

“NEVER AGAIN!”

BY

WALTER A. PARKYN

with compliments and
sincerely yours

~~Wm. B. ...~~

21 July 1923

“NEVER AGAIN!”

By the same Author
("Homo")

MAN :
THE PROBLEM OF THE AGES

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“ NEVER AGAIN ! ”

BY

WALTER A. PARKYN

(“ HOMO ”)

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ENVOY

FOREWORD

BY

DR. F. W. G. FOAT, M.A.

FOREWORD

THIS collection of earnest exhortations might almost be presented as Sermons by a Layman. The Writer's standpoint is frankly Christian and idealistic, while his eye ranges with sympathetic understanding over the whole field of modern thinking and experience, and his humanitarian emotions are profoundly stirred to generous indignation and noble pity at the spectacle of human woes.

The reader will not find a very closely reasoned line of argument, although a high and lucid argument is steadily maintained throughout. By illustration and practical suggestion, by allusions, by admirable quotations, we are led towards a determination

that War is the L'Inique, L'Infâme, and to the great resolve that War shall be no more.

These essays are just what sermons should be—and are not.

F. W. G. FOAT.

Richmond.

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

(i) The outstanding event of the year that is now drawing to a close is the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, and the subsequent proclamation of the Great Peace in the month of June, A.D. 1919.

(ii) Two thousand years ago, the old story says, some shepherds on an Eastern plain were startled in their midnight watch beside their flocks—a strange light in the sky and a vision of angelic forms innumerable! A song they heard—or seemed to hear! The burden of that song was “Peace on Earth!”

Whether we regard the Biblical records as an accurate description of a remarkable but historic phenomenon, or merely an immortal epic, it matters not; the sublime conception remains. A Divine proclama-

tion, if you will, from the heart of the All-Father to the earth-born sons of Heaven: "Peace on earth, Good-will among men."

(iii) Is there any relation between these two: the recent happening and the ancient dream?

If there is, then let the Christmas bells ring out a joyous peal; let the whole world rejoice to hail the dawn of the Golden Age proclaimed by bards and prophets, and re-echoed from age to age for well-nigh two millenniums.

But, if there is not, then, whilst we may still rejoice in blessed hope, and labour for the certain fulfilment of the Divine purpose, we do well to temper our rejoicing in the temporary respite from international strife and bloodshed, and to face the grim facts that the solemn covenants of the Treaty of Versailles are no more than idle words; and that, in spite of the

honest intent of the signatories, the great Peace Treaty may yet prove to be a mere "scrap of paper."

(iv) Granted, I say, that the basis of the present international peace, and the phrasing of the great Treaty leave no room for doubt that the delegates to the memorable Paris Conference in the early part of 1919, to whose skilful labours we are indebted for the happy consummation of peace among the great nations to-day, were, indeed, actuated by the highest motives and unquestionable sincerity; nevertheless, though the historic document have been never so skilfully framed, it rests, not with the authors of the document, but with the peoples of the countries they represented, whether the Peace thus arranged be a real peace or merely a Truce.

(v) Certainly, if there is to be "Peace on Earth" in the highest sense, then international strife must cease for ever.

Now, let it be noted that international discord is symptomatic of universal discord in the heart of man. Thus, international peace depends upon right attitude of heart and mind, not only of Governments but of the peoples they represent. This will not be attained by some miracle of spontaneous conversion, but rather by education.

In order, then, that the will of the people may be rightly directed, it is necessary that the issues be clearly stated—not the purely political issues of War as it affects inter-State relations, but the far wider issues of the War-principle, as it affects the whole life of the people, in all spheres of human activities; and that the dangers which confront us—which confront the world—be plainly indicated; and, further, that an attempt be made to point the wisest course, with a view to creating, at least so far as relates to our own beloved country, a

national conscience, for the assurance that England's counsel, both in the momentous present and hereafter, shall make for Righteousness, Freedom, Prosperity, and an enduring Peace.

This is my apologia for this attempt to exercise whatever influence my humble testimony may be capable of, in the best interests not only of my own country, but also in the still larger interests of Mankind.

(vi) Ultra-practical folk may be disposed to reject my suggestions and affirmations as "Too ideal!"—as though the ideal were something wholly visionary and beyond realisation. Well, but was not the recent War precipitated at the instigation of, and for the larger attainment of an ideal—the Prussian ideal? And is not the life of every nation, is not also the life of every individual member of it, an expression of an ideal—of some ideal, either good or bad, true or false?

(vii) The highest and noblest and truest idealism is expressed by the term "Religion." Here, indeed, there is great variety of conviction, as there is also endless variety of expression; but here our concern is not with a discussion of particular institutions or of formal religious beliefs, for these matters are of quite minor importance; our concern is rather with *essential religion*.

Now, religion is either a vital matter affecting the whole life, every department of it, every moment of it, and not merely a garment to be assumed or cast off at will, as suitable for Sundays, and not for Mondays; for sickness, and not for health; or, it is a delusive mirage of the imagination, a superstition unworthy of human intelligence, a hindrance to the development of robust manhood, and a drag on the wheels of progress in the affairs of the individual and the society. It is either the rock upon

which we can safely build, or it is the treacherous sand of ignorance, and the ultimate doom of our fair dream of a stable nationalism and a peaceful and happy internationalism. Which is it?

If it is the former, the sooner we recognise the fact, and seek to order our affairs, individual, national, and international, accordingly, the sooner we shall attain our goal. If the latter view of it is the right one, then let us boldly repudiate religion as a delusion and a snare.

But what is the alternative? Reversion to the eighteenth century idea of a mechanical universe, and the adoption of an out-and-out materialism, such as that which has found expression in the appalling disaster of the Great War 1914-1918. How does this prospect appeal to the intelligence of any sane man to-day?

(viii) I submit that modern materialism has utterly failed—as materialism always

has failed in the past, when it has become sufficiently arrogant to try conclusions with the spiritual forces: witness Babylon and Rome of ancient history.

Further, I affirm that the only sure basis for world-peace is the spiritual basis: acceptance of the fundamental principles of "Christianity," in its broadest and fullest interpretation; this, and nothing less than this, will ensure "good-will among men," and a true and lasting peace.

(ix) Now, if men find it impossible to accept the more ancient presentation of the doctrine of the Spirit, is it not possible to find some new basis, some new expression of those deep intuitions of human consciousness, which shall inspire faith, and create a world-conscience that shall guide the race to true conquest, and towards the dawn of the Golden Age?

This, at least, is the aim of the present writer, in presenting the brief suggestions

and affirmations set forth herein; in the hope that they may, in some measure, make for the realisation of the poet's vision, in which the war-drum throbbed no longer,

“ In the Parliament of Man, the Federation
of the World,”

and lead Mankind towards the goal of the Greater Peace implied in the Christmas message, “ Peace on Earth to men of Goodwill.”*

W. A. P.

London, A.D. 1919.

*This is the alternative reading:

“ Glory to God in the highest (planes) and on earth;
Peace among men of Goodwill.”

I.
PEACE!

PROLOGUE.

- i. "The Tumult and the Shouting dies."
- ii. The Terrible Toll of the Great War.
- iii. War for the End of War?
- iv. Peace or Truce?

PROLOGUE

(RUDYARD KIPLING'S *Recessional*.)

God of our fathers, known of old,
Lord of our far-flung battle-line,
Beneath whose awful Hand we hold
Dominion over palm and pine—
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget!

The tumult and the shouting dies;
The captains and the kings depart;
Still stands Thine ancient sacrifice,
An humble and a contrite heart.
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget!

Far-called, our navies melt away;
On dune and headland sinks the fire;
Lo, all our pomp of yesterday
Is one with Nineveh and Tyre!
Judge of the Nations, spare us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget!

If drunk with sight of power, we loose
Wild tongues that have not Thee in awe,
Such boastings as the Gentiles use,
Or lesser breeds without the Law—
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget!

For heathen heart that puts her trust
In reeking tube and iron shard,
All valiant dust that builds on dust,
And guarding, calls not Thee to guard,
For frantic boast and foolish word—
Thy Mercy on Thy People, Lord!—AMEN.

I.

PEACE!

i. *“The Tumult and the Shouting Dies.”*

(1) But yesterday, the world was crouching under the terror of the awful cataclysm of a Great War which shook the foundations of society, and threatened to engulf civilization.

For four terrible years of suspense, bitterness and agony, *Mars* was in the ascendant: we lived by the sword, for the sword, and under the sword, and whole countries were drenched with the blood of

the slain. The people walked in darkness—the darkness of despair; when, lo, of a sudden, the fratricidal conflict ceased: instead of the roar of cannon, the fiendish shriek of shell, and the hideous cries of the contending hosts, silence reigned o’er the vast battlefields—the silence of death! And a solemn hush fell on the world as the bleeding nations stretched forth feeble hands to grasp the flag of truce and whispered—Peace!

But, not yet! for six more weary months dragged on ere that happy consummation was reached, and the ether waves trembled with the glad message, “ Peace Treaty signed ! ”

Ah! with what emotion the peoples of the great nations caught the music of that blessed word *Peace*, as it passed from man to man, from land to land, over continents and islands, and across the swelling oceans that ebb and flow between!

ii. *The Terrible Toll of the Great War.*

(2) Peace! yes, but at what a terrible cost!

“ Only an approximate estimate of the war’s appalling toll of human life can at present be arrived at.

“ The war losses of the British Empire, on land and sea and in the air, are not far short of 900,000 lives.

“ The total death roll of our allies is approximately as follows :---

France	1,305,000
America	112,000
Russia	1,700,000
Italy	460,000
Belgium	102,000

“ As regards Serbia, Montenegro, Roumania, Greece, Portugal and Japan, the number of casualties is difficult to arrive at,

but a million would be a fair estimate of their total losses in dead. Of our enemies, Germany is said to have a death roll of 1,600,000, but this is probably underestimated. Austria lost 800,000, Turkey 437,000, and Bulgaria 100,000 men.

“ The cost of all this slaughter has been put down at £40,000,000,000, of which Great Britain’s share is now well above £8,150,000,000—over one-fifth of the total.

“ It is impossible to estimate the material damage caused by the war. In Belgium over 43,000 houses were destroyed. In France 46,000 buildings and 331 churches were brought to ruins. The cost of the damage done to buildings, agriculture and industry in France and Belgium alone would run into hundreds of millions of pounds.

