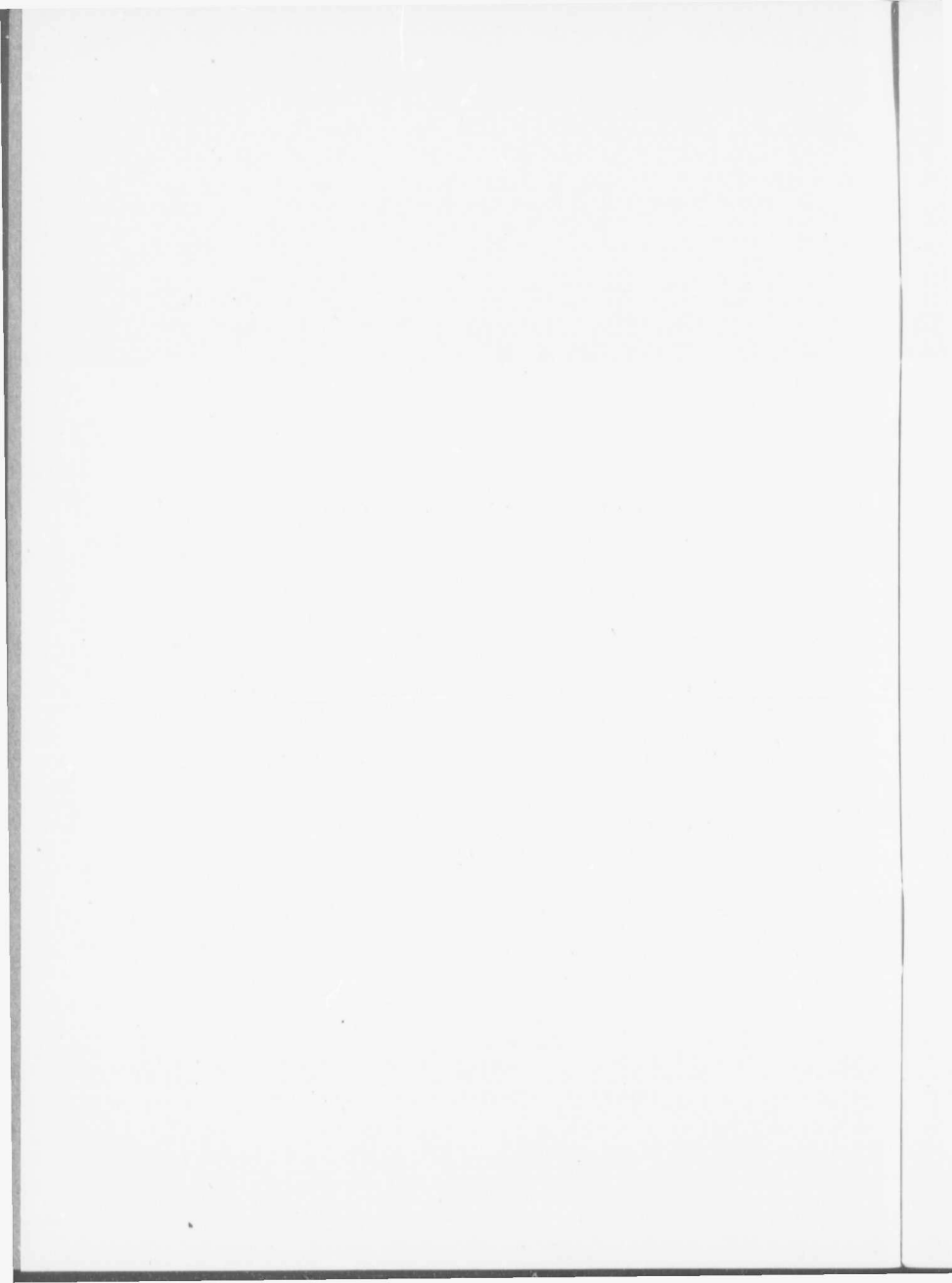
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PART I. WHAT—The nature of the advance.

PART II. WHY—The reason for the advance.

PART III. HOW—The method for assuring
the advance.

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PREFACE

I do not know whether any of what I have set down is new; I do know that it is true. There may be some deductions in which I am in error, but broadly they follow of necessity from admitted facts. Doubtless there may not be many thinking men who will follow me in every one of my conclusions, but I believe that there are few who will not follow me in most of them. Much more important, I trust that the points in which they will refuse to agree with me will not be the same, but that these will vary according to the temperament, politics or influences of the critic. I feel at any rate that the earnest convictions of one of the men in the street, even though his philosophy may be that of the amateur, can do no harm and may accomplish good. There are undoubtedly many who see with a vision far more penetrating than mine, but likewise there are many who are more wanting in vision. It is for the latter I write, trusting that I may be able to convey to them at least the suggestion that they should

join with those who are intensely moved by the determination to compel good to come from this evil of war.

If I can make one devote to the war energies which otherwise would have remained idle, if two shall be made to see understandingly where but for my words they might have remained blind, if for three I may be able to implant hope where formerly there has been despair, my work will have been justified and I amply repaid.

B. A. G.

Toronto, April, 1918.

WHITHER?

PART I—WHAT

What is the real meaning of the upheaval of these times? In what direction are we moving? What is our goal, what is our purpose, and shall we attain it? How far do the strange and unrelated elements which have been drawn into the maelstrom of this cataclysm appreciate what it portends? Is there going to be value received, a proportionate quid pro quo, for all the death, the suffering, the hunger, the bereavement, the horror and the brutality of this war?

The seething millions of the world have been stirred and agitated as never before, but the turbidity is clarifying, and there is taking place a crystalization which is making evident the essential meaning of the upheaval. The vast reaction of innumerable human atoms, each with its own personal attributes, affections and repulsions, is taking place according to the immutable laws of the correlation of forces, and

the result is inevitable. Have we yet sufficient data on which a prediction of this result can be based, or sufficient knowledge or intelligence to predict it truly if we have these data available? Can we detach ourselves enough from the immediate horror to be able to judge dispassionately of the ultimate accomplishment? Have we the necessary insight into human psychology to foresee the breaking point of human determination? What is the meaning of Russia, of Belgium, of Armenia, of the United States, of China?

And, above all, is it worth while? Can there possibly be any truth in the mouths of them that say that nothing can justify the abominations of this war, that it would be better to let the Hohenzollerns take Belgium and Northern France, better to accept the destruction of Serbia and Rumania, better to agree to Armenian extermination, than to suffer what they who oppose the will of the drivers of the Prussian Juggernaut must undergo? Can there be any moral justification sufficient to warrant the physical outrage incident to resistance?

