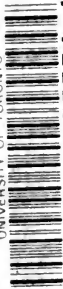


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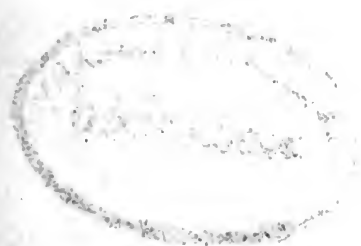


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# Christianity and War

By

WILLIAM TEMPLE, M.A.

*Price Twopence*

HUMPHREY MILFORD

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## EXPLANATORY NOTE

GREAT BRITAIN is engaged in a war from which, as we believe, there was offered to our nation no honourable way of escape. The desire of all who love their country is to serve it in the hour of its need, and so to live and labour that those who have fallen in its service may not have died in vain. While this may suffice to make immediate duty clear, the war remains in the deepest sense a challenge to Christian thought. The present bitter struggle between nations which for centuries have borne the Christian name indicates some deep-seated failure to understand the principles of Christ and to apply them to human affairs.

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## CHRISTIANITY AND WAR

IN a world gone pagan, what is a Christian to do ? For the world is gone pagan. Members of the body of Christ are tearing one another, and His body is bleeding as it once bled on Calvary, but this time the wounds are dealt by His friends. It is as though Peter were driving home the nails, and John were piercing the side.

And yet, as I at least read the story, this nation was right to declare war, and those who are fighting at her call are fighting for a just cause, which there was, at that time, no way of serving except the soldier's way.

Here is ground enough for perplexity. And the critics are ready enough to say that Christianity has broken down, its bankruptcy stands confessed. But we can at least answer that. This war, far from representing the bankruptcy of Christianity, really represents a great advance in its conquest of the world ; for it is the first war of which many people have said that it marks the collapse of our religion. In other words, it is only now that Europe has found out again that if nations were Christian there would be no war. That was known well enough to Athanasius and Tertullian and the primitive Church ; but from the time of Constantine till now, it has been

## CHRISTIANITY AND WAR

forgotten. When the world took the Church under its protection, and largely under its control, in the event known as Constantine's conversion, many of the principles of the Gospel were obscured. For centuries the Church was ready to bless armies and armadas. Shakespeare finds it appropriate to make bishops prominent among those who advise Henry V to declare war on France. But in our day a Pope, when besought to bless arms, is reported to have answered, 'I give my benediction to peace'; and an archbishop—*alterius orbis papa*—solemnly declares all war to be 'devil's work'. We have at least found out—believers and unbelievers alike—that all war is contrary to the mind and spirit of Christ. That is a real gain. Indeed, it is not Christianity that has broken down, for Christianity has never been applied to international relations. What has broken down is a civilization which was not Christian.

But this knowledge involves at once the need of seeking in thought and prayer for further light upon our duty as citizens and Christians—members both of the British nation and of the Christian Church. It is the purpose of this series of papers to offer to all who may find it useful, some guidance for such thought and prayer.

There seem to be three main groups of problems which press urgently upon us:—

1. What line should the Christian take regarding the actual declaration of war, and the call to arms?
2. How should Christians behave in time of war, when it has been declared?

## CHRISTIANITY AND WAR

3. What are the chief questions—theoretical and practical—which demand the attention of Christians in consequence of the war's occurrence ?

It is the business of this first paper to sketch, though in outline only, the lines upon which these inquiries may proceed ; it will be more concerned to bring the problems into clear view than to state solutions ; solutions will be offered in subsequent papers.

### I. THE DECLARATION OF WAR AND THE CALL TO ARMS.

On this question there seem to be various attitudes adopted with perfect sincerity by thoughtful Christians : yet all of them give rise to perplexity. We may first consider the position of a man who, sincerely believing that his cause is right, goes not only with resolution but with joy to kill or be killed for it. He need not necessarily argue that because he is right the enemy must be wrong ; for he may have noticed that most tragedy arises from a conflict of one right with another. For him it is enough that his country needs him to support its own righteous cause, and he goes rejoicing to serve. So far as his influence may affect the decision, he may use it in favour of declaring war, because he is sure that no other means can be found to serve the cause in whose justice he firmly believes.

Is he wrong in this ? Has not much of Christian heroism—or at least of the recorded heroism of Christendom—taken this form ? It seems impossible to condemn

## CHRISTIANITY AND WAR

him. And yet there was never so just a cause as that of Christ, for which He would not fight. Is that because His cause was spiritual while the States of this world are material? And if so, how far can the spiritual control the material? Or again, if, in the Kingdom of God, there is no war to give opportunity for the splendid spirit of adventure and duty which makes nearly all our best men eager to be at the front, can it provide other outlets for that fine ardour?

Here are problems enough. Our business at present is only to state them. Suggestions towards a possible answer may be given later on in this paper.

There is, however, another frame of mind; a man may feel that for his nation or for himself circumstances have made war a duty, but it remains an odious duty. There is in it no exhilaration, no exultation in triumph, but a sense of stern obligation. And while, perhaps, this frame of mind does not raise so many questions as the last, we have still to ask whether we can picture Jesus Christ entering into battle or bidding His disciples to do so. Yet is not war a duty in some cases—in this case?

This leads to yet a third attitude of mind, and to the doctrine associated with the Society of Friends and with the great name of Tolstoi. The watchword of this doctrine is 'Non-resistance', 'Resist not evil'. But we must interpret Christ's teaching by His actions. He did not resist physically; but He did resist the evil of His day, even to death. He did not say: 'The people of Jerusalem are very obstinate; here in Galilee are crowds waiting



## CHRISTIANITY AND WAR

eagerly for the Gospel ; here then we will work in peace.' On the contrary, ' He set His face steadfastly to go up to Jerusalem.' He did not stay out of the fight ; He went into it. But He went into it unarmed, and bade Peter put up his sword into its sheath. Is that the true line of action for a Christian nation ? What is the 'price of non-resistance' ? For assuredly all Friends will agree with us when we say that merely to stand still, while other nations agonize, and while we of necessity appropriate their trade and commerce, is not the way of the Cross. Peace, if it merely means not fighting, may be something even further from the mind of Christ than war.

These perplexities point to one of two conclusions : either the standards of Christ are applicable only to individuals in relation to other individuals, and not to States ; or else there is an entanglement of sin, which makes it sometimes impossible to do what alone can truly be called right, so that it is a duty to do what in itself is evil. To these questions we must return.

### II. CHRISTIAN CONDUCT IN TIME OF WAR.

War is, as a matter of fact, declared ; its horror is before us day and night ; how then are Christians to behave ? ' Love your enemies ; bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you.' It is natural to hate enemies ; to believe any evil that is told of them ; to desire to retaliate with interest ; to pray that evil

## CHRISTIANITY AND WAR

may befall them. Here, as elsewhere, the religion of Christ is the defiance of what—apart from it—seems to be nature.

Let us take instances from present facts. There can, I suppose, be no doubt at all that German soldiers have been guilty of atrocities ; a large part of the Press, however, has seemed to delight in collecting stories of such, with the sole object (apparently) of gratifying and thereby intensifying the lust of hate. Let truth be told by all means ; let nothing except proven truth be told against our enemies.

The Christian can never desire to take reprisals. He knows that ' an eye for an eye ' is not the law for him. He can never wish to crush or humiliate, for he knows that his enemies, too, are children of God, who has His own purpose for them as for us, the same love for them as for us. The Christian will not want ' conquest ' ; he will have before his mind through all the struggle a settlement which may give to every nation its full place in the harmony of the universal Church. We entered this war in support of the public law of nations ; if our interest was touched, so, we have claimed, was our honour : we have said that we seek no aggrandizement. The so-called ' War on German Trade ' may be regarded as part of the military war ; to cut off supplies, whether food or the raw material of industry, is a form of siege or investment ; but the temper that is shown in its defence, and the intention to retain the markets of Germany after the war, wherever possible, is a form of that same aggressive-

## CHRISTIANITY AND WAR

ness which we regard as the most deplorable feature in the Prussian system.

In everything that he does the Christian will be penitent for his own share in the evil. I have already said that in my own judgement this country was right, was solemnly bound, to declare war when it did. At that moment it was the only right thing for us to do. But why had that moment ever come? Had we done all that was possible to promote peace, and to co-operate with those in Germany—social democrats and others—who were working for peace? We point to the long history of Prussian aggressiveness, to the writings of Nietzsche, Treitschke, and Bernhardi, to the violation of Belgian neutrality. But even if the beam is in Germany's eye and only the mote in ours, we cannot deny that the mote at least is there. And is it only a mote? Our history and position have made us more commercial than military; but in our industrial system we have let loose the spirit of grab and push, the oppression of the weak and the admiration of mere success, as scarcely any other land has done. This is the spirit which, in its military shape, seems to us the evil genius of Prussia. In that shape we must fight it; but we must fight in penitence, and in the resolve to purge it from ourselves in every shape.

Above all, the Christian will pray for his enemies. Either we must rewrite the old words to run, 'Do good to them that hate you, after you have taught them a good lesson; pray for them that persecute you, when they are wounded'—or else we must change our whole attitude

## CHRISTIANITY AND WAR

to our enemies, alike in action and in prayer. Probably if people generally were now called to pray for Germany, very many would suppose that the intention was to pray that her arms might prevail. Yet surely the Germans need our prayers; the more just the accusations commonly made against them, the greater their need that we should pray for them. Dare we doubt that, if England had real faith, this war could be stopped far sooner through the outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon the warring nations and their rulers in answer to our intercession than by the barren meeting of force with force? The power of prayer, expressing corporate faith, and directed (as all prayer of faith must be) to the fulfilment not of our will but of God's, is a force which the Church has hardly ever utilized.

### III. PROBLEMS RAISED BY THE WAR.

There seems to be hardly any limit to the number of questions regarding our religious life and doctrine as a whole that are raised by this war. It is a challenge to our whole faith. How can we still believe in the Almighty Love of God? The problem of evil—the one ultimate religious problem—is thrown in our faces in its acutest form, as is perceived by those who regard the war as the final failure of Christianity. But the war only raises that problem more vividly, not more genuinely, than a host of other occurrences.

One great problem which arises is the question whether a State can obey the Christian law at all. Has self-sacrifice any real meaning when applied to communities,

## CHRISTIANITY AND WAR

and if so is it in their case a virtue? Is there any sense in the phrase 'a self-sacrificing community' other than that in the phrase 'a community of self-sacrificing individuals'? For such a community even the Prussia of Bernhardt certainly is. And if self-sacrifice is right in a nation, is a government to commit the nation to that painful virtue? In later papers these questions will be pursued. Here our business is to state them and insist on their claim to receive attention.

If the nation is not to follow the Christian law, either because it is inapplicable to States or because the State in question is as yet incapable of rising to it, what is the individual Christian to do? There are those who hold that he is bound to act in accordance with fundamental Christian principle; that since Christ refused to employ force, the individual Christian must do likewise; and that therefore it is impossible for a Christian to take up arms in defence of even an unquestionably just cause. Those who honestly hold these convictions are entitled to the highest respect. The nation could ill do without them. The progress of the world has been due to those who, refusing all compromises, have reached out boldly towards the ideal. The nation would be in danger of losing sight of the heights and depths of the Christian religion if there were not men who were prepared to put Christian principle, as they conceive it, beyond every other consideration, including that of national interest.

The great majority of Christian men, however, feel themselves debarred from taking this position, and doubt

## CHRISTIANITY AND WAR

whether it is the correct interpretation of the Gospel. Christ was founding a spiritual kingdom, and to use physical force would have defeated His whole purpose. But may not force be used to hinder the evil-doer precisely in order that spiritual power may have free course? It is evident that if any large number of our people were to act on the principles which have been mentioned, the power of Great Britain in the present conflict would be so seriously weakened that the issue might go against her. If the nation as a whole were prepared to accept this, having a strong and unwavering faith that God could overrule even this disaster for good, the course of non-resistance would at least be possible. But the nation is not prepared to do this. The war in any case would go on. The only result that could be secured would be the defeat of the cause to which Great Britain is committed. The triumph of that cause Christian people in Great Britain believe to be for the good of the human race. Its defeat would be a triumph of forces inimical to the best interests of humanity. The heroic sacrifices which their countrymen are making would fail of result. These facts, and a sense of their solidarity with the nation, make the majority of Christian men feel it to be their duty to give their utmost support to the nation in the struggle in which it is engaged. In adopting this attitude they do not feel that they are compromising Christian principle. A nation has a real existence. It, as well as the individual, has a contribution to make to the Kingdom of God. The individual cannot live wholly to himself. It does not

## CHRISTIANITY AND WAR

affect the validity of this position that it may be misinterpreted and made to serve base passions.

Nevertheless it does seem to involve us in what I have previously called the entanglement of sin. Perhaps this is one of the great lessons that we are to learn. Only the good tree can bring forth good fruit. It was not possible for England on the 4th of August, nor for any Englishman then or now, to act in full accordance with the mind of Christ. Christ lived the life divine in the midst of a sinful world: that is the miracle. But we cannot. It is not the individual Christian, but the whole Church, that is the body of Christ, the organ of His will; only the completed Church, when there has been brought into it the glory and honour of all the nations, is the perfect organ of His will, the measure of the stature of His fullness. A sinful man *cannot* live the life of Christ; a sinful nation *cannot* perfectly obey His law; and the citizen of a sinful nation *cannot* escape altogether from his nation's sin. No doubt this may be pleaded by base people as an excuse for their baseness; but to the Christian it brings home more than ever the fact that he is tied and bound in a chain which he cannot break. 'Wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?' For it is the hideous result of sin that it brings us into a choice where even the rightest thing that we can do is something evil; the choice is between the greater and the lesser evil. And though we are right, and absolutely right, in choosing the lesser evil, it is still evil, for it is still not perfect obedience to the holy will of God.



## CHRISTIANITY AND WAR

So at least it seems to one puzzled conscience ; and the way of escape is not through refusing to bear the burden which is laid upon us, but through bearing it in penitence and with prayer for deeper faith.

### IV. THE NEED FOR A CATHOLIC CHURCH.

One other question, among very many, must here be raised ; for there seems to be no means of national progress except through the power of some individual citizen to rise above the average level of faith and to lift his fellows with him. To some extent we can do this at this point or that, according to the measure of the gift of Christ. But upon the whole men respond to social influences to a degree that entirely overshadows their capacity for individual achievement, and the power to take a standpoint higher than national, to live by a wider loyalty, is given to few, and to them only in small degree. There is much force in Bernhardt's plea that the national State is the highest actuality, and therefore the supreme object of loyalty ; and though it leads straight to the monstrous doctrine that the State therefore has no obligations (because *ex hypothesi* there is no society of States within which such obligation may operate), we have nothing to oppose to it but a Kingdom of Heaven which is not on earth, which is an ideal and not a fact (at least on the historical plane), and a Church which is neither One, nor Catholic, nor Holy.

What we need is an international society, actually and perceptibly one, bound together by devotion to Christ.

## CHRISTIANITY AND WAR

If there were such a society in the world, the individual Christian would feel his membership of it in the same way as he feels his membership of his nation. Loyalty to it would not be an effort which many good men despise as Utopian, and which is paralysed by his own lurking doubt of its value. Such a society, by binding its members to itself, while leaving them still fully citizens of their own countries, would aid enormously their desire to rise a little nearer to the ideal of Christ and draw their country with them.

A suggestion once made, half in jest, that we should add certain words to the Creed, and say, 'I believe in the Holy Catholic Church and regret that it does not exist,' comes very near the heart of our problems. All the horror of this time is a new spur to those who are labouring for the unity of Christendom.

Once there was such a society. The old Papacy, as its greatest upholders conceived it, was the noblest ideal by which men generally have ever tried to act—the loftiest in aspiration and the firmest-rooted in reasoning. But with the reckless idealism that is the glory and the failure of the Middle Ages, it tried to reach its goal by a short cut. It used the world's methods for God's purpose. So it failed. But if the wild Europe of that day could even for a time acknowledge the ideal of a divine society transcending national divisions, we have hope that such a society might be built again, with all the deeper understanding that the centuries have brought.

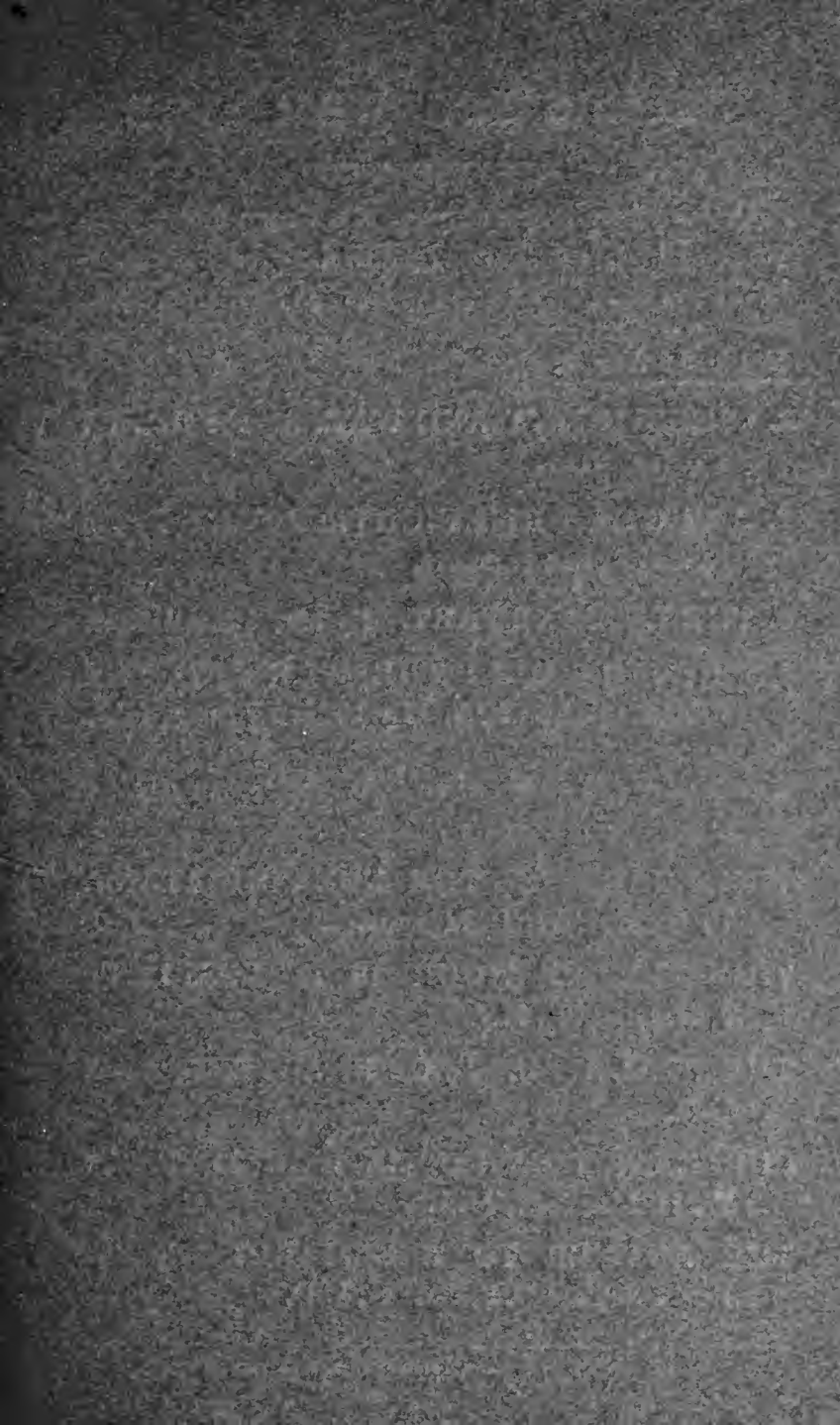
There is our hope. Peace in the sense of an absence of

## CHRISTIANITY AND WAR

war may be secured by commercial or financial interests for a time. But war may be nobler than such peace, as the tie of nationality is more honourable than that of a trading company. The only true peace for the world, the peace which is the twin of love and joy, the peace which is the gift of the Spirit, must consist in the recognition of all nations and races as parts of the one Kingdom of God realized on earth.

This war, therefore, challenges the Christian alike to thought, to penitence, to action. The present paper has only sketched the problems ; others will guide us towards their solution. And as we labour at our perplexities we shall often disagree, through seeing the truth so imperfectly.

But all Christians can unite, with little difference of opinion, in the policy which the hour requires. The task of the Christian Church is clear. It must strain every nerve to ensure that in the conduct of the war Christian standards of honour, generosity, and love for our enemies are not forgotten ; that the settlement, when it comes, should be in accordance with the Christian postulate that all nations are needed for the building up of the Kingdom of God ; and that our own country, whether in defeat or in the more searching test of victory, should open its heart and mind to learn the lessons which God can teach it, and should go forward into the future which He appoints knowing that its supreme mission is to discover and to do His will.



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# Are We Worth Fighting For?

By

RICHARD ROBERTS

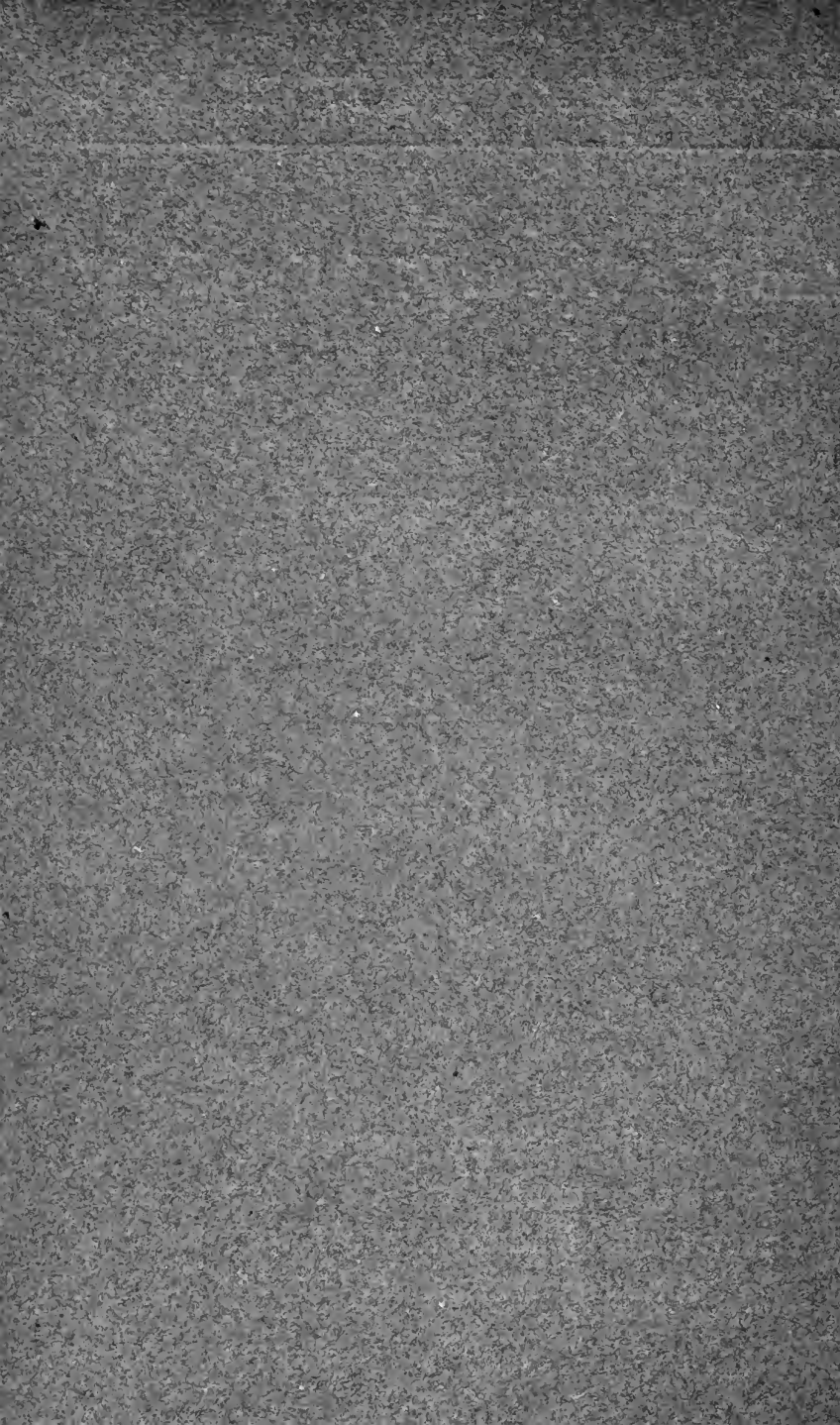
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## ARE WE WORTH FIGHTING FOR?