“ The world’s losses in shipping were also enormous. It has been estimated that over twelve million tons were sent to the

bottom of the sea exclusive of German ships.

“ The loss in production by the diversion of men from the workshops, factories and the land to the battlefields, and the economic value of the lives that have been lost or rendered incapable of any useful work must also be taken into consideration when reckoning up the losses of the war. Here, again, it is utterly impossible to add it all up in pounds, shillings and pence.” *

Thus, in this hour of triumph of the Allied Forces, in this hour of Peace, we are confronted with the appalling facts: That the material wealth of the civilized world has been squandered; great masterpieces in architectural and pictorial art have been irrecoverably lost—ruthlessly destroyed; the flower of the manhood of many nations has gone—man slain by his fellow man! Civilian populations have been deci-

* *Daily Express*, 20th June, 1919.

mated: helpless babes, little children, old men and women have been murdered in cold blood, or, worse still, done to death by unspeakable tortures! Think, too, of the terrible trail of the gaunt spectres Famine and Pestilence as they stalked through Western and Central Europe and the countries of the Near East.

We contemplate the scene and are dumb with shame and stricken with sorrow, for the millions of dead, and a million homes bereft of all that made them *homes*.

Alas, the folly of it! Alas, the sin of it! Surely, whilst we do well, at our Christmas festival, to offer solemn thanksgiving that the carnage has ceased, that the terror is past, the remembrance of the appalling sacrifice involved in the Great Peace that gladdens our heart to-day should give us pause for sober reflection—aye, for supplication of the Eternal Power:

“ If drunk with sight of power, we loose
 Wild tongues that have not Thee in
 awe,
 Such boastings as the Gentiles use,
 Or lesser breeds without the Law—
 Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
 Lest we forget—lest we forget! ”

iii. *War for the End of War?*

(3) An apologist for England's intervention in the Great War stated one aspect of the case tersely, and in rhythmic phrase, thus :

“ War, for the end of War,
 Fighting, that fighting may cease :
 Why do our cannon roar?
 For a thousand years of Peace.”

Well, the Great War is ended; the midnight of a world-crisis is passed; but what ground have we for the hope so frequently expressed of late, that the appeal of the great States to the arbitrament of War for the

settlement of international disputes has been made for the last time, and that the dawn which is now breaking is the dawn of the Golden Age, when men shall “ beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks? ” What guarantee have we that we are now entering upon the fulfilment of that ancient prophecy of the glorious era of Peace? Alas, we have no guarantee! Yet the aspiration of Mankind seems to be “ that fighting may cease.”

One thing is certain: War *per se* can never end war—though the devastation, the ruin, the pain, and the desolation which follow in its track are assuredly awakening in Man a sense of its stupendous folly and wickedness.

(4) War is an expression of *hate*, of discord, and makes for the disintegration of the community. The antithesis of hate is *Love*—that subtle force which binds man

to man in concord, and which is essentially the foundation upon which the society of Mankind is builded.

We believe, then, that in the natural order of the Universe, expressed by the term Evolution—at least in the human order—*Hate* must ultimately yield to *Love*. Love must conquer! Out of the antithesis, a new synthesis of the lower Love and Hate appears in a higher form of Love. The great alliances are on a scale more magnificent than any of the past.

To use the language of a man of science : Man is now recognised as “ a part of Nature, a product of the definite and orderly evolution which is universal;” and yet, in relation to non-human nature he is the first-fruit of a higher order : “ He stands alone, face to face with that relentless mechanism. It is his destiny to understand and to control it.” *

* “The Kingdom of Man,” Sir Ray Lankester, p. 4.

Exactly ! Whereas, be it noted, Nature outside Man uses in her process of Natural Selection a method of extermination, Man is no longer entirely subject to the primal law : he is destined to *control it*.

Man is still evolving, and the predominant force that will lead him forth triumphant is expressed by the term *Love*—the ultimate and all-conquering force which is *involved* in the universal order.

“ Experience tells us that Man’s true life is neither lived in the material tracts of the body, nor in the higher altitudes of the intellect, but in the warm world of the affections. Till he is equipped with these, Man is not human. He reaches his full height only when Love becomes to him the breath of life, the energy of will, the summit of desire.” *

Hence, though ever and anon, in the march of Time, discords arise between

* “ The Ascent of Man,” Henry Drummond, p. 98.

nations, as between individuals, disastrous as the consequence may be on the physical plane, yet to the spiritual vision, seeing through the mists of local and temporal circumstance the unchanged outlines of Reality, the Larger Fact emerges and defines itself, the “ Whole Fact ” which Emerson bade us recognise; the Kosmic ‘ Word ’ becoming Flesh and dwelling among us, in a redeemed humanity, above the reach of earlier Hates and Strifes. For while, in one horrifying aspect, nature seems “ red in tooth and claw,” and human nature the abode of devils, this is seen by the enlightened soul at last to be one aspect only, while the much larger aspect shows the world at peace. in genuine understanding each of each; shows more mutual help than strife, more love than hate, more brotherhood than competition, more Christ than Cain! Aye, as Shelley makes the Spirit Chorus say to his great prototype

of suffering saviours, his Prometheus :

“ Though Ruin now Love’s shadow be,
Following him, destroyingly,
On Death’s white and wingèd steed,
Which the fleetest cannot flee,
Trampling down both flower and weed,
Man and beast, foul and fair,
Like a tempest through the air;
Thou shalt quell this horseman grim,
Wounded though in heart and limb.”

iv. *Peace or Truce?*

(5) Holding the ideal well in view, and in order to its ultimate attainment, we must yet face the grim facts of life in the momentous present.

We are at peace to-day because the belligerents could fight no longer. The furies have done their diabolic work; and from amidst the fires of hell, above the din of battle, over the roar of a million guns and the hideous shriek of shell, the

ery went up, ‘ It is enough, let the fighting cease, let there be Peace! ’

The aggressor, truly, has been hurled back; the foe is beaten, his power is broken. But, what is to prevent the nations from repeating the unspeakable tragedy, and involving the world once again in a colossal war that shall eclipse the horrors of even this, the greatest war of the ages, by a still greater and more terrible war?

(6) With the ghastly battle scenes of the recent Armageddon before us, the appalling loss of life, and the terrible toll of the maimed; the devastation and ruin on every hand, and the wide-spread poverty and suffering which is part of the common incidence of war; the blighted lives of the betrothed, the loneliness of the widow and the handicap of the fatherless: with all this, and the far more terrible realisation of all that this word-picture implies,

comparable only to a Dante's Inferno, enacted and re-enacted before the mental vision, we shudder at the bare thought of another war. Surely, we say, it were better that this planet be dissolved than that such a crime should be repeated!

“ Lord God of Hosts be with us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget! ”

But, alas, we may, and doubtless shall forget! In the lapse of time the Great War may seem to us just a horrible nightmare—that is all. Then, too, new generations will grow up who may view this world-tragedy as a mere incident in the history of internationalism: as perfectly natural, and, perhaps, even a necessary happening. And thus, in a few score years, more or less, the Peace which is proclaimed to-day may prove to be merely an interlude—a truce, rather than an enduring peace; and the world may be thrown into another frenzied Armageddon.

more insane, more wicked, than the last. That is the danger. Is it inevitable, or can it be avoided?

(7) The question is a grave one; yet we believe it is capable of a satisfactory solution. Nay, more, we believe that the vision vouchsafed alike to poet, philosopher, and prophet is not an illusion, but the glorious revelation of an era—a Golden Era, indeed—which shall one day dawn on this fair earth—when, instead of strife and envy and jealousy and war, there shall be amity and goodwill and an enduring Peace.

Our attempt to point the way to the attainment of these things involves, in the first place, a much more critical examination of the fact of War: its effect upon the interests of the belligerent States, and upon the lives of the individual citizens; and the ultimate origin of the War-principle.

II. WAR

- i. Its Character and Effect.
- ii. The Great War, 1914-1918: Its Immediate and its Ultimate Cause.
- iii. The War-Principle.
- iv. Conclusion.

“ See how kindred murder kin ;
’Tis the vintage-time for death and sin : ”

* * * * *

“ Blood thou canst see, and fire ; and canst
hear groans ;
Worse things, unheard, unseen, remain
behind. ”

II. WAR

i. *Its Character and Its Effect.*

(1) A French officer in his diary, reproduced in the *Petit Journal*, tells of the horrors of the German burning liquid machine.

Describing a grenade fight, he adds: "It was while this was going on that one of my corporals called me. He had made a discovery that was very interesting, and destined to turn the tables on the enemy.

"He took me to a sort of vat that he had found in front of the parapet of the *Boche* trench. I recognised it as an apparatus for burning liquid, and hastily studied its mechanism by a pocket lamp.

It was very simple. It needed nothing but the movement of a pump handle, and was all ready, no doubt, for our reception.

“ We hurriedly carried the infernal vat to the mouth of the trench where our comrades were fighting. Some of them had already fallen, and were lying in their blood. The fall of dusk helped us, and we installed the machine without being seen. A spark, and then, what a sight!

“ With a hiss, a green and red flame shot out like a fiery serpent, and spread into a huge fan of flames that submerged the whole trench. I shall never forget the piercing shrieks and hoarse groans. They were the cries of the damned!

“ The sheet of flame surprised the thirty Germans who were sheltering behind the barrier of chevaux de frise and firing on us from there. Caught in the wave of fire, they could not fly.

“ They tried to scramble out, but their

limbs were a mass of burns, and they could not use them, and their eyes were blinded. After a vain attempt they fell back for ever, and all was over.”

If this is War, then *War is hell!*

(2) Of the horrors of the battlefield we have learnt enough; and it were better to draw the curtain than further to expose to view so ghastly a spectacle as that presented in Western and Central Europe, and on the Balkan Peninsula in the Near East, the chief theatres of the recent titanic struggle of millions of men armed with the deadliest weapons which modern science and human ingenuity could produce.

But even this is not all, for, as Harold Begbie says, “ A battlefield is only the outline of War. Fill it up with agonising anxiety, with burning prayers, with maddening sleeplessness, with tears and sobs and groans; fill it up with the heart’s

capacity for utmost grief and sharpest pain; fill it up with suffering, the suffering of women and children, till the outline is as pitted with these things as a map of London is pitted with names, and then you may have some idea, some faint idea, of the range of a heavy gun and the flight of a bullet."