When all is said and done, the answer to these questions must depend upon the relative importance of the individual and of the race. If progress be a purpose rather than an accident, if mankind be an evolution rather than a

fortuity, we must endure. If there be truth in the aspirations of the mind, if there be any actualities beyond the eating and the drinking and the warmth, we cannot yield. Unless we be content to return to that chaos from which we have so painfully emerged, we cannot fail to pay whatever price may be demanded for our godhead. Even as spendthrift nature produces roe by the million that fish by the hundred may survive, so must we be prepared to die in long windrows on the fields of Europe that our children may have the opportunity for happiness which is their due. Deep in our inner consciousness is the conviction that men are nothing, but man is everything; it is our knowledge of the fact that to-day is only an instant but that to-morrow is illimitable which enables us to triumph over the pangs of our murdered flesh. The hazy vision of the new world which is to be born from our anguish is what gives us strength. The success or the failure of the human race is at stake, and deep in our hearts we recognize that this is so, and refuse to be deceived by the insistence of petty-minded statesmen that this concrete dominion or that concrete boundary is the purpose of this war. The age-long agony of jewry, the misery of coolie and serf and peon and the man with the hoe, the euthanasia of saint and fanatic; Soera-

tes and Christ; Mahomet, Confucius and Gautama Buddha; all are culminating today in this huge struggle. We are to decide whether humanity has reached its apogee and henceforth, bound and constricted and weighted with brute flesh, must sink into darkness and ultimate dissolution, or whether new channels shall be created through which the race can seek progress hitherto inconceivable. What matters my death, or your death, or the destruction of tens of millions of men, if only there be left in the world enough seed to people it again for the new and nobler destiny of man?

This war is due to the weakness of men in the past, to their willingness to accept the immediate advantage of comfort or safety or prosperity in preference to the rigors incident to being true to their own souls. If the revolution in Germany in 1848 had been successful, if those who then had vision had developed the courage and stamina to endure to the end and win the victory at that time, there could not have been the Belgium of 1914, the Dunajec of 1915, the Verdun of 1916, or the Piave of 1917. Then mankind could have been saved at the cost of the life-blood of a single state; now the evil they permitted to continue undestroyed has grown until the best blood of the whole world is the price of the justification of the

human race. We are expiating today by the tens of millions the failure of the thousands of young men who saw what Carl Schurz saw more than half a century ago to accomplish their revelation.

In America the question was decided and the victory won in 1865. The underlying purpose of the Civil War was to rid America of the menace of a junker class of planters, existent in the South,—junker even though they themselves may not have known that they were tainted with junkerism,—who believed that their social and intellectual superiority entitled them to political domination of the whites whom they regarded as their inferiors, and to physical domination of the negroes. The future historian will doubtless recognize that the success of the North was the salvation of the world, in that it left America clean, powerful and untainted by Prussianism, able to give to Europe the added strength in money, men and material she must have to throw off the pollution which unaided she could not overcome.

The Germany of to-day is the negation of the soul, of the ability to appreciate the value of the imponderables which alone raise man above the brutes. The acceptance of the doctrine that Might constitutes Right, even for that artificiality known as the State, an artificiality

used in fact merely as a cloak for the selfish ambition of a privileged class, destroys once for all the superiority of man which has been the fruit of our evolution, which is our purpose, our godhead. It makes of science the master, not the slave, and denotes man as inferior, not superior, to his flesh. It is the canonization of the blasphemy of Prussian philosophy.

If we should succumb to German steel and German gas and German science, we should succumb to matter and yield it the supremacy over mind. We should submit to a materialism so degrading that neither we nor any who inherit through us could ever claim the rights of manhood; beasthood would be our only prerogative. We should deny Galilee and Magna Charta and the Northwest Mounted Police and every influence which has made for progress. We should in the trial have been found so wanting that nothing could ever rehabilitate us, nothing could restore our self-respect, nothing could redeem our recalcitrancy. To us, mankind in esse, has been entrusted the future of the race, of mankind in posse, of all toward which the travail of the centuries has been leading. Our failure in our trust would be the definite failure of our kind, the knell of evolution, finis writ to development and inspiration. It would mean the absolute and perhaps irre-

trievable end of the advance of man, and the beginning of our degeneration into monsters more horrible than any which imagination has ever pictured, in that they would be possessed of knowledge without soul.

If these facts—and they are facts as surely as the sun in heaven is a fact, or that the sum of one and one is two is a fact—if these facts could only be clearly understood, could only be seen in their hideous nakedness, there could be no question of the outcome. Not only in the Entente countries, not only in the neutral lands, but in the Central Empires themselves men would arise by the tens of millions to combat such a grisly horror. The tragedy of the situation is that the ghastly truth of the meaning of a German victory is so hidden by lesser things which have attached themselves to it like parasites, so fogged with selfishness here, with ambition there, with ignorance and superstition and lies in the other place, that tens of millions of participants on both sides have no conception of what it really is. Too many see with the physical eyes of an Henri Barbusse; too few with the truer vision of a Donald Hankey. The insistency of mangled flesh blinds too many to the danger of the destruction of our dearly-won imponderables; the indignity of matter prevents us from appreciating the dig-

nity of the spirit. Our only hope lies in convincing a majority of the peoples of the world that man can only prevail if he be the captain of his soul, and that any acceptance of the Prussian cult would be incompatible with the destiny of the race.

PART II.—WHY

How easy it is to talk in generalities, how hard to come down from winging the lofty blue and make a good landing upon the things which you and I can do! Many a man who can prate of sacrifice and duty lacks the will-power to cut out a lump from his own cup. It is nothing of a trick to criticize the conduct of the war by our own governments; anyone can point out where Russia or France or Timbuctoo has been at fault; but how many can go and do the thing to help for which each is himself fitted? What is the use of driving along at a hundred and fifty miles an hour at an altitude of fifteen thousand if we do not know where we are going and have no bombs to use when we get there? Therefore, let us so far as possible see what is going to result from this war, because an appreciation of effects will aid greatly in determining how each nation and each person may quicken or retard them.

We have been told ad nauseam that human nature does not change. I am enough of an

optimist to disbelieve entirely this assertion. It may be true that the basic impulses incident to our material needs show no marked variation within the brief period of recorded history. A hungry man wants food, a thirsty man wants drink, a man in love wants the object of his affections. But this does not mean that the relative values of these desires to the imponderables which are civilization remain unaltered; these are constantly changing along with our mental and ethical evolution. And much more rapid than the change in individuals occupying a substantially similar status is the change in peoples where the standards of enlightenment and knowledge have advanced. The greatest change occurs where through greater opportunity the mass of a people reaches a level theretofore attained only by the most favored. The defeat of almost universal ignorance is in its results an overwhelming change in human nature.