ONE of the deepest questions which this war raises for us as a people is: Have we still a mission in the world? Are we worth fighting for? Is it worth while to preserve the independence and integrity of these islands and of the British Empire? Those who have been dominating German thought upon world-problems affect to believe, and have not hesitated to preach, that we are a decadent people. According to these men, our day is done, our vitality is exhausted, and it is inevitable that, in the process of history, we should sink into an inferior place in the hierarchy of the nations. Is there any truth in this? Is there any danger that such a thing may happen? If there is, how are we to prevent it?

### I

Modern Germany presents to us the spectacle of a nation which has ordered its life, for a generation and more, in accordance with a definite conception of its purpose and its future. It has done so with great and unremitting thoroughness. It has organized its education, its industrial and social politics, with a steady and unrelaxing eye upon the great destiny that it was to carve out for itself in the world. Certain social reforms that we in this country have been achieving only very

## ARE WE WORTH FIGHTING FOR?

slowly, and with varying success, have become common-places of German life. In dealing with problems of national insurance, the relief of poverty, unemployment, and the like, other nations have for a long time been borrowing from the experience of Germany. We are all well aware of the extraordinary enterprise of German industry. In many other directions evidence might be given to show how steadfastly, and with what utter disregard of personal and private interests, the leading minds of Germany have pursued the ideal of German greatness, and have imposed their notions upon the life of the nation.<sup>1</sup>

This does not mean that Germany has become an earthly paradise for its people. The very nature of its ideal involves a contempt for the individual which has had disastrous consequences in more than one way. Moreover, the process of social improvement is still very far from being completed, and the domination of a military caste has lessened many of the benefits that otherwise might have accrued from so careful an ordering of the social system. But when we have allowed for all this we still see the over-mastering desire to make Germany, in the interests of a great national purpose, as perfect, as healthy, as strong as possible in its inner life.

<sup>1</sup> All this makes a far more wonderful story than the present condensed statement can even suggest. It should be read in Price Collier's *Germany and the Germans*, or Charles Tower's *Germany of To-day*.

## ARE WE WORTH FIGHTING FOR ?

### II

Lord Rosebery, in the course of the Boer War, made an historic remark to the effect that we should ' muddle through '. It is characteristic of our national temper that when the extraordinary efficiency of our naval and military organization was revealed to us at the beginning of this war, we all gasped with gratified astonishment. We could hardly believe it. A cynical psychologist might be tempted to describe the British as a nation with a genius for muddling through. Most of us have again and again, as we have looked back upon the last few years, been irritated and perplexed by our ever-recurring muddles. We have had the Education muddle, the Commercial muddle, the Labour muddle, and a host of other lesser muddles ; we have ever with us our extraordinary religious muddle ; and we came to a climax in the Irish muddle. The outsider looking upon us might perhaps be justified in thinking that this seeming disintegration was a sign of national exhaustion. It is not improbable that the Prussian militarist party based some of their calculations upon this supposition. They were misled. Beneath the seeming confusion our national unity lay secure after all.

This confusion has its roots in several circumstances. But it may with no little plausibility be urged that it arises chiefly from the dearest and most cherished of all our possessions—our liberty. This is not the place to describe the growth in England of liberty, civil and religious, of the constitutional monarchy and of demo-

## ARE WE WORTH FIGHTING FOR ?

cracy. It is the result of that long process that the love of liberty has become at last bred in our bones. Our heroes are men who laid down their lives for our liberties, the Hampdens, the Covenanters, and the rest. Sometimes we have forgotten our ideal, and have had to recover it through sharp and unmistakable misfortune, as through the loss of the North American colonies. Yet here it is to-day, deep down in us all, this love of liberty. It is the one thing that has made compulsory military service impossible hitherto in this country. We hate all kinds of compulsion. This hatred makes us resent all official intrusions into our private lives, all interference with our personal concerns. It is this that has given the doctrine of property the quite exaggerated sanctity that it has amongst us. And it is this that has secured the spaciousness of our lives, preserving among us the possibility of spontaneity and individuality, in contrast with the rigours and the flattening effects of the stern civil discipline that prevails in many other countries. It is very largely our loyalty to the ideal of liberty that does from time to time involve us in some of our seemingly inextricable muddles. For so dearly do we cherish our personal liberty that we tend to assert it at the expense of the liberty of other people, and are sometimes unprepared to have it limited in the interests of the welfare of the nation. That is to cherish our liberty not wisely but too well. Under these conditions, liberty sometimes becomes its own worst enemy.

Liberty does not mean the absence of restrictions.

## ARE WE WORTH FIGHTING FOR?

One cannot escape from restrictions in this world. Social life would be impossible unless we were prepared to exercise individual self-limitations of some kind. Liberty is the power to choose under what restrictions we shall live, and the willing acceptance of restrictions is one of the privileges of the free man. He ceases to be free when he is compelled to accept them. We have yet to learn the meaning of liberty unless we realize that it contains the duty of willing self-restriction in its own interests, as well as in the interests of a higher good. Up to a certain point we already act upon this principle. We enjoy a liberty qualified by our necessary police institutions. We do it for our own comfort. We know there would be less liberty if we did not. But we need to carry this principle a great deal further, in order to achieve the spirit in which we shall be prepared willingly to submit to any restriction that the welfare of the State may call for, provided, of course, that such restrictions do not interfere with the rights of conscience. Any restrictions which do so interfere cannot in the long run be good for the State, and they must therefore be withstood. But short of that, the greatness and the unity of a people depend upon their willingness to subordinate their personal rights to the interests of the whole.

A great deal of our trouble in England, whether in politics, in industry, or in our social order, arises from a lack of agreement to do this. We have been too persistent in our individualism and our class prejudices; we have been too self-confident and assertive in our

## ARE WE WORTH FIGHTING FOR ?

partisanship ; and we must plead guilty to the charge of grinding our own axes too exclusively. We have considered public measures too often from the point of view of their effect upon our own personal or family or class or commercial prospects. We have not been interested in our municipalities. We have not troubled to vote at elections. We have forgotten and forsaken England in our preoccupation with our own personal or class concerns.

To-day, under the stress of a common danger, we have recovered our unity and our solidarity. But the war will not last for ever. When the war is over, are we going to relapse again into the bad old divisive and individualist ways ? Are we going to lose our new-found comradeship ? In the special circumstances of this hour we have willingly accepted many embarrassing restrictions. In a dozen ways we have gladly put up with discomforts and limitations. We are rightly proud of our present solidarity. Are we going to throw it all away when the war is over ?

It is surely far too good a thing to be sacrificed. How then can it be saved ? Only by the recovery of an ideal of Britain's greatness and purpose in the world that will command our allegiance and that will make us, for the love we bear our country, her eager slaves, rejoicing in the subordination of our own personal interests to her glory and her mission in the world. It is the absence of such a compelling ideal that has imperilled the unity of our national life in recent years. Our future depends upon our recovering and preserving our solidarity through the discovery of the real purpose to which God has called us.



## ARE WE WORTH FIGHTING FOR ?

### III

Perhaps it will help us to a clearer view of what England's mission is if we inquire what Germany conceived its own destiny to be, and how it was setting out to realize it.

The root of it all lay in the unquestioned conviction of the intellectual and moral supremacy of the Teuton. This has been assiduously propagated and spread in Germany for many years. It would be a mistake to suppose that German aggressiveness started in a worship of might. On the contrary, it has its spring in a profound belief in the Germanic type of culture, a belief so profound that it has led to the conviction that 'the greatness and the good of the world is the predominance there of German culture, of the German mind, in a word, of the German character'. 'The triumph of the Empire' (I quote from the late Professor Cramb) 'will be the triumph of German culture, of the German world-vision in all the phases and departments of human life and energy, in religion, poetry, science, art, politics and social endeavour.'

That Nietzsche expressed a profound contempt for the German ideal did not prevent his teaching from dominating the minds that have ruled modern Germany. Nietzsche preached the doctrine of the super-man: Germany translated this into the doctrine of the super-nation. And just as the super-man achieved his supremacy by exercising the 'will to power', so the super-nation is to establish itself by the assertion of its power.

## ARE WE WORTH FIGHTING FOR ?

Germany must therefore first of all become the premier world power, brushing all possible rivals out of the way in the process ; then it can impose German culture upon the world.

Germany's first duty, then, was to become powerful. The cultivation of might became a moral obligation. Might became synonymous with right, and naturally war came to be conceived of as 'an ordinance set by God'. 'It is', says Treitschke, 'political idealism that demands war.' The natural and inevitable consequence of the ideas underlying German polity is the glorification of war, and the elevation of preparations for war into the primary concern of the State.

We can now see the consequences of this doctrine. We see it in the extraordinary preparations which have been made for war. We see it in the lack of scruple that has characterized the German attitude to Belgian neutrality, and in the cynicism which would brush aside a treaty as a scrap of paper, in the ruthlessness that has laid Belgium waste, in the contempt for human life with which the German campaign has been pushed forward, in that concrete negation of all true culture which is responsible for the ruins of Louvain, Malines, and Rheims. German culture has become a byword and a laughing-stock among those who are ignorant of its splendid past, and a nation has been plunged into one of the greatest crimes in history.

## ARE WE WORTH FIGHTING FOR ?

### IV

The German ideal stands discredited. What then is England's ideal to be ?

Consider for a moment that astonishing fact called the British Empire. There is in the history of British imperial expansion a great deal that does not bear very close scrutiny. It would be sheer hypocrisy to assert that all the makers of the British Empire have always had clean hands, though they were probably no worse in that respect than their competitors. But the really significant fact in this connection is the way in which Britain *has held her empire together*. It is not a vast agglomeration of territory held together by military terrorism. It is a sisterhood of free self-governing commonwealths. The grant of self-government to the South African colonies is a recent instance of the characteristic British method of imperial consolidation. The policy has been that of trusting the people in annexed territories, giving them the liberties of the homeland and equal status of citizenship within the Empire. That is to say, the British policy has been to unite its component parts in a family bond, and to make the stranger free of the children's home. And the justification of that policy is seen to-day. It had been the calculation of some that under the pressure of war the Empire would fall to pieces. What we are looking upon is the wonderful spectacle of the free peoples of the British commonwealths beyond the seas rallying with one accord to the aid of the mother-

## ARE WE WORTH FIGHTING FOR ?

land. The energy of cohesion in the British Empire is a moral bond, and mere physical force can never disintegrate it. No howitzers can destroy those foundations of sentiment upon which the Empire rests. Moral sentiment is the mightiest thing in the world.

Consider the still stranger case of India. Our colonies are peopled mostly by our own flesh and blood, and by races of European origin. But India contains three hundred millions of people of a different colour, including many nations and many tongues. We have made many mistakes in India, and there is not a little that is contemptible in the story of our relations with the Indian people. Yet we hold India to-day. By what? By military power? The white military force in India does not, as a matter of fact, amount to a respectable police force. India is not held by military terrorism. India is bound to England by its recognition of British justice, by the evenhandedness of British policy, by the realization of a liberty and a prosperity which would have been impossible save only as the British *raj* has imposed its own ideals upon the government of the country. And the result? We are seeing it to-day. All parts of India are vying with one another in sending the help that Britain needs in its hour of danger. Here again is revealed the sovereign power of the moral bond.

What the colonial and imperial record of Britain proves is that its chief and most stable triumphs have been achieved in the region of morals. The story of British arms, with all its great and notable heroisms,

## ARE WE WORTH FIGHTING FOR ?

contains no adventure comparable, either in its daring or in its vindication, to the trust in the efficacy and sufficiency of moral ideas in public policy. We shall not, in recording this fact, assume the Simon Pure attitude. Let us remind ourselves that Britain has again and again back-slidden from this faith, and that its apostasies have been visited with grievous humiliation. Both by its successes and by its failures it has proved the validity of moral principles in the business of government.<sup>1</sup>

Of these moral principles we may say that two stand out. The first is the preservation of a strict integrity and faithfulness to covenants. The second is the virtue of trusting other people. The British Empire rests upon the twin potencies of *trustworthiness* and *trustfulness*. And here we find not only the ground of the success of British policy, but also the ground of British liberty. Injustice and suspicion are destroyers of liberty. Where these are there cannot be liberty. The British constitution rests upon faith in the people ; its stability depends upon the continued trust of the people in it. Let the State begin to distrust the people, or the people to suspect the State, and there is an end of liberty. Within the

<sup>1</sup> It is no doubt true that a formidable case against this view of the British record might be made out by massing together all the facts of our history that are a reproach to us. But on a fair interpretation of the general trend of our history, the view stated here must stand ; and in any case it is true that if our history *throughout* does not teach us to believe in the validity of moral principles in national policy, it is our own fault. We have tried it both ways ; and we have ample grounds for holding this faith.

## ARE WE WORTH FIGHTING FOR ?

British Empire there is liberty and peace to-day because of the consolidating and emancipating power of such moral ideas as these.

Even in the European record of Great Britain there has been a certain consistency of respect for, and appeal to, moral principles. There is much in the history of our relations with the Continent which is not to be justified. Yet, though that be allowed, we may claim that there has been a general insistence upon those moral sanctions without which it is impossible to create and to preserve goodwill among nations. Without such goodwill there can never be a stable civilization. And it is always to be remembered that our inner struggle for liberty has been the inspiration and guide of many other nations in their endeavour after the same good. It is recorded in connection with the modern advance of Russia towards constitutionalism that 'the political ideals both of cadets and octobrists were learnt chiefly from England, the study of whose constitutional history has aroused in Russia an enthusiasm hardly intelligible to a present-day Englishman'. In the three first *Dumas* 'England supplied the staple of precedents and parallels for quotation'.<sup>1</sup>

Out of all this emerges one plain fact : Great Britain is charged with the obligations of a great tradition. Within its own borders and its empire it has achieved liberty ; and with liberty, domestic peace. It is its splendid mission to pass on this gift to the world. The ideal that is

<sup>1</sup> *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. xii, p. 379.

## ARE WE WORTH FIGHTING FOR?

implicit in its history is that of 'a world set free'. It makes no boast of a culture which it would impose upon the world for its good; it is simply vested with a gift in trust for the world. But the conditions of this gift are inviolate trustworthiness and adventurous trustfulness in public policy. It is the vocation of Britain to proclaim and practise the faith that in the supremacy of moral ideas lies the promise of the liberty and the peace of the world.

*A world set free*—here is our calling and our mission. But it is well that we should remember that liberty is not an end, but a means. It is the condition of personal and national self-realization. It is a step on the way to a larger and more splendid goal. There is that which is greater than England, nobler than the Empire. It is the Kingdom of God. Into this Kingdom the nations of the world are to pour their glory. Freed from suspicion and hate of one another, they will set about the task of cultivating their peculiar genius, and they will bring their wealth of thought and knowledge, their harvest of art and love as tribute to the Kingdom of God, which is also the Kingdom of Man. It is given to us to share in the splendid enterprise of paving the way for this greater Kingdom by teaching the world such things as we ourselves have been enabled to learn, especially the truth that liberty and peace are begotten of integrity, justice, and mutual trust. This is our national share in that wide co-operation by which the kingdoms of this world shall become the Kingdom of our God and of His Christ.

## ARE WE WORTH FIGHTING FOR ?

But it may be said to us, ' Physician, heal thyself '. We admit with shame and penitence that there are things in our midst which dishonour the Son of Man. Our slums, our social confusion, our divisiveness in Church and State, such things as these must be done away. The first business of our new-found comradeship is to heal the ancient diseases of our own commonwealth. But one thing is yet lacking to us. Justice and integrity Britain respects. She has learnt the magic of trustfulness. There yet remains to be sought a great baptism of love. The comradeship of these latter days has been born of a sense of common danger ; it will break up apace if it be not swiftly confirmed by the cement of love. We require that supreme gift which will cleanse us of all mutual suspicion and bitterness, whether between persons or parties, classes or churches ; which will add to our passion for liberty the abiding grace of a fellowship in which we shall gladly accept limitations and subordinate personal interests to the common endeavour after a redeemed and redeeming motherland ; and which will thrust us forth on the divine embassy of winning all the peoples into a world commonwealth of goodwill, freedom, and peace.





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## EXPLANATORY NOTE

GREAT BRITAIN is engaged in a war from which, as we believe, there was offered to our nation no honourable way of escape. The desire of all who love their country is to serve it in the hour of its need, and so to live and labour that those who have fallen in its service may not have died in vain. While this may suffice to make immediate duty clear, the war remains in the deepest sense a challenge to Christian thought. The present bitter struggle between nations which for centuries have borne the Christian name indicates some deep-seated failure to understand the principles of Christ and to apply them to human affairs.

This series of papers embodies an attempt to reach, by common thought, discussion and prayer, a truer understanding of the meaning of Christianity and of the mission of the Church to the individual, to society and to the world.

Those who are promoting the issue of these papers are drawn from different political parties and different Christian bodies. They believe that the truth they seek can be attained only by providing for a measure of diversity in expression. Therefore they do not accept responsibility for the opinions of any paper taken alone. But in spirit they are united, for they are one in the conviction that in Christ and in His Gospel lies the hope of redemption and health for society and for national life.

## THE WOMAN'S PART

THE nation has called upon its manhood, setting before it a plain duty, asking for a plain answer. The claim that war makes upon womanhood is more hidden, and often more difficult; for it is easier to be active than passive, easier to place oneself under obedience at a crisis than to serve by silent anxiety, or to desire service with no clear indication as to what our work should be. But it has been wisely said that warfare depends largely for its ultimate success on the spirit of the people left behind, and we know that in an ever-increasing proportion this will mean the women. Therefore we must look to our own character and conduct as a necessary part of the great war. <sup>1</sup>

### COURAGE.

First, then, the nation asks of us the high gift of Courage—one of the four cardinal virtues. It is shown not only in brilliant attack, but in patient waiting and patient endurance. Ruskin sees the supreme illustration of this, not in some glorious figure of St. George, but in the tired and tried figure of Botticelli's Fortitude, waiting undismayed where there is no retreat. Even so must women wait.

## THE WOMAN'S PART

And we are called upon to give. It is perhaps at this moment that we realize fully all that is meant by the 'pain and peril of child-birth', as we take our place with Mary on the hill of sorrow. The ever-widening circle of duty has embraced innumerable homes that have hitherto been unstirred by military tradition or military zeal. Homes indeed they are where other dreams, other ambitions, had found their place, with every promise, as it seemed, of fulfilment. But now across these plans and hopes there has fallen the shadow of a sword that is bound to pierce our own hearts also. Yet God still loves a cheerful giver, and the nation depends upon our willingness to give. So a wife was able to say simply and truly, as the women watched their men go out to the front: 'The women were very brave. Many of them had a smile on their lips. It was easier for me, for I had a smile in my heart.' This high courage, seeming to us almost miraculous, is the gift of God, not beyond the reach of any, no matter how weak we ourselves seem to be.

God has laid down these cardinal virtues as foundation-stones of stable Christian character, and He asks nothing that cannot be fulfilled in His strength. He is no conqueror, demanding a levy from a desolated, panic-stricken town, but He is the relieving force, bringing up unexpected reinforcements when the strain seems at breaking-point, and men's hearts are failing them for fear. Courage rises with trust. The nation trusts us, God trusts us. We do not give ourselves, but



## THE WOMAN'S PART

those who are far more precious than ourselves. We give, not for ourselves nor even for our own generation, but for a future race. We sow in sorrow that others may reap in joy. The day breaks after night, and both are counted in to the completed day : ' the evening and the morning were the first day ' : therefore our shadow and darkness are part of a whole that is to be made perfect in God's time.

Our giving must not be in resignation only, but with courageous faith that God will make a new and better world out of the mistakes and disasters of man's disputes. We believe we give in answer to God's call, for it has been said that His voice will probably never be clearer than when He speaks in the call of the nation and of the man's own conscience. We had hoped that God would give a lasting peace in our generation, without the cruel arbitrament of the sword. It is not so. Because of some hardness in our hearts, it was impossible ; the world is not yet ready. But we give our men as warriors against war. We are fighting that it may die. So far as we know, this can be achieved in no other way at this present time. The means are not of our choosing, and God alone knows truly how and why this terrible thing has come to pass. But our men answer in single-heartedness and self-sacrifice, and we will do the same ; none can do more. To die that others may live, this bears the impress of the Cross. Neither the cross of Jesus nor the cross of the present agony is self-chosen or self-sought ; our Lord Himself would have put the cup away

## THE WOMAN'S PART

from Him. But He is perfected and completed in the midst of violence ; the knowledge of this makes clear the possibilities of self-sacrifice and what it may mean to our men, and to ourselves, the women.

Our courage answers to the call of God as we hear it in the stern duty of the moment. But it fails us and grows confused in academic discussion of origins and motives, guilt and blame. We do not doubt the sin of the world, whether it be the responsibility of the present, or rooted in some distant past, or in the fact of the fallen race, which we are so slow to acknowledge. We can only offer man's obedience and woman's sorrow in mediation, and we believe that God will not despise the sacrifice. Self-sacrifice opens the world to us. It is the key to the hidden things in the hearts of others. The very pain that appears to invest and besiege us, cutting us off from the world, brings us, on the contrary, into fellowship with others. We no longer stand in isolation. Fellowship in danger, anxiety, and sorrow is closer than all other fellowship. It is the bridge, whether between classes or creeds, sects or opinions, so that beyond the ordinary prejudices we are able to see into the hearts of men. Courage is far-reaching ; a steadfast woman is a support to all amongst whom she moves. We are told that those who overcome are made pillars in the temple of God, and at this time brave women may become the pillars of the nation.

If the shadow of death falls upon us, then too our part

## THE WOMAN'S PART

is indicated. We go back with Mary to the new home—it cannot be the old home—to the claim and call of ordinary duties that make so great a demand on resolution and fortitude. We shall not be alone. God and our country will be with us. We shall understand and be understood in clearer vision.

### PRUDENCE.

The country needs not only courage but Prudence, another foundation virtue. War has brought a great desire for activity, and we may easily become over-excited, able to grasp only one sort of heroism, over-eager to rush into work for which we are unfitted. We women must confess that this time of crisis has found us unprepared. Relief work requires a knowledge that might have been ours for the asking at any time during the last fifteen years, and yet, when we are called to distribute the nation's resources to the needy, many have no experience to guide them. In the new army we see men of position enlisting in the lowest rank, ready for discipline, ready to learn, ready to obey, and we women must not fall behind in humble, self-effacing energy. Our quick imaginations and our impulsive desire to serve will help to inspire, but they are not foundations of work. We have already learnt that subscriptions are withdrawn from normal everyday charity in order to meet new and urgent claims, and we find many who neglect all the

## THE WOMAN'S PART

old, necessary machinery of social work in order to share in some phase of war activity. However natural this may be, it is not always prudent. We each need to make a thoughtful estimate of our leisure time, and then to offer it carefully and wisely where we may at once be of some use and learn to be of more use.

Looking thus at the main channels of work that have shaped themselves out of the initial confusion, we find that whereas all are necessary in this time of stress, they are not all new organizations. This fact perhaps rebukes our former apathy. Five outstanding groups claim our personal service: work in connection with the soldiers and sailors, work for the Belgian refugees, provision for the unemployed women and girls, the care of mothers (already grouped round the schools for mothers), and the care of children, centring in the care committees. Yet it may be that the quickest and most useful manner of serving any one of these organizations is for us first to serve a humble apprenticeship of a month at a Charity Organization Society office. Women are wanted who can be trusted to do a small thing perfectly, without incessantly grumbling at central organizations or elaborating improvements of their own. By the trustworthiness and fidelity of individual workers the whole begins to work smoothly and efficiently for the benefit of all.

The nation's need forces upon us a new consideration of life and usefulness. If we have counted leisure as our own we can do so no longer. Every moment is

## THE WOMAN'S PART

redeemed for us by the fleet and the army. In the early days of the war men were content to sacrifice some part of their spare time to drill. Then came the call to the ranks. So with women. Those without home ties, who are free and independent, should test the call to complete whole-time service for God and His suffering poor. Who am I to live at ease when all are suffering, to claim ample leisure when there are vacant posts to fill, to seek refuge in helplessness when there is every opportunity to learn? And who am I to withhold others? Any number of girls have found home irksome and difficult, with no scope or opportunity for their latent powers. We have learnt to let our sons go forth to manhood at the bitter cost of life itself. Let us send forth our daughters to womanhood with all its full and gracious powers of strength and healing—not only to Red Cross work, but as probationers in hospital, institution, and infirmary, wherever help is needed and workers are shorthanded: not only to visit a family here and there, but to learn patiently and humbly the principles of relief under experienced supervision, that their work may be made perfect: not only to give an hour when by chance the family moves to town or country, but to remain faithful at some post because regular, steady, whole-time work is needed. Let us face facts steadily—and they are sad facts before us. The already great majority of women over men must in our generation grow larger and not less. Therefore we must prepare a full, satisfying, useful, and happy life for younger

## THE WOMAN'S PART

women and lead them into the wide sphere of public service, lest they break their hearts alone and unemployed.