Yes, and to all this, in these days of modern barbarism, we must add the horrible atrocities perpetrated by the invading armies of a drunken lustful soldiery on the civil populations, and the murder and maiming of helpless women and babes by air raids on open towns and peaceful villages far from the actual theatre of the war. Oh, the pity of it! the folly of it!

(3) Yet there are those who, with an air of superior knowledge, tell us that armed conflict between man and man is involved in the eternal scheme of things; that the

bloodiest war is, after all, *a most humane thing*, inasmuch as it puts the weaklings out of their misery, and makes for *the survival of the fittest*—and thus, I suppose, for the development of the highest manhood, and the advancement of the race!

Doubtless these apologists for war might prefer to state the case in more scientific phraseology; nevertheless, I submit that the foregoing is a fair deduction from their theory—which is either blasphemy or a grim fallacy!

Armed-conflict has nothing whatever to do with the principle involved *in the struggle for life*; neither does it make for the survival of the fittest.

Says Sir Ray Lankester: “ A more objectionable mis-interpretation of the naturalists’ doctrine of the survival of the fittest in the struggle for existence is that made by journalists and literary politicians, who declare, according to their

political bias, either that science rightly teaches that the gross quality measured by wealth and strength alone can survive, and should therefore alone be cultivated, or that science (and especially Darwinism) has done serious injury to the progress of mankind by authorising this teaching. Both are wrong, and owe their error to self-satisfied flippancy and traditional ignorance in regard to Nature-knowledge and the teaching of Darwin. The 'fittest' does not mean the 'strongest.' The causes of survival under Natural Selection are very far indeed from being rightly described as mere strength, nor are they baldly similar to the power of accumulating wealth. Frequently in Nature the more obscure and feeble survive in the struggle, because of their modesty and suitability to given conditions, whilst the rich are sent empty away, and the mighty perish by hunger." *

* "The Kingdom of Man," p. 7.

Further: “ In spite of the frequent assertions to the contrary, it seems that neither the more ancient wars of mankind for conquest and migration, nor the present and future wars for commercial privilege, have any real equivalence to the simple removal by death of the unfit and the survival and reproduction of the fit, which we know as Natural Selection.” *

I regard armed-conflict rather as a mere incident—an age-long incident, if you will—which marks a certain stage in the evolution of human-life; and not the weaker part, but rather the flower of the manhood of the warring States has perished in the bloody arena of Western and Central Europe and the Near East. No, a thousand times no! War is not an economic *necessity*; on the contrary, it is wholly destructive, and, therefore, subversive of true economy. It implies a

* “The Kingdom of Man,” p 15.

moral disease—something to be got rid of, before the human race can attain to the highest estate—to the dignity of true Manhood.

In fine, War, be it never so scientific—indeed, the more scientific, the more deadly in its effect—is murder organized! It is, taken in itself and in regard to its essential purpose, a brutal, bestial thing, revolting to the senses, and demoralising in its effect on combatants and non-combatants alike.† From the economic

†Let it be clearly understood, that I am not here concerned with the mere *machinery* of war—much of which, it may be urged, bears striking resemblance to many of the normal activities of civil life—but with the terrible *fact* of war, or, if you will, the particular incidence of war: those conditions that arouse the *tiger* in Man, and give free rein to the baser instincts.

There are, however, other facts, of a quite opposite character, that emerge during the progress of a great war, which we behold with reverence: noble endurance, deeds of heroism, and so forth. Of these I take full cognisance in a later chapter. Nevertheless, I affirm that the grosser aspect of War remains, and overshadows the individual triumphs of our nobler manhood—triumphs that stand out the more conspicuous against the gross darkness of what I would term the true incidence of the appalling disaster we call *War*.

point of view, it is wasteful and ruinous.* Such folly, such wickedness must cease! we say. And the popular cry is: “ Never again ! ”

But how can War be prevented? That is the problem. Let us face the question.

ii. *The Great War, 1914-1918 : Its Immediate and its Ultimate Cause.*

(4) War may be described as a *cancerous disease* of the organism of the society.† Now, in order to the eradication of a disease, there are two things needed—correct diagnosis of its nature and origin, and proper treatment according to the

*For an exhaustive treatment of the Economic aspect of War, see Norman Angell's great work, "The Great Illusion : A Study of the Relation of Military Power to National Advantage" (Heinemann).

†War in earlier ages may have been only a survival from past sub-human struggles for existence, similar to that which still prevails in the non-human order—a part of the Divine Mystery. But its later organization and imposition upon modern communities is not natural, it is extraneous—a disease.

dictates of Nature, the *vis medicatrix Naturæ*. Of the nature of the War-disease we think we have a fairly accurate knowledge. But are we quite sure that we have traced its origin far enough? Take the case of the Great War just ended; the details of which—its terrible ravages, and the untold suffering with which it has afflicted the world—are still all too vivid to the mind and heart of each one of us. Where and how did it start?

(5) From the fateful day when the first shot was fired, onward to the proclamation of Peace, popular opinion throughout the British Empire, and throughout the countries of our noble Allies, has persistently proclaimed the guilt of Germany. Yet, deep down in the self-righteous soul of every one of us, we have heard the solemn rebuke: “ Let him who is without sin cast the first stone! ”

In other words, neither the recent war,

nor any other, has its origin wholly in the *Vaterland*.

In a critique on Mr. H. G. Wells' book, *Mr. Britling Sees it Through*, à propos the Great War, the Countess of Warwick gives her own views as to its origin :

“ With due apologies to every British apostle of the comfortable doctrine of self-righteousness, I must decline to regard Germany as the villain of the piece. I can only see her as the sharp knife that lanced the festering ulcer of modern ‘ progress,’ a progress that was travelling hard in the wrong direction. I see Germany as the unconscious agent, the dangerous remedy by which a desperate disease was spreading fast over all Europe, to say nothing of the New World, that must work out its own salvation. The disease was the pursuit of riches and power at any price. To this end millions of men in Germany and Austria had been dragooned out of

all proper semblance of humanity; they had become the brute force by which autocracy, with the aid of prostituted science, sought to register its evil decrees.

“ In England, the pursuit of power and riches took another form. Of militarism we had little or none, but from ten thousand factories and workshops, from a thousand slums, the cry of the worker uprose to God. ‘ The voice of thy brother’s blood crieth unto me from the ground.’ There is no rhetoric about this, merely the plain, unvarnished fact. Statesmen have spoken of so many millions living on the poverty line. Housing Commissions have spoken of the vile dens in which men, women and children are condemned to live. Great doctors have described the unending war against infant life, to which every sweater and slumlandlord is a party; and England is, or was before the War, the richest country

in the world.

“ The facts are patent. So we have seen for long years past the slow, deliberate throttling of democracy, by force of arms in Central Europe, by force of industry at home, . . . Reformers preached only to the converted; and every act of the world’s rulers was aimed at making the rich richer, the poor poorer, and the servile more servile than before. In the midst of riches men and women starved; in the midst of peace, millions were shut in barracks. Science became above all things the servant of destruction, and the national wealth, instead of easing the burden of those who have most to bear, was devoted to the piling up of armaments that should crack the fabric of civilization from base to summit.

“ That such conditions should endure was impossible; to believe that they could was as blatant a form of atheism as the

thinking mind can devise. To those of us who have seen destruction coming, nothing remained unrevealed save the definite shape that that destruction would take. In the midst of seeming prosperity, Europe was rotten at the core.” *

(6) To this comprehensive indictment of our modern civilization, I confidently call my readers' serious attention. Its exaggeration of phrase may be excused (Europe was not literally “ rotten at the core ”) in view of the extreme gravity of the situation. Unless, indeed, Germany was the sole offender, as most of our fighters and patriots believe, then we shall find ourselves no better for all the sacrifice, if we are not ourselves lifted by it out of the “ horrible pit and the miry clay ” of selfishness and greed. In other words, the work of reform and regeneration has still to be done. And that this

* *The Daily Chronicle*, 20th October, 1916.

is the position is gradually becoming a conviction in the minds of thousands who thought we had only to go out and kill a mad dog.

That the Countess of Warwick is giving us the true impression I myself believe. We must make all necessary modification of her statement, of course; but in any case it is mere hypocrisy to shelve the *whole* blame for the Great War on our neighbour and late antagonist. It is burking the truth, and thus imperilling our future—the life, the health, and the happiness of the hundreds of millions of subjects of the British Empire—aye, of the peoples of the world. It is better, it is safer to be honest.

Granted, that there is abundant evidence that Germany did deliberately pile up armaments and munitions of war for well-nigh half a century—apparently for the set purpose of territorial conquest; granted,

that the Prussian bureaucracy may be said to have precipitated the crisis. Nevertheless, we do well to remember that our boasted twentieth century civilization provided the conditions, the atmosphere, the climate in which that malignant moral disease called Militarism thrives. In still plainer language, it is our modern economic system, our selfishness, our greed of material gain, individual and national aggrandisement; these, these are the things at back of the recent turmoil and strife of nations. And behind them, again, modern finance! It is the culmination of the materialism of the past age. So long as these things hold sway over the mind and heart of Man, the brute-force god will be summoned to his aid in order to their attainment, and there will be—

“ Kingly conclaves stern and cold,

Where blood with gold is bought and
sold.”

iii. *The War-Principle.*

(7) Thus we see that the War-principle which underlies inter-state relations is identical with, and indeed, has its source in, *the spirit of antagonism* that pervades the entire industrial and commercial organization throughout the world. Here we have individuals and groups of individuals—capitalists and captains of industry on the one hand, and the workers on the other, in open rivalry; each group pursuing its separate interests, and, for the most part, ignoring the larger common interest of the community.

We have recently heard much of Patriotism—a grand spirit, which has been abundantly manifest on all sides. But, has there not been a pseudo-patriotism also in evidence? Has there not been much self-seeking that has masqueraded in the

guise of patriotism? Has there not been much exploiting of the patriotism of the masses by the greedy capitalists for their out selfish ends?

Take, for example, the series of coal crises during the War: When the miners came out on *strike*, the public sense of patriotism was shocked, and a wave of resentment and indignant protest swept through the country. To which the men replied in effect thus: ‘ You want to coerce us to submit to serve our employers on whatever terms they choose to dictate, no matter whether those terms be just and equitable or otherwise. Why not bring pressure to bear on the employers? You say that our action is unpatriotic: yet we only demand the right to live; whereas the colliery owners are taking advantage of the present crisis to swell their balances at the bank—and this at the country’s expense!’