Nor is ignorance merely a lack of information; it is more fundamentally a lack of understanding. Unlettered Russia is in many ways far less ignorant than much-schooled Germany; knowledge of man is more important than knowledge of things. In Russia, the great longing of the people has been that they might elevate themselves, and the fact that this inspiration

is a noble one will ultimately lead them through the dangers and errors and tyrannies and injustices and anarchies they are now experiencing, just as the same inspiration led the French people out of the turmoil of 1793. In Germany, on the contrary, the desire impelling the people is not that they may elevate themselves, but that they may acquire things for themselves, and until they can be educated into an ambition to achieve a higher moral ideal they will remain beyond the pale. When the vanity of things is at last brought by this war to their comprehension, the German people may be ready to become a part of civilization. It is quite possible that the nobler Russian ideal may even communicate itself to the German proletariat so promptly that it will be the cause of the end of the war even before Germany is definitely defeated by military force, for this war cannot outlast the acquisition by the populace of Germany of worthy ideals. The love of freedom and the junkertum cannot co-exist. An understanding of the value of individualistic rights even when exercised under a socialistic co-operation is wholly incompatible with a Prussian imperialism. When the former comes, the latter must go, and the war be at an end. If Germany be purged of the Tribe of Von, it matters not greatly how boundaries shall be

adjusted. But until that time Germany cannot be admitted to the Council Chamber to debate the terms of peace. Boundaries are of supreme importance so long as Prussia is unregenerate.

One of the interesting lessons of history is that for a people accustomed to the exercise of the rights of democracy there is no danger of the man on horseback. Napoleon could come in France newborn and helpless after the Terror; no Napoleon could now possibly come to France suffering more than in all of her tragic but inspiring history. None can say that in the prone and chaotic Russia of today it is impossible that Napoleon should arise; we can say that any such Napoleon would be limited in his scope to Russia herself, and that the taste of freedom which Russia has had, even though polluted by anarchy, would make it certain that he would be strictly ephemeral, only a phase. A newly created condition having the superficial appearance of democracy may temporarily pass away; a real democracy, duly assimilated by the people, never retrogrades, but steadily goes forward and onward. This lesson is of supreme value in calculating the results of the war, because it means that there is no possible danger of the adoption of militarism by British, French or American peoples, no probable danger for Italy, and that even if it

should come in Russia and the Balkans, it could not be permanent. The increasing influence of the peoples immovably opposed to it would make it impossible for it to last in this twentieth century nearly so long as the nightmare of the Napoleons lasted. It has already been demonstrated that Germany lacks the force to impose militarism from without upon the democracies of Western Europe or upon America. It can only flourish under an imperialistic dynasty of which it is the complement; either of them will beget the other.

It follows necessarily from what I have said that after this war is won, as won it must be and will be, no matter what the cost, real kings and real emperors will be anachronisms. They may exist in name, but they will be strictly on their good behaviour, and will owe their continued existence to the toleration of their so-called subjects. We see clearly that if what is known as the British Empire had been in fact an empire, it could never have survived the war; its salvation lay in its being in truth a federation of commonwealths. Had the Dominions been under a British imperium they would have attacked Great Britain instead of rallying to her support, even as purblind Germany expected. Von Bethmann-Hollweg could not see through the British joke of calling a thing by

an old name because it is too much trouble to change the type in the telephone book; he was fool enough to think that because George was dubbed King and Emperor, he was the same thing as a Hohenzollern or a Romanoff. The King of Spain still keeps his title because he is a charming personality, acceptable to his people; let him try really to play the king a bit, and he would not last a year. The knightly figure of the Belgian King is the inspiration of that land; if Belgium became a republic tomorrow, Albert would be president.

Not for a hundred years has there been any danger of Great Britain returning to imperialism. The people have won their freedom at too great a cost; the tradition of their victory is too dear to them ever to permit them to sacrifice what they have accomplished. The English speaking dominions overseas are too much of the same kidney as the homeland to dream of tolerating it. But none the less it is undoubtedly true that there has been in England a small number of reactionaries, with influence and wealth much beyond the paucity of their tale, who did aspire to and hope for a real British imperialism. They by this war have been confounded and discomfited, and the only base upon which they could ever hope to rear their edifice, the system of British caste, existent

not in law but in custom, has been finally destroyed. It more than anything else has retarded progress in Great Britain and caused England often to be outstripped by her colonies, but henceforward she will be free from these trammels.

Entirely different from real imperialism is what the Germans delight to allude to as British navalism. They try to argue that British fleets have been the same menace to freedom on the seas as Prussian armies have been to it on land. The peculiar psychology of the Teuton fails to recognize the possibility of the maintenance of power aside from the intention to use that power for selfish ends, and cannot see that the freedom of the seas has since the war of 1812 been protected, not threatened, by the existence of sea-power under enlightened and civilized control. It is self-evident that the salvation of the world has only been made possible by the fact of British naval strength, and that the ambitions of Hohenzollern medievalism could not have been defeated but for its existence. The realization that in the fleet lay the one insurmountable barrier to world conquest has of course embittered against it and against the British nations the hearts of the conspirators, and accounts for the venom they have exhibited at every opportunity. The burglar

damns the time-lock which holds him from his loot.

Yet in spite of the fact that in British naval supremacy lay the preservation of civilization, it is my belief that after this war this supremacy will for two reasons cease to exist, the one being financial, the other international. The debt of the Western democracies—those nations in which alone there exists no danger of repudiation of war obligations—will be so burdensome that no one of them, not even Great Britain, not even the United States, can afford the cost of maintaining a navy on a scale commensurate with that of British sea-power before the war. There is a practical limit to possible taxation for non-productive purposes, especially in respect to self-governing peoples who themselves control a self-imposed taxation, and maintenance by a single nation of a world-dominating navy will be beyond the limits of any self-imposed taxation. But even more important will be such a development of civilization as will make unnecessary any such thing as the British navy. In a world unorganized it was an absolute necessity, but after this war we cannot permit the world to continue unorganized. The one sure thing is that we cannot risk the cost in either material or moral values of a failure to insist that those nations which have

joined as allies for purposes of war shall join permanently in a league of nations for purposes of peace. Such a league must be prepared to maintain an international navy for police requirements, and through its ability strictly to limit national armament, including naval strength, can make it possible to have this international sea-power comparatively small, yet still overwhelmingly superior to any strength which could be mustered against it. No nation can construct a great navy either quickly or secretly; before it becomes dangerous our league can strangle it. The distribution among the nations of the league of the cost of its fleet will make the burden upon any one of them easy to carry. And to prevent any danger of this league becoming itself imperialistic, it must be prepared to admit to its membership any and every democratic nation which has become culturally eligible for its ranks. The latch-string must be out for a new Germany or a new Hungary.