Some then have to learn prudence in their work and its preparation, in the knowledge and science of relief, in their use of time and energy. But there is another way in which we are called to exercise prudence. It is as the housekeepers of the nation. We must practise frugality in our homes. Many are asking about their duty as to expenditure in time of war. A too careful economy may injure tradespeople and employment; a careless spending is a bad example, and wasteful of the nation's store. The simple and unquestioned duty is to pay all bills at once. A large number of tradespeople would profit more by small orders paid immediately than they do by larger orders with no immediate prospect of payment. Thus money is circulated and its usefulness increased. But we must go further. Women realize now how largely they have encouraged the building up of a business of luxuries and inflated prices, with the consequent distress in times of difficulty and retrenchment. It is surely our duty to lay permanent foundations of simpler and more frugal habits.

But already we are aware of obligations and responsibilities. Our very questions as to spending and buying show that we acknowledge a duty in regard to employment. Already the worker matters more than our purchase, the dressmaker more than the dress. Such considerations are now shown to be essential to the well-being of the

## THE WOMAN'S PART

nation. But they have always been essential and always will be. It is for women to see that they are never again ignored.

### SIMPLICITY.

Two things menace peace, one externally, the other internally. They are militarism and luxury. While our men go forth to fight the one, women at home must finally crush the other. Extravagance in dress and food have become as competitive as our armaments, and if the budget for armaments has been in the hands of men, women have been chiefly responsible for the budget for luxury. We can at least lift this burden from the nation and the national character. During the last ten years we have seen an abnormal increase in needless extravagance; dress alone has encouraged the most wasteful competition between woman and woman, class and class, each seeking to emulate and to surpass the other. If we remind ourselves now of the complicated succession of meals from early morning to late theatre suppers we see in them an index, not of refinement, but of greediness. If we look back from the shadows of this great calamity we recognize something of the follies of peace in the riotous fancy dress balls, where waste has masqueraded too long as charity. We will have no more of blue wigs and exotic pageants, for these are things that divide, marking off the rich, with time and money and wits to waste, from the poor, who work in monotony

## THE WOMAN'S PART

for daily bread. War, with all its horror, has enabled us to find our oneness, and peace, with its undoubted temptations, must never again divide us. We learn prudence in a hard school under an austere master, but if we are to fulfil our part we women must take our lessons seriously, binding them about our necks, writing them on the tables of our hearts. Let us be known as the generation of housewives who lived and suffered through the war, and used its cruel lessons to win for our nation a new standard of simple, wholesome life, of simple, wholesome work, and simple, wholesome amusement.

This simple life may also help to bridge over some of the dangerous gulfs that still divide society. Party strife has had to go, and narrow class distinction must follow it. They are already breaking down in the time of trial, when all suffer together ; but women, to whom they have been so curiously dear, must see that they never recover their old strength. The lesson taught in war must not be lost. The fine examples of fellowship and understanding between officers and men must be translated into the terms of employer and employed, priest and people, mistress and servant, neighbour and neighbour. Women can help in this re-ordering of social life, not in the future, but now, when already the barriers we have helped to build are being swept away. So much in the past has been sham. War brings us very close to reality, and some of us dare not raise our eyes to look it in the face. For long we



## THE WOMAN'S PART

women have talked too much, playing with ideals, experimenting with philosophies. 'Good women' have taken a kindly interest in St. Francis, and church papers are ready to welcome discussions as to the possible equivalents of poverty. Fanciful women have developed a whole theory of the simple life that finds its abode in one of the scarce country cottages, and its expression in old furniture, paved walks, and a garden of pergolas. Strict women have kept their Fridays and Lenten fasts by a rearrangement of dishes. Dreaming women have sought to eliminate the facts of sin and pain. War brings us abruptly to fact. Here is poverty waiting for many of us, and simplicity without artificial aid. Here are fasts indeed, not ordered by the partial authority of some Christians, but enforced on the whole world, whether combatant or not. And here indeed is pain and sin past all denial, that must awaken any dreamer. All the old artificial theories must go, with the old artificial luxuries, and it is women who are called to cast them out. We step down from our platforms and cease talking, that we may humbly seek to practise as best we can what we have preached.

### FAITH.

As we turn to reality and simplicity we find our feet on an old and familiar road, a road that has not been altered for motor traffic, nor used by those who care

## THE WOMAN'S PART

only to pass quickly. It is quiet and apart, but all the same it is a direct road. It is filled with the recollections of childhood, and seems familiar enough, though we have not passed that way for some long time. It is the road of Faith, and the sign-post leading to it is a cross. Here is the supreme contribution of women in war—that we may establish again our faith and the faith of our nation. If we dare send men to battle in the name of God we have to see that His name is honoured and hallowed at home. Out in the trenches or on the high seas men look up to God unashamed, for faith is part of reality, and God draws very near in the time of man's need. But we who are the traditional guardians of faith have proved ourselves careless and indifferent, and we have forgotten steady progress and discipline in a trivial playing with new and fanciful cults. We are passing from theology to God, from party arguments and idle speculations to an eternal need: we want Him badly—how badly few of us can express. Neither peace, nor ease, nor luxury pointed us to Him until we came 'whither we would not', to the time of sorrow. Now and again we are chilled and disappointed in our search for Him; a church service sends us home as hungry as when we came. But now and again the whole starts into life; a psalm rings out its message, the lesson seems meant for me, the Sacrament no longer veils the Presence. And I know that to turn back to God and duty and the Bible is to come home.

We can determine at this time to bring God more into

## THE WOMAN'S PART

our life, our work, our ideals, and our homes. We can humbly regain old-fashioned habits of family prayer, because our lives are scorched with the fire of anxiety for those we love. We recover 'Grace' at meal time, so childish, so simple, so forgotten, because we have learnt that our bread is daily bread bought at the cost of men's lives; it is a sacramental feast. We recover Sunday with its quiet and dignity, its home life and recognition of God, because our hearts are broken for want of Him and His peace. We examine anew our shifting moral standards in the quiet light of the Christian standard, and recognize how desperately we have failed. The vulgar play, the suggestive book look strangely garish now, and we have little use for them. We want God; oh! how much we want God. The nation needs Him too, and women can bring Him once more into the camp of national life. 'Victories are won', said Marshal Oyama, 'by faith and discipline: faith that knows no fear of death, discipline that will obey orders.' In some true sense women might have established both faith and discipline in the life of the world, but we have dissipated our power. No wonder that we pray for God's deliverance not only in the time of our tribulation but also in the time of our wealth.

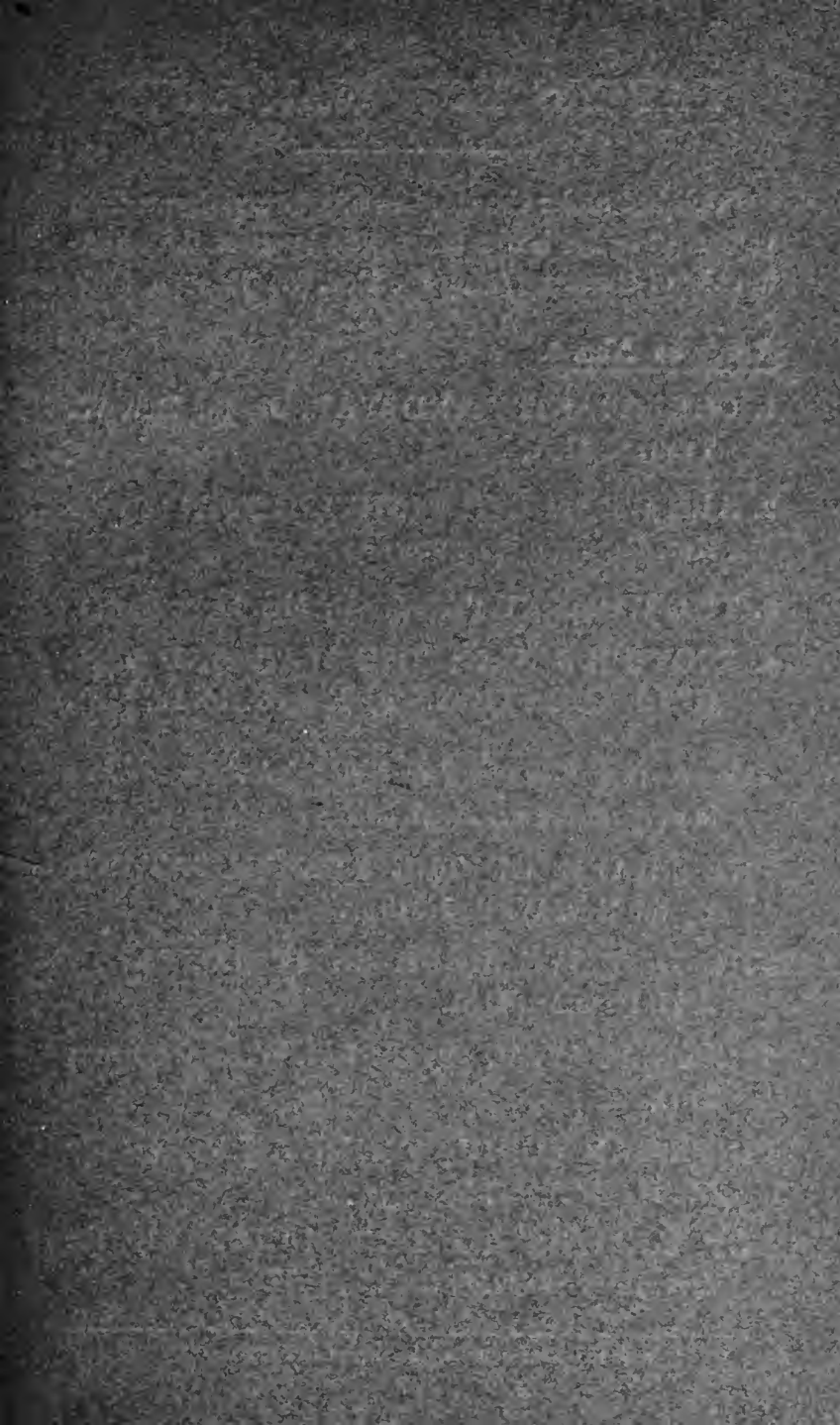
This is perhaps the root of all our mistakes. We had thought peace must always be spiritual. We had forgotten that materialism can take many forms and that Self is never more firmly established, God may never be so entirely absent, as amidst a materialistic peace.

## THE WOMAN'S PART

### LOVE.

There is yet something left for women to set forth. There is Love. We have heard of the world-wide solidarity of labour, but it has broken. We thought that art rose above all nationalities and divisions, but music and beauty once common to mankind have been banned and destroyed. Even knowledge has suffered in the scornful repudiation of laurels rightly won and respectfully given. Sorrow alone remains common to all. There is here neither German nor Russian, Belgian, Austrian, Servian, French nor English. And this sorrow rests chiefly on the hearts of women, so that transcending all divisions we know ourselves to be one in our motherhood as nothing, as no one else, is one. Motherhood, womanhood has reached her Calvary. Then let the words on our lips be words of forgiveness and love.

We may cry to God in the darkness, questioning why He has forsaken us, and He will understand and be patient; for that cry was wrung from the Lord Himself upon the cross. Yet, notwithstanding the darkness, God has a purpose for us. He looks for its fulfilment, and He trusts us. If we have been faithless, He has been true. 'Therefore', said the Lord, 'I will bring her into the wilderness and speak to her heart.' 'Speak, Lord, for Thy servant heareth.'



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# BROTHERS ALL

## THE WAR AND THE RACE QUESTION

### THE MEETING OF THE RACES.

THE war which we are witnessing marks an epoch, not only in the history of England or of Europe, but in the history of mankind. If there were any spectator who, through the unnumbered ages, had followed the course of the creature called Man upon this planet, he would have seen naked cave-men, thousands of years ago, drive each other in pursuit and flight over the hill-sides with stones and clubs ; he would have seen, later on, the mail-clad armies of Assyria and Rome move over wide regions, sacking and slaying ; and in recent time he would have seen the still larger armies of Europeans fight with weapons that mowed men down at long range. But he would never have seen a war which engaged so large a part of the men upon earth, which affected, directly or indirectly, the whole world, as this war does. And the reason is that this war has come at the end of an epoch wherein a certain process, which our supposed spectator would be able to follow, has gone forward at a rate such as he would not have observed at any earlier time.

## BROTHERS ALL

That process is the formation in the human family of ever larger groups with common purposes, common interests and tasks. What made the process possible was a development by spasmodic steps forward, over the course of the centuries, in the means of communication. Intercourse of man with man among the cave-men had to depend upon speech and gesture ; the great States of antiquity had writing, and the speed of horses for traffic, and wind-wafted ships ; but in the last few generations the process has made a leap forward, with steam, electricity, petrol. The whole world has been bound together as never before. It has got, as it were, a single nervous system. The agitation in one part is communicated almost directly to other parts far away. The fall of the monarchy in Portugal caused concern, we were told, at the court of Peking. A war of the great nations, supervening upon such a state of the world, inevitably means a more widespread convulsion than any former war. Larger masses of men come into action, and can be handled organically : a battle has a front extending two hundred miles, and may require weeks to be fought out. Men of all races, in all continents, feel in their private lives the disturbance in the vast system of international business.

[Now, before the war had come, this process of the drawing of the world together, this diminishing of distances, equivalent, in some of its effects, to a shrinkage of the surface of the globe, had brought up great problems for the new generation : and that because the human

## THE WAR AND THE RACE QUESTION

species thus drawn into closer contiguity was not all of one kind. The contact, as men then were, between alien races, was not altogether happy and comfortable. Masses of men were brought together before either side was ready for the encounter. What is called 'the Colour Question' had become acute in certain regions. Already, before the discovery of steam-power, advance in the art of navigation had made it possible for the white men of Europe to go to the lands inhabited by brown and black men in sufficient numbers to win a predominant position in far-off countries, and one may believe that even then the dark man was conscious that the intruder belonged to a widely different breed from himself. But the introduction of steam accentuated the difference; for as the journey became shorter, and the communication of the white man with his home became easier, he retained his European character and European interests with less adaptation to the new environment than his predecessors had done. It is said that the Englishmen in India before the Mutiny had a human relation with the people of the land such as the official of to-day, less high-handed indeed but more distant, is seldom able to establish. The new conditions at the same time made it easier for the peoples of Asia to go to countries occupied by Europeans, so that the contact of races took place, not only where the white man was the stranger, but where the brown or yellow man was the latest comer. Contact in either sphere brought its special variety of friction. We had not only unrest in India and anti-foreign feeling in China, but the

## BROTHERS ALL

thorny Indian question in South Africa and Canada, and the agitation against the yellow man in the United States.

### THE CO-OPERATION OF THE EAST.

And now we have suddenly ceased to talk of these questions. Instead, we find brown men and yellow men and black men joined with ourselves in one colossal struggle, pouring out their treasure, pouring out their blood, for the common cause—Japanese and English and Russians carrying on war as allies on the shores of the Pacific, Hindus and Mohammedans from India coming to fight in European armies on the old historic battle-fields of Europe, side by side with Mohammedans from Algiers and black men from Senegal. We had often spoken of the wonderful drawing together of the world in our days, but we never knew that it was to be represented in such strange and splendid and terrible bodily guise.

To our enemies the disregard of the 'colour bar' in the combination against them is a matter for reproach. We know already that they charge us with disloyalty to the cause of European culture, and we must be prepared to hear the charge flung against us with still greater passion when the war is over, and echoed in German books for generations to come. It has not yet appeared that they consider the employment of Indian and African troops a disloyalty: in the book, so often referred to, by General Bernhardt, the employment of 'coloured' troops by France and England is spoken of as something to be expected, with no note of blame; it is our alliance with

## THE WAR AND THE RACE QUESTION

Japan that arouses their indignation. The difference is, no doubt, that Indian and African troops seem to be used merely as instruments for the purposes of the European Powers, whereas the European has entered into alliance with Japan as with an independent Power of equal standing ; that is the abominable thing !

The distinction here indicated may show an imperfect apprehension of the facts on the German side. The idea involved in the distinction, however, may help us to see the real significance of what is before our eyes. As a matter of fact, there is nothing very new or strange in the employment by a civilized Power of alien troops, as a weapon. It does not involve the admission of the aliens to any footing of equality. There is no question of co-operation in the real sense. They are used, just as horses are, as the instruments of a purpose not their own. The French had already used black troops against the Germans in the war of forty-four years ago. If we were merely using Indian troops in the same way, without any will of their own, there would be nothing so very remarkable in it. The mere fact, taken by itself, that Indians are fighting side by side with British soldiers is not the point. In India they have fought side by side with the British for one hundred and fifty years. What gives the moment its significance is that the presence of these Indian troops does not represent solely the purpose of England. It represents in some degree the will of India. However the complex of feelings which we describe as 'loyalty' in India is to be analysed—and a true analysis would probably

## BROTHERS ALL

differ largely in the cases, say, of a Rajput prince, a Parsi merchant, and a Bengali journalist—behind the Indian troops there is the general voluntary adherence of the leading classes in India, the fighting chiefs and the educated community, to the cause for which England stands. We may speak truly of co-operation in the case of India, as in the case of Japan.

It is the promptitude, the eagerness and the unanimity of this voluntary adherence which has seemed to England almost too good to be true. Some one present when Mr. Charles Roberts read to the House of Commons the message from India has reported that he had never before known the House so moved. After all, whatever the shortcomings of the British rule in India, there has been a great mass of good intention concerned in it; and we had been told so often that it was absurd to expect any recognition of good intentions from the mass of the Indian people. When, at the test, the recognition comes in such generous volume, we are almost taken aback, perhaps a little ashamed of what may seem a want of generosity in our own previous attitude; we are conscious of a new glow of friendliness not unmixed with compunction. The atmosphere is changed in temperature, and some of the barriers which seemed so dead-hard in the old days show a tendency to melt. Indian students moving about in London feel that the eyes which rest upon them are kindly and welcoming, and no longer hostile or suspicious. Almost in a moment the atmosphere has been changed, and that alone is a great thing. One



## THE WAR AND THE RACE QUESTION

cannot say what may come of it ; but things that seemed impossible before seem so no longer in the new day.

It was such a change in our temper as this that Christianity might have brought about, if it had been effectual. It is somewhat humiliating to think that it has been brought about, not by Christianity, but by participation in a war. The reason, one supposes, is that the British public generally has risen to the level represented by ' Love those who love you ', but not yet to the Christian level of loving in advance. It could not show any warmth of goodwill to the oriental stranger while he was still a dark mystery and his goodwill problematic ; the war has given occasion for him to prove his goodwill, and we hold him out the hand.

However true it may be that war is the outcome of sin, and productive of sin, we must recognize here too how good things are in strange wise brought out of evil by the divine art running through history. It looks as if the human family would really have made a step towards the ideal of brotherhood by waging war together, as if the cynic had some truth on his side, who said : ' There is no bond like a common enmity.' Each people will soon feel of all other peoples but one that they are brothers in arms ; we cannot imagine ourselves without a kindliness for many years to come towards French and Russians and Belgians. No doubt the fact that one has to make an exception in a brotherhood so conditioned—' to all other peoples but one '—shows it imperfect from the Christian point of view, shows something fatally defective

## BROTHERS ALL

in its basis. Yet here meanwhile is the new glow of friendliness, and we cannot do otherwise than recognize it as a good. It seems obvious wisdom to take it for all it is worth, and to work from it to something more. The 'colour bar', against which Christianity had beaten itself, largely in vain, has been weakened by another force. The other force has to that extent made the task of Christianity in the future easier. There is no reason why Christians should not be thankful for that.

### SHOULD THE 'COLOUR BAR' BE MAINTAINED ?

But one must remember that the German people as represented, not only by its military caste, but by its thinkers and spiritual leaders—the persons, for instance, who signed the *Appeal to Evangelical Christians Abroad*—points to this very disregard of the 'colour bar' as an evil. It is probable that there are many amongst ourselves who sympathize with that view. Just at the present moment, while applause of India fills the press and the Japanese are being so obviously useful to us on the Pacific, such persons may not give utterance to their feelings, or their utterance may be drowned. But that many Englishmen shared all the colour prejudice of the Germans last July is certain, and it would be miraculous if in these few weeks all that inveterate prejudice had ceased to exist. When the applause dies down, the voices of these men will be heard again. We cannot afford to overlook their objection.

So far as the mere fact of a difference in complexion,

## THE WAR AND THE RACE QUESTION

taken by itself, is urged as a barrier which we should not try to transcend, the prejudice appears in a form so crude that it would perhaps be vain to argue with it. The antipathy of men of different complexions to each other, we are sometimes told, is something deep-lying and essential in human nature. This is just one of those would-be scientific generalizations which magazine-writers throw off without any vestige of real scientific examination. The considerations adduced by Professor Royce,<sup>1</sup> Lord Cromer,<sup>2</sup> and Mr. Basil Thomson<sup>3</sup> tend, on the other hand, to show that 'colour-feeling' is something of very recent appearance in the world, and generated to a large extent artificially by suggestion.

Where the objection to our close association with Indians and Japanese takes a more reasonable form it might perhaps be stated as follows: 'It is not the difference in complexion in itself' (so the objector might say) 'that matters; it is the fact that in the present state of the world a brown complexion and a yellow complexion go with a religion and culture and social tradition different from the tradition of Christendom. The white races represent a higher culture—or at any rate a culture that ought to be kept uncontaminated by alien elements. For this reason it is important that the material power of the white races, taken as a whole, should not be diminished as against the power

<sup>1</sup> *Race Questions* (Macmillan, 1908), pp. 1-53.

<sup>2</sup> *Ancient and Modern Imperialism*, pp. 128 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Bedrock*. Vol. I, pp. 157 f.

## BROTHERS ALL

of the non-European peoples. If the white races only fight amongst themselves, their power as a whole is not necessarily decreased; it may be merely shifted from one European nation to another. If, on the other hand, Asiatic peoples are allowed to take part in the struggle, Europe parts with some of its power to non-Europeans. The power of Europeans in the world', the objector might continue, 'is not entirely due to superior material force. It is largely a matter of prestige, of suggestion; the imagination of the other races must be held captive. In all conflicts, *morale* is a prime factor. It would be fatal for the predominance of Europeans if non-Europeans in large numbers lost the sense of the white man's superiority. If they face a European enemy and take part in his defeat, awe of the white man, as such, is gone.'

### THE GREAT OPPORTUNITY.

One surely cannot deny that this reasoning has something in it. It is true that we Christians believe the culture of Europe—permeated, however imperfectly so far, with Christianity—to have in it something of special value for the world. It is true that the position of Europeans as rulers, outside Europe, has in the past been secured largely by their impressing the imagination of the peoples they governed. It is further true that if this prestige, this control by suggestion, were taken away, and no better relation substituted for it, the result might be worse than the present state of things—a lapse of the East into chaos.

## THE WAR AND THE RACE QUESTION

*'And no better relation substituted for it'*—that is the great issue of the present crisis. We have been forced by events into a position where safety is to be found only by going forward. We are being called to new things ; the fatal thing is to stand still. While we are rightly glad and proud at the cordial advance of India, while the air is full of congratulation and applause, quiet reflection may recognize that the entry of India upon the scene has its dangers. It is big with possibilities of evil. For one thing, it means inevitably a disturbance of the situation in India. Yes, but it is big too with possibilities of good, because that disturbance of the situation may open the way to something much better. It would be a mistake to suppose that in the loyalty of India at the present moment we had attained everything ; we have really attained little, except an immense opportunity. It depends how we use it. We shall be less able after the war than before to take our stand in India on some supposed superiority of the white man, as such. We have given way on that ground. And to any one who would tell us that our sacrifice of the white man's prestige is rash and foolish, we can answer that in any case, even apart from the war, circumstances were forcing us from that ground. As European education spread in India, as India awoke more and more to the modern world, that ground would have become increasingly untenable. Sooner or later, if India remained a member of the British Empire, it would be because India chose the association voluntarily, intelligently, with head held high. By admitting India

## BROTHERS ALL

to co-operation in a European war, we have accelerated the disappearance of the old imaginative awe. But the war has given us an opportunity we could never have forecast of substituting for the old relation a new relation built on the consciousness of great dangers faced and great things done together, feelings of mutual friendship and respect and trust. In the kindled atmosphere of the present moment, when hearts are warm and quickly stirred, things may take a new shape which time will so solidify that the attachment of the British and Indian peoples to each other in the future will be stronger than any bond which conquests of the old style could fashion. It all depends, as has been said, how we use the opportunity.