In *The War and After*, Sir Oliver Lodge quotes the following statement by a worker: “ I am not unpatriotic. I had two sons at the front; one of them is killed. I am willing to serve my country; but I will not slave overtime, and seven days a week, to increase the profits of a blasted blood-sucking board of Directors. I will work the hours I choose, and for as long as is necessary to get me the pay for the week. More I don't need, and I want to live a human life and not the life of a slave.”

This may be a crude form of expression, but, undoubtedly, the author has well enough represented the thought of some of the millions at least.

It cannot be denied that, whatever fault there was in the miners' action, the cause is partly exploitation on the part of their employers. And this is but one of many cases that might be cited.

Surely selfishness—not *self-interest* in its truest aspect—is the parasite that is ever sapping the life-blood of humanity. Get rid of this, and there will be some chance for the development of robust life—of true manhood.

(8) Now, what is wrong with Labour is that the majority among the masses have mistaken the impulse at back of the great unrest which finds expression in our modern Social movements, with their vast machinery for the organization of the working class and the uplifting of the masses, and have a vision only of a glorified material good. But alas, the goal, though seemingly never so near, will ever prove an illusive mirage.

What is wrong with Capital is that it seeks mainly to augment its wealth in gold and land for purely selfish ends, and uses Labour as a means to the accomplishment of its purpose.

Hence, whilst the immediate cause of international strife is racial jealousy, suspicion, prejudice, and pride, the ultimate cause is a profound and deadly materialism, which has too long been flaunted as the symbol of progress.

Will anyone to-day dare to raise this banner of materialism in the presence of the most appalling disaster to which it has led in the very heart of our boasted twentieth century civilization?

(9) I have expressed the War-principle in terms of Materialism: yet, behind all antagonism, and jealousy, and selfishness is that primal element, *Fear*. Fear for the national security, lest a neighbouring State should covet our more prosperous trade, and seek to supersede us in the world-markets by force of arms; fear, lest we fail to obtain that which we deem to be necessary to life and happiness; fear, lest we lose that which we already possess, unless

we keep our neighbour at arm's length by curtailing his liberties, and hindering his progress.

Yes, surely, the War-principle may well be expressed in terms of *Fear*—the first-born son of Ignorance; with its twin sister, Mistrust.

“ In each human heart terror survives
 The ruin it has gorged : the loftiest fear
 All that they would disdain to think were
 true :
 Hypocrisy and custom make their minds
 The fanes of many a worship, now out-
 worn.
 They dare not devise good for man's
 estate,
 And yet they know not that they do not
 dare.
 The powerful goodness want : worse
 need for them.
 The wise want love ; and those who love
 want wisdom ;
 And all best things are thus confused
 to ill.
 Many are strong and rich, and would be
 just,

But live among their suffering fellow-
men
As if none felt : they know not what
they do.”

iv. *Conclusion.*

(10) Oh War!—cruel war : What stupendous folly ! What a satire on our boasted intelligence ! When shall we learn wisdom ? For, that any one class or nation should seek to impose its will upon any other class or nation by brute-force is surely the outcome of grossest ignorance, and is the recrudescence of those destructive instincts which dominated the activities of primitive man. At best, the governing principle is mere intellectual animalism !

Yet, it is doomed to fail of its object ; for, if Capital kills Labour, then Capital also will perish ; they will fall together into the very pit which Capital has digged for

the corpse of its victim. And if Labour can destroy Capital, organized labour itself will cease. If half the world draw the sword against the other half of the world, it matters little which side wins in the fight : for what shall it profit the victors, if they gain the whole world and lose their soul—their psyche, their life, in the process? And mark, my readers, this is no mere paraphrase of a well-known Scriptural warning to the avaricious; it is an axiom of human life!

(11) The fundamental law of the society—the law upon which it depends for its existence—is the law of *correspondence*—mutual intercourse; co-operation.

War makes for the disintegration of the society, and is, therefore, doomed to fail of its object. Indeed, its failure is writ large in the history of the world; though, for us, the outstanding witness of the truth of this dictum is the colossal disaster that

has overtaken civilization in the Great War Anno Domini 1914-1918.

Thus we conclude that the War-principle is a principle of life at a lower stage: It has to vanish from our social institutions, from our commercial and industrial organizations, and from our political systems, both national and international, if these are to have vitality, stability, or any other worth. “A kingdom divided against itself cannot stand.” Well, neither can a civilized world.

“ For heathen heart that puts her trust
 In reeking tube and iron shard,
 All valiant dust that builds on dust,
 And guarding, calls not Thee to guard,
 For frantic boast and foolish word—
 Thy mercy on Thy people, Lord!”

III.
THE REMEDY.

- i. Militarism Must Go!
- ii. Disarmament.
- iii. The First Step.
- iv. Opposition.
- v. The Only Way.
- vi. Whither Does it Lead?

My suggestions, in detail, must be understood to apply to our own country; though, in principle, they may, and most certainly will, sooner or later, apply to every other country throughout the world.

So far as relates to Domestic Policy, it is obvious that each country has its own particular problems; and the peoples of the several countries will be the best judges as to the means of grappling with them, in order to their solution. Though, again, the ultimate problems in all countries are, in the main, identical.

III. THE REMEDY

i. *Militarism Must Go!*

(1) The popular idea, frequently expressed during the progress of the Great War—now happily relegated to the realm of history—that the triumph of the forces of the Triple Entente, and their noble Allies, over the Central European Powers and their Allies, would ensure a lasting peace, even in the Western Hemisphere, is a fallacy. The supersession of any one nation or group of nations over some other nation or group of nations, as the dominant political and military power, is in no way a guarantee of peace. Far from it: for the predominance of a single nation as a

great Naval and Military Power is a challenge to the rest of the world. The principle of dominance by physical force is wholly wrong, by whomsoever it is exercised.

Evelyn Underhill, writing in *The Hibbert Journal*, oddly enough, in support of the theory that War cannot be eliminated, but is, in this writer's view, in some way even necessary, says: “ We are bound to use our freedom, *not in fostering, but in opposing the appeal to mere physical violence.* The voluntary pouring out of the terrible medicine is not for us, any more than the raising of tempests, or other sowing of death. We believe that the final tendency of spirit is towards harmony, the building up of a spiritual kingdom based on the creating and consolidating power of love; that behind and through the puzzling appearance of this harmony, the waste and destruction of opposing

forces, a unifying tendency is ever at work. To that tendency it is our highest duty to conform.”

In the present age of enlightenment, Militarism is an anachronism. The military machine is the plaything of savages, not the legitimate instrument of civilized internationalism.

“ They err who count it glorious to subdue
 By conquest far and wide, to over-run
 Large countries, and in field great
 battles win,
 Great cities by assault; what do these
 worthies
 But rob, and spoil, burn, slaughter, and
 enslave
 Peaceable nations, neighbouring or
 remote? . . . ”

That is how we see it now : not glorious, but rapacious, murderous and domineering. In a word, it is unjust; it is immoral. *Militarism must go!*

ii. *Disarmament.*

(2) Nevertheless, it would be premature to talk of immediate and complete disarmament. Nay, however desirable, it is impossible, until the nations draw closer together, and a better understanding is established between them. Further, the grounds of jealousy and mistrust have first to be removed, before such a *rapprochement* is possible.

Certainly, it can very reasonably be argued that it would be suicidal policy for any one nation to disarm, until every other nation and tribe is sufficiently enlightened to adopt methods saner for the settlement of international differences than the arbitrament of War. So long as one nation stands fully armed, and a mailed-fist is held aloft with threatening gesture, so long will

armed resistance be imposed on all Powers alike. I use the word “imposed” advisedly; for, in such case, it is not more a question of policy than a vital necessity; an unavoidable obligation, based upon the fundamental—though the lower—law of our existence on the physical plane. Only so can we hope to safeguard the common heritage of Man; only so can the great nations and the lesser States develop, each along its own lines, without craving the indulgence of some arrogant usurper.

From the many utterances on this matter, I quote the following by the Venerable Archdeacon of London: “ Even peace by force is more than welcome. But it is not real peace. Peace by force cannot be permanent. The peace that is won by force must be kept by force. In the last resort, physical force is the only deterrent for the garrotter, and it is the spiritual and moral change of the garrotter that the

Church aims at. When this is attained, physical force—armies, navies, etc.—will be no longer needed, but until it is attained the Church does not preach the disuse, but the right use, of physical force. It insists on the consecration, as opposed to the desecration, of physical force, and of its highest use as a God-given power in an imperfect world for the protection of right and the punishment of wrong. But it is only as an en-route necessity, until moral and spiritual forces prevail.”*

Never forget, however, *that the real struggle for life in Man is not physical but spiritual.* Militarism is subversive of genuine human progress : hence Militarism is doomed.

* *The Daily Express*, 30th June, 1919.

iii. *The First Step.*

(3) I submit that the first step in the direction of disarmament is the creation of a new world-conscience that shall acknowledge the futility and immorality of War; and that shall find expression and statement in a corresponding doctrine of internationalism.

Says Dr. Sarolea: “ Let the world be first converted, and disarmament must needs follow. . . . Towards that political education and conversion the schools will do—must do—a great deal in the future. They are doing very little in the present. At present, the intellectual training of the schoolboy is hopelessly antiquated, and is almost entirely based on the study of the military civilizations of the past. The mind of the schoolboy imbibes from his earliest years the poison of militarism and

of the old imperialism. In ordinary times he only learns about the glamour and the romance of the wars of olden days; he learns nothing about the horrors and realities of war to-day.’’

Further, the democracy in all countries must work through their respective representatives for the settlement of all disputes by arbitration.

Much has been done in this direction during the last two decades; and, if I mistake not the signs of the times, there are prospects of increased activity; the establishment of an International Court of Appeal, on the council of which all nations, the great and the lesser States, will be represented, will probably be the chief aim of our politico-social reformers in the immediate future.

iv. *Opposition.*

(4) We cannot, however, hope to see easy advance by great and rapid strides made in this direction. Indeed, we have had ample warning of opposition ahead of us: notably in the utterances of the late Lord Roberts, who, in a counterblast to the optimistic prophecies so freely uttered a few months after the outbreak of the recent Armageddon, warned us not to be *led away* by those who said that the end of the Great War would be co-incident with the end of all war; or that there would even be a great reduction of armaments; “ nor,” said his lordship, “ should we pay any attention to the foolish prattle of those who talked of the Great War as the doom of conscription.”