One curious result of this effacement of a British navy dominant on the seas will be the alteration which it will effect on the relationship of the other British commonwealths to Great Britain herself. Hitherto the strongest bond of material interest between them has been the dependence of all for physical safety against

imperialistic aggression on this sea-power, and the moral obligation, neglected perhaps more often than fulfilled, of contributing to its maintenance. When the safeguarding of all the civilized world is entrusted jointly to the component parts of this civilized world, the tendency will be for the Dominions to develop more and more into wholly sovereign states. The political ties which bind them together, as well as the economic ties which I shall consider later, will become attenuated perhaps to the breaking point. But on the other hand the moral ties, that which Wells somewhere terms "the affectionate alliance," have become immeasurably strengthened by mutual suffering and sacrifice for a common end and a common ideal. The intermingled graves of men of British blood brought together from all over the world will cement the British peoples as Westminster could never have cemented them. For example, before the war it seemed to me that the manifest ultimate destiny of Canada was a political union with the United States, with which its material, economic and psychological interests are much more close than with Great Britain. But now I am inclined to think that the influence of historic and traditional affiliation will prove stronger than the impulse toward political union in accordance with de-

velopment along the natural channels of trade, especially as Canadian accomplishment in this war has brought into plain being a national consciousness which might otherwise have lain dormant until the opportunity for the birth of a real and individual Canadian nation had passed away. One thing which Germany has brought about is the permanence of a Canada of an identity of her own, unmerged with that of any other land, of a Canada which with the development of her resources will within a century become at least the equal of the motherland in wealth and population, and which will claim the status of an equal in all matters which affect as a whole the interests of the British federation. Nor do I think that the failure of French-Canadian Quebec to participate voluntarily with the rest of Canada in war activities will have any permanent effect in preventing the attainment of a true Canadian nationality. Already the indications are that the compulsory service of Quebec along with the other provinces is working a new comprehension there of the meaning of the war and the meaning of Canada. A dozen years hence Quebec may be more really an integral part of Canada than ever before in history. There can be no hermit province in a modern nation, and no hermit nation in a modern world.

Similarly, the great gain for the United States is going to be the fixing of its national character. A score of years ago that land engaged in a war, petty and trivial no doubt in comparison with these times, but none the less undertaken for purely altruistic ends, a war from which no material advantage could accrue to the nation, a war of which the purpose was to right a wrong at her doors for the existence of which no responsibility attached to her. The world until Cuba had twice been set in order and restored to its own people hesitated to believe in American unselfishness, and set the thing down to anger at the destruction of the Maine. But now that once again at the demands of civilization America has entered a war from which she can gain no material profit, the effectiveness of character in a nation has been demonstrated, and cannot again be denied. It may be true that the participation of the United States has been tardy, but it was always inevitable if Europe could not promptly free itself of the sound of the Krupp gun and the voice of Potsdam. America has manifested an earnestness and an unselfishness which have united the nation in an effective idealism which must for generations be its most valuable characteristic and possession.

In strange contrast with the effect of the war

on the participating democracies of North America are its results in Russia. The cost of war has been greater to Russia than to any other nation, greater in men, greater in suffering and hunger and bodily misery, greater in the utter demolition of all those institutions which the people had been taught to think immutable. The nation, instead of being unified as in America, has been disintegrated and mangled. The pendulum of government has swung from the high arc of Czarism on the one side to the high arc of anarchy on the other, and many years must pass before its undulations cease, and it rests steady in its place between the two. Both Czar and Bolsheviki have been false to their pledges, false to their allies, false to their own people, their own duties, their own interests. To-day Russia lies helpless and quivering, shell-shocked and chattering, mad with terror, utterly irresponsible. It is the undoubted duty of the Entente democracies to act at the final settlement as guardians for Russia. She can no more cede her territories to the voracity of Germany than a lunatic can deed away his property. It matters not what terms she may have made; we who still preserve our sanity and our strength must re-write them for her at the end, and see to it that she receive what justice demands for her and what her unspeakable sufferings

entitle her to obtain. Ultimately Russia must gain more than any other nation from the war; freedom must be hers, and the insistent though misguided urge toward liberalism accomplish its purpose. In the meantime, her people must pass through the purification of fire and must show by the new metal which shall flow from the crucible that there exists in their character the basis for the growth of a Slav democracy worthy of their huge population and vast territories. Now, however, the abject helplessness of the stricken giant should arouse pity rather than contempt; the treachery of Czarism toward Rumania and the desertion of Rumania by the anarchists at present dominant is cause for sorrow rather than hatred. The defection of Russia has allowed the war to continue into 1918, but no belated acknowledgment of the end of Russian military opposition to Germany can in any way change the condition which has in fact existed since the summer of 1917. It is up to America to make good to mankind the loss of Russian strength; that America will be able in spite of the disadvantages of geographical position much more than to compensate for Russian failure no one who knows what is being accomplished in the United States can for a moment doubt.

On France, on tragic, noble-spirited, warm-hearted France, lovable and beloved, smiling through her tears, on France perhaps the least blameworthy of all the original parties to this strife, on France the horrors of war have fallen with cruel incidence. The fairest and richest portion of her land has been destroyed and desolated; her men have been killed and mangled to an extent terrible to contemplate; her women violated and enslaved; her wealth expended regardless of sacrifice. But to-day France still stands undefeated and unconquerable, the symbol of progress, the exemplar of freedom. France has shown that she will die a thousand deaths before she will be untrue to her own soul; that for the imponderables which the Teuton cannot comprehend she will gladly pour out her life-blood. France to-day is the personification of civilization; in the new world which is coming France will be its inspiration and its light, even as Belgium will be its martyr.

In so far as the Central Empires are concerned, the war may have either of two very different results according to the manner of its ending. The effect of a century of the junkertum has been the brutalizing of the mass of the people to an extent unbelievable to anyone not informed of the actual happenings. The barbarisms committed by German soldiers upon

women and children and helpless prisoners of war, committed not in hot blood or on the impulse of a moment, but with deliberate intent, have been so horrible as to argue a degeneracy affecting with unspeakable brutality the fibre of the nation. The apparent civilization resulting from scientific study and the practice of the Kultur of the universities has proved to be but the thinnest veneer, covering natures corrupted and polluted by constant contact with the cult of Zaberu. It is difficult for us to recognize the possibility of the people who produced a Goethe and a Schiller and the folk-lore of our grandparents having become bestialized to do what they have done in this war. Outside of Germany we do not know and cannot judge whether this brutalizing of the nation, unquestionably widespread, has developed to such an extent as to destroy all chance of regeneration, or whether there still exists in Germany an appreciable fraction of the people who only await the opportunity to rise against the foulness of their government, and who may have the vision and the strength to raise their nation out of the filth in which it is now wallowing. Yet on this question depends the nature of the end of the war and the immediate future of Germany. If the junker cancer has eaten so deep into the nation that it cannot be eradicated, Germany

must be treated as a leper, and shut out by economic barriers and frontiers bristling with bayonets from intercourse with the cleaner world outside. If the Germans wish to keep their Hohenzollerns and their Hindenbergs, they cannot be allowed in the society of nations. But if on the other hand the element which is still human and not brute has in it enough vitality to overthrow its hideous masters, if through revolution it can show that even Germany is capable of civilization, capable of learning to value the imponderables of existence, our cleaner post-bellum world will be willing to help a chastened Germany to rehabilitate herself. What the event will mean for Germany depends on Germany herself.