The cry that a Christian Power which in any circumstances enters into co-operation and alliance with a non-Christian Power against Christians commits an act of treachery seems to spring from a deeper loyalty to Christianity. But, to be honest, is the motive behind the declamatory protest after all not just the old bad feeling of race prejudice, the pride of the white colour, which is the very antithesis of real Christianity? What is really the source of the cry is the refusal to acknowledge that the whole human race is all potentially one in Christ. It departs from the fundamental principles of Christianity—the principle of truth and the principle of charity. It departs from the principle of truth, because it goes by names and appearances and labels, instead of by realities. The nations of Europe have become Christian only to a very imperfect degree. When the action of a so-called

## THE WAR AND THE RACE QUESTION

Christian State is determined by the very anti-Christian principles of national egoism and 'will to power' it is untrue to regard it as a Christian State, even if one can point to a nucleus of real Christianity among its people. Supposing we wished to present a false appearance to the non-Christian world, to cover up the truth for fear of scandal, it would be in vain. The sooner the non-Christian world realizes that Christendom is not yet Christian, the better for the prospects of Christianity. And whilst one has to admit a great mass of paganism, still unleavened, in Christendom, one ought to recognize in all that is morally sound in the non-Christian civilizations something germane to Christianity, something due to the same Spirit who is fully manifested in Christ.

Even apart from the direct action of Christianity upon these races in recent times, that would be true. But we know, as a matter of fact, that just as in England and France and Germany there has been a nucleus of real Christianity for many centuries, influencing in various degrees the national life as a whole, so there is now in India and China and Japan a nucleus of real Christianity, whose influence is already making itself felt far outside the limits of the organized Church. In the case of the individual, it is a part of Christian charity to recognize, even when the Christian name is not assumed, the fruit of the Christian spirit: in the same way, to label the Asiatic peoples of to-day in that absolute way as non-Christians, to shut them out from co-operation in the work of establishing righteousness in the world, where

## BROTHERS ALL

they are prepared to act on righteous principles, is not only a disloyalty to truth but a breach of Christian charity. And that is not the way to win Asia for the Universal Church.

Of one thing we may be sure : neither Europe nor Asia will be left by the war the same as before. It is too soon to affirm that they will be made better by it. A harvest of good will not come automatically out of this convulsion. Its outcome, for good or evil, will be determined largely by the action of England, by the action of the Christian Church, at this crucial time. It may be that neither England, nor the Christian Church, will ever be given such an opportunity again.





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## THE DECISIVE HOUR: IS IT LOST?

WHEN in days to come men try to understand the significance of the Great War, they will seek to interpret it in its bearing not merely upon the nations engaged in the struggle, but upon the spiritual destinies of mankind as a whole. Even amid the absorbing excitement of the struggle for national existence, this larger point of view must not be forgotten. For Christians especially, who own a loyalty to a Kingdom wider and more enduring than any earthly empire, no question strikes deeper than the question how the war will affect the growth of the Kingdom of God.

### I

Four years ago a book was published entitled *The Decisive Hour of Christian Missions*.<sup>1</sup> Its main argument was that the peoples of Asia and Africa are at the present time passing through a renaissance more remarkable and far-reaching than the movement which changed mediaeval into modern Europe; that their entire political, economic, social, intellectual, and religious life is in process of recon-

<sup>1</sup> A revised edition will shortly be published by Messrs. Nelson in their shilling series of reprints of copyright books.

## THE DECISIVE HOUR : IS IT LOST ?

struction ; that their ancient faiths, standards, and social systems are proving insufficient to meet the demands of the new time ; and that the question of all questions for the Christian Church is whether in the present hour of crisis and of destiny it can give to these peoples a spiritual faith, to be the strength and inspiration of the new world which they are setting out to build.

The same view as to the decisive nature of the present opportunity was taken by the World Missionary Conference that met at Edinburgh in 1910. In words which in the light of recent events seem prophetic, it affirmed the critical importance of the next few years in determining the spiritual evolution of mankind. ' If those years are wasted,' it declared, ' havoc may be wrought that centuries are not able to repair. On the other hand, if they are rightly used, they may be among the most glorious in Christian history.'

Such statements have been criticized as extravagant and feverish. Every generation, it is said, is apt to have an exaggerated notion of the particular tasks which it is called to undertake. And yet history supplies abundant evidence that there are tides in the affairs of men ; that real crises occur in the life of nations and of the Church as well as of individual men ; and that when they arise, life or death may depend on the capacity of the individual or the nation or the Church to recognize and to meet them. The belief that the present time is of critical importance in the spiritual history of the non-Christian peoples rests upon a solid basis of facts ; and if the Church is too preoccupied, or has not sufficient insight, to grasp the meaning of these facts, the spiritual loss to the world will be great and inevitable.



## THE DECISIVE HOUR : IS IT LOST ?

Japan, which is taking part in the war as one of the Great Powers, has gained its position with such astonishing rapidity that its present Prime Minister has witnessed the transformation from the beginning, and played a leading part in bringing it about. Three years ago the establishment of a Republic in China revealed to the world what revolutionary forces were seething in that ancient and populous nation. There are many proofs that in both Japan and China leading men are aware that the roots of national greatness lie not in material progress but in the character of the people, and that they are deeply concerned to find a spiritual basis for the new national life. What faith and what ideals will mould the thought and engage the affections of the peoples of the Far East ? The new order that is steadily and surely taking shape must rest on some body of beliefs. Can the traditional religions provide the needful foundation ? If they prove insufficient, shall we witness the growth of powerful civilizations based on a hard and soulless materialism ? Or shall the east know in its growth, as the west has known, the vitalizing, renewing, sanctifying influence of Christ ? The march of history has seldom given rise to questions of greater moment for the human race.

In India we witness the same unrest. The political agitation of which so much has been heard in recent years is only one symptom of a national awakening, which is expressing itself in manifold gropings after a higher life. In what moulds will this surging life be cast ? Will it express itself merely in some new system of thought that will take its place with the ancient Indian philosophies as a fresh monument to the powers of the Indian mind ? Or is it the Divine purpose that the strange contact for a brief

## THE DECISIVE HOUR : IS IT LOST ?

span in its long history between India and a people of the west should be the means of planting in Indian experience a seed of truth from which will spring a fairer and richer harvest than anything that India is able herself to give to the world ? While this deep question waits for answer, the Indian mission field presents another problem of peculiar urgency. The depressed classes, fifty millions in number, which have been kept outside the pale of Hindu society, are reaching out their hands towards a religion that offers them a larger hope and opportunity. The Christian Church might receive them in hundreds of thousands, or, as some believe, in millions, if it had the resources to teach and to shepherd those admitted into its fellowship.

The contact with western civilization which has set these mighty forces in motion among the more advanced peoples of Asia has affected, in ways different but no less direct, the primitive and backward races of the world. These peoples have everywhere passed under the tutelage of western nations. New forces have broken in upon the child-races of Africa and the islands of the Pacific, shattering the restraints and supports of tribal life, and bringing new temptations and dangers which the people have little power to withstand. The western nations have assumed a responsibility the magnitude of which is as yet little understood. Stupendous and untiring efforts to protect and to educate the backward races are necessary, if they are to be saved from a state of demoralization and servitude that will be a cancer in the social life of the west.

To these tasks must be added that of bringing the Christian message to the Moslem world. The task is one

## THE DECISIVE HOUR : IS IT LOST ?

which, since the days when Islam in its first onset won for itself the lands where Christianity had obtained its earliest triumphs, the Church has never possessed the courage and faith seriously to attempt. It gains a wholly new urgency in the light of the profound changes that within the past few years have taken place among Moslem peoples. It is immeasurably harder to accomplish because of the age-long antagonisms and antipathies between Christendom and Islam. But it cannot be refused except at the cost of denying that Christ is the Light and the Life of the World.

It was before such opportunities as these that Christian Europe stood at the beginning of the year of grace 1914. When the imagination is allowed to clothe the bare facts with the warmth and colour that truly belong to them, they bring before the mind a field for the noblest heroism and the most splendid achievement. All the lavish sacrifice of life and of wealth that the war has called forth might have been poured into these great tasks. It would have borne an abundant and rich harvest in the education of the more backward races to take their true place in the human family and to make their proper contribution to its well-being and happiness. In the effort to communicate to others the secret of its own deepest and truest life, Christendom might have experienced within itself the quickening of undreamed-of powers.

From all this Europe has turned aside. We find ourselves in the presence of a great tragedy. The favoured nations of the west, when in the slow movement of history they were brought into a position of special opportunity and responsibility in relation to the non-Christian races, failed to recognize their appointed

## THE DECISIVE HOUR : IS IT LOST ?

mission, and allowed their energies to be diverted from constructive effort and helpful service to the waste and desolation of war.

### II

How much has been lost ? There is, in the first place, the waste of life and wealth. The finest manhood of Europe is being sacrificed without stint. The best men, so urgently needed for the higher work of the world, will in days to come be sadly fewer in number. Hundreds of thousands of children will have to grow up without a father's guidance and care. Europe will emerge from the war with a crushing debt about its neck. The whole world will be poorer, and whatever work has to be done will need to be done with greatly diminished resources.

The clash of arms has invaded many parts of the mission field. In Togo, Kamerun, German South-West Africa, British South Africa, Rhodesia, German East Africa, and British East Africa, in the German possessions in the South Seas, and in the Shantung Peninsula in China there has been fighting. In India the work of German missions has been subjected to restrictions and interruption. The unsettled conditions in the Turkish Empire have brought about a general dislocation of missionary work, and at the time of writing it is uncertain whether Turkey may not be involved in the war. The admirable missions of the Paris Evangelical Society are suffering heavily through lack of funds. There is at present no means of estimating more exactly the extent of the interruption to missionary work, or how far its effects are likely to be permanent. But it is evident that the disturbance affects a large part of the mission field. Where congregations have been scattered, schools closed, and workers dismissed, it will

## THE DECISIVE HOUR : IS IT LOST ?

not be easy after the war to repair the damage. If colonies ultimately pass from one European Power to another, the difficulty will be greatly increased. When the Christian Church at the close of the war surveys afresh its missionary task, it will find itself confronted not only with the necessity of maintaining its existing work and with new calls of peculiar urgency, but with widespread losses that will have to be made good.

The missionary cause is seriously weakened by the estrangement between the German and British peoples. These had much to give to one another in the common service of the world. The importance of the German contribution to missionary work has received increasing recognition in Anglo-Saxon countries since the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910. The international committees which have been engaged during the past few years in extensive investigations of missionary problems have come more and more to appreciate the thoroughness, penetration, and painstaking industry of their German members. The German contribution was beginning to leaven and enrich the whole work of missions. All this happy and profitable fellowship has for an indefinite period been brought to an end.

The spectacle of peoples which bear the name of Christ seeking to tear one another to pieces cannot but be a shock to the faith of the Church in the mission field and a stumbling-block to thoughtful non-Christians. It may be that the actual harm will be less than might naturally be expected. For the stumbling-block is of long standing. The outbreak of hostilities is not so much a new and perplexing ailment as a patent and unmistakable symptom of a long-established and deep-seated disease. The

## THE DECISIVE HOUR : IS IT LOST ?

greatest hindrance to missionary work has always been that Christendom has been manifestly so little Christian. It may even prove a gain that the cancer in the vitals of western civilization has been so nakedly revealed. But though good may in the end come out of evil, the open and startling contradiction between the scenes we are now witnessing and the spirit of Christ cannot fail to create perplexities for the peoples to whom Christianity is being offered as a basis upon which to build their new national life. Do the western nations believe in the creed which they profess ? Can the Christian ethic be applied to the real problems of life ? Is there such a thing as the Church of Christ, when Christians everywhere appear at the crucial test to find national loyalty a more powerful tie than the sense of their unity with their fellow-believers in the Body of Christ ? To these and other like questions the missionary will find it harder than before to give a satisfying answer.

Thus, at a time when every circumstance seemed to call for a new, large, and deliberate advance in the evangelization of the non-Christian world, the Church has to face far-reaching disturbance of her work, a serious diminution of the material resources upon which she can draw, and estrangement and division between those who ought to be fellow-workers in the furtherance of the Kingdom of Christ. Is the loss irreparable ? Must generations pass before the missed opportunity can be regained ? Or are there still possibilities of recovery and restoration ?

### III

The God revealed in the Bible is a God who causes waters to break forth in the wilderness and the desert to blossom as the rose ; who commands the winds and the waves, and

## THE DECISIVE HOUR : IS IT LOST ?

rides upon the storm ; who can make even the wrath of man to turn to His praise. The faith of the Hebrew prophets was able to see in the conquering hosts of the heathen monarch Cyrus an instrument for the accomplishment of the Divine will. We are thus reminded that God is able to overrule what to our eyes appears an overwhelming catastrophe, and make it contribute to the fulfilment of His purpose. It may be that the Christian peoples of Europe were not fit instruments for the evangelization of the non-Christian world, and that they needed to be purified and disciplined by suffering. It may be for our good that there should be a removal of the things that can be shaken, if in the end the things that cannot be shaken stand forth more firm and clear. The deeps have opened, but there is no cause for fear. It is in the heart of great experiences that God is most surely to be found.

Already, as we can humbly and thankfully recognize, the war has been the means of quickening forces of good as well as of evil. Our people have experienced as seldom before in their history the beat and throb of a mighty common purpose. In the unity and strength of that common purpose they have found themselves lifted to new heights of life. It would be a calamity if the nation, when the war is over, were to sink back to the old levels. If the quickening of life, which has meant so much to us, is to continue and increase, men must have set before them some redeeming and ennobling task. May not the Christian service of the peoples of Asia and Africa furnish such a task ? The love of country, which the war has kindled to so intense a flame, is a sentiment to which in its highest and purest form an appeal may be made in the name of

## THE DECISIVE HOUR : IS IT LOST ?

Christ. In the clear light of His life and teaching, the standard of greatness is service. The highest glory of any country lies in what it has done for mankind. If, therefore, men gladly give their lives to preserve their national heritage and to save the spiritual fabric which their fathers reared from vanishing from the earth, may not the same love, deepened and ennobled by Christ, impel them to toil and suffer in order that their people may attain the utmost greatness in service ? Never, it would seem, has the heart and mind of Great Britain been more prepared for a strong and convincing appeal on behalf of Christian missions.

The war has taught us the meaning and the power of sacrifice. Thousands of men have been found ready to die for their country. The British Empire lives only through the blood which they have gladly shed. A world that was flooded with writing and with talk, that was playing with speculations and programmes, that was in danger of surrendering its soul to material things, has been awakened to the realities of life. The old truths of duty and loyalty and sacrifice have again proved themselves to be the bread of heaven by which men and nations live. Can the generation that has seen the clouds and mists disperse and these mountain peaks stand out in their beauty and grandeur allow the vision to fade from its eyes ? Will those who have learned the strength of sacrifice and service again allow false gods to have dominion over them ? The brave who have fallen will have done greater service than they knew if, through the example of their deaths, their people turn again with true repentance and a new devotion and love to the strong Son of God, who, as the author and perfecter of those



## THE DECISIVE HOUR : IS IT LOST ?

that follow in His steps, laid down His life for the redemption of the world.

A great religious awakening and revival would make the material losses caused by the war of little account. The people of this country, as of all countries, will be poorer after the war, but this will not necessarily diminish the resources available for missionary work. It is not in times of national prosperity and ease that money flows in greatest abundance to the support of good causes. Sometimes it is in days of adversity that men's hearts are most open to the claims of the eternal, and that they are found most ready to give largely to the work of God. The readiness to make large sacrifices that the nation has shown in the time of war is a virtue which at Christ's call may find no less striking expression in the service of His Kingdom. It will be possible to maintain the work of missions only at the cost of larger sacrifices than before, but by the grace of God those sacrifices can be made.

The war has helped to make clearer the fundamental antagonism between the Christian ideal and the attitudes and practices which have prevailed in western Christendom. God has stripped the veil of delusion from men's eyes. The selfishness that has infected so much of our social, industrial, and national life stands revealed in its true character and inevitable consequences. In the reign of this selfish spirit the Church of Christ has too easily acquiesced. If the shock of the war should awaken the Church to a new appreciation of the Gospel with which it has been put in trust for the world, the advantage to the cause of missions will be incalculable. The missionary witness of the Church has been seriously prejudiced by the unchristian character of social and national life in the

## THE DECISIVE HOUR : IS IT LOST ?

west, and by the absence of an adequate and unequivocally Christian protest. A truly penitent and converted Church will find itself possessed of undreamed-of powers for missionary service. In missionary work in the past there has been a temptation to proceed, in practice, on the assumption that the primary requirements are more missionaries, more money, and better organization. We may yet learn to our encouragement how much more potent than any of these things is the moral power of the naked truth, clearly exhibited and intensely believed.

The work of Christian missions has a necessary place in the ideal for society which earnest men everywhere desire to see substituted for the false conception of human relations in which the war has its roots. The only way to end war is to bring about a radical change in ideas. War will become impossible when men realize that nationality is a gift to be used in the service of the world, and that the different nations are necessary to one another. Christian missions are in their nature and aims an expression of this truth. They are an embodiment of the idea that the stronger and more advanced peoples are meant to help the weaker and more backward. The importance of their work will receive increasing recognition, as the ideal of human brotherhood takes a firmer hold on the minds of men. For this ideal has its only sure foundation in the Fatherhood of God which Christ revealed, and the power to achieve it is found in His Gospel.

The difficulties of the situation may be the means of bringing about a larger measure of unity in the Church of Christ. The experience of the mission field shows that the result of a great calamity, such as the Boxer uprising in China, has often been to draw the missions

## THE DECISIVE HOUR : IS IT LOST ?

closer together and to lead to reconstruction on better lines. One of the most striking results of the outbreak of the present war was that each of the nations in the hour of its destiny knew itself one. May not the Christian Church, in a new apprehension of the magnitude of the task to which it is called, attain a larger, deeper unity ?

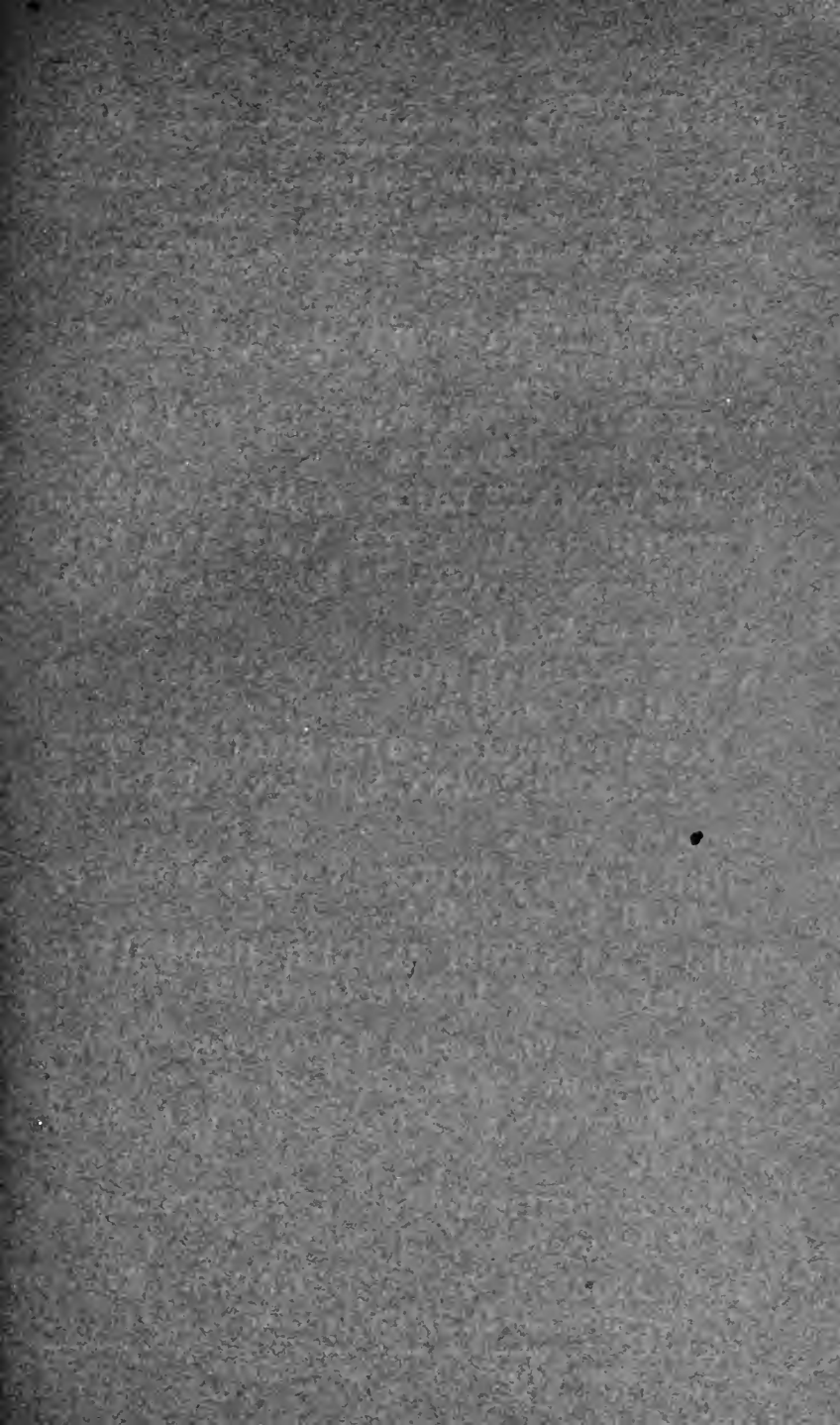
Thus through the dark clouds we can see bright rays of hope. Our eyes have been opened to new possibilities. But they are as yet no more than possibilities. If the decisive hour in missionary work is to mean not defeat but victory, a spiritual warfare has to be waged no less exacting than the conflict on the battlefields of Europe. The awful experiences of the struggle for national existence help us to understand the reality of the fight in which the spiritual destinies of the human race are at stake. Success in this warfare demands no less fortitude, perseverance, endurance, and devotion than victory in the war against Germany. Does the Church understand this ? Is she prepared to accept the conditions ? She will surely be willing, if in the secret place of meditation and prayer she allows God to reveal afresh to her heart the captivating vision of the Kingdom of God. If our country, with all its faults, can command such devotion as we are witnessing in these days, has not the cause of Christ, with all its promise of peace and joy and strength for mankind, the power to evoke a yet more ardent loyalty ?

The ultimate and real ground of confidence in the success of Christian missions has not been shaken. Missionary work has always been a sublime adventure. It would be the most foolish of undertakings, if it did not rest on the immutable purpose of God. For the accom-

## THE DECISIVE HOUR : IS IT LOST ?

plishment of that purpose all the resources of His omnipotence are pledged. The assurance has been given in the death and resurrection of Christ. What are the outward losses of the present time in comparison with the infinite resources of God, ' who makes the dead alive, and calls into being what does not exist ' ? All His energies go out to bring healing and repair. Amid the fury of the storm He bids us look up and see in the heavens the unchanging lights of His goodness and truth, of the tenderness and pity of His Father's heart. Each morning His voice calls us anew to help Him in His purpose to save, strengthen, and sanctify human life. The only thing that can bring about failure is that men will not open their minds wide enough to the sweep of His purpose, and believe sufficiently in His power to bring it to pass. The answer to the question whether the decisive hour has been lost is the putting of another question : ' When the Son of Man cometh, shall He find faith on the earth ? '

NOTE.—A few sentences in this paper have already appeared in an article which was published in the October number of the *International Review of Missions*.