Since those words were written, under the Military Service Act, the principle of

Conscription has been adopted in our own country. The great democratic government of America also deemed it necessary to adopt this autocratic measure. Well, the necessity, if such it really was, that justified its adoption, in order to win the War and defeat the greatest military caucus the world has ever known, no longer obtains—that is, if we may assume that international peace is now once more, at least for the time being, definitely assured. But, when the belligerent States engaged in the recent fratricidal conflict settle down again to the legitimate pursuits of civil life, will this Military Service Act still remain on the Statute Book of these erstwhile *free* democratic countries, or will it be repealed? That is a question of the most serious importance.

Further, in the article already quoted, Lord Roberts—obviously viewing history solely from the materialistic standpoint—

emphasised the fact that “ War founded this Empire—war and conquest ! ” Whether Lord Roberts also held the view that only by “ war and conquest ” can the Empire be maintained, I cannot say ; but it is well-known that his lordship certainly did not believe in the policy of disarmament, either in the immediate or in the distant future, but rather in augmenting armaments.

And these views are also those of many men in high and influential position in the councils of our own country to-day. That is the significant fact facing those of us who seek to grapple with the momentous problems of the living present. Militarism, we are asked to believe, is a permanent institution ; a necessary evil ! Just as there have been, during the past two centuries, those who have preached the false doctrine that Poverty—a hand-to-mouth existence—is in the divine order of things, and that it would be wrong to attempt to change the

lot of the toiler from that of a slave to that of co-worker in life's vineyard.

(5) Still further: It cannot be gainsaid that the principle of Militarism, in one form or another, is now generally accepted by many who, previous to the Great War, were among its most ardent opponents. This undoubtedly constitutes a grave menace to the future peace of the world. But, for us the gravest menace is in the fact that there are those in our midst whose national policy is of the ultra-imperialistic type of militarism, and whose purpose is to establish, in this blessed land of free institutions, that very system of Prussianism against which the whole world has recently revolted, and which it was England's avowed policy, in intervening in the Great War, to seek to overthrow.

As, doubtless, most of my readers will be aware, the term "Prussianism," as originally employed by Mr. Norman

Angell, stands for a certain “ group of ideas : the kind of ambitions and attitude of mind which have been responsible for the aggression of the German State, and will inevitably in the future prompt like aggression by other States, unless such philosophy is radically discredited among the peoples concerned.”

“ What that doctrine is we know. It is the belief that the things of greatest value in life, the ends for which we form our human societies, are best promoted by adding to the political and military power of the State ; by making it dominant over others, by extending its rule and by expanding its territories.”* And notwithstanding the terrible calamity which has befallen that State which, confident in the assumption of the eternal truth of its hellish philosophy, dared to challenge the entire civi-

*Introduction to “ Prussianism and its Destruction,” xiii (William Heinemann).

lized world; and in spite also of the awful devastation and ruin, the wholesale slaughter of human beings and the unspeakable horrors it has entailed upon those States which the arrogant Prussians sought and failed to conquer, there are, I say, in England to-day, those who endorse this Prussian doctrine, and who will seek to turn the British Empire into a gigantic arsenal, and her Government into a military bureaucracy, as hard, as materialistic, and as wicked as its prototype, which they hope it may in its turn supersede in the attempt to become The World Power.

Indeed, these ultra-militarists were never more in evidence than during the dark days of the Great War, when they initiated and sustained an exceptionally vigorous propaganda through the medium of the public Press, and, by specious arguments, and political intrigue, worked assiduously and insidiously to further their schemes for

the establishment of this accursed system of Prussianism in the British Empire.

In Mr. Norman Angell's treatise, *Prussianism and its Destruction* (published during the progress of the Great War) already quoted, there is an astounding revelation in a chapter devoted to this grave subject, "The Prussian within our midst," from which I quote the following :

" We talk of the danger and the wickedness of the violation of right, implied in the German desire for world-wide dominion, but acclaim the British desire for world-wide dominion as a worthy and noble patriotism; we retain as a sort of secondary national anthem a hymn which voices such sentiments as these :

And thine shall be the subject main,
 And every shore it circles thine.
 . . . Still more majestic shalt thou rise,
 More dreadful from each foreign stroke.'

" We deem the crime of Germany fully proved because Bernhardt writes of 'world-power or downfall,' but when one of our

own Oxford professors writes that England has no alternative between the leadership of the human race and loss of her empire, we accept it as a quite natural and laudable political conception; and we are horrified at German adulation of war as a noble thing in itself; but our own poets and clergymen urge just that thing, and we are not horrified at all. We point to German hostility to peace as a proof of her ineradicable barbarism, while our own popular journalists have for years poured ferocious contempt upon 'the amiable sentimentalists at the Hague with their impossible dreams of arbitration and disarmament.'

" Do we really believe that this doctrine is an evil and anti-social thing, or merely that it is evil and anti-social when embraced by others? In that case—if we ourselves at the bottom of our hearts believe it and excuse allegiance to it ourselves and our allies—then it is inevitably destined to dominate the policy and conduct of the nations after the war is over.

" This truth has evidently appealed with particular force to a writer whose opinion in the special circumstances of Europe at

this juncture should have weight with us. A very distinguished Belgian author, Dr. Sarolea, whose work, *The Anglo-German Problems*, has won the highest encomiums from, among others, the King of the Belgians, writes on this aspect of the problem as follows: ‘ Millions of English people are actuated in their policy by those very Imperialistic principles on which the Germans take their stand. . . . Both the English Imperialist and the German Imperialist believe that the greatness of a country does not depend mainly on the virtues of the people, or on the resources of the home country, but largely on the capacity of the home country to acquire and to retain large tracts of territory all over the world. . . . Both believe that efficiency and success in war is one of the main conditions of national prosperity.

“ . . . Now, as long as the two nations do not rise to a saner political ideal, as long as both English and German people are agreed in accepting the current political philosophy, as long as both nations shall consider military power not merely as a necessary and temporary evil to submit to,

but as a permanent and noble ideal to strive after, the German argument is unanswerable. War is indeed predestined, and no diplomatists sitting round a great table in Wilhelmstrasse, at the Ballplatz, or the Quai d'Orsay, will be able to ward off the inevitable.' "

That is the danger; and it behoves us to proclaim it on the housetops, lest our countrymen be taken unawares, and are caught in the toils.

(6) But there is yet another deplorable aspect of the matter: Militarism is the instrument by which the ruling classes maintain their power and wealth. In plain language, the principle of Militarism enables the Capitalist class to hold the democracy in its power, and to exploit Labour for its own ends: it holds democracy in servitude, and uses the military machine as a mighty weapon with which to attack other nations, with the sole object of enlarging their own undertakings and enriching themselves—no

matter who suffers, no matter who dies, so long as they live.

These, then, are the forces to be reckoned with in our moral crusade against an immoral system: Misapprehension of the true foundation of society and the trend of human life; and, with that, prejudice, jealousy, and greed, which are ever blind and deaf to appeal for the common good.

v. *The Only Way.*

Thus, to attain permanent peace among the nations, we must strike at *the root principle of War*: we must work for the abolition of those conditions, social, economic and commercial, which engender strife.

(7) Our present competitive system, which is ethically wrong, brutal in its effect upon the unsuccessful competitor, and demoralising in its effect upon the successful competitor, must give place to fair

dealing; for “ you cannot abolish war from a competitive system of civilization; . . . competition is war. When a business firm crushes a trade rival from the markets by cutting prices, there is exactly the same process at work as when a nation crushes a trade rival by physical force; the means vary, but the end in view, and the ethical principles in question, are identical. In both cases the weaker goes to the wall; in both cases it is woe to the vanquished.”*

Doubtless, the statement just quoted will be accepted by many as irrefutable argument for the retention of armaments. From such a view I most emphatically dissent. If our economic system involves and necessitates the maintenance of militarism for its existence, so much the worse for the economic system. It must go!

(8) Capital must cease to treat Labour as a human machine; or even to treat the

* “ The Struggle for Bread ” by A Rifleman.

workers as slaves for hire at the current market price, according to the law of supply and demand—a practice that is not only unfair, it is grossly immoral! The worker, whether man or woman, is entitled to at least a living wage.

But this is merely a beginning: it is the first step in the great reform, the first step towards an equitable adjustment of the relations between the moneyed class and the workers.

Capital and Labour must be entirely re-organized in terms of a genuine partnership. Capital must abandon its arrogant claim to be the senior partner. Both parties must acknowledge their interdependence.

(9) Beyond question, one of the most heartless forms of competition is *monopoly*: it circumscribes the activities of the majority for the exclusive benefit of a single individual or corporation; it enslaves, and

even slays, so that the monopolist shall maintain and increase his lordly heritage of material magnificence.

Never before in the history of Commercialism has the monopolist appeared in worse guise than as the “ profiteer,” during the recent war, when he gambled in the people’s food in the hour of our nation’s gravest peril. The infamy of these unscrupulous profiteers—these human vampires—is not less damnable than the infamy of the modern “ Hun ” whose policy of frightfulness succeeded only too well in temporarily threatening our country with starvation, by its indiscriminate and ruthless submarine warfare.

Monopoly resembles nothing so much as an octopus, whose tentacles enclose both land and sea; it seeks to strangle the small trader, and threatens the very existence of the society.

Monopoly is essentially an aggressive

principle—a war principle. Monopolies, whether inherited or obtained by direct purchase, must be abolished.

(10) During the Great War, and in order to win the war, the most drastic measures were adopted, and the most dramatic changes in our Economic system were made. The individual qua individual ceased to exist; the Classes and the Masses were called upon to waive their several claims, and to pool their several interests to be employed for the greater good of the community. In short, the competitive system was in great measure suspended, and, in its place, something very like State Socialism was set up—a striking endorsement of Ruskin’s dictum : “ Competition is in all things the law of death; co-operation is in all things the law of life.” And, notwithstanding the obvious imperfections of this hastily improvised semi-socialistic State, it must be admitted that the great

ends so far attained afford ample vindication of our claims in favour of the substitution of the principle of Co-operation for the barbaric economic war-principle, Competition for Profit.