This decision which Germany will have to make, the decision upon which it depends whether she must be caged like a wild beast or may be accorded freedom of movement, will not vitally affect the rest of the world save in the immediate cost of maintaining military safeguards. Through the necessity of the last four years we have learned to be wholly independent of German science, chemistry and manufacture. The numerous things which in the old days we were quite willing to receive from German sources of supply are now procurable from manufacture in other lands, and Germany will

never again have her world monopoly in dye-stuffs, synthetic drugs and other necessities of modern life. Her course has from the commercial standpoint been suicide, and it was from the beginning evident that destruction of German dominance of world-trade must follow even the slightest failure of Prussianism to impose its imperium upon the whole world, holding under the subjugation of terror lest German force be exercised in the future those lands which in this war had not been brought directly under junker domination. If one fails to understand the megalomania of German psychology one cannot appreciate how the junkers could anticipate the possibility of forcing German products by compulsion upon an unwilling world, but this megalomania is the only possible explanation of what has been attempted. No matter what the terms of peace may be, it has now become clear even to the Germans themselves that their manufacturing monopolies are forever at an end.

If from the war a new Germany result, not an old Germany constricted and made innocuous, this new Germany may still in time achieve a full share in world-trade, but never again the exclusion of other nations from any industry. It will under any circumstances take many years for the new Germany to accomplish this,

for, even if the country be reorganized, there will be such a legacy of debt and hatred to the German people that, quite aside from trade restrictions erected governmentally against German products, there will be widespread personal opposition to the use of German goods. Cynicism declares that the pocketbook has no memory, and that men always buy in the cheapest market. However true this may be broadly, the upheaval of the war and the concentration of prejudice against things German is so great that it will be many years before the people of the world will cease to be willing to pay to avoid even indirectly contributing to German re-establishment. The race of legless veterans must pass away, and the memory of empty places be dimmed by time, before forgiveness will be accomplished.

In commerce as well as in essential civilization, the war has emphasized the growing relative importance of internationality over nationality. The interdependence of each nation upon others to enable it to live its normal modern life and the necessity of uninterrupted international transportation have been brought home to millions of people who up to now have never given it a thought. A direct result of this has been the growing determination that in our newly organized world and our league of

nations artificial economic barriers shall be reduced to a minimum. Trade must be promoted rather than restricted, to the advantage of all parties. The success of the struggle which is taking place between liberal institutions and progressivism on the one hand and autoeracy and feudalistic reaction on the other is certain to have its effect in merging narrow nationalism into a broader internationalism, and in creating a co-operation between nations by which each to a much greater degree than ever before shall be free to specialize upon those things for the production of which it is particularly suited. Also, although there is no danger that in the western democracies socialism will ever degenerate into such an ochloeracy as is to-day devastating Russia, the weight of the working classes will be felt more than ever and the need of considering the consumer will become increasingly evident. Manufacturers this world over will have to learn to depend more and more upon raw materials freely obtainable and upon efficiency of operation rather than upon any artificial restriction of outside competition. Germany may share in or be shut out from this international interchange according to her decision whether to reorganize and seek so far as may be to expiate her crimes, or whether, sulkily clinging to her discredited

dynasty, she refuses to acknowledge the vanity of anachronistic ambitions.

Oddly enough, the nations upon which this decision of Germany will have its chief effect are those farthest from Germany, both geographically and in development, upon Japan and China. These lands with their teeming millions are but newly awakened from the sleep of centuries; China indeed is not yet awake, but merely tossing in her slumber. Japan has come into the civilization of the west, keen to learn, ready to use her wonderful faculties of successful imitation to gather to herself all that may be most useful to her in this strange west unfolded before her. And almost at the beginning there is spread before her eyes this internal conflict of the white man's world, this struggle between two philosophies as different as day and night. There is no question but what the German ideal of power and conquest fits best with the old Japan of the Shogunate; there is no doubt but what if Prussianism had been able to show itself successful there exists in Japan the possibility of the Prussia of the East. As Japan goes to-day, so will China go to-morrow, and if in that to-morrow there should be the five hundred millions of the Mongolian race united to attempt what Germany attempted in 1914, there might arise a new peril for the new world

which is to result from this war. It is conceivable that a Germany defeated but not redeemed, still clinging to outworn ambitions and overtoppled idols, might breed in Japan the belief that a wiser preparation could at some future time enable the east to succeed where the west had failed. But if a wiser Germany accepts the nobler philosophy of the brotherhood of nations, the imitative orient will accept it also, and danger to the world will vanish for centuries rather than for decades. Germany regenerate can make Asia understand that there is productive work in the world for five hundred years for every willing worker, and that by organization and training each worker can get the profit of his work regardless of where he may be in the world. It is beginning to be appreciated that under the old system of competition a high-wage land never needs protection against the products of low-wage lands, because high wages necessarily mean machinery, and high wages with machinery can always produce more cheaply and better than low wages unaided. If this truth can be brought home to Asia, the incentive will be for the east to reach upward for the efficiency of the west; and the world must be made to see that there is ample room for efficiency everywhere. There can never be danger of over-production as a whole.

Any temporary over-production in a special commodity merely signifies a failure of organization, a devotion of activities to mistaken ends. It does not mean that there is not work in the world for everyone. Nor will eastern efficiency swamp western efficiency, because standards of living invariably accommodate themselves to the profits resulting from advancing standards of efficiency. Better efficiency in Asia will not only supply more and better Asiatic goods for other markets, but will provide Asia with a buying power which will enable the Asiatic markets to consume their proper proportionate share of the products of other lands.

In 1914 we dreamed that this might be a war against war; in 1916 we believed it was a war against war; in 1918 we know beyond doubt that it is the war against war, that it is the one war of history which civilization cannot permit to be lost. We know that if we continue through to victory, neither we nor any near descendant of ours will ever have to do this thing again. We shall have made the world safe for democracy and we shall have made democracy predominant in the world and a safe thing to predominate in the world. We shall do away with great national armaments. A hundred years ago no man dreamed of walking forth in Lon-

don without being armed; to-day no one dreams of the need of carrying arms. In like manner, to-day each nation believes that for its safety it must have armies and fleets; in the to-morrow for which we are fighting this war no nation will be permitted to maintain them any more than a civilian is permitted to carry concealed weapons in New York City.