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# Active Service

The Share of the Non-Combatant

By

W. R. MALTBY

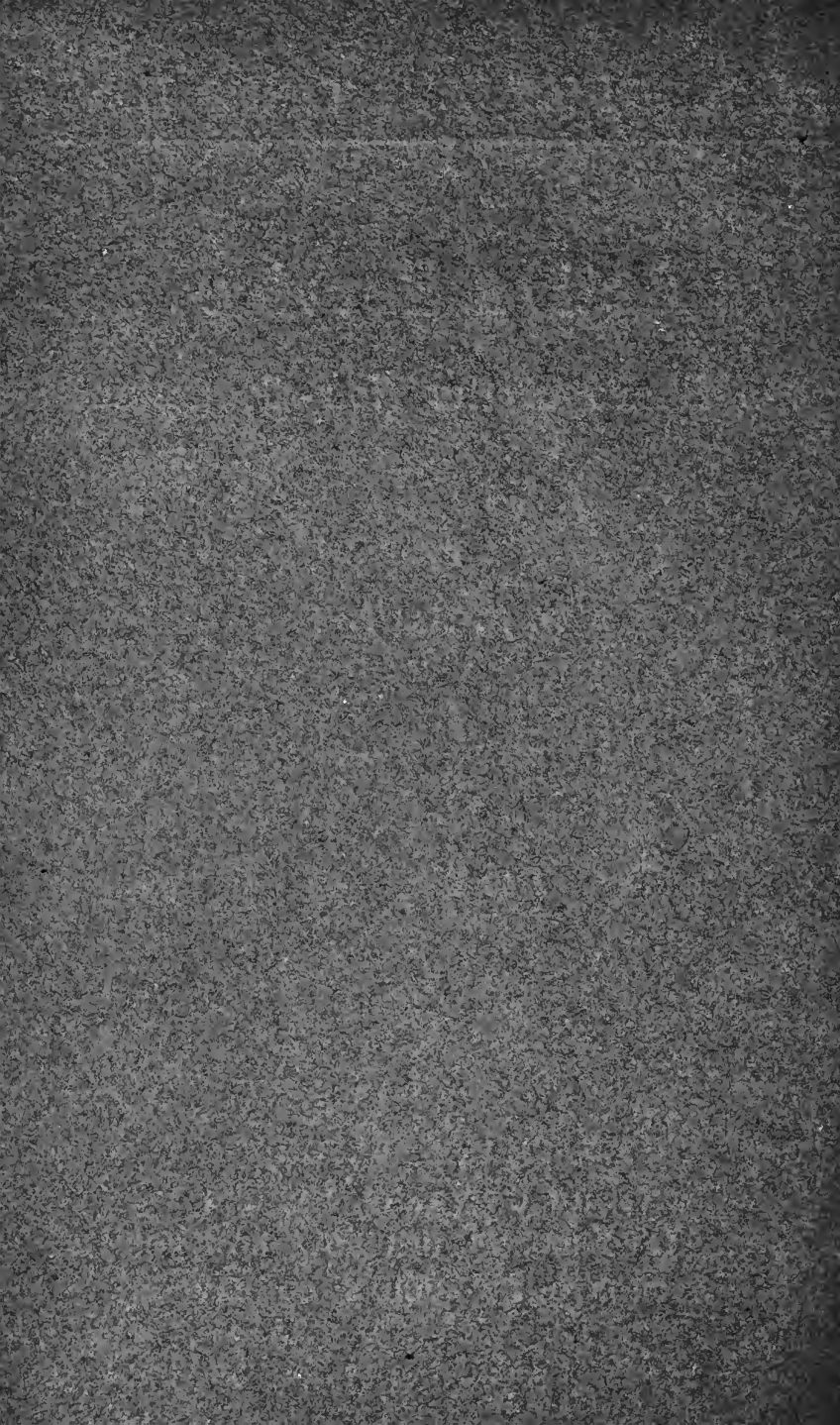
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## EXPLANATORY NOTE

GREAT BRITAIN is engaged in a war from which, as we believe, there was offered to our nation no honourable way of escape. The desire of all who love their country is to serve it in the hour of its need, and so to live and labour that those who have fallen in its service may not have died in vain. While this may suffice to make immediate duty clear, the war remains in the deepest sense a challenge to Christian thought. The present bitter struggle between nations which for centuries have borne the Christian name, indicates some deep-seated failure to understand the principles of Christ and to apply them to human affairs.

This series of papers embodies an attempt to reach, by common thought, discussion, and prayer, a truer understanding of the meaning of Christianity and of the mission of the Church to the individual, to society, and to the world.

Those who are promoting the issue of these papers are drawn from different political parties and different Christian bodies. They believe that the truth they seek can be attained only by providing for a measure of diversity in expression. Therefore they do not accept responsibility for the opinions of any paper taken alone. But in spirit they are united, for they are one in the conviction that in Christ and in His Gospel lies the hope of redemption and health for society and for national life.

## ACTIVE SERVICE: THE SHARE OF THE NON-COMBATANT

IN this year of our Lord 1914 the foremost nations of the world have armed twelve millions of men for a life and death struggle, the most colossal the world has ever seen, and the Government publication which describes its origin traces it back to a murder at Sarajevo. The shells that fall night and day over the trenches are in reality bursting far away in innocent homes, where women wait for tidings and little children do not understand—because an Archduke was murdered at Sarajevo. What have we to do with Austrian Archdukes or Sarajevo? Four months ago many of us would have said, Nothing. To-day events answer for us, Everything. In the terrible language of war we are being taught the lesson of the solidarity of the world. There is no such thing now as a nation allowed to go its own way and meddle with nobody. In the world as it is to-day we simply cannot leave one another alone. The international contacts are so intimate, the interests so inextricably involved, the contagion of good and evil so swift and incalculable that no member can suffer without all the body suffering, and any local inflammation may threaten the life of the whole.

Of course it was not only the murder at Sarajevo that

## ACTIVE SERVICE :

brought this train of evil consequence. The miscreant who threw his brand had a powder barrel to throw it into. It does not matter much whether we regard that crime as the occasion or as only the pretext of the war. Even a pretext must have some relevance to the situation, and the international situation was unstable because it was fundamentally immoral. As we pursue the search for causes, we find the circle of responsibility widening, and are led back from causes political to causes that are moral. To accept the policy of armaments to which all the nations have been committed, to believe that the only way to be safe was to be dangerous—this, we see, was to build civilization on the sides of a volcano ; it was to confess that the states of the world had exhausted their moral capital. The rivalries, the jealousies and suspicions, the ambitions and covetings of the world, these were real to us ; these therefore were organized, mobilized in armies and assembled in guns. But the moral forces of the world, the nobler loyalties, have not been mobilized ; not because it was impossible, but because we did not believe in them sufficiently to make the attempt. If a hundredth part of the toil and wealth now spent in prosecuting war had been spent earlier in preventing it, who believes that to-day the situation would be what it is ?

We may well thank God that Britain has no immediate responsibility for this war. Our Government strove to the utmost for peace, and only entered into war under the compulsion of obligations the most sacred and

## THE SHARE OF THE NON-COMBATANT

undeniable. But if we consider the moral background from which all this trouble has arisen, we see that Britain had a position of peculiar privilege and responsibility among the nations. We were not preoccupied about our frontiers, as they were. We had no enormous conscript armies, and our own militarists, though of quite a hot brand, were not so numerous but that we could keep them in tolerable order. We had an empire of such magnitude that only a lunatic would desire to add to it. All our interests were the interests of peace, and this is true even although it has often been officially said. Yet *there was no real peace*, and the winning of peace was a cause far too sacred and too intimately every man's concern to be left to one or two statesmen or to a handful of humanitarians, far too difficult of achievement to be pursued by casual or spasmodic efforts.

The very battlefields are telling us that we underrated the moral forces which might have been rallied. Men from half a score of nations are fighting on the same fields to-day. One thing they all have in common. They are all brave. They are all capable of heroism, and hold not their lives dear unto them. Few of us at home have watched their devoted loyalty without a feeling of shame—shame that we have never expected from others nor exacted from ourselves, for the sake of a kingdom of righteousness and peace, a tithe of those sacrifices which men are now making so cheerfully in war. We belong to an age that has given to the enmities of the world an organization of incomparable efficiency, while

## ACTIVE SERVICE :

it has left the friends of peace to be cut down in detail. We are all involved in the responsibility for this situation ; and all alike are bound to take a full share in the toil and sacrifice of finding the way out.

Every young man of serviceable age has been told during these last weeks that his king and country need him, and he has reason to believe that it is true. He has therefore been obliged either to enlist or to give to himself good reasons for not doing so. There are such reasons. Some men are physically unfit : some have responsibilities to others which, unless the situation becomes desperate, point them their duty at home. Some, and they are not members of the Society of Friends alone, have convictions, not born of yesterday nor obeyed without cost to-day, that forbid them to take up arms. The point now insisted on, however, is that every man who does not enlist must have some good reason to give himself for being a non-combatant, or in his heart he knows that he is a deserter. A young man, waking up to resume a more or less irresponsible existence, finds before he has eaten his breakfast that he is faced with a peremptory demand to offer his life, and he knows that to disobey that summons would be dishonour. Yet, after all, it is not his quarrel any more than it is mine. If the things for which he is sent to fight are won, they are won for me just as much as for him—supposing that he survives to see them won. If, because I am 39, or because I am blind of one eye, or because the doctor detects improper noises in my heart,

## THE SHARE OF THE NON-COMBATANT

cannot go to the front, may I pay my neighbour two shillings a day to go and be shot in my place, and then call it quits? Christian people are familiar with the great plea that if One died for all, those who live must no longer live unto themselves. The argument received its supreme application in the Cross of Christ, but it appeals to a sense of honour deep in the general heart of man. If other people lay down their lives for us, our lives are forfeit; we are not our own: we are bought with a price.

Most people do not need to argue about this; they simply know it. Now they want their leaders to help them to carry their conviction into effect. The great national task is one, but manifold. Fighting abroad, the adjustment of social wrongs at home, the healing of international schisms, the revival of religion, pure and undefiled, all these are parts of the one campaign. Could we now open booths where men and women might enlist for one branch of the national service or another, we might enroll half the population of Great Britain, and the recruits would accept any reasonable discipline that the service involved.

The men who organize war understand their business. When a recruit is enlisted he is not left in doubt as to what he is to do. He takes the oath, he is subject to rigorous discipline, and though the service asked of him from time to time is hard and often perilous, it is at any rate definite, and he is not invited to reconsider his offer every warm afternoon, or each cold night. But

## ACTIVE SERVICE :

the man to whom it falls to give his equivalent in non-military ways has no such help. Though he wants to offer himself seriously for whatever service he can render, there is no recognized authority to swear him in, or to assign him his duties. Not only at some critical moment, but all along, day in and day out, he must be prepared to take the initiative. If in the time of his country's need he is to be sure that he is not at heart a deserter, it may be necessary for him to set up his own recruiting station, frame his own discipline, swear himself in, and be rigorous in exacting from himself the stipulated service. It is not within the scope of this paper to indicate in detail what such services might be. We are occupied for the moment with things more fundamental. But in this present travail of the nations, with unthinkable peril at our very doors, if we can do nothing unusual, make no forced march, fetch up no reserves, we are dishonoured. Some parts of our duty are clear.

### THE SWEARING-IN

We ought to make an explicit and decisive start. If we neglect this, the momentum of the conventional and the habitual will be too strong for us. All the moralists tell us that if we want to make any fundamental change in our ways we must launch ourselves upon the adventure with all possible force and definiteness, so that even the subconscious regions of our nature may be certified that they are under new orders, and must behave accordingly. Slovenly reformations are soon spent. It was



## THE SHARE OF THE NON-COMBATANT

a custom with a certain order of knights, when a new candidate was to be admitted, to carry him at evening into the church and lay him down on the steps of the altar with his armour beside him. There he was to lie all night alone, as still as a stone, and not until the morning did they return to lift him up, as it were from the dead, and swear him into his new vocation—a new man for a new life. It was good psychology, this taking time to die, this solemn initiation into a new life. We are not all made the same way, but we may be sure that the man who is too slothful or too superior to summon himself to attention, to find some sacred place and fitting time for a grave and deliberate dedication of himself to the service of others, is likely in the end to offer, not the non-combatant's equivalent, but only the shirker's excuse.

### THE DISCIPLINE

The non-combatant must submit to discipline, and, if necessary, frame his own. Current events are telling us that our civilization has outrun its moral resources. Musketry instructors say that the rifle has improved out of all proportion to the man behind it, and it is a parable. Our material progress and our mastery of the inanimate world have brought us up against great international and social problems, which it is most perilous to neglect; yet there is not in the world wisdom enough or goodwill to solve them. We have come to a stage where mankind cannot even hold the ground it

## ACTIVE SERVICE :

has gained without a large accession of moral and spiritual power. The vaster issues of this time demand that the normal man shall be a more thoughtful and self-forgetful creature than he at present is. The ancient commandments of love to God and to our neighbour return upon us with extraordinary urgency of appeal to-day. To those high demands many are now eager to respond so far as they may, but the impulse will fail unless they commit themselves to soldierly pledges and secure themselves against lower moods by imposing on themselves a strict but voluntary discipline in the use and training of their powers and the spending of their time.

If the non-combatant's service is to be in any way commensurate with that of the men who stand all day in the trenches, with the shrapnel whistling above their heads, he must have himself well in hand. He must know what his post is, so that he may know when he is tempted to desert it, and reduce his life to order as one who remembers that he is on crusade. He must cease saying he has no time, must find or frame his discipline and hold to it; and in most cases (so the present writer believes) he must get it down on paper, even if he burns the paper as soon as he has got it by heart.

### THE CAMPAIGN

The non-combatant must plan his campaign. It is often said of the present conflict that we are fighting to smash militarism. Now militarism is a very ancient

## THE SHARE OF THE NON-COMBATANT

bird of prey, and it was not hatched by Treitschke or by any modern mind. Militarism is an idea, and a mighty one too; it cannot be destroyed by a negation, but only by a greater and truer idea which casts it out. If the victory is to be worth having, this nobler peace must be signed in the enemy's capital, that is, in the willing minds of men. If this is the campaign to which we are sworn, one need not ask a nobler. If we wished to define it, perhaps the only adequate terms would be those which are both simple and religious, and it calls for all that a man has or is. From the keeping of his own heart to the least of his secular activities, all that he does may be part of the campaign, and every moment of fidelity is a contribution to the forces that will bring victory to the whole line.

(a) It is therefore poor strategy to disparage or forsake the familiar forms of service in which many have been engaged, in order to have something to do with the war. Those who, one way or another, have been befriending the poor, teaching the young, tending the sacred lamps, sharing knowledge and privilege with those who have them not, need not abandon their tasks in order to learn bandaging or to knit socks. The new dedication will dignify the old service, and teach them new insight and fortitude in rendering it. We hear of a business firm which sent a large and glittering subscription to the Relief Fund, and the same week put its employees upon half-pay. What we think of that kind of thing should put us on guard against the dishonour of

## ACTIVE SERVICE :

neglecting our ordinary and more permanent obligations for the emergency help which the newspapers prescribe.

(b) Many are uneasy about their luxurious spending, and have made resolutions to live simpler lives. But they have scarcely begun their attempt before they are told that their well-meant retrenchments will do more harm than good, and every one importunes them to go on spending. This they have no difficulty in doing: it is the easy way, but it is not the campaigner's way. He knows that a greater simplicity is not merely an emergency expedient, but a permanent rule for the nation's moral health; he knows that it is part of the duty of the hour to understand the connection between luxury and social waste, to make a stand against the multiplication of accessories, and to keep a good conscience about the things which the nation cannot afford, and which it is therefore not seemly for himself to enjoy.

(c) On the same principle of beginning where we are, it will be the duty of many to look round the circle of their kindred and see what new obligations and opportunities this time may bring them. To revive forgotten kinships, and get within hailing distance of those of our own blood from whom we may have drifted, will be a real contribution to that better solidarity which is to be. We were content before the war to wonder how Cousin Jane was doing; now we had better go and see for ourselves, and not wait until Cousin Jane flies signals of distress.

(d) Going on to a wider circle, it must be part of the

## THE SHARE OF THE NON-COMBATANT

campaign that employers and employed should review their relations with one another, and make steady and adequate efforts at readjustment. It is well known that serious labour troubles threatened the land this autumn, and that the industrial situation had many analogies to the international situation before the war. There was the same despair of moral forces, the same acceptance of the doctrine of force, the same preparation for war during a troubled and nominal peace, each side sharpening its sword for the coming struggle. To-day the common peril has drawn the rival interests together and given a respite which it would be criminal not to use. The mobilization of capital and labour into hostile armies tends to limit the freedom of the individual, and tempts him to say that there is nothing that any one person can do. This is what any soldier *might* say, but it is what no good soldier *will* say. Sooner or later a disastrous industrial war is sure to come unless there is found sufficient justice, forbearance, and mutual sympathy to establish a 'just and lasting peace'. Each one in his place is bound to do what he can *now* to add to the common stock of those saving things, to christianize the relation between employers and employed, to give and invite confidence, to strive for an understanding, to make ventures, and even dangerous ventures, in doing as he would be done by.

(e) The nation must soon expect to see wide distress, which can be alleviated only by organizing the men and women of goodwill to deal with it. Some such

## ACTIVE SERVICE :

organization did exist : some is now being hurriedly improvised ; and the process is not without its irritations. The eager volunteer collides with the expert and each gives his opinion of the other in private. Some idle people have become suddenly important and officious, and it is not easy for others to work with them or under them. There are many different agencies at work, but they are imperfectly co-ordinated and they are often ignorant, sometimes impatient, of each other's existence. All this means a good deal of waste and vexation, and Mr. Pliable will have fine reasons to give for going home. But those who have taken the soldier's oath will stay to see things through, serving with prosaic committees it may be, working with such machinery as there is and studying to improve it. They will try to humanize the administration of social help, and use the opportunity to cut permanent channels of intercourse and sympathy between the severed sections of the commonwealth.

(f) No organization, however, even if it were much more perfect than it is likely to be, will dispense with the need for the personal vigilance and initiative of every good soldier in this campaign. There is a world of need and misery around which baffles us by its inaccessibility, near as it is, while our casual and amateur attempts are often ignominiously repulsed. But those who are under soldierly discipline will not accept defeat : they will learn from those who have done better, lay new plans, and return again, to find at last a way through the enemy's lines and carry succour to the victims of social

## THE SHARE OF THE NON-COMBATANT

injustice or moral defeat. Probably if we sat down to ponder this one question, Whom can I help? nine out of ten would discover somebody in need whom otherwise we should have overlooked until help was too late.

### THE COMRADESHIP

It was said above that when the non-combatant would offer his equivalent there was no recognized authority to swear him in. To leave this unqualified would be almost to deny the Church of Christ, which is surely in the world for that very purpose. If the Church is taken unawares by this tremendous emergency, and scarcely knows sometimes how to receive and put to account what the individual is willing to give, it is nevertheless true that one need not look in vain to the Christian Church for that comradeship without which we are all very helpless in this campaign. Among the good things that may be won out of the heart of this evil is a new federation of the men and women of Faith and Goodwill, and a new frankness in the fellowship that binds them. The root cause of this war, as we have seen, is to be found in the shortage of moral and spiritual resources and in the failure to mobilize and concentrate those we had. There was not love enough in the world to keep it sweet: there was not understanding and sympathy and magnanimity enough to keep it safe. But He who gives to men liberally will not deny us these necessary things, and they spring up in abundance wherever men are not afraid to confess that they are in quest of a better

## ACTIVE SERVICE

time, nor afraid to ask others to help them. Some are deterred by the sense of their own limitations, and some who have often suffered spiritual defeat in their own battle are shy of offering their dishonoured sword for the greater campaign. But they must leave that with Him who now commands their service, who gives power to the faint, and has long known how to make good soldiers out of very unpromising material. And they should remember that, when men act *together*, in the way of friendship, for any great ideal, each man's personality is vastly enhanced and all kinds of impossibilities must change their name. However ineffectual in ourselves, we are each one summoned to that wide army which under God is destined to conquer the world. To have had no place in that host of the Lord—will it not be the final dishonour ?





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# The War Spirit in Our National Life

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*Price Twopence*

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## EXPLANATORY NOTE

GREAT BRITAIN is engaged in a war from which, as we believe, there was offered to our nation no honourable way of escape. The desire of all who love their country is to serve it in the hour of its need, and so to live and labour that those who have fallen in its service may not have died in vain. While this may suffice to make immediate duty clear, the war remains in the deepest sense a challenge to Christian thought. The present bitter struggle between nations which for centuries have borne the Christian name indicates some deep-seated failure to understand the principles of Christ and to apply them to human affairs.

This series of papers embodies an attempt to reach, by common thought, discussion and prayer, a truer understanding of the meaning of Christianity and of the mission of the Church to the individual, to society and to the world.

Those who are promoting the issue of these papers are drawn from different political parties and different Christian bodies. They believe that the truth they seek can be attained only by providing for a measure of diversity in expression. Therefore they do not accept responsibility for the opinions of any paper taken alone. But in spirit they are united, for they are one in the conviction that in Christ and in His Gospel lies the hope of redemption and health for society and for national life.

## THE WAR SPIRIT IN OUR NATIONAL LIFE

EUROPE to-day reeks with horror, and no man can think truly about the situation who will not openly face the terrible facts.

Translated into detailed narratives, our succinct paragraphs of war news would become a sickening tale of sturdy lives dashed out in thousands, of mangled soldiers lying in torture, of blood and filth flung about with ghastly fury, of stinking trenches, foully poisoned areas, wrecked villages, homeless populations, and wasted countries.

It is true that shining streaks of chivalry, heroism, and inspired cheerfulness run through the black cloud of horror. Men in thousands are forgetting self, and lifting the life of the race by willing self-sacrifice. The spirit that is in man dares greatly, even in the face of all this devil's work. But even while we solace ourselves with these thoughts the blackness of the hour descends upon us again. What uncounted women weep to-day for the greatest of sorrows! What legions of little children have suffered a calamity they are too young to understand! What masses of men have only a maimed life before them now! What vile volumes of passion, lust, and fury have been let loose! What havoc has been made of the constructive labours of centuries! What sickening terror has seized and demoralized multitudes! What a world gone mad it is!

Slowly, but surely, the real truth is coming home to us. It is the foulest business the world has ever seen,

## THE WAR SPIRIT IN OUR NATIONAL LIFE

the most consummate instance of corporate folly, well-nigh the blackest crime in mankind's story. Belgium is laid waste from end to end. France is sorely wounded. Germany and six other nations are being drained of the best of their men. The constructive business of Europe has been so dislocated that generations may not see it straightened again. The common sense of mankind is beginning to declare with horrified conviction that the whole thing is intolerable. Few escape the sense that the race, as a whole, is humiliated by such a happening. Without warning we have rushed and been crushed into this devil's carnival, and now stand horrified at the shame and cruelty of it.

Yet is it not also true that for generations we Europeans have laboured to make the intolerable thing possible? With vast care and at great sacrifice we have laid the mine that has now exploded. The ships, guns, shells, mines, horses, and men were all ready. The machine we elaborated has begun to work. That is all. The toil of millions and the thought of thousands is bearing its ordained fruit. That is all.

Such thoughts as these may well compel the question, Why did we do it? This calamity did not fall upon mankind from the skies. With infinite care we prepared it. In the face of a blood-bespattered Europe we may well ask, 'Why?' In the name of all our heartbroken women and fatherless children, 'Why?'

It must have been somewhere in our thought that we have been wrong. Some immense delusion must have fastened upon Europe. Right thinking and feeling do not produce fruits like these. If there be a God at all these things are not inevitable. We did not want this thing. We hate it now that it is here. All our better



## THE WAR SPIRIT IN OUR NATIONAL LIFE

hopes and policies lie shattered. This is not the world we hoped for. Actual events are flouting our aspirations. We must have missed the way in which the real world can be constrained to work to good ends. We must have cherished amid all our best hopes some fatal and sinister principle. While we talked of progress and a godly civilization we must have harboured within us some evil spirit. And now that evil spirit has turned round to mock us. We stand aghast, we are eager to lay the immediate blame on others—and doubtless we can do this with justice. But none the less the roots of this horror lay in our own minds and hearts.

Nor, I believe, is it difficult to say what the fatal delusion has been. It is the idea that man's good comes to him by self-assertion, and that by labour in disregard of others we can make real progress. To the untutored spirit other spirits always seem a mere obstruction. In the first flush of his youth man rebels against the very existence of other opposing wills. They are in his way, and he would fain sweep them out of it. To curb his spirit and fit his personality into one system with other personalities seems mere humiliation. He must follow his own star. He rejoices to be alone. He is even willing to be against the world, if the world will not bend to him. And hence come wars.