Now that the crisis which called forth this drastic economic experiment is passed, are we to witness a reversion to conditions *ante bellum*? At least one inspired writer answers, though somewhat reluctantly—No! “ Whether we like it or not, we are rapidly approaching the time when many of the principles advanced by the Socialists of a former generation must be accepted by the nation if it is to continue to keep abreast of its competitors. . . . The logical mind cannot refuse to recognise that in many activities of life the day of the individualist is ending, and that, whatever system may ultimately be evolved, *the future of industrialism is bound up with co-operation in some form.*”*

**The Times Trade Supplement*, August, 1916.

This writer, though he perhaps unfairly places co-operation in direct opposition to individualism, while he identifies it too naively with socialism, is only speaking for all thoughtful men in making co-operation the method of the future.

(11) Closely allied to the principle of aggressive competition is that most obnoxious and contemptible form of selfishness, *ultra-individualism*. It is the curse of the Public Services both civil and military; and both secular and religious.

This is not, however, an indictment of the entire Public Services. On the contrary: we think there is ample justification for the assumption that the sincerity and loyalty of the majority of those who are engaged in the public services to-day is above suspicion. But there is also ample justification for the assertion that a very considerable minority of persons so engaged, though nominally the executive of

the society and of the nation, and whose chief concern should be the public good, nevertheless habitually abuse their sacred trust, and work for their own selfish ends to the detriment of the commonwealth. By such persons, even war is encouraged, because, forsooth, it *pays*, even though it *slays*! Here, surely, is a serious symptom of that malignant disease which afflicts the organism of the society.

(12) What is the remedy? Well, much may be done by drastic reform in our political and social institutions; but the ultimate remedy is mainly a question of morals: it will require an atmosphere of higher and nobler idealism than that which generally prevails, either in this country or in any other, to effect a permanent cure. In fine, the one sovereign remedy is *spiritual reconstruction*. In a later chapter I shall attempt to deal with the moral and spiritual aspect of the divers

troubles from which the human society suffers, and which constitute the ultimate problem of all human affairs.

In fine, the only way to ensure peace among the nations is to

“ Put down the passions that make earth
Hell !

Down with ambition, avarice, pride ;
Jealousy, down ! cut off from the mind
The bitter springs of anger and fear ;
Down, too, down at your own fireside,
With the evil tongue and the evil ear,
For each is at war with Mankind.”

vi. *Whither Does it Lead?*

(13) All these various lines converge and constitute part of the main line of genuine human progress. Whither does it lead?

It leads to a World Rebuilt, a New Order. This cannot be defined, being in the main a Spiritual Reconstruction.

There are, however, some external features of it such as these, definable :

(a) The abolition of invidious distinctions between class and class will accompany the admission of women to the rights and privileges of citizenship on equal terms with men.—The latter is now in process of fulfilment; for, since these lines were penned, the Women's Franchise Act has been passed, and, as a natural corollary thereto, women are now eligible for election to the British House of Commons.

(b) In the world of Commerce, remuneration for services rendered will be strictly according to merit, without regard to sex, and honour will be paid only to public usefulness, i.e., contribution to the Common Good. The employment of children under the statutory age for leaving school will be prohibited; and the hours of labour for girls and boys during the period of adolescence will be curtailed.

(c) There will grow up systems of profit-sharing and alternation of tenure

of the more enjoyable positions. Those who labour will be required to do nothing beyond the fatigue-limit; the organizing departments will keep closely in touch with the actual conditions of production. Intercourse and trade will be free and unfettered, between land and land.

(d) Industrial strikes will no longer menace the commerce of our land, and the convenience and peace of the community. They will not be put down by force; they will simply become unnecessary for safeguarding the rights of the workers and the satisfaction of their just claims, for these will be met under the new conditions of labour, and by the equitable adjustment of the relations between Capital and Labour.

(e) Pauperism—that great blot on this fair earth where in the economy of Nature there is ample provision for all—will disappear.

(f) With the abolition of Pauperism, and with the accompanying improvement in the conditions of life, both econo-

mic and hygienic, the habits and customs of the people will undergo a vast change for the better; and morality will have some chance to develop: there will be less and less vice; less and less drunkenness.

(g) There will be less incentive to crime; and the vast sums of money hitherto allocated for dealing with the paupers and the criminal class, may be diverted to other and more profitable channels, for the benefit of the whole community.

(h) Excess of wealth will be held in greater dis-esteem. Honour in the public service will take the place of very high remuneration.

(i) The emphasis of religion will be transferred to the duty of Social Service, and conscience will be the secret guide to the performance of public service in detail. Ulterior motive, as the inspiration of private action, will give place to ingenuousness, sincerity, honesty, and altruism. Partisanship, and the promotion of schemes for the benefit of the

few, will give place to concerted effort for the common good.

(j) Education will become a genuine drawing out of powers through the knowledge of the lives that others live, and knowledge of the means of their betterment. Science, which is organized knowledge, will replace much of the lingering mediæval mis-called education.

(k) The beauty of towns and homes will give increasing delight to the communities. Sexual love will evolve in nobler manifestations; and the eugenic improvement of fine races will be counted a common good—like flowers in a public garden.

(l) Obsolete unjust theories will be frankly abandoned—for example, personal claim to the private ownership of land, and that which the land contains, such as minerals; also all theories that restrict the free movement of commodities, labour, etc., from land to land. The theory of common ownership of all that no man produces will be accepted as the principle of life.

(m) Secret diplomacy will give place to free and open discussion; to round-table conferences, with a view to the equitable satisfaction of the just claims of all parties, irrespective of colour, caste or creed.

(n) Armaments—pending their ultimate abolition—will be maintained solely for world-wide police duty; enforcing, where necessary, the decisions of the Arbitration Courts.

These are some of the benefits that should accrue, as the first fruits of the great reforms here outlined. But the ultimate goal is the realisation of the dream of a True Democracy—which some of us are wont to refer to as the Brotherhood of Mankind.

“ See a disenchanted nation
Springs like day from desolation;
To Truth its state is dedicate,
And Freedom leads it forth, her mate;
A legioned band of linked brothers
Whom Love calls children.”

IV.

THE HOPE FOR MANKIND.

- i. Peace, did we say?
- ii. The Ground of Hope.

Not wholly lost, O Father! is this evil
world of ours;
Upward, through its blood and ashes,
spring afresh the Eden flowers;
From its smoking hell of battle, Love and
Pity send their prayer,
And still Thy white-winged angels hover
dimly in our air.
—*The Angels of Buena Vista.*—Whittier.

IV.

THE HOPE FOR MANKIND.

i. *Peace! Did We Say?*

It may seem that there is little that is new in the foregoing suggestions : my programme, in general outline—and it is not intended to be much more than an outline in its entirety—resumes the teaching of many social reformers and labour leaders who have spoken during the past half-century. To speak of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity is not new. What is new is the insistence of belief in them ; the new-born faith in their reality.

True, much has been accomplished for the betterment of the conditions of certain

sections of the manual workers; juster laws have been inscribed in the statutes of our country, and much more humane treatment is now accorded to unfortunate offenders; Housing Reform has made some progress, and here and there a few hotbeds of pestilence and vice have been swept away—and much more along this line.

But sweating is still tolerated; whole families are still domiciled in single tenements, for which they are charged rents out of all proportion to the miserable accommodation provided—rents that are sufficient to maintain the rich owners in idle luxury! The stress and strain of life in our shops and warehouses has increased out of all proportion to the benefits of the somewhat shorter hours conceded of late years; the clerical and teaching professions were never more poorly paid than they are today. Finally, the outlook in the industrial world was never more grave than it is to-

day; whilst the immediate attitude of the great nations is by no means encouraging. On the contrary, the doctrine of militarism and the necessity for increasing armaments is preached with ever more insistence.

Peace, did we say? Justice, did we say? Brotherhood? Yes, but the Golden Era is not yet. The prevailing cry is still “ Each for himself, and the devil take the hindmost!”

ii. *The Ground of Hope.*

Closer observation of the portents of the Great War—this super-crisis in the history of the world—will reveal the fact that no institution is precisely as it was *ante bellum*. Yet there is little occasion for alarm, and still less for despair, to those who hold the truth of a familiar affirmation: *tout passe, toute casse; mais tout renâit!* The prospect, in spite of the gravity of the

immediate situation, is fraught with promise of great things; even such things as I have ventured to suggest—and far greater. For—

“ Through the harsh noises of our day
A low sweet prelude finds its way;
Through clouds of doubt and creeds of
fear,
A light is breaking, calm and clear.”

But, say a thousand voices in chorus,
“ *Human nature being what it is*, your ideal State is a mere idle dream; a poetic fancy—It is *Utopia!*”

Evidently, those who talk like this have formed a rather low estimate of *Human nature*. Again, “ *being what it is*,” they say—as though Human nature were always manifest at the same dead level! Quite obviously, history is a closed book to those who, in the disparaging assumption implied in the phrase above quoted, deny all possibility of progress in human affairs.

By way of reply to these dismal critics, I would remind them that the characteristics of Human nature are multiple and complex, and at no time in the history of the race are the manifestations precisely the same. “ We have seen man progress from the mere animal fighting with other animals, seizing his food by force, seizing also by force his females, eating his own kind, the sons of the family struggling with the father for the possession of the father’s wives; we have seen this incoherent welter of animal struggle at least partly abandoned by settled industry, and partly surviving as a more organized tribal warfare or a more ordered pillaging, like that of the Vikings and the Huns; we have seen even these pillagers abandon in part their pillaging for more ordered industry, and in part for the more ceremonial conflict of feudal struggle; we have seen even the feudal conflict abandoned in favour of dynastic and religious

and territorial conflict, and then dynastic and religious conflict abandoned. There remains now only the conflict of States; and that, too, at a time when the character and conception of the State are being profoundly modified."*

Yes, and what of the great fact behind all genuine human progress, so clearly expressed in the lives of the Great Ones of the race, to whom we instinctively bow in profound respect and admiration; and in whose presence we become conscious of something higher than intellect, higher than morality? And the greatest of all, for Christendom, is the *Man of Nazareth*. Says Carlyle: " Let sacred silence meditate that sacred matter; you will find it the ultimate perfection of a principle extant throughout Man's whole history on earth."†

*" Prussianism and its Destruction," by Norman Angell (William Heinemann) p. 119.

†" On Heroes and Hero-Worship," (Carlton Classics) p. 23.

That is the ground of my hope for the race. I prefer to build upon the foundation of Man's marvellous potentialities for nobility of character and true greatness, than upon the baser tendencies which are manifest at the lower stage of Man's ignorance and moral impotence.

V.

WHAT IS LACKING?

- i. Introductory.
- ii. “ Self-reverence, self - knowledge,
self-control.”
- iii. Renascence.
- iv. Conclusion.

“ Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control,
These three alone lead life to sovereign power.
Yet not for power alone, (power of herself
Would come uncall'd for) but to live by law,
Acting the law we live by without fear;
And, because right is right, to follow right
Were wisdom in the scorn of consequence.”
—Tennyson's *Ænone*.

*The Spirit of Prophecy addresses the
suffering Friend of Human kind,
Prometheus.*

“ On a battle-trumpet's blast
I fled hither, fast, fast, fast.
'Mid the darkness upward cast
From the dust of creeds outworn,
From the tyrant's banner torn.
Gathering 'round me, onward borne.
There was mingled many a cry—
Freedom! Hope! Death! Victory!
Till they faded through the sky;
And one sound, above, around,
One sound beneath, around, above,
Was moving; 'twas the soul of love:
'Twas the hope, the prophecy,
Which begins and ends in thee.”
—Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*.

Act I. Scene I.

V.

WHAT IS LACKING?

“ By the Soul
Only, the Nations shall be great and
free.”

i. *Introductory.*

Among the more encouraging signs of the times, is the recent remarkable advance in thoughts towards the goal of a higher civilization. In pulpit and Press a new note is sounded, in which we catch the faint echo of the music of the spheres. There is a rift in the clouds that have overshadowed humanity in its weary journeyings, and the first glint of the dawn of a new era is plainly discernible.

In the realm of international politics, the most outstanding witness to what may well be “ the soul’s awakening ” are the noble ideals expressed in the published statements of the Allies’ aims in the recent War, and the general basis of the great Treaty of Versailles, A.D. 1919.

But the proposed means to their attainment are, for the most part, too *mechanical*. The machinery may be complete; treaties may be drawn up embodying safeguards for the maintenance of peaceful relations between the contracting parties, and for the equitable adjustment of differences that may arise, without the intervention of armed force; but the due fulfilment of the covenants, the efficient working of the machinery, depends upon the character and quality of the spiritual dynamic, the moral forces behind it.

In such matters, the essential need is the motive power of a high morality, with-

out which the most elaborate machinery is useless; for treaties, as all the world knows, and Europe to its bitter sorrow and tragic cost, are *mere scraps of paper* to the man, or the nation, whose outlook—formal adhesion to religious ideals notwithstanding—is grossly materialistic.

In other words, so long as material self-interest is the sole governing principle, whether of the individual or the nation, our schemes and plans for world federation are worthless as bonds of peace and security; the whole fabric of civilization so founded is as a house built upon the sands—it is foredoomed to collapse.

Worse still, if we continue to build our civilization over a powder magazine! In this connection, whilst we must welcome the “ League of Nations ”—a grand idea, and full of promise for the future; nevertheless, I submit that merely to establish world-peace by coercion—which appears

to be the motive of the present scheme—*i.e.*, to hold the more bellicose States in check at the point of the bayonet, is in itself futile; all that can be hoped from such conditions is a peaceful interregnum, *a Truce*, in fact; and this will, sooner or later, inevitably give way, and we shall have Armageddon worse confounded than that which has just terminated in the bloody arena of central Europe!

What is lacking?

ii. “ *Self-reverence, Self-knowledge,
Self-control.* ”

(1) “ We stand at this moment on the verge of the greatest liberation which the world has ever seen since the French Revolution. . . . The terms of peace will be only a beginning. After they are satisfactorily arranged, we shall have to set to work to build up *that ordered free-*

dom and fraternity which is the only security for human peace and progress, and which militarism has destroyed.” Thus Mr. Lloyd George, in the closing months of the Great War. Yes, but how is this great object to be attained?

(2) I think the answer to this momentous question cannot be more clearly and accurately stated than in the words of Mr. Bernard Shaw : “ If anything is to be done to get our civilization out of the horrible mess in which it now is, it must be done by men who have got a religion.” Just so; *religion** is the key word. The great need, the universal need, is the recognition of the spiritual basis of life, and the real impulse at back of the universal unrest—however expressed. And, again, the recognition of that movement of life which we have come to distinguish by the

*“ Religion,” said Bishop Creighton, “ means the knowledge of our destiny, and the means of fulfilling it.”

term *Christianity* as a vital principle—for it is a vital principle, whatever sceptics may say to the contrary. Indeed, this is the only principle that has ever ‘ worked,’ all down the ages. Every genuine movement for the advancement of the race; every plan, every scheme, every institution—social, hygienic, industrial; our care for the sick, and provision for the relief of the poor and the disabled; prison reforms; the abolition of the grosser forms of slavery—and even the revolt against the assumption on the part of the Economic materialist of the right to exploit labour; and, above all, our sense of human solidarity and our joy in the alliances of kindred minds; these are all manifestations of its working. Call it humanitarian, if you will; it is, in its origin, the operation of creative life, a Divine Principle.

Further, the mighty movement in Russia, one of the most outstanding

miracles of the Great War, cannot be adequately explained on the material plane, for this, too, owes its origin and impulse to the operation of this self-same Divine Principle.*

(3) Why do the masses—and, for that matter, many of their great leaders—affect to ignore this great fact? I suggest a two-fold explanation: Misapprehension and faulty presentation of True Religion.

The popular notion is that Religion is merely a sentimental thing: a refuge for the weakling, and solace for the dying. Even so, it serves a useful purpose. But this is not all—far from it.

*Permit me to suggest that those of my readers, who may take a quite different view of *l'affaire Russe* are probably unduly influenced in their judgment by the blunders and disasters that have overtaken this great nation in the first flush of liberty. It is, however, my firm conviction that, when the present reaction is passed and saner judgments prevail, the historian of a later day, reviewing the events of to-day dispassionately, will abundantly attest the wisdom, the justice and high motif of the great upheaval. Further, if he be a man of vision, he will recognise in it the movement of the Incarnate Word, and proclaim the event a part of the world-wide movement towards the goal of a higher and nobler civilization.

Then the dogmatic presentation of Religion in the form of hide-bound creeds—which make for bondage rather than freedom; the unfounded and demoralising theory of the utter depravity of Human nature, and its unethical plan of redemption, these are largely responsible for the revolt against organized Christianity.

(4) Granted, that such teaching has served its day and generation; yet I make bold to declare that it is wholly inadequate, and impossible of acceptance, as a presentation of Truth for the twentieth century.

Nay, the simple truth is that the Divine Principle is inherent in the constitution of the universe, and finds its highest expression in Man.* Human consciousness attests the fact. Modern science confirms it.

* vide "Man: The Problem of the Ages" (Francis Griffiths.)

This Divine Principle is commonly expressed by the term *God*. But by that august name we must suggest the thought, not of a tribal deity; not of a national god; but of that Self-conscious Principle of life that is the Life of all life—which Spencer designates “ The Eternal Energy ”; and Bergson calls “ L’Evolution Creatrice.” By whatever nomenclature the great fact be expressed, it is THE LIFE! Says Mazzini: “ God is everywhere; learn to find Him. You are surrounded by His miracles, you swim in the Infinite; *the Infinite is also within you*. Believe!—you will be better men; you will be what Man should be.”

(5) It is not a little strange that some of our grandest men, leaders of the people, who scorn the claim to be religious, are, nevertheless, in their life and work, among the finest exponents of true religion!

Great as their influence is to-day, would it not be immeasurably greater if they could trace the source of their influence to its True Centre, and, in the clearer light and added power of this new consciousness—this divine consciousness—draw more freely and deeply from the infinitude of Truth and Grace?

(6) We seek a kingdom—the ‘ Kingdom of Heaven ’—the ‘ Kingdom of God ’—which is also the true Kingdom of Man. Where is it?

Of a truth, the greatest leader of men, Jesus, the carpenter of Nazareth, is right when he says: “ The Kingdom . . . is within you ! ”

It is potential in every human being : and the supreme crisis in the life of the individual comes when this potentiality becomes actual.

Do you ask, “ What is the manner of its coming ? ”

“ Follow you the star that lights the desert
 pathway, yours or mine,
 Forward till you see the highest human
 nature is Divine.”

This sublime experience transforms the whole life of the individual. It is the perfecting of our Manhood. When this is attained by every human-being, its effect on the immediate environment of this physical plane will be to transform the kingdoms of this world into the “ Kingdom of God.”

Thus we conclude that essential religion is a quite natural experience, and the perfection of the Divine Principle in human life a natural development, which is attained by the universal law of evolution.

Further, Christianity is a *life*, not a creed. A quite obvious truth, one would think: yet has not over-emphasis on the importance of the latter led many to think that the creed is the supreme thing? And

has not the effect of this over-emphasis been to erect a barrier of theological dogma, which has hindered many from consciously entering the Kingdom?

Away, then, with your mystifying metaphysical creeds, and let Truth be expressed in the beauty of simplicity!

Granted, that metaphysical disquisitions, elaborate theologies, and philosophies have their place in abstruse thought; they make their appeal to the scientific mind; they add to our knowledge of the universe, and of Man's relation thereto; but, as an expression of Faith, as a basis for religious belief, and as a guide to the ordinary individual for the building up of the moral and spiritual man, they are not needed; nay, they may prove a hindrance, and have too long kept the multitude outside the precincts of the Christian Commonwealth, and barred the way to our common heritage.

Further, let it be granted also that the great principles of economic, social and political reconstruction must be studied, and be taught—that Education in the larger sense is the most pressing need—still these principles arise from a deeper principle—Man’s solidarity. I take, for example, Nationalization—obviously necessary for the adjustment of our life in many aspects, and obviously still lacking the steady attention which alone can make it understood. I take again the simple principle that air and water are no man’s, but God’s, and exist for all, no one having any private claim against the common ownership. Yet I must found my faith in these great principles upon a greater FAITH : that all men are the offspring of a Universal Life—brethren of one family, having equal right—to OPPORTUNITY.

That this is the feeling of increasing masses of our peoples in the English-speak-

ing world at least, is well-shown by Mr. H. G. Wells, in his remarkable book, *God the Invisible King*, in which he acts, as he declares, only as scribe to the spirit of his generation, and sets down what he is convinced his contemporaries are coming to believe. And what is it in sum, but dismissal of the obsolete formulas and symbols, and welcome of a simpler form of true belief in God With Us, Co-worker in Regeneration and Reform?

(7) My own simple credo is well expressed in the phrase The Eternal Fatherhood of God, and, its concomitant, The Eternal Brotherhood of Mankind.