The world will never return to ante-bellum conditions. The status quo of suspicion and fear and defence by one nation against another can no more be restored than can the lives of those men who have died for civilization. A new phase of human development must date from the war, a phase wherein the groups of communities which form nations must learn to submit to self-government of these nations just as these same groups of communities have learned to submit to self-government within the nation. Science, finance, art, literature, thought, religion, culture, have already become international; this war will make it necessary that governments in their relations to one another shall likewise become international. To deny the possibility of accomplishing this is to deny the possibility of human progress. We have hitherto been so busy developing our national characteristics and resources that we have been partially blind to the need of regu-

lating and governing our international relations. This war has made the need of such regulation so apparent and the way to achieve it so clear and its importance so paramount that we cannot blink it or neglect it. The only argument against a federated world is that such a federation has hitherto never developed; to accept such an argument as conclusive is to call ourselves fools and dolts and to disclaim reasoning powers. The opposition to such a thing in the past has been due to the existence of nations under the control of dynasties holding Prussian ambitions; after this war there must be no such nations, and there will be no such opposition. If we can make even the dull-minded understand that this is the root-purpose of these years, we shall have succeeded in assuring a condition which a dozen years ago would have been deemed Utopian.

Good will come from this war if we put good into it. Its very magnitude has caused the unthinking millions of the world to think, and from this thought will come progress as the fruit of reason. Every other war in history has been largely local in its effect; to-day there is scarcely a human being in the world, whether in belligerent or neutral lands, who has not been vitally and directly affected by the war. The whole world is therefore as a consequence of the

universal change in conditions more prepared to act than ever before, and is ready to accept with hardly a murmur alterations so fundamental that they would have been held revolutionary before 1914. There has never been so plain an opportunity for bringing about a needed evolution of co-operative self-government for the advantage of the peoples of the world as to-day exists. To neglect to take advantage of it to secure a permanent progress would be both criminally negligent and inconceivably stupid.

People are thinking internationally for the first time in history. It is the biggest change in human nature of which there is any record, this diversion of general consideration from the local and immediate to the distant and ultimate. It is an increase in the stature of the souls of men. Much of this international thought will of course be wrong, be unwise and unsound, like the Bolsheviki internationalism, but as a whole this direction of human thought to broad rather than narrow needs is certain to accomplish incalculable good. The fact that many discontents and irritations which are actually local or national will seek to disguise themselves as matters of international interest cannot affect the big advances which must result from the movement. The little traitors, the

little fools and the little parasites will be able to cause no greater harm than to confuse and perhaps slightly to retard the course of progress. The great gain will come from the ability of clear-minded leaders to win for international reforms a following so powerful from mere weight of numbers as to make the adoption of these reforms certain, where but for the awakening of the multitude by this war they might have been impossible.

This increasing subordination of national boundaries to the requirements of world politics is also going to make easier the extension of class stratifications across the frontiers of nations. This extension has already begun in the international labor unions and similar organizations which are disregarding political limitations between such countries as have industrial conditions at all comparable, and this influence toward an international world will hereafter increase greatly and rapidly. The various parts of the world are strenuously working toward improved relations with each other, and this trend is beyond question toward a system of democratic self-government. If we could look to the millennium, we could imagine everywhere a perfect accomplishment of this aim; the result would be that political conditions in all countries would be identical, and

that it would make no political difference where a man lived. It would be the end of the artificial vertical separation of mankind by geographical division, and would make the horizontal cleavage according to class, interests, occupations, temperaments, the important one. Long before we approach anything more than a general similarity of national governments under varying democratic systems, this internationalization of class and trade organizations will have its effect in breaking down still further our crumbling frontiers. Improvements in transportation and communication are steadily making mankind more homogeneous; differences of blood are infinitely less than differences of education and environment, and these latter differences are constantly diminishing. Consequently mankind as a whole is becoming more and more fitted for a parliament of man, a federation of the world.

It should be clearly understood that where I use the word "internationalism" or any synonym for it, I use it in its true meaning, with no reference to the false and corrupted meaning which attaches to it in the minds of some who have become familiar with it from its frequent employment by the I. W. W., the Bolsheviki and such like destructionists of existing order. A world really organized internationally signifies

the submission of national governments to a higher governing body and presupposes the existence of effective national governments able to submit themselves and their peoples to international regulation. The term in the mouths of the I. W. W. is used to express their determination to be free of all government. They demand anarchy not only for their own land but for every other. They seek everywhere to stimulate discontent in the hope that somewhere it may break out into lawlessness and that this lawlessness may spread to the land where they themselves are. Except for a few wholly impractical idealists, they are animated by no sense of altruism; they are quite selfishly aiming to tear down and seize for themselves, and are endeavoring to gather strength for this desired destruction from abroad. The awful lesson of the depths of ignominy and disaster to which a nation can be reduced by the practice for even a few months of such anarchy is shown in Russia; as a horrible example Russia will serve to safeguard other lands from the possibility of the growth in them to any dangerous degree of any similar Bolshevism.

The proposition that national boundaries should so far as practicable be made to conform to racial divisions is broadly true, but ought not to be observed slavishly or made an insur-

mountable obstacle to delimitations necessary for other considerations. Absolute compliance with it would make of Europe a political mince-meat, and would destroy those proper divisions into great nations self-governed as a whole which must be the basis of freedom of development. Where it is necessary to go counter to this doctrine, the right of each racial unit to have full powers of local self-government and a due proportionate share in general self-government must be jealously guarded. There may be cases where the racial unit, as in the instance of the Poles, is so large in both territory and population and so important in historical and racial consciousness as to make its right to separate national existence of paramount importance.

There are also those countries the development of which has been so slow as to render them as yet wholly unfit for democratic self-government, such as large parts of Africa and Asia. In order to provide for as rapid a progress as possible, it is necessary that they be under the tutelage, whether through a protectorate or some other form of administration, of one or more of the great democratic nations. We cannot dream of restoring Africa to the selfish exploitation of Germany any more than we can dream of permitting Palestine,

Mesopotamia or Armenia to come again beneath the barbarism of Turkish rule. Provision must be made, both for the sake of the world as a whole and for that of these countries themselves, for the wise development of their productive possibilities, free from selfish national exploitation. With increasing commercial importance cultural advance is certain to follow, because there will be the incentive toward an efficiency which can only come through education. If a land can become a producer of world requirements on an important scale, it will not be long thereafter before it is self-developed to a point where it will be ready for self-government, provided only its economic success be not due to the administration of a slave-driving foreign minority, seeking profit for themselves rather than the permanent welfare of the country. The saving grace of British administration of India for the last fifty years has been that it has not sought to exploit the people; the coming triumph through this war of democratic liberalism will make British administrators see more clearly than ever that they must hasten the day when the country administered will no longer need their services.