To such a spirit, indeed, they are welcome when they come. They bring to him the glory and the thrill of a struggle for his own great self. He is glad when his spirit is braced in every nerve, and all his vital forces fall into line in one great struggle to be himself—let others be what they will. To get up on to the top, to shake off the cumbering fetters of other wills—that is the primal instinct of man.

## THE WAR SPIRIT IN OUR NATIONAL LIFE

Nor are there lacking poets who can set to music the cries of man in that proud battle mood. There is a certain pagan splendour in it which makes some appeal to us all. We are inclined to think there must be some good in that masterful pose. Deep instincts that date from the Stone Age stir within us while such battles rage. The swish of the sword has a melody all its own.

But is there good in that mood? If it be good for men it must be good for nations. Is it good? Let the state of Europe to-day answer the question.

The truth is that this attitude of spirit contains within it the very negation of civilization. What real progress we have made has been accomplished because, first in the family, then in the city, and lastly in the State, we have learnt to curb our personalities within some method of life that made room for others also. We have got on just in proportion as we have achieved some community of will with others, and have accepted for ourselves the restrictions of co-operative life. We have got on where, from the first clash of opposing personalities, we have advanced to a corporate life that made room for all alike. We have got on just in so far as we have accepted the unwelcome fact of the existence of other people, with their rival claims, their contradictory notions, and their (to us) stupid ways. We have got on just in so far as each man has seen beyond 'My good' a greater thing yet to aim at, called 'Our good'—in so far as the individual has been merged in the body.

There are but two ways open to mankind. One is the way of rivalry, which must always mean intermit- tently a world splashed with blood, and a life made hideous by torture and ruin. The other is the way of corporate life, which is difficult, slow, and complex, but

## THE WAR SPIRIT IN OUR NATIONAL LIFE

which holds within it the promise of the exaltation of a noble peace. Some men may open-eyed, even to-day, prefer the former way. To them this paper is not addressed. Most men, probably, are shrinking from that way to-day with a horror that is new in their experience. To them every day of our current history is declaring, 'Be sure of this: there is no way of life that will avoid these shames and follies except the path of corporate living, with all its disciplines and its humbling self-effacements'. We had forgotten what war means. We played in thought with its attractions. To-day, while the carnage is before our eyes, and we can know the truth about it, the call is loud, 'Choose between these two ways!'

All this has peculiar significance for those who, realizing the full horror of war, are inclined to throw on Germany the whole onus of guilt in this present crisis. We are told that she was the sole aggressor. We are told that that country has made herself the very embodiment of the idea that self-assertion is the way to glory, and having reached that conclusion, we allow every fresh day of horror to add to the passion with which we announce our repudiation of Germany and all her works.

The writer of this paper fully assents to the view that, in the last resort, it was the aggressive attitude of Germany that forced on an unwilling Europe this unholy strife. But ere we announce our repudiation of the whole spirit of self-assertion, ere we insist that we have no moral kinship with Germany, it would be well to look at ourselves afresh in the new light of these events.

Can it with any reality be said that we in this country have banished the war spirit, or are willing to banish the war spirit, from our own lives? It may turn out that while the special fruits of war make us shudder

## THE WAR SPIRIT IN OUR NATIONAL LIFE

to-day, we have none the less cherished that same spirit, and that therefore we have no moral right to our indignant horror. Let us look in turn at several aspects of our own national life.

### OUR SOCIAL LIFE

An outstanding feature of our social life is the division of our people into classes. Our schools and colleges are carefully planned, our cities are built, our very railways are adapted so as to maintain and foster the separation of those classes from each other. We must indeed thank God for the fact that we are just now more truly one people than we have been for centuries. But till the impact of this war shook the whole nation together, we hardly were one people. We were a number of different groups inhabiting one island, and the friction and misunderstanding between the groups was a permanent feature of our life. There was war in miniature within our own borders.

Now what lies behind class distinctions is just the deep-seated instinct that possesses like-minded people to separate themselves from others, and if need be to maintain themselves in opposition to others.

For the difficult, complex, and humbling task of joining ourselves to others until they and we make one body, we have had, for the most part, very little mind. Each class has had the will to work out its destiny, and to determine its life apart from the others. To each class the others have seemed in turn an obstruction, an affront, and a nuisance. Thousands have exercised their sympathy, their generosity, and their affection only within the limits of one circle. For those beyond its borders they have cultivated a stony stare and a special intonation of the voice. There has been real hatred in

## THE WAR SPIRIT IN OUR NATIONAL LIFE

the heart of many a poor man towards the class that is now dominant in Britain, and there has been genuine and ill-concealed contempt in the hearts of many of those dominant ones toward the mass of working people.

This in moral reality is war. It is the clash of two self-assertions. It is 'Kaiserism' on a smaller scale.

### OUR COMMERCIAL LIFE

In our commercial life have we ever repudiated the methods of self-assertion? Have we not rather loudly announced our approval of the war method?

That commercial world is filled by a million conflicting interests, but we have never believed either that they can be or that they ought to be reconciled. 'Let them fight it out' has been our motto, and we have believed that by fighting efficiency and justice would be attained. This is exactly what Bernhardi, the exponent of the philosophy of militarism, maintains as his chief thesis.

It has been plain for many days that this commercial method is wasteful, and leads to senseless overlapping. It is plain that it withdraws from the business of production a veritable army of men who are engaged merely in the details of the strife. It is plain that the method tortures the weak and hardens the strong. Yet it has been by many persistently maintained that the clash of commercial interests must be suffered to continue.

If here and there, in the name of mercy, we restrict the freedom of that competitive strife, we yet do it with a sigh, so dear to us is the idea of free fighting.

That mankind's commercial strivings should be harmonized into some great national or international activity, directed by deliberate reasoning and moral judgement, has seemed to us not only difficult but actually undesirable—

## THE WAR SPIRIT IN OUR NATIONAL LIFE

so little has the man of commerce desired to be reconciled with his brother man, so greatly has he preferred to pursue his own good by the way of individual self-assertion.

The strife has indeed become cruelly severe of late. It has been getting more and more like actual war. Every year the lesser men in hundreds have been crushed by this commercial mill. They have slipped into poverty, and been lost to sight in the slums. It has been convenient to forget them. Every year, too, many of the conquerors have paid their own sad price for victory. Many bear openly the marks of a strife in which they have conquered only by suffering moral loss. Their audacious wish to domineer has sometimes been painfully obvious.

It is not necessary to judge them harshly as individuals. It is their fate that they suffer almost inevitably from the working of a method which is inherently bad, and which the individual cannot change.

Small wonder that those who know about both parties, who meet both the beaten and the victorious, are to-day wondering whether this method of strife can really be humanity's best! Can it really be that the human genius is incapable of conceiving and realizing some less wasteful and less remorseless method of life!

And now at last that question has become clamant. For now the clash of opposing commercial interests has flamed out into open war. The immediate occasion of this war must be distinguished from its ultimate causes, and among these latter, competing commercial interests and the struggle for markets have probably been conspicuous. Now, with its red reality before us, we are being compelled to ask afresh whether we still believe in basing commerce upon an activity of the war spirit.

## THE WAR SPIRIT IN OUR NATIONAL LIFE

It will probably be found that millions who have believed in rivalry, calling it bracing and so forth, have believed in it only provided that it shall never produce its last inevitable result, and set the guns in motion. Now that blood is flowing they are horrified. But it is our idol, unfettered competition, that has done this thing, and just at this moment, when a tortured Europe groans in agony and the mind is oppressed by horror, we do well to ask ourselves whether we can still worship our idol. It is a fool's delusion to suppose that a world which accepts the clash of commercial interests as inevitable can ever be secure against the clash of arms. War, even with its horrors, is a rather cleaner thing than some of the other methods of commercial strife that have become common in late years, and war, be it never so horrible, is the inevitable and certain fruit of the order of things we have believed in. If we are to attain to a world purged of this horror, the man of commerce must face the task of fitting his personality into one world with his rivals, and of making a harmony instead of a discord out of their respective strivings.

### THE INDUSTRIAL WORLD

In the industrial world the case is plainer than ever, for the war between labour and capital has become of late an open and an organized warfare.

Onlookers, seeing that both armies are needed for production, have indeed often asked why the claims of both parties could not be quietly weighed and reconciled in righteousness. But the onlookers so far have been largely impotent.

The actual combatants have accepted the method of fighting, and have been content to meet force with

## THE WAR SPIRIT IN OUR NATIONAL LIFE

force. Strikes have been countered by lockouts. By one party violence up to the point of rioting has been openly advocated as a valuable method. Cruelly and in cold blood plans have been laid by the other party that relied for their success on the power of starvation lurking in the background. We feel to-day the horror of the policy of starvation when employed against a whole nation, but it has been used against masses of our own people again and again of late years. During the coal strike the distress in the Potteries was of the same kind as now exists in Belgium, though the shells were absent.

The real forces in this warfare are, on the one hand, the masterful desire of a small class, possessed of opportunity and training, to assert themselves and live their own lives on their own chosen lines, even though the cost to others should be cruel; and on the other hand an aspiration of the many, which is sometimes both greedy, violent, and very warlike, but which at bottom is wholesome, because it is really a demand for a life that shall be free, healthy, and adequate to man's nature. Till these interests are reconciled there will always be strife in our midst, and yet strife has not so far advanced us far towards justice.

No man who sanely considers the lot of our poorly-paid workers—of the million male workers paid 20s. a week or less—can accept that lot as fitting for a brother man. All who know it in detail know that it involves an outrage upon the nature of those who are in reality sons of God. But the great industrial corporations have been intent on industrial world-empire, and the claims of the workmen have been made a secondary matter.

We are apt to-day to see in the German Kaiser an



## THE WAR SPIRIT IN OUR NATIONAL LIFE

embodiment of the spirit that lusts ruthlessly for dominion, and that would brush aside all obstructions, even though they be human lives. Consequently our language about him, both in the street and in the pulpit, does not lack either colour or vigour. Yet, even if we so estimate him correctly, he is only the political counterpart of the millionaire who has built his great industrial concern upon the ruins of a hundred smaller ones and the broken lives of uncounted workers. Both these types of men have believed sincerely in war. If our horror of war is sincere, we can tolerate neither.

It is true that some genuine passion for the weaker nations of Europe does to-day possess us, but if it is to remain sincere, it must become also a passion for the weaker workers at home. We realize the brutality of a war that has made nearly a whole nation homeless, and has tortured in both mind and body thousands of women and children. Can we continue to do that truly unless we confess also the brutality of a commercial method that tramples on weak women and unskilled men! In spite of real progress of late, there remain in our country thousands of sweated workers whose wages often fail to reach 7s. a week. If the story of the lives of many of these workers were to be told in detail it would make a companion volume to the story of Belgian sufferings to-day.

### ' MILITANCY '

It is strange indeed that another instance of the intrusion of the war spirit into our internal affairs should be afforded by certain phases of the suffrage movement. That movement, as a whole, has been eagerly welcomed by thousands just because they believed it would bring

## THE WAR SPIRIT IN OUR NATIONAL LIFE

into a position of new authority that section of the nation most inclined and most fitted to use the methods of moral and spiritual authority, as opposed to the methods of compulsion. The strongest of all reasons why women should have the vote is to be found in the hope that their presence in the political world might lead to new measures for mitigating the cruelty and oppression of our industrial methods, and might infuse a more generous and humane spirit into public life. We sorely need more sympathy, more compassion, more delicate insight and understanding in our home administration generally.

It is, therefore, surely one of the strangest paradoxes of modern history that a large section of the workers in the Woman's movement should have so endorsed the war spirit, and employed war methods in so thorough-going a way. Many of them have openly declared that force is the only way to achieve the ends of justice in this matter. Thus they have appealed from reason and conscience to the sword, or to the nearest counterpart to it that they are able to wield.

It is of course equally true that men in turn have adopted military tactics of another kind. They have been content to entrench themselves behind precedent and prejudice, and sometimes they have used in a manner really tyrannous and insolent the advantage which thus was theirs.

But neither in this case nor in any other case do the methods of violence necessarily lead to justice. Justice is to be seen only by eyes cleared of passion, and secured only by those who can become strong in moral might. A body of men or women may 'rush' a position, and win by assault that which is not theirs by real right.

## THE WAR SPIRIT IN OUR NATIONAL LIFE

But their possession of it in such a case does not make for human progress.

It may perhaps seem ungenerous even to refer to militant tactics at a time when, under the stress of a great national call, they have been suspended. The writer of this paper hopes indeed that they may never again, even in appearance, be needed. If the nation continues in its present mood, it is unthinkable that one half of the nation should continue to refuse to the other half an act of justice that is felt to be long overdue. But it remains a matter of real moment that we should, in the light of the war now raging, estimate rightly the real moral character of militant methods.

It continues to be one of the convictions of many men and women that Woman's true greatness lies in the direction of spiritual authority, and that she can use spiritual methods to accomplish results which can come about in no other way. When even a few women publicly repudiate that method, and instead acclaim the methods of warfare, the nation at once suffers spiritual loss. May one be allowed to express the hope that at least this lesson of the war will not be lost?

It is the war spirit in all its forms that is the essential enemy of our progress, and while we stand before a Europe made desolate, we surely need to repeat again and again that the conquest of the war spirit must be a spiritual triumph. Out of our own hearts it must be cast first, and the call to that humbling discipline is loud to-day. Secondly, it must be exorcized from our internal life, from our society, our industry, and our commerce. And only when that has been accomplished may we hope to possess the moral authority to prevent military strife,

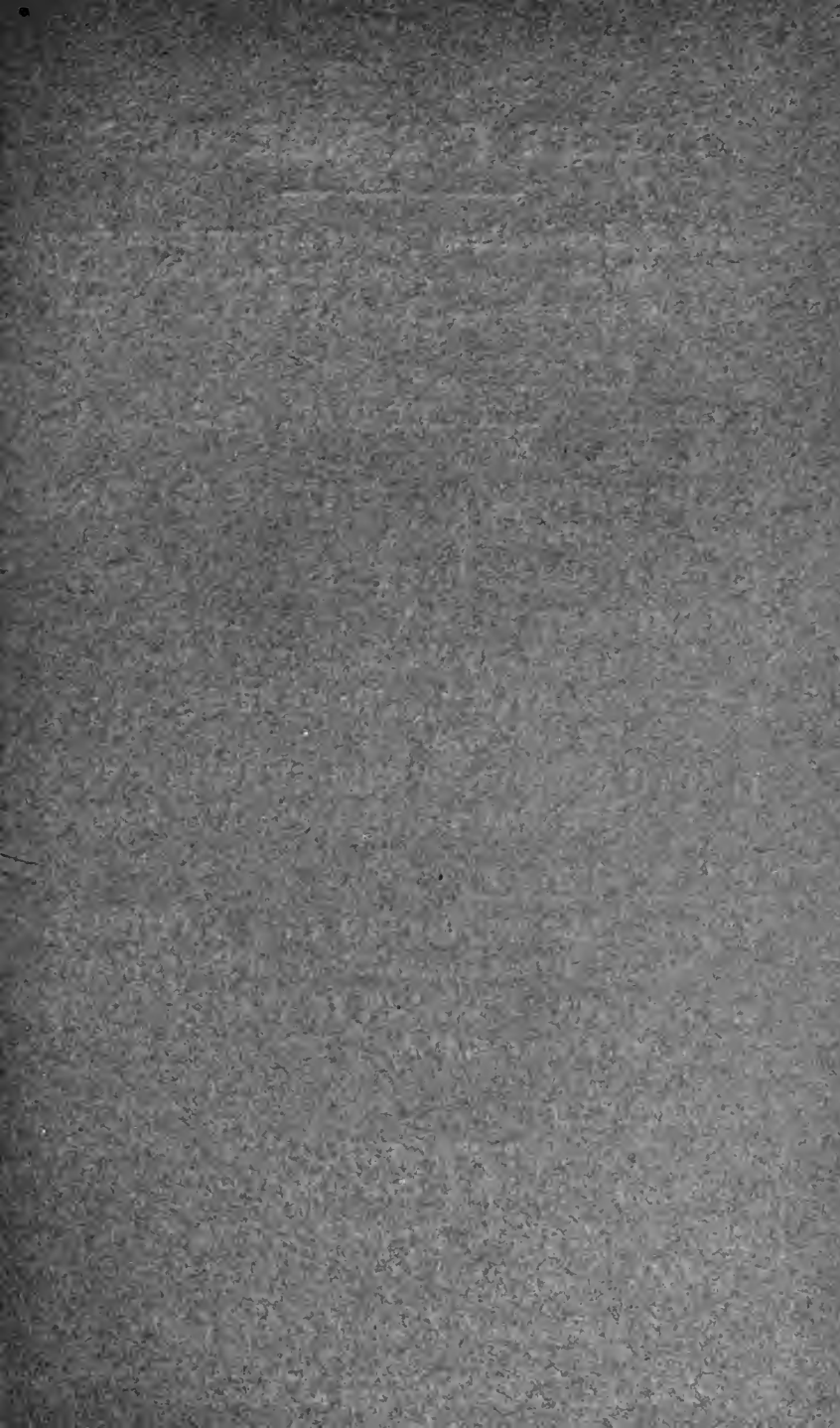
## THE WAR SPIRIT IN OUR NATIONAL LIFE

or the moral insight to choose for ourselves the ways that will avoid it. So long as we continue to believe that our good will come by way of self-assertion over against others, so long shall we have to meet in arms others who hold to the same tragic delusion.

A Europe without war must be a Europe in which each nation shall desire for all the other nations full liberty to express their genius and to exercise their vitality. It must be a Europe in which each nation will bend itself to reconciliation with all the others in a concert of life.

To bring such a state to pass will mean a very great spiritual achievement—one indeed so great that only those who believe that the risen Christ is eternally unconquerable will be able to believe it possible. But we shall have missed the lesson of this horror unless we let it set our hearts fixedly towards that spiritual achievement.

Once again, reform must begin at home. When we within our own Empire have learnt to live as one body, when our antagonisms to our own fellow citizens are reconciled, when we all desire each other's good—then, but not until then, shall we be ready for the greater world-wide unity into which war shall no more enter.



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PAPERS FOR WAR TIME. No. 8

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# Christian Conduct in War Time

By

W. H. MOBERLY, M.A.

*Price Twopence*

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## CHRISTIAN CONDUCT IN WAR TIME

*' Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God ; and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces ; but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered—that of neither has been answered fully.*

*' The Almighty has His own purposes. " Woe unto the world because of offences ; for it must needs be that offences come ; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh." If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offences which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offence came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him ? Fondly do we hope—fervently do we pray—that this mighty scourge of war may speedily*

## CHRISTIAN CONDUCT

*pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, "The judgements of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."*

*'With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations.'*

(From Abraham Lincoln's *Second Inaugural Address*, March 4, 1865.)

THE present war has plunged all who would be Christian into difficulty. There are intricate questions of principle to be faced: 'Is war ever justifiable for those who profess the religion of love? And, if so, under what conditions and limitations?' Here there is room for genuine perplexity and difference of opinion, and there are perhaps few of us who do not feel the need of thinking out our principles more thoroughly than ever before. This, however, takes time, and there are immediate duties before us. On these plain duties all Christian men, from the Crusader to the Quaker, can agree. Here, too, there is difficulty, but it is of a different kind: it lies rather in doing than in knowing what is right. Though in some directions the path of Christian duty is hard to discern, in others it is plain and urgent. Loyalty is

## IN WAR TIME

the most conspicuous of all duties just now, and Christians must be loyal to their own flag.

It is to emphasize some of these immediate practical duties that this paper is written.

### CHARITY IN JUDGEMENT

'Judge not that ye be not judged.' This is a hard saying, and never more so than in time of war. To suspend judgement, to sift evidence, to see things, even for a moment, through German eyes, seems to require an inhuman and cold-blooded detachment from our own country's cause just when we least desire to stand aloof. To ask us *now* to adopt the attitude of the impartial historian of the future seems almost a sacrilege.

This feeling is natural, but we cannot acquiesce in it. Loyalty to Christ demands of us a real effort to *think*, and to think calmly; not that we may feel less, but that we may purge our feeling, so far as may be, of all that is unchristian. That this is possible without any loss of force the example of Lincoln shows.<sup>1</sup> He was the chief actor in a struggle of which the moral issue was the plainest possible. Yet in the midst of the heat and the dust of conflict he could put aside all prejudice and misunderstanding, and view South as well as North with judicial calmness, as in the sight of God. In face of such an example, can we be content with any lower ideal?

It is a Christian duty to 'think no evil'; not to condemn our neighbour on less than complete evidence; and, if we must blame, not to adopt a judging attitude, but to think with sorrow rather than condemnation of others' sins, remembering that we ourselves are sinful men and women.

<sup>1</sup> See the passage from the *Second Inaugural Address* prefixed to this Paper.

## CHRISTIAN CONDUCT

Whatever our sins in practice, we all recognize this duty in principle, so far as our relation to individuals is concerned. We know how much our beliefs about persons, and our interpretation of their doings, are coloured by our wishes. We know how easy it is to believe the worst of them—and how wrong!

But the same is true of our relation with hostile nations and their people. Here, too, we need to be on our guard against the temptation to judge hastily and harshly. In the present war we are under a very special obligation to practise charity. We believe that we see grave defects in the German mind. We see strong prejudice, an unwillingness or inability ever to look at things through the eyes of others, a refusal to credit opponents with sincerity or with any worthy motives at all. We deplore this; we think it narrow and unjust; we think it must work great evil to Germany. But the more clearly we seem to see these faults, the more we are bound to avoid imitating them. We cannot help thinking our German neighbours wrong-headed. We dare not think them insincere. For refusal to believe in the goodness of motive of opponents is precisely the fault that we condemn in them.

Whatever, then, we may think of German diplomacy, it is our Christian duty to avoid launching moral accusations against the whole German people. We must try to examine the facts in a Christian spirit, honestly desiring to set aside our natural prejudices, and resolving to prefer a charitable interpretation of German conduct wherever it is reasonably possible. If we do so, it will be clear to us that this war is not, in the eyes of the German people as a whole, consciously aggressive or unrighteous. 'Men will not die for causes that do not

## IN WAR TIME

seem right to them,'<sup>1</sup> and, to all appearance, the whole educated German public, including men pre-eminent both in holiness and in mental ability, is honestly convinced that Germany's cause is morally right and our cause morally wrong.

This is, at first sight, a staggering fact. Such a sharp conflict of judgement between two bodies of opinion, both able and honest, certainly shows how fallible is the human mind and how great is the influence of prejudice. When we first realize it, the natural effect is that our confidence in our own judgement is shaken, and we begin to doubt our own power of rising above mere national prejudice. But in spite of this, most of us are still convinced of the justice of our cause, and believe that we can see good grounds for setting aside the German judgement. In this conviction we, as Englishmen, have great cause for thankfulness; but we have still no right to condemn, violently or wholesale, those who differ from us.

In just the same way we must be slow to condemn Germans broadcast for their *methods* of making war. Our newspapers have for weeks been full of stories of atrocities perpetrated by German soldiers, which rouse our horror and our indignation. There is a real danger that they may cause in us a kind of mental and moral collapse. There are certainly some circles in relation to which the description given by Mr. W. W. Greg<sup>2</sup> has much truth. 'Many ordinarily sober and reasonable people,' he writes, 'are for the moment possessed with a spirit of timorous hatred that saps in them all power

<sup>1</sup> *Times Literary Supplement*, October 22, 1914.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, September 10.

## CHRISTIAN CONDUCT

of rational thought. . . . Every idle tale against an enemy is diligently sought for and believed, just as every rumour favourable to an ally. To be friend or foe is in itself sufficient evidence of the possession of every good and of every evil quality. Abuse of the enemy is taken as the measure of a man's patriotism.' In face of such tales it is our clear duty to use resolute effort to judge as charitably as possible. If we approach the atrocity stories in this spirit, we shall at once remind ourselves of the weakness of all evidence where the witness is excited, of the possibility that one story may have many versions, and of the danger of trusting to half-truths.

Testimony as to things witnessed under conditions of great excitement is notoriously unreliable. It is necessary to make much greater allowance than at other times for the effect of misunderstanding, prejudice, and exaggeration. In the *Hibbert Journal* for October, Lord Roberts expressly warns his countrymen against abuse of the Germans. 'Let us avoid,' he says, 'what Mr. Kipling during the Boer War described as "killing Kruger with your mouth"'. . . . When we read charges against the German troops, let us remember that gross charges, absolutely untrue, were brought against our own brave soldiers fighting in South Africa. But, whether the charges are true or not, let us keep our own hands clean, and let us fight against the Germans in such a way as to earn their liking as well as their respect.'