Can we not all subscribe to so simple a creed? Is it not broad enough, and comprehensive enough, for the basis of a World-religion?

In a significant statement, which appeared in the *Christian Commonwealth*, Canon Bannister boldly proclaimed th-

fact that, hitherto, “ The Christian Churches have taught too much theology, and too little religion; they have wrangled over Athanasian creeds, and other antiquarian issues, instead of learning the lesson of the *Sermon on the Mount*.”

This candid critic of organized Christianity affirms that we should aim “ not at the progress of the Churches, but at the progress of the Kingdom, that is, the creation of a righteous human society, based on the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. Thus, instead of merely individual Christianity, or institutional Christianity, we shall have actively at work a civic Christianity, an international Christianity, which will be strong enough to destroy the allied powers of Mammon and Militarism, and bring into being the United States of a genuine Christian world.”

Mazzini quotes, in *The Duties of Man*, chap. vii., the great forgotten utterance of

Dante : “ Humanity is one. God has made nothing useless, and because there is one humanity only, there must be a single aim for *all* men, a work to be accomplished by the labour of all together. The human race must, therefore, work in union, so that all the intellectual powers diffused in it may obtain the highest possible development in the sphere of thought and action. **THERE EXISTS, THEN, A UNIVERSAL RELIGION FOR THE HUMAN RACE.** ”

So then Dante saw the supreme truth. Mazzini understood it. If only our Empire-builders could realise it : the principle of Brotherhood in its deepest and fullest significance, Humanity as One, is the only sure foundation upon which to build. The Brotherhood of Nations!—*That is the true and ultimate ideal. When this is attained, there will be no more War!*

“ These things shall be : a loftier race
 Than e'er the world hath known shall
 rise,
 With flame of freedom in their souls
 And light of knowledge in their eyes.
 They shall be gentle, brave, and strong
 To spill no drop of blood, but dare
 All that may plant man's lordship firm
 On earth, and fire, and sea, and air.
 Nation with nation, land with land,
 Inarmed shall live as comrades free;
 In every heart and brain shall throb
 The pulse of one fraternity.”

Victor Hugo appears to have visualised this glorious consummation when, in the Paris Peace Conference of 1849, he said :
 “ A day will come when you, France ; you
 Russia ; you Italy ; you England ; you Ger-
 many—all you nations of the Continent—
 shall, without losing your distinctive quali-
 ties and your glorious individuality, blend
 in a higher unity, and form a European
 fraternity, even as Normandy, Brittany,
 Burgundy, Lorraine, Alsace, all the French

provinces blended into France. A day will come when war will seem as impossible between Paris and London, between Petersburg and Berlin, as between Rouen and Amiens, between Boston and Philadelphia.

“ A day will come when bullets and bombs shall be replaced by ballots, by the universal suffrages of the people, by the sacred arbitrament of a great sovereign Senate, which shall be to Europe what the Parliament is to England, what the Diet is to Germany, what the Legislative Assembly is to France. A day will come when a cannon shall be exhibited in our museums, as an instrument of torture is now shown, and men shall marvel that such things could be.

“ A day will come when we shall see those two immense groups, the United States of America, and the United States of Europe, in face of each other, extending hand to hand over the ocean,

exchanging their products, their commerce, their industry, their art; their genius clearing the earth, colonizing deserts and ameliorating creation under the eye of the Creator.

“ To you I appeal, French, English, German, Russians, Slavs, Europeans, Americans, what have we to do to hasten the coming great day?—‘ Love one another!’ ”*

To-day we see this remarkable prophecy, in part, in process of fulfilment: the former mighty empires of Central Europe are now in a state of disintegration; the last of the autocratic monarchs, whose rule of blood and iron has for so many decades been the curse of two great peoples, is deposed. Truly,

“ The old order changeth, yielding place to new ”—

*“ Scientific Christian,” T. J. Shelton, Denver, Colorado, U.S.A.

even though the Golden Era is not yet.

So Dante, Mazzini, Victor Hugo—aye, the great souls in all ages—have seen the vision. They know that Triumphant Force of Arms does not lead life to “ sovereign power.” No,

“ Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control,

These three alone lead life to sovereign power.

Yet not for power alone, (power of herself

Would come uncall'd for) but to live by law,

Acting the law we live by without fear;
And, because right is right, to follow right

Were wisdom in the scorn of consequence.”

ii. *Renascence.*

(8) What is lacking? In a word, it is *renascence*! But *renascence*, new birth, is exactly what is happening. It is always

happening; for it is part of the scheme of the universe. But there are sublime crises when the new life takes definite shape. Surely, we are approaching just such a crisis: for are we not exchanging material values for spiritual values? Are we not coming to realise that material wealth is merely a *means* to an end, and not in itself an end? The end in view is *life*—larger life; more abundant life.

(9) Now it is in the realm of spirit that we truly live. You doubt it, reader? Well, let me ask: Is art a material thing? Is music a material thing? Are love, reverence, admiration and adoration material things? Is mind, by which all these things come to birth, a material thing? Of course not! No, we see that the material is after all merely a medium for the realisation, on the physical plane, of those things that constitute life for us humans.

Hence, believing, as I do, in the essen-

tial Divinity of Man, while I recognise also his obligation to satisfy his material needs, I am filled with hope in regard to the trend of civilization. It has suffered dread diseases, it has committed awful sins, it has made deplorable mistakes, but it is moving upwards; Phœnix like, it arises ever out of its own ashes, and, disciplined by suffering, it comes out of the furnace continually again, saved though as by fire, and is “perfected by suffering”—yea,

“ Heated hot with burning fears
And dipped in baths of hissing tears,
And battered with the shocks of doom
TO SHAPE AND USE.”

(10) We are told that the Great War has thrown back the van of progress half a century.

Impossible! Nothing can stay the purposes of the Infinite. The deep current of Life must flow on. The clash of arms, industrial strife, jealousy, and the whole

gamut of moral and intellectual diseases from which we still suffer, are but passing phases in the evolution of the true Manhood.

“ God works in all things; all obey
 His first propulsions from the night;
 Wake, thou, and watch! the world is
 grey
 With morning light!”

The terrible world-crisis marked by the recent Great War, may even prove to be the midnight that precedes the dawn of an era of genuine renaissance for the human race.

(11) This may not be exactly the popular view. Many have pointed to the great catastrophe as evidence of the failure of Christianity. Is it not, rather, the complete discredit and complete destruction of Materialism, by the very instruments with which it sought to gratify its ambitions, and attain freedom, happiness—the Life more abundant?

(12) On the other hand, there has never been a grander vindication of the spiritual ideal than that evidenced throughout the world at this, the most tragic moment in the history of Man: witness the fires of holy anger and abhorrence at the appalling manifestation of “ man’s inhumanity to man ”; the deep springs of human sympathy that welled up in every civilized country, and flowed forth in a mighty torrent of beneficent ministry to the needs of refugees; witness, too, the chivalry and self-sacrifice, in the holy cause of freedom, of millions of men, on both sides, who went forth to fight, aye, and most readily, to die for an ideal! Think, also, of our noble women who made the supreme sacrifice for the self-same ideal! This, I say, is astounding and irrefutable evidence of the existence and movement of a profound and vital spirituality.

(13) Peace!—did we say? Yes, when

the ethics of the Prince of Peace, by whatever channel they may come, hold sway over the mind and heart of man. To this end,

“ Our hope is in heroic men,
 Star-led to build the world again.
 To this event the ages ran,
 Make way for Brotherhood—make way
 for Man.”

iii. *Conclusion.*

(14) This, then, is what is lacking in our scheme of things—and this is what is coming into it; it is not lacking in the Reality that lies behind, beneath, within. We have learnt much of Man’s material needs, much of the workings of self-interest, much of the convenience of wealth, much of the might of arms and the secret ways of diplomacy and finance. We have now to accept, as part of our religion, as an article of our doctrine, the ever-growing

truth that Man as man is pleasant and dear to man. Do we not long for the coming of a Better Order, a New World? Then, in that longing is the promise of a better time to be.

Last century, we awakened to a nobler conception of God; we ceased to give intellectual assent to the earlier conception as a part of our system of thought; but yet new birth was lacking. Suddenly, with a rush, through the fires of War it comes, and the soul is born anew. The God Within is manifest, and a new Humanity sees Christ anew in Every Man.

Not yet by all! No, but by some, and to all the rest the prophet speaks:

“ Perchance, O ye that toil on, though
forlorn,

By your soul's travail, your own noble
scorn,

The very God ye crave is being born.”

There is a better word than “perchance”—“SURELY.” Almost the last

word of the grand old English Bible is the promise of this advent of the Second Adam, the Diviner Man. “ He which testifieth these things saith SURELY I come quickly.” That which is lacking is that which is coming. The whisper of the saints of all ages past has swelled to thunderous utterance of all GOOD MEN everywhere! And wearied millions on their beds of *Weltschmerz*—Kosmic pain—groan out “ Amen. Even so, come, Lord Jesus.”

“ Thinking hereof, I wot not if the portal
Opeth already to my Lord above.

Lo! there is no more mortal and im-
mortal;

Nought is on earth or in the heavens
but love.

Hark, what a sound, and too divine for
hearing,

Stirs on the earth and trembles in the
air!

Is it the thunder of the Lord’s appear-
ing?

Is it the music of His people’s prayer?

Surely He cometh, and a thousand voices
Call to the saints—and to the *deaf* are
dumb—

Surely He cometh, and the earth
rejoices,

Glad in His promise Who hath sworn,
I come.”

ENVOY

(From Tennyson's immortal *In
Memoriam*.)

Ring out, wild bells, to the wild sky,
 The flying cloud, the frosty light,
 The year is dying in the night;
Ring out, wild bells, and let him die.

Ring out the old, ring in the new,
 Ring, happy bells, across the snow
 The year is going, let him go;
Ring out the false, ring in the true.

Ring out the grief that saps the mind,
 For those that here we see no more;
 Ring out the feud of rich and poor,
Ring in redress to all mankind.

Ring out a slowly dying cause,
 And ancient forms of party strife;
 Ring in the nobler modes of life,
With sweeter manners, purer laws.

Ring out the want, the care, the sin,
 The faithless coldness of the times;
 Ring out, ring out my mournful
 rhymes,
But ring the fuller minstrel in.

Ring out false pride in place of blood,
 The civic slander and the spite;
 Ring in the love of truth and right,
Ring in the common love of good.

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.

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