If Germany be permitted to go undefeated, none of these things which will mean brighter days for a cleaner world can take place. The

whole impetus toward these newer conditions making for the happiness and progress of mankind lies in the democratic nations of the west; Prussian autocracy is unalterably opposed to them and puts the selfish ambitions of its own junkertum ahead of the welfare of the human race. There is no possible composition between the two; the one is black and the other white, and the events of the last few years have made this fundamental opposition of purpose indisputable. At the beginning there were perfectly honest men who believed that this was a commercial war; now there is no one of intelligence, even superficially informed as to the lesson of these years, who can question that the war goes far deeper than commerce, and that it is to decide whether there is a true destiny of man toward which he may advance. It were better for the world to pass away on the smoke of judgment day than to deny it any future progress. If Russia has failed to see this, if the horror of immediate suffering has blinded the eyes and paralysed the hands of them to whom we looked for assistance to the east, it only means that we who have the clearer vision of the west must gird up our loins the more tightly and redouble our determination to endure until our purpose is accomplished.

PART III.—HOW.

A consideration of the foregoing pages makes clear to me, at any rate, the direction in which we ought to use our energies. The first necessity is that this war be won, absolutely and unquestionably, beyond possibility of denial. Should Germany to any appreciable extent be permitted to get away with any of the swag she started out to steal, the human race will have been proved a failure and the world will not be a fit place for any decent man or woman to live in. No suffering, no sacrifice, no cost in life or comfort or money, can be great enough to warrant any hesitation in the devotion of everything to this supreme purpose. We must be ready in actual fact if need be to do to the letter what we have so often boasted, to fight for victory so long as there is left a single man or a single dollar. We must not grow weary to the breaking-point, even if it be by will-power alone that we can force ourselves to carry on. We must have victory or death, not as a phrase, but as a fact.

And to my mind the test by which we may know when the war is won is now clear, and we must be prepared to abate nothing of our efforts until Germany is ready to meet this test. It has become evident that Germany cannot overwhelm us in the west, that France and England and America cannot in this war be enslaved. Could Germany be assured that she would be allowed to keep what she has taken on the east, she would be ready to evacuate and restore Belgium and France, perhaps even to return Alsace-Lorraine, to compel Austria to give the Trentino to Italy, to make whatever dicker she might for her lost colonies. The one great danger is that if Germany shall not this year be beaten to her knees and if rather than suffer another winter in the trenches she shall offer these things, the pressure of British, French and Italian laboring classes may become so strong as to compel an acceptance of such terms. If this should eventuate, farewell to our dreams of progress, to our hopes of an almost permanent peace. The germs of war would have been left malignant and vital, and could not fail shortly to breed a new pestilence. Nothing fundamentally against natural laws can survive, and the political enslavement of eastern Russia, of Poland and the Balkans would mean a continuation of war perhaps

throughout the century. This job would have been left unfinished and would have to be done all over again, and the cost of doing it would be greater than ever. We should have failed, and have accepted war as a present condition and a future fact, instead of making of it a hideous and impossible anachronism.

The test of real victory is Poland, for we cannot conceive of peace which should not restore Belgium and France. If a real Poland, free from the tutelage of Berlin, a Poland comprising all essentially Polish communities whether in 1914 under Russian, Austrian or German governance, if a Poland self-governed and with free access to the sea be established, then this war will have been won and the world made safe. German Germany will still be Germany; we shall have rendered unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's. But we shall have put a limit to Caesarism, we shall have written our so far and no farther, we shall have taken away from Caesar the food on which Caesar feeds. And without this food Caesarism must fade away and die, and the people of Germany themselves be emancipated. Lloyd George and Wilson and Clemenceau recognize that Poland must be the final test; it is of supreme importance that we, the people from whom they de-

rive their strength, shall also become seised of this conviction.

Victory can come in one of three ways. It may possibly come as the result of overwhelming military successes, by which Germany will be compelled to offer unconditional surrender, to accept an army of occupation, and to act the historical part of the vanquished. It may probably come by revolution in Germany, by the overthrow of the junker dynasty, by the establishment of a government with which civilized people can deal, by a manifested will to regeneration and by repudiation of the criminal aggression which caused the war. It may conceivably come through acceptance by the existing dynasty of the terms of the allies, forced thereto by the conviction that further fighting will mean that the war will end in one of the first two ways, and hoping that by such a composition with its enemies the junkertum may still retain sufficient power to continue its sovereignty at least over its own people. This last form of victory is the only one to be feared, the only one which can possibly mean that the great purposes of the war have not been fully achieved. And even this victory will bear its full fruits if our league of nations continue to put upon Germany restricted the necessary economic pressure until such future time as the

people rid themselves forever of Hohenzollerns. And this pressure can be such as to assure us that this end of Teutonic imperialism shall not be long postponed.

These are the abstract things we must do, and if we bear them clearly in mind it is easy to see the concrete things before us. We must cheerfully and loyally accept whatever restrictions and taxations are imposed upon us for war purposes. At its worst the lot of us who must stay behind is easier than that of those who brave death and crippling and disease in the trenches. Pay? Of course we must pay. What does money matter at a time like this? If we get through the testing-chamber of these days not broken financially, we have every cause to be commercially thankful. It is no more than justice that they who cannot bare their bosoms to the machine-gun should bare their pocket-books to the tax-gatherer. Work? We must be ready to work as we never dreamed of working before. In the old days it was for ourselves we worked, for more comfort, more luxury, for the selfish desires of our selfish hearts. Now it is for something so big that if we can only catch a glimpse of its wonder we are almost blinded with its radiance. When we hoe the potatoes, when we drill the shell, when we head the red-hot rivet in the new eight thousand ton

freighter, we are working for our race and our world and our sacred evolution as surely as our Christ or our Lincoln worked for mankind. If only we can appreciate in the faintest degree the dignity of our labor we shall be fortified against weariness and complaint.

We must not only be cheerful, but we must have faith. We must compel ourselves to confidence, for only confidence will assure success. What would the glorious Old Contemptibles have been able to accomplish if they had not had the conviction of their powers, the knowledge that whatever might happen to their bodies their spirit was unbreakable? How otherwise could British blood and French blood have done the impossible at Ypres and at the Marne? We must not only have a determination to win, but we must have faith in the certainty of the success of our determination.

And not only must we have faith in ourselves, we must have faith in our fellows, in our officers, in our leaders. Every time we growl and grumble at the way things are being done without taking steps to get them done better we weaken ourselves and we aid and abet Germany. It is far better to do a thing imperfectly than not to do it at all; however useful constructive criticism may be, none can deny that criticism which is merely destructive is bleeding our

strength more than could a dozen German army corps. It is inevitable when any nation attempts to do new things on a scale such as that on which we are now organizing all our resources that there should be instances of incompetence and inefficiency. By all means let us seek to cure these errors, but let us not condemn the whole structure of our efforts because each brick is not perfect. It is natural that the error close at hand looms unduly large, and that we are apt to lose the just perspective which would let us see the big things which are being done. Our manifest duty, wherever we have a government which we know to be earnestly endeavoring to make the nation count heavily against Prussianism, is to back that government up with all our strength, no matter how much we may differ from it in normal politics or as to its policies in the past. That I may have thought Woodrow Wilson an opportunist, or that you may have believed Lloyd George tainted with a dangerous socialism, is no excuse for any failure on our part to back them up loyally and unswervingly in their efforts to win the war. Personal opinion and personal prejudices must be subordinated to co-operation for the greater things in which we all agree.