Of many apparent horrors, such as the burning of Louvain, the bombardment of Rheims Cathedral, and, in many cases, the shooting of civilians, there are two stories. The Germans tell us that Louvain was burnt as a punishment for a preconcerted rising, resulting in



## IN WAR TIME

fighting lasting two days, that Rheims Cathedral was fired on because the French were using the tower as an observation post, that civilians have been shot because the German troops have been 'sniped' from their houses or villages. If their account is true, the guilt of their proceedings is much reduced. It may well not be true, but also it may be not entirely false. Where there are two versions of the same occurrence, their relative truth is a matter for investigation. But we are certainly not thinking Christianly, we are not even behaving with common fairness or charity, if we prejudge such investigation by assuming, for example, that the Antwerp version of the destruction of Louvain, which we heard first, is absolute fact, and that therefore the German version, so far as it differs, must be simple falsehood.

Even if we must hold—as seems probable—that many atrocities have in fact been committed by German soldiers, we must still remember two things. In the first place there is the possibility that they may not have been entirely unprovoked. We sometimes hear our own soldiers exhorted to take vengeance on the Germans for their crimes, and to give no quarter to such treacherous and unworthy foes. That is to say, they are incited to commit what in German eyes would certainly be 'atrocities', though on our side they would be excused as being only the infliction of deserved retribution. It is then only fair to remember that the German papers are full of stories of barbarity inflicted by Belgians on Germans. (We can hardly wonder, indeed, if some Belgians have been driven half insane by the hideous sufferings of their countrymen.) It matters not, for this purpose, whether these stories are well or ill founded. They are believed,

## CHRISTIAN CONDUCT

and the belief is probably the cause of many of the 'atrocities' of which we hear. It is true that reprisals in kind can never be justified, whether it is Englishmen, Belgians, or Germans who take them. But they cannot be condemned in precisely the same measure as unprovoked atrocities. Indeed, a large part of the evil of readiness to believe and repeat such stories is that they foment on both sides a spirit of deep anger and desire for vengeance, and make it increasingly difficult for the war to be waged in anything like a Christian spirit.

In the second place we must remember that in every large army there are a number of bad men. In every great war there are a number of evil deeds done. It is a part of the inevitable evil of war that it lets loose strong passions. Many men, not naturally cruel, do terrible things in hot blood. We must not set up for our enemies a standard which condemns our own military history.

Suppose then that it is true that there is in high places a deliberate policy of holding down a conquered population by ruthless severity in the punishment of offences. Suppose that it is true—as is almost certain—that many atrocities have been committed in this war by German soldiers. Suppose, even, that it is true—as seems probable—that the number of such atrocities is much greater than is usual with a civilized army. That would indeed give cause to all decent Germans for shame and penitence. But it gives us no right to say that 'the German nation' or 'the German soldier' is other than an honourable foe.

### SUPPRESSION OF ALL ILL WILL

Most of us have conscientiously convinced ourselves that we are bound, at this moment, to withstand the

## IN WAR TIME

Germans by force. We have thus helped to bring about a 'state of war'; and in a 'state of war' it is very natural for mutual hatred and ill will to grow up. This is why some of our friends hold that it can never be right for a Christian man to promote war. For war is not only a natural effect of evil passions; it almost inevitably fosters and greatly aggravates them. This we are seeing to-day in the growing embitterment of opinion both in Germany and in Great Britain.

If, in spite of this, we are prepared to advocate or support a war, even for the most just of causes, we are taking a great responsibility upon ourselves. We are committed to the view that it is really possible to make war on a people without hating them or wishing them evil. But even if it is possible to make war in this spirit, it is immensely difficult; and we shall have to exert to the very utmost our forces of mind and will if we are to check the natural tendency of war to beget in us 'envy, hatred and malice and all uncharitableness'. We need to examine ourselves most stringently lest, while professing allegiance to none but Christian principles, we are allowing ourselves to cherish feelings and designs that we could never bring ourselves to submit to the scrutiny of Jesus Christ.

The risk we run of deceiving ourselves in this matter is exceedingly great. We are not consciously dishonest, but insensibly we take up one attitude in theory and quite a different attitude in practice. In theory we say that it is possible to make war without hate: for otherwise we clearly could not, 'in a cool hour', justify our going to war at all. But in practice we acquiesce in pure desire of harm to our enemies, and indeed assume

## CHRISTIAN CONDUCT

tacitly that this is an inevitable incident of a state of war. Now the man who says candidly 'Christianity is all very well in time of peace, but it won't work in war; so much the worse for Christianity!' is at least consistent: he merits a certain respect. But if we tacitly act upon this principle, yet never clearly acknowledge it even to ourselves, there is little to be said for us. We cannot make the best of both worlds. We cannot serve Christ and Odin.

If we are in earnest with our Christianity, we shall constantly remind ourselves that Christ died for the people of Germany as well as for us; that He is at this moment—with an intensity which we can very faintly conceive—desiring the good of every single German and of the whole German people; and that if we are not, to the utmost of our spiritual powers, striving to unite ourselves with His mind and purpose for the German people, we are not even trying to follow Him.

If we bear this in mind, certain practical conclusions seem to follow. We believe that we do right to be at war with the Germans. We must therefore desire their defeat, in whatever completeness may be necessary to a lasting settlement. But we must immediately go further.

We are constantly saying, in our newspapers and elsewhere, that what we are really fighting is not the German people but German militarism. We must try not only to say this, but to mean it. We must always be looking forward to a future in which the German people will be able, with their magnificent mental endowments, to make their distinctive contribution to the Kingdom of God, and in which we shall be able to live in friendly

## IN WAR TIME

intercourse with them. In earthly warfare, at this moment, they are our enemies; in the unending task of establishing the Kingdom of God that lies before us they are possible allies, with whose help we cannot dispense.

Again, we must resolutely suppress all desire for German suffering or German humiliation. If our statesmen tell us that a lasting peace can be concluded only in Berlin, we can probably trust them. But we must not allow ourselves to look forward to a triumphal entry into Berlin merely as a blow to German pride or a gratification to our own. To gloat over such pictures as 'Ghurkas in the gardens of Potsdam' is simply to give up all attempt to christianize our attitude. So again, apart from questions of compensation, we must not allow ourselves to think that 'the necessity of exacting a stern retribution for German crimes' is a religious or Christian necessity. We have lately been warned not to content ourselves with making an abstraction called 'Germany' and picturing it as a monster, but to remember that 'war is made not by tendencies and forces, but by men who, if they knew what was in each other's hearts, would never make it'.<sup>1</sup> And in any case the desire for retribution, however disinterested we may think it, and in however speciously religious a dress it presents itself, belongs to the old Adam in us and has nothing to do with the spirit of Christ. The text 'Vengeance is Mine' is sometimes quoted, in this connexion, in a peculiarly unintelligent way. For, though much in it is obscure, the one thing it certainly means is that vengeance is *not ours*. The rôle of 'Scourge of God' is not one to

<sup>1</sup> *Times Literary Supplement*, October 22, 1914.

## CHRISTIAN CONDUCT

which we need aspire just now. 'There are some among us now who preach hatred of the Germans to us ; and, in doing that, they are trying to make us what they themselves suppose the Germans to be.'<sup>1</sup>

We can at once apply our principles to conduct in our treatment of persons of German birth now in England. By all means let the authorities take whatever measures they think necessary for the safety of the country in the way of watching aliens, or even of concentrating and confining them within certain areas ! That is one thing. But for private individuals to treat all Germans as pariahs and to boycott them socially is quite another. This is cruel as well as unnecessary. It causes an extraordinary amount of mental suffering, especially to persons such as German governesses, who are, in any case, rather helpless and friendless. Again, it is quite indefensible, and a repudiation of all Christianity, for an Englishman to think that he is 'insulted' if he has to meet, at his club or on the golf links, persons of German birth, and to exert himself to get all such members excluded throughout the term of the war ; or, with the *Morning Post* of October 17, to call on all such persons, even when long naturalized, to respect our natural susceptibilities 'by judicious withdrawal from undue prominence in the political and social sphere of our national life'. According to Sir Arthur Conan Doyle,<sup>2</sup> 'a London newspaper the other day referred to the people who had subscribed to a fund for helping destitute German governesses, music masters, &c., as "comforting the King's enemies".' He very naturally adds that such language is 'not

<sup>1</sup> *Times Literary Supplement*, September 17.

<sup>2</sup> Writing in the *Daily Mail*, October 28.

## IN WAR TIME

patriotic but caddish', and that it is 'hurtful to our national reputation'.

It is an evil spirit that is abroad. It appeals partly to the base mob-instinct that leads men to join in harrying the unfortunate, and partly to the spirit of caste. There is here no question of national safety. No one supposes that the German-born golfer is spying while he is playing golf. It is merely that his very presence is felt to be an offence. So have Jews felt of Gentiles, aristocrats of the multitude, white men of coloured men, since the beginning of time. This spirit, which treats large classes of men *en masse* as 'unclean', is the very opposite of the spirit of Christian brotherhood. Wherever the Church of Christ has met it, it has had to fight it to the death.

There is no remedy for evil passions except good ones, —'the expulsive power of a new affection'. It is only into an empty house, swept and garnished, that the devils can easily enter. If we sincerely try to pray for Germany and the Germans our minds will have little room for harsh judgement, vindictiveness, or the spirit of persecution. If it seems to us as though, just now, some evil spirit had taken possession of the minds of the entire German people, distorting their judgement, narrowing their sympathies, and forcing their action into wrong channels, then all the more do they need our prayers. And—as has been truly said—'we can pray for those whom we hate; but we cannot hate those we pray for'.

### PENITENCE AND HUMILITY

One of the strongest moral arguments against War is that it inevitably leads us into temptation. If we go to war, we deliberately put ourselves into a position

## CHRISTIAN CONDUCT IN WAR TIME

of moral peril. I have already discussed the bearing of this on malice and hatred. But we are equally in peril of a very ugly kind of pharisaism. For we are bound to try to vindicate our cause before our own consciences and in the eyes of the world, and it is very difficult to do this without self-righteousness. We are forced to justify ourselves, and, in so doing, to be constantly comparing ourselves with the Germans to their disadvantage. But self-justification too easily turns into a self-applause which is unlovely and unhealthy. Too often during the last two months the refrain of our newspapers has seemed to be: 'God, we thank Thee that we are not as other men are, hypocrites, breakers of treaties, slayers of women and children, or even as this Kaiser.'

However much we are convinced, and however much we desire to convince others, that we do well to wage this war, there is, on any showing, quite enough in our national life and history that calls for penitence. Let us then be very sober in our self-satisfaction. We are most truly patriotic when we pray

For frantic boast and foolish word—  
Thy mercy on thy people, Lord!





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## THE REAL WAR

IT was not a German philosopher who first conceived the superman ; he was the constant dream of the Hebrew prophets. When they looked out upon the world with its confusion, oppression, and poverty, they saw that what was chiefly needed was a MAN ; but they recognized that he would have to be such a man as the race had not yet produced, specially endowed with wisdom and knowledge and with a capacity of will and power equal to his thought and desire. All down the ages dreamers and reformers had longed for such a man—a combination of king and philosopher, conqueror and redeemer, divine hero and human saviour. Where the Hebrew prophets differ from the philosophers, both ancient and modern, is in their conception of the type of man he would be and the process that would produce him.

The Hebrew idea itself underwent a gradual development. At first we get the picture of a mighty prince endowed with supernatural powers, and able to destroy his enemies with the breath of his lips ; then of a ruler filled with knowledge and wisdom for the righting of the wrong and the championship of the oppressed ; then of a man who would be like the shadow of a great rock in a weary land, and a refuge from the storms of life ; lastly of one endowed with the capacity for taking upon himself the sins and sufferings of the world, healing the world by his pains, saving the world by bearing its iniquities. It will be seen that the conception grows more tender and human as it develops, until it finds glory and strength in what men have despised and rejected. It was recognized

## THE REAL WAR

that such a man would have to be the direct work of God. He must be as pre-eminent in piety as in wisdom ; he must realize that all his power and authority came from above ; indeed he would have to be in some sort a manifestation of what God Himself is.

It is the Christian conviction that this dream was fulfilled in Jesus Christ, who is the manifestation of God, the highest attainment of our humanity, the Redeemer of the poor and the Saviour of the world. Around this conviction there have been built our holiest aspirations, a tender and solicitous ethic, a kind and humane civilization.

### I

Since the European War broke out there has grown up a popular and persistent notion that it is largely due to a new conception of the superman put forth by the philosopher Nietzsche—a direct contradiction of everything that the Hebrew prophets dreamed and Jesus Christ fulfilled ; a teacher of immoralism ; a wise but cunning schemer for the overthrow of human liberties ; a man endowed with great intellectual power, though unrestrained by any ethical considerations or regard for objective truth, with no pity for the poor or concern for the suffering ; in fact, a sort of incarnation of the Devil, the Antichrist himself. It is alleged that the German nation has become imbued with these ideas, that the land which gave us the austere ethicism of Kant and the lofty idealism of Hegel has gone over to immoralism and materialism. And just as the Christian view of things is not satisfied until Christ has begotten a new race of mankind filled with His Spirit, so the idea of the superman is no longer confined to its realization in one individual, but we are to look for a race of supermen. Encouraged by a new philosophy of history



## THE REAL WAR

and state-politics taught by Treitschke and others, the German people have come to believe that they are destined to be supreme over the human race, because of their finer qualities of endurance and perseverance, and above all, because of their keen intellect and splendid culture. They look down upon the British mind as constitutionally wedded to compromise ; they see in our addiction to sport the signs of second childhood, in our aptitude for commerce a mere shopkeeping instinct ; and they feel that the time has come to challenge our supremacy. These ideals have been embodied in the organization of the whole nation for military ends, and university professors have supported the movement on intellectual and biological grounds, while Christian theologians and ministers of churches have acquiesced on the ground of political and national necessity.

A deliberate policy of wresting power from Britain at a favourable opportunity and bringing the whole of Europe under German rule has been worked out by Bernhardt and other military experts. This is now being carried out before our eyes in a war which commenced by a confessed act of wrong in treaty-breaking, proceeds by methods of barbaric extermination and savage outrage, and now menaces the existence of civilization and the hardly won freedom of humanity. The nations of Europe are being summoned to suppress this monster of militarism. It is not a war between governments ; it is a war of civilization against barbarism, of right against immorality, of Christianity against materialism, of Galilee against Corsica, of Christ against the Devil. It is a tremendous war between absolutely opposed ideas.

Now how far is this a true description of things ? Can Europe be divided into two camps in this way—Russia,

## THE REAL WAR

France, Belgium, Servia, Japan, and Britain fighting for Christ and civilization; Germany and Austria fighting for the Devil and materialism? A moment's thought will compel us to repudiate the idea that the sheep can be divided from the goats quite so simply. Without attempting the impossible task of apportioning the exact measure of guilt attaching to each nation engaged in this awful conflict, and without questioning the necessity of intervention by our own country, for the sake of a pledged word, on behalf of Belgium and to preserve the integrity of France, there are other things which we are more capable of discussing and which it is our immediate moral duty to remember.

The fact is that the doctrines of materialism and the trust in force have bitten very deeply into the whole of Europe. For some decades now a large number of both the intellectual and the working classes of the whole civilized world have been drifting away from faith in God, and have been repudiating Christianity as outworn. Thinkers in Germany have been crying out for a new religion, claiming that the Reformation did not go half far enough, protesting that their ancestors who conquered Rome should never have adopted the servile religion of the conquered, and crying shame on Westerns for accepting a religion that comes from the dreamy and pessimistic East. What is wanted is a religion more fitted to the Western world and the modern mind. But others beside Germans have been talking this way for a long time. Whole sections of our people are persuaded that what we want is a new religion, and criticism of the Christian ethic is as open and as radical as criticism of the Christian doctrines. It is very questionable how far Nietzsche has a following in Germany, despite the declaration that every soldier carries a volume of his works in his knapsack; but

## THE REAL WAR

his writings have been successfully published in English, and he is not without followers amongst us. It may be that we have no historian of the standing of Treitschke who proclaims that we are 'the people'; but we need none, for we all believe it, and our popular rhymesters and newspaper writers see that we do not forget our own marvellous superiority. The truth is that Europe has been going radically wrong; there is a fever in her blood. It is almost accidental that it should be in Germany that the worst symptoms have developed. Those who have studied other products of German thought will want a deeper account of matters before they can understand why the poison in the blood of Europe should have come to a head in Germany. How is it that their whole people are as united for war as our own? We know that the Socialists poll a higher percentage of votes in Germany than in any other country, and that they are opposed to the whole conception of militarism, or the idea that one nation should dominate all others. There are thousands of students and thinkers who inherit the spirit of Kant and Goethe. The Lutheran Church numbers among its members men and women of the deepest piety. The universities have theological professors who accept quite as fully as our own the vital doctrines of Christianity, and many of those (perhaps better known to English readers) who cannot accept these doctrines reject their credal definition rather than their spirit. The recent letter addressed to the Evangelical Christians of the world, and signed by men whose praise is in all the Churches, is inexplicably silent on some subjects, and seems woefully ignorant on others, but its sincerity no one can doubt.

So far as we can understand the situation, it is a combination of circumstances that has made Germany suddenly

## THE REAL WAR

the enemy of Europe. There is perhaps something in Teuton blood, something in the German intellect, that has always been capable of hardening into antagonisms of a particularly unseeing kind. It is seen in some aspects of the Reformation, it is seen in the ruthlessness of some of their scientific and theological criticism, it is seen in the materialistic tendency of their Marxian Socialism ; but an unfairly weighted ballot, a subsidized press, and conscription are the more important factors in the immediate situation. The conservatism of the Lutheran Church has lost thousands of its members to Monism and Socialism, with the confessed result, despite better elements in both those systems, of leaving the mass of the people without idealism of any kind, almost exclusively interested in the material and mechanical aspects of life and reform. The victory of 1870 has fostered national pride ; the military caste has climbed into power and popularity ; the Emperor is able to rally round him in a remarkable way both the pietists and the militarists ; and the widespread fear of Russia has cemented the nation into one united whole, for the time hushing all criticism and ending all disagreement. Eucken and Haeckel, who have surely never been able to agree on a single point before, now sign the same document exculpating their own country from the blame of this war, while charging England with the grossest infidelity and alliance with barbarism.

## II

The real war is therefore a war against pernicious ideas, and we have to muster against them all the force of right ideas. And the war can be waged successfully only from within every country where the wrong idea has found a stronghold.

## THE REAL WAR

The great task before the peoples of Europe will be to keep this same class and temper from getting into power everywhere. It must not be assumed that this war, cheerfully undertaken in the hope that it will end war, will, merely as a natural outcome and consequence, do anything of the kind. It is just as likely that there will emerge in every country a further call for military preparations, now that confidence in treaties has been broken, and the bitterness engendered by the War may make any understanding between Germany and other nations impossible for many years. It will be open for lovers of war and the fire-eaters everywhere to claim that the situation was saved only by gigantic preparations, or lost because they were insufficient. It will be difficult to talk about disarmament when it is believed that only battle-ships and armies have stood between us and destruction.

All the nations at war are committed to the policy of fighting to a finish, and apart from some divine intervention there seems nothing else to do : we are all now fighting for our very life and existence. But while it is recognized that this is mainly a war of ideas, and while it is to be hoped that the spiritual issues will be recognized and will lead to the wholesale conversion of the allies to a deeper appreciation of Christianity and a humaner conception of civilization, it does not seem to be recognized that we are fighting a war of ideas with very strange weapons and with very little assurance that they are fitted for their task. If we are fighting against the monstrous doctrine that might is right, we must remember that we are fighting with methods which appeal to might, and which therefore tend to establish the very doctrine that we seek to overthrow. The worship of force cannot be destroyed by force, nor Satan cast out Satan. Even

## THE REAL WAR

if Germany is beaten to her knees by what are practically the combined forces of Europe, no matter what terms can be extracted, or what measures are taken to prevent her ever becoming the same menace again, that nation, further embittered by humiliation, may only begin to scheme afresh for the realization of her unfulfilled aspirations. Martyrdom has the unfortunate effect of giving new inspiration even to the worst ideas. It is hardly likely that Germany will be willing to sit down meekly to listen to moral lessons from the nations that have beaten her. If in this war the nation which has been inspired by a wrong idea were absolutely beaten, that defeat would not destroy the wrong idea ; and if the nation which has been motivated by a right idea were defeated, that would not kill the right idea. Ideas are not destroyed in this way. All talk of annihilation is futile, nor is there any hope that what is called national consciousness can ever be destroyed. Nothing can kill a wrong idea save a right idea. True ideals, clear thinking, vigorous expression are the only weapons available for that campaign. Nothing less than the conversion of Europe, including ourselves, to Christianity is the task set before us, and there is no guarantee that the appeal to war is going to make that task any easier.

### III

Then how is this campaign for the right idea to be carried on ? There will have to be a special enlistment of vigorous intellects. It is not enough to have an intuition of the right idea ; it must be presented to men as intellectually sound and practicable. Here has been the great failure of our English Christianity. Extraordinarily right in instinct, it has been extraordinarily muddled in intellect. Measured against the exposition of Christianity that pre-

## THE REAL WAR

dominates in Germany the English conception may be nearer to vital realities, but not for one moment can we compare with Germany in thoroughness of research, patience of investigation, and fearless application of consequences. Intuition ought to push intellect into action; where intuition alone is relied upon it only means the disorganization of the mental life, and the loss of energy through pure laziness. We ought to recognize that there is a moral obligation to be intelligent. Our churches ought to have been centres, not of exhortation only, but of education, and there is no doubt that they have been nothing of the kind. We have suffered from a positive dread of intellect, and we have been hampered by a widespread unwillingness to think.

This neglect has naturally acquiesced in a lack of information. We have committed ourselves to a peace propaganda without being aware of all the facts, and without knowing that the whole condition of European diplomacy and international policy was committed to something moving inevitably against us. We have been willing to dream of better conditions while some one has been tying our hands. Little enough has been known of economic conditions, but even less about international politics, and we have imagined that we could redeem the world by merely wishing that things were different.

The Christian ethic has not been thought out to its ultimate issues. The worship of Christ has been encouraged and almost enforced, but what exactly is entailed in worshipping Christ even Christian people seem hardly to know. For all the efficiency it has given us, and for all the challenge it has enabled us to throw down to the world, we might almost as well have worshipped a blank idea. Therefore there has often been more ethical keen-

## THE REAL WAR

ness in those who were in honest if misguided rebellion against Christ ; for they were compelled to think out an ethic of their own. Even where Christian ethics have been investigated and studied they have often been reduced by a process of compromise and qualification, savouring almost of dishonesty, to a most uninspiring acquiescence in merely conventional morality and in the prevailing social order. We have been far too anxious to prove that there was nothing extreme, or even adventurous, about Christ and His teaching. The preaching of the Cross has fastened upon its substitutionary aspect ; thus the issue that it presented to Jesus and the faith in which He chose the Cross remain unrealized. If it were once understood what following Christ's way really implies, there would almost certainly be a great transference of allegiance ; some of us would find that we did not believe in Christ at all, and others would find that they really did when they had thought quite otherwise.

But this new idea will also need to be expressed in a new type of character. It was the deficiency of the past in this direction that gave cause for the Nietzschean revolt. There is a good deal of disagreement as to what Nietzsche really stood for. Despite his undisguised contempt for Christianity and his determination to set up a religion that should be entirely contrary to Christ, it is questionable whether in many things he did not come very near to expressing, if in paradoxical and unrecognized form, some of the very essentials of Christianity. The perversity of his philosophy is directly traceable, not to mere devilism, nor to a worship of German culture (which he really despised), nor perhaps even to a belief in force conceived as a material thing, but rather to a violent and unrestrained reaction from the caricature of Christianity that flourished



## THE REAL WAR

in the pietistic circles in which he was brought up. Both world and Church seem to have come to a grave misunderstanding of what the Christian virtues of meekness, love, penitence, and humility really mean. As used and exemplified by Christ they do not mean keeping out of trouble, minding your own business, or consoling yourself with the sweetness of contrition. His doctrine of non-resistance did not mean letting evil go unchallenged. The attitude of Christ led Him to storm the fortress of evil with nothing but the truth on His side, to place Himself athwart the forces of evil without protection or means of defence, sure in the triumph of spiritual powers and careless of what happened to Him. In short it was just a glorious example of Nietzsche's axiom, 'Live dangerously.' Christ's attitude is a sublime expression of courage and heroic adventure ; He is willing to feel deeply, and to feel all ; to bear sin that He may take it away ; to engage the total forces of pride and power with humility and meekness ; to impress Himself upon the world for all time without self-assertion and by no other means than that of unarmed and unaided love. The world-powers of His day recognized that this attitude was utterly dangerous, that it meant the entire dissolution of the things men trusted in—expediency, prestige, coercion, wealth ; and they were so impressed with the menace of Christ that at any risk He had to be swept out of existence.