But perhaps the greatest duty which falls upon most of us civilians at this time is to spread broadcast the gospel of the meaning of the war. The only real ultimate danger to the world lies in the possibility of this gospel not being known and understood. If you can visualize even a hazy outline of the true purpose behind our efforts it is your part to make your neighbors and all with whom you meet gain your vision. This is the true propaganda which must be disseminated among the peoples of the world. No person who loves peace can be a pacifist at this time if he but knows what is at stake. Make it evident that pacifism is now so unholy, so degrading, that those who support it should be shut out from associating with thinking or patriotic people, should be made outcasts and pariahs. The agents of Prussia are without cessation striving to promote pacifism; their greatest victories have been won through their insidious pacifist propaganda. By it Russia has been overthrown and torn into local anarchies where murder, robbery and lawlessness revel unchecked; by it the Italian line was broken and the Hun was enabled to sweep over northeastern Italy until the truth could make its stand along the Piave. By it the strength and effectiveness of France, of Great Britain, of the United States, of Canada has

been sapped. By its military effort has been retarded and weakened. We are all of us weary of war; we all would welcome a clean peace; and on these desires of mankind the German propagandists play, trying to turn them into a soul-destroying pacifism. This is the chief enemy within our own gates, this is the enemy which we must fight daily and hourly.

It is therefore up to us chiefly, to us British, Americans, French, Italians. It is up to us civilians who have to stay at home, because our armies are as strong and no stronger than is the spirit of their people. The tragedy of Russia was not primarily the tragedy of her soldiers at the front, it was the tragedy of her people behind. Incompetence and corruption in high places, ignorance and starvation and jealousy among the masses, these were the things which broke the Galician lines. It is we at home who must find our inspiration and pass it forward; we need not fear that our flesh and our blood at the contact lines, they who have the added incentive of the greatest of all adventures before their eyes, will fail to respond to whatever inspiration we send to them.

Live the war, think the war, dream the war, act the war, day and night, waking and sleeping. It is our privilege as well as our misfortune to be living in the biggest years the world

has ever known; our shoulders are supporting a responsibility greater than men have ever had to bear in history. We must seek to keep this duty of war ever before our eyes, and to communicate it to all with whom we come in contact, for only thus can we acquire the needed strength.

There must be nothing so big that we must be afraid to attempt it, nothing so small that we may dare to neglect it. What we do and what we do not do; what we accomplish and what we save; where we encourage and where we comfort; in our giving and our paying and our renunciations; the one slice of rye bread in place of the two of wheat bread as well as the sending of the only son to the trenches—all of these things count for our great objective and affect the time and the manner of our accomplishment.

Be exact in the strictness of the regard you pay to each order and every request of those in authority. You are the great army which is to win the war, and, even though you have no officers of staff and line to formulate your military code, obedience is as needful for you as for the army in khaki. Remember that those in authority have open to them sources of information which you cannot have, and that their knowledge of what is requisite is more

accurate than yours can be. Submit to regulation on the ground of military or economic necessity to an extent wholly beyond that to which you would submit in normal times; forget for the time being your personal rights and contribute all to the welfare of your nation and civilization.

Do not complain at whatever restrictions may be put upon you, no matter how irksome they may be. It is for our common ultimate good that they are being established, and, even if any of them should at the end prove to have been unnecessary, we cannot now foresee that they will be so, and dare not run the risk of giving to them only a grudging obedience. Accept them smilingly and with good heart, for he who obeys in spirit as in deed yields a double obedience.

Do not carp or find fault with the way things are being done unless you can bring it about that they shall be done better, and even then confine your complaints to those who have the power to accomplish the remedy. There is a morale of the army in mufti at home just as much as of the army under the rocket-flares, and it is just as important that nothing be allowed to injure this home morale. He who weakens our own courage or confidence is aiding the enemy just as truly as he who would

make a regiment believe that it is fore-ordained to defeat. Do not try to excuse yourself because your neighbor may be at fault. The woman who needlessly buys beef or bacon after preaching conservation on the plea that if she did not buy them her butcher would sell them to someone else is a moral slacker.

Have no mercy on the pacifist. In these times he is as evil and more dangerous than the pro-German. Make him feel that he is beyond the pale of decent society, that no clean person can consort with his moral leprosy. Do not quarrel with a man because he may have Prussian blood, but be entirely unforgiving of any Prussianism of soul. And remember that experience has shown that the latter has so often been the companion of the former that the mere fact of German blood must put you trebly on your guard.

Be true to yourself, to your tradition, to your nation, to your race, to your civilization and your God, so shall this war be won.

Is religion the moving guidance of your life? I say to you that this is the holiest struggle in which the sons of men have ever engaged. The powers that make for evil are grouped against us; we alone can send them down to defeat, and according as we bear ourselves in this time of stress shall we merit the outcome.

Are you inspired by the grandeur of science? I say to you that by this war it shall be decided whether science is to be the handmaiden of man, serving him loyally, or whether it shall be permitted to grow into a hideous monster, without soul or spiritual intelligence, which shall destroy him in the weakness of his flesh, and mock at the vaunted immortality of his destiny.

Do you love art and beauty and high thought? I say to you that they will perish from off the earth if the grossness which is Prussianism be let to prevail. There shall be no longer in the world things that are fair, but only corruption and pollution and spiritual death.

Is the conception of an evolution unrestricted in its possibilities your inspiration? I say to you that it is yours to decide whether the weight of matter directed by evil intelligence shall stay the course of progress, and whether the reasoning faculties which have been developed in man through the centuries are so foul that so soon as they come into dominion over their own evolution they shall utterly destroy the medium that gave them birth.

Have you a love of country and of the freedom your ancestors have bequeathed to you as your heritage? I say to you that you are fight-

ing for the very life and continued existence of these things which have been committed to you.

Do you love your fellow-men and believe in the inherent nobility of the race? I say to you that it is only by promoting the destruction of them whom madness has made more dangerous than pestilence that you can demonstrate it. Horrible as it may be, the killing of Germans is to-day the only way to assure the salvation of the world and of every nation in it. The Destroyer of Happiness must be destroyed for the sake of generations yet unborn.

Magna est veritas et praevalabit. But if truth shall not prevail now in the world, the race of man is doomed and we can only dream that out of a new chaos in the course of cycles of centuries a new evolution may produce new and different intelligences which may succeed in dominating matter as we shall have failed to dominate it and which may make of reason not a soulless master but an obedient genius. Until man shall have been proved futile, I, for one, refuse to believe in the possibility of such an event. Should such a thing be permitted to come to pass, may we and our seed perish from out of the world we shall have betrayed.