For us to-day the Christian spirit has to be re-expressed in its abandon, adventure, and divine carelessness. We must find how to be poor and gay, to care for neither pain nor death, to find strength in becoming absolutely purged of self-concern or self-pity, to humble ourselves before God in order that we may become utterly fearless of what man can do. Our belief in God must be capable of

## THE REAL WAR

dispensing with signs or rewards. We must be able to challenge the whole existing order of things, and to be confident, even if all our hopes go down in tragedy, that the future holds the victory. Only out of such a spirit will there be born methods and means with the daring, the idealism, and the dramatic venture necessary to save the world.

But the true idea must not only be expounded and defended. It must be embodied in an organization. There is surely a partial embodiment of this idea in the British Empire itself. Unfortunately the creative idea and the spiritual bond which make the Empire what it is have been largely overlooked both by us and by its envious enemies. We have only recently discovered that we have an Empire, and the discovery has been announced with a tremendous outburst of flag-wagging and speech-making. The very word 'Empire' has led superficial people astray. Its greatness is conceived to be identical with its geographical extent, its constitution akin to the Empires of the ancient world; but no one ever set out to build this Empire of ours, and as for a constitution, it does not possess one. It grew quite naturally, and it is a dimly apprehended idea and a great sentiment that keep it together. The British Empire is the partial realization of a confederation of self-governing countries linked together partly by language, partly by gratitude, and partly by sentiment. There have been thinkers and statesmen who, waking up rather suddenly to its excellences, want to make the Empire a more visible unity, and to extend it by force or other schemes of conquest or annexation. But we have to learn that the day for that kind of Empire is long past. Nations will never be ruled against their will, nor will they allow an alien culture to be imposed upon

## THE REAL WAR

them, even though the rule is good for them and the culture is better than their own. But there is something in the British ideals of justice and freedom which makes the man who goes out from our shores remain in feeling and tongue always British. The rally of our over-seas dominions to our help at this time, without compulsion or even obligation, ought to show what it is that constitutes our Empire. Germany has failed to recognize what was the origin and what is the inspiration of this Empire of which she has allowed herself to grow envious; she has suffered herself to be misled so deeply that it has brought upon her an unparalleled national tragedy. Germany *has* possessed an Empire, unrivalled since that of Greece—an Empire of thought and idealism whose sway has extended over the whole thinking world; and now, like Greece before her, she has been tempted to barter away this reality for an absolute delusion. For years to come the very word 'culture' will be repellent, and German ideas and German thought will awaken only suspicion and prejudice. A nobler idea of Empire founded on the more clearly discerned facts of our national experience and inspired by a still stronger faith in the sentiment that holds us together must be realized amongst us.

There must also be a world-wide Empire of Christian Faith and Brotherhood. The failure of the old Catholic ideal of a Church organized on military lines, and with a uniformity enforced upon all, is as much out of date as the old conception of an Empire. Unfortunately the cause of its failure was not understood, and when the Catholic Church of Europe collapsed, we fell back on National Churches, which, in time of war especially, turn to national rather than to Christian ideals. The old Catholicism is dead; but Protestantism is equally dead,

## THE REAL WAR

for it has been unable to prevent the two greatest Protestant nations from going to war with one another. The Church of Christ must therefore seek out some new form of international organization, governed wholly by Christ, open to guidance by the Spirit, and relying on nothing but the power of God. Such a Church, if wholly committed to Christ, could probably wreck any proposals of war between Christian nations. But something more adventurous than protests against war or proposals for disarmament may have to be undertaken. The Church will have to make it clear that she is prepared to dispense with the protection of force altogether, and she may perhaps have to stand apart from any State that appeals to force. If even then the nations determined upon war, the Church ought to be ready to mobilize her armies, and if needs be, show herself willing to perish on the battlefield before the hostile armies can reach one another. The good soldier of Jesus Christ must be prepared to pay the same price as the good soldier of the State. Some act on the plane of actualities analogous to that in which Christ laid down His life for the world must be taken by the Church, or by some section or order within the Church, before the world can be finally saved from war.



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# Love Came Down at Christmas

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1914

## EXPLANATORY NOTE

GREAT BRITAIN is engaged in a war from which, as we believe, there was offered to our nation no honourable way of escape. The desire of all who love their country is to serve it in the hour of its need, and so to live and labour that those who have fallen in its service may not have died in vain. While this may suffice to make immediate duty clear, the war remains in the deepest sense a challenge to Christian thought. The present bitter struggle between nations which for centuries have borne the Christian name indicates some deep-seated failure to understand the principles of Christ and to apply them to human affairs.

This series of papers embodies an attempt to reach, by common thought, discussion and prayer, a truer understanding of the meaning of Christianity and of the mission of the Church to the individual, to society and to the world.

Those who are promoting the issue of these papers are drawn from different political parties and different Christian bodies. They believe that the truth they seek can be attained only by providing for a measure of diversity in expression. Therefore they do not accept responsibility for the opinions of any paper taken alone. But in spirit they are united, for they are one in the conviction that in Christ and in His Gospel lies the hope of redemption and health for society and for national life.

## LOVE CAME DOWN AT CHRISTMAS

YEAR after year, since we were children at school, we have counted up the weeks, and then the days, to Christmas! And now again the time draws near the birth of Christ. But this year, though we count the days, our feelings are changed. We ask ourselves, what will this Christmas be like? How shall we feel with the world at war—at Christmas? With what greetings shall we meet our friends? How shall we keep the Feast?

There is a famous passage in which Robert Louis Stevenson describes the beauty and the wonder and the peace of a Sunday morning in the Cevennes—the quiet mountain-side with the trees and meadows, and the little river ‘seagreen, shot with watery browns’, its clear pools lying under the blue air, sparkling in the sun. We have all known those peaceful Sundays when the pathetic fallacy holds us so easily and we believe that all Nature is in tune with the day. ‘All the time I went on,’ Stevenson says, ‘I never forgot it was the Sabbath: the stillness was a perpetual reminder, and I heard in spirit the church-bells clamouring all over Europe, and the psalms of a thousand churches.’ And if this experience is true of innumerable and memorable Sundays when we too felt the sabbatical peace, it is with a sharp sense of trouble and wrong that we approach Christmas, the day of all others consecrated to peace and goodwill, and remember that we are still at war.

Wordsworth found his ‘hour of feeling’ in the early

## LOVE CAME DOWN AT CHRISTMAS

spring-time, in the first mild day of March, when there was "a blessing in the air," and Love

an universal birth  
From heart to heart was stealing.

Wordsworth was the high priest of Nature, and thinking of the natural world, but no such season stirs the heart more deeply than Christmas—though Nature seems never so hard and cold—and the day which comes with the wonderful memories and a sound of the bells, happy greetings, thoughts of friends, and an especial remembrance of the lonely and the poor. At Christmas, of all times, love steals insensibly from human heart to human heart; the old grudges fall away: charity becomes natural, and we cast off the works of darkness and strive to put on the armour of light, because at this time Christ came to visit us in great humility. 'Love came down at Christmas': the Word was made flesh and dwelt amongst us, and a great longing comes into many hearts that we too may become sons, and like our Father in Heaven whose name is Love and in whom is no darkness at all.

If Stevenson heard the music of all the bells of Europe that Sunday morning, what sounds will come to us on Christmas morning as we listen with the imagination sharpened by the long, intolerable strain? Instead of the happy clamouring of bells there will be silence from many a ruined tower and battered steeple and, instead, the battle of the warrior with confused noise, and a horrible sense of garments rolled in blood. 'Yet Christmas comes in the morning.' This year how sadly that day must dawn for us all!

For war, though it brings with it heroism and sacrifice, and beautiful things of which some of us never dreamed—war even at its noblest must always bring sadness into the hearts of those who try to see with the eyes of Christ.

## LOVE CAME DOWN AT CHRISTMAS

War even at its best ! And at its worst who can measure the sin and the shame and the waste and the loss and the unutterable pain that war brings to innocent and guilty alike ?

Hark how the horses charge ! In boys, boys in !  
The battle totters ; now the wounds begin.  
O, how they cry !  
O, how they die !  
The battle 's won and lost  
That many a life hath cost.

Many are happy—with all the suffering—in the opportunity of their death, but the short verse in the Bible comes home to human hearts. *Jesus wept*. The tears must come because a friend has gone. But there was a strong crying once, very different from those quiet tears. There was a vision not of natural or honourable death, but of all the horrors that follow in the track of war. *Thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee ; and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another !*

I know this is only one side of war, but we must see it—now at Christmas—yes, all the new awfulness of modern war ; while the beautiful words of Peace and Goodwill ring in our ears.

There are always mourners at Christmas, but this year there are so many that mourn. There are so many empty places at the fireside, so many that will never be filled. On Christmas Day the sense of loss will come afresh in so many homes, in England, and in the countries of our allies, and in Germany. It is a sweet and glorious thing to die for one's country, and a glorious thing, and bitter-sweet, to give our dear ones for a noble cause, and yet so many mothers at Christmas must weep for their sons, because they are not ; and though many, thank God, are comforted,

## LOVE CAME DOWN AT CHRISTMAS

and will give thanks with a sad and noble pride, for many this high courage is hard. And for some there seems no relief. So many homes are left in blackened ruins. Men, women, children, all are gone : dead, lost, exiled, poor, how shall we measure the misery of Belgium, and the fair cities of France ? How can we understand the suffering of to-day, and to-morrow, and all the long tale of woe that must follow in the days to come ? No one yet has written a true history of any war. We read of the battles, the numbers engaged, the loss and cost of it all, but these are the things on the surface. No one has gone deep and estimated the moral cost of the war ; the moral impoverishment and suffering of children and children's children, directly and indirectly, as the result of war. There are the empty places this Christmas in many homes—left by ' warriors ', happy ' as every man in arms should wish to be ' : but there are other places empty—may we not be plain ?—to which some may by and by return, not as they went away, fired with a noble purpose, pure, with young enthusiasm, but with soiled souls, fallen men, with the knowledge that others have suffered through their fault, and that for them, and others, life will never be so pure and beautiful a thing as it was before. It is sad for men to die before their time, but yet, in a sense, we need not grieve for those generous spirits, whom no shape of danger could dismay, or thought of tender happiness turn aside from duty, even if they must go to dust without anything the world calls ' fame '. If there is grief here, it is

Confirming, cleansing, raising, making free ;

it brings thoughts which are ' great and grave ' and which last on, and mingle with great joys and pride. But of these other sorrows what are we to say ?—and some of them will be sharp this Christmas time ; or dull, with a dim sense in the home that something is wrong and the

## LOVE CAME DOWN AT CHRISTMAS

boy is not the same because of the war. Sad stories have come from some of our camps and from the cities where the soldiers, in whom we felt such pride, are quartered, stories of drunkenness, stories of shame. We don't talk of these things. It is surely not for us to apportion the blame ; indeed, if the question is raised, how much of the blame must be laid at our own doors ? But we know there will be many an aching heart, when Christmas comes, which has no medicine of pride. There will be many mourners this Christmas, and yet, if we come to think of it, may we not wonder that there are so few ? The other day I came by accident across that fantastic passage in *The Crown of Wild Olive* in which Ruskin tells the women of England that they might stop all war, if they would, by wearing mourning, ' a mute's black ', with no jewel, no ornament, nor any excuse for any prettiness at all. It is a characteristic passage, but what struck me, as I read it again, was not the thought of a world of women in mourning, but the charge that women did not—would not—truly mourn at all. ' You fancy that you are sorry for the pain of others. . . . You know, or at least you might know if you would think, that every battle you hear of has made many widows and orphans ', but ' *We have, none of us, heart enough truly to mourn with them*'. Wear the outer symbol of mourning that they did not feel was the least—so he put it—that the women could do.

' We might know if we would think ! ' But we do not think, we are not willing to take so many woes of others to heart. The infinite pain of the world outside means so little to us. We take the inevitableness of the miseries of others for granted :

Things like that, you know, must be  
In every famous victory !

But the trouble is there, and sometimes we get a vision

## LOVE CAME DOWN AT CHRISTMAS

of 'the infinite pity' that cares for the 'infinite pain'.  
*God so loved the world that He sent His Son*—at Christmas.

In Bruges, the lovely mediaeval city now so often in our minds, in the Church of Our Lady there stands a well-known group from the hand of Michael Angelo, the beautiful figures of the Mother and Child that found a home there four hundred years ago, where long ago Albrecht Dürer saw it on one of his journeys and wondered at it, standing, as so many of us have done, in the wonderful church and rendering his homage to the master's hand. There it remains, in these sad days, the placid Mother and the pleased and placid Child.

They used to leave it, before the war, on that side altar all day long, I think, with nothing to obscure its beauty from the tourists who came before it, guide-book in hand. But when the day was over and all the idle visitors were gone, then the sacristan would put back the great black cross with the figure of the Crucified, and Good Friday shadowed Christmas Day. That was the time I loved best to stay in that noble church when I was in Bruges, and watch the light of day go out, and the candles begin to burn out clear in the north aisle where the old women, and boys, and men were at their prayers, and the great shadows fell across the nave. And I used to think how a painter might have found a subject there in the uncertain light—those lovely marble figures in the shadow, and the black cross cutting through the group so insistently with its sharp lines.

It was indeed very beautiful as a study in colour and light and shade and composition. But it is not only the picture that remains from those keenly remembered moments in the church as night came on. There came grave moving thoughts about the cradle and the cross.

A child, more than all other gifts,  
Brings hope with it and forward-looking thoughts.  
'Hope?'—not only hope for the Mother of Christ, but



## LOVE CAME DOWN AT CHRISTMAS

many 'forward-looking thoughts', hopes and fears to ponder over in her heart. *Yea, a sword shall pierce through thine own soul also!* Many this Christmas, the festival of the Mother and the Child, will remember Our Lady of Sorrows and will understand.

'A child brings with it forward-looking thoughts!' Ever, at Christmas, as we grow older, we learn to look on from the cradle to the cross. It is not really strange that

the darkest hour  
That ever dawned on sinful earth  
Should touch the heart with softer power  
In comfort, than an angel's mirth;  
That to the cross the mourner's eye should turn  
Sooner than where the stars of Christmas burn.

The cross was inevitable. *God so loved the world that He sent His Son*—at Christmas—in infinite pity for the infinite pain. First the cradle and then the cross—and the baptism with which we too may be baptized, and the cup we may share. The birth and the death are one: an inevitable road lay between the inn and 'the place of a skull'. There was myrrh brought to the cradle, and to the cross, and myrrh with the spices at the grave. He was wrapped in swaddling clothes in the manger and sent bound to the cross, and yet some said at Bethlehem *A King is born*, and at Calvary *This was the Son of God*.

At Christmas it is inevitable that the old question of the failure of Christianity should be raised once more. Men, not only in Germany and throughout Europe, but more and more in England, feel the subtle influence of the new teaching about Valour. 'Two great forces,' we are told, 'contend for men's allegiance: Napoleon and Christ. In Europe this conflict for the mastery over the minds of men is the most significant spiritual phenomenon of the twentieth century. You meet with it in England and in

## LOVE CAME DOWN AT CHRISTMAS

America, as in Austria and Spain. You meet with it even in Italy. In Russia Tolstoi's furious attacks are a proof of its increasing sway. The new spirit in France is its unacknowledged derivative. But it is in Germany alone that as yet Napoleonism has acquired something of the clearness and self-consistency of a formulated creed.' There it is, transforming the principles of everyday life, breathing a new spirit into Ethics, 'transfiguring the tedious half-hypocritical morality of an earlier generation'.

Long ago Carlyle, in France, looking at the figure of Christ on the Cross, forewarned us of the change. 'Poor fellow'—how the words burn themselves into the memory—'Poor fellow! Your day is over.' And many now think it is so indeed. One of the characteristic things about Nietzsche is his supreme contempt for the timid critics who stripped Christianity only of its 'dogmas', and left the ethical system of Jesus alone. It was his pride that he had brushed everything away and made—so he believed—the turning-point in the history of the world. *Ye have heard men say, 'Blessed are the peace-makers,' but I say unto you, 'Blessed are the war-makers, for they shall be called, if not the children of Jahve, the children of Odin, who is greater than Jahve'.* 'Corsica,' in a word, says a modern interpreter of German thought, 'has conquered Galilee.' Christianity has been weighed in the balances and found wanting.

But ever in the Christian Church the song of Hope comes anew. 'Unto us a child is born!' Can we help taking these mysterious words of the old prophet, whatever they meant when he uttered them first, and remembering them when we think of the manger where Mary laid her first-born child, *because there was no room for them in the inn,* and called Him Jesus because He was to save us from our sins. Can we forget those other names: Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, *the Prince of Peace!* Is His day over? Has it yet begun?!

## LOVE CAME DOWN AT CHRISTMAS

Still in the 'inn of this world' there is no room for the Saviour; but at Christmas the door of the heart stands ajar again, and the power of love begins to move.

We are always talking of the causes of the war, studying the White Papers and reading over again the speeches delivered in Parliament on those critical August days. Or we are busy with the 'deeper causes' of the war, as we call them, rooted far back into the history of Europe; and we fasten our attention on geography and the problem of race; the trend of modern thought in Germany, and the influence of her teachers and great men. And only slowly we become aware of the deepest cause of the war, which lies in the heart of man.

In these days we hear much of the 'will to power', and the natural man feels the attraction, even while he shudders, of the Religion of Valour. But with Christmas comes once more the attraction of the will to love:

Love came down at Christmas,  
Love all lovely, love divine.

Once again we see the weakest, strongest thing in the world, a child—Love—was born at Christmas, when God's Son came to visit us in great humility. *And it came to pass in those days that Joseph went up from Galilee with Mary his espoused wife unto the city of David, which is called Bethlehem, and she brought forth her first-born son, and wrapped him in swaddling clothes and laid him in a manger.*

The Germans and the English have many things in common; loving hearts in both countries are counting the days to Christmas, and when Christmas comes in the morning many hearts will be sad, thinking of last Christmas Day and all the love and happiness that made the home so dear. Last year there were the happy gatherings, and the Christmas tree and lighted candles and the silver star, and the sweet voices sang together the *Heilige Nacht*

## LOVE CAME DOWN AT CHRISTMAS

and all the dear familiar Christmas songs. That was last year—but this year who will light the candles and who will sing the songs? We count the days to Christmas and how can we rejoice? How can any of us rejoice, though no ‘bad news’ has come to our doors, and no personal anxiety for those we love casts a shadow on our home? Here in England and in Germany our brothers and sisters are mourning, men and women we shall never know and never see, but dear to God; and some of them, in the narrowest sense, our brothers and sisters in Christ, with whom we are at war!

Has Christianity failed after all?

Love came down at Christmas and we see the weakest thing in the world, the child—new-born—in swaddling clothes, laid in the manger because there was no room in the inn. The weakest thing in the world? Not so. There is one thing weaker still—that solitary figure, in the darkness, on the cross! *And when Jesus had cried with a loud voice, He said, ‘Father, into Thy hands I commend My spirit’; and having said thus, He gave up the Ghost.* The will to love brought the child in the manger even to this! *He was taken from prison and from judgement; He was cut off out of the land of the living; He was ‘lifted up’.* If that were the end of the story Christ was weak indeed, but it is not the end—He was lifted up, and *He drew all men unto Him?*

So the Galilean conquers always wherever the exhibition of His love is made, and the old ‘strong gods’ go down before Him because in the end He is stronger than they. His power begins in the cradle and goes on through the cross. He was cut off out of the land of the living and is alive for evermore. The sure and certain hope of the Christian lies in Bethlehem and Calvary and the open grave.

The Galilean conquers, but slowly, slowly, the victory is won. Slowly because God is content to work through

## LOVE CAME DOWN AT CHRISTMAS

men and women, and we are so slow to understand, that many of us can hardly be counted as fellow-workers with Him at all. Stradivarius in the poem believed that if his hand slacked he should rob God, God himself needing 'best men to help Him.'

'God choosing *me* to help Him.'

That is what he thought about his partnership with God, and surely it was a great belief.

We pray that the Kingdom may come. But what have we done—thinking of the war, which is ever in our minds—what have we done to make God's will prevail in Europe as in Heaven? Where have His 'best men' been to help Him? Is it possible—to bring the matter home—that God, in Milton's great phrase, having some great purpose on hand, 'as His manner is', turned to 'His Englishmen' and found them wanting? Does He still say, 'I looked and there was none to help; and I wondered that there was none to uphold'.

It is not a thing of yesterday or to-day. The war, when it came, most of us believe was inevitable. But who can deny that 'the conditions which have made this catastrophe possible,—as we think, inevitable,—are essentially unchristian. There are words in that message 'To Men and Women of Goodwill', published in the first days of the war, which go home to us all. 'No nation, no Church, no individual can be wholly exonerated. We have all participated to some extent in these conditions. We have been content, *or too little discontented*, with them.' We have never seen as we ought to have seen His purpose for *us* here. We have not believed as we should in the power of God and His willingness—His *need* shall we say?—of the children of men to change the minds and the hearts of men.

I remember some words of one of our most distinguished historians, thrown out in the casual talk of a committee

## LOVE CAME DOWN AT CHRISTMAS

once, which sank very deeply into my mind: 'We have to make men understand,' he said, 'that what happened once in a little place called Judaea that we talk about on Sundays, *did* have some influence on the history of the world.' We forget it so easily, but it is true. When the new teaching came it did not change opinion merely about God and the life to come; it revolutionized the life of man. In heathen lands that revolution still goes on, and it goes on still in lands which have long been Christian in name. But it goes on slowly.

Beneath the angels' strain have rolled  
Two thousand years of wrong.

The time of Christ comes round again, but it is true still that

Man at war with man hears not  
The love song that they sing.

Whose is the fault? Is it ours? Have we been deaf all the while to the Christmas message and never realized that we should hand it on in our lives? Have we been content to talk of that 'little place called Judaea' on Sundays, and Bethlehem, the least of all the cities in Judah, on Christmas Day, and not seen that the will to love is the ultimate power that moves the world? Once when Dr. Dale, of Birmingham, was thinking out his Easter sermon, the fact that Christ was risen became so real that from that hour his preaching changed, and every Sunday it became, he tells us, his custom to choose an Easter hymn. At a time like this we may well desire our place with those who

*Daily* hear the Angel-song  
'To-day the Prince of Peace is born!'

'The best friend of peace is the man who works for the strongest and most effective army.' We can understand, of course, what is meant, at a time like this, when we believe God calls us to be the police of Europe and of the world.

## LOVE CAME DOWN AT CHRISTMAS

We know, at last, the immediate value of the strong arm. Few doubt, as the terrible days go on, that we ought to have made in the past far greater preparations for war. We see it now. But we see no further. There was a preparation also for peace not less pressing, surely, and for peace how many made any preparation at all? It was enough that we were ready—or should have been ready—for war. And all the time most of us forgot to prepare the hearts of men for the reign of goodwill and the coming of the Kingdom of God. We did so little to find out for ourselves the mind of Christ. We understood so little of the mightiness of Love.

Love came down at Christmas, but the Child in the manger from the first was on His way to the cross. There at last Love was lifted up, and the 'strong son of God' was seen conquering and to conquer. Love may wait long, but in the end it is the answer to every problem. Love conquers all. To-day many hearts are sad, and on Christmas night, it is true, the sky was dark—but there was a star! On Calvary in broad day there came the horror of a great darkness till the ninth hour, but on Easter morning when they came with the spices and the myrrh, that sweet-and-bitter drug—it 'began to dawn'. Love moved the world. Where it is shown, it moves it still, and love (if we could see it!) love comes down at Christmas.

It is told of one of the followers of St. Francis, Jacopone da Tode, that once when he was asked why he wept, he made answer 'I weep because love is not loved'. It is easy to deride that simple brother of the poor. Men affect to despise 'sentiment', and indeed in our day we so conceal our 'feelings' that sometimes we are unaware how deep they are, and how surely they govern our lives. Love tugs at the heart of lover, and mother, and child; strong men are obedient to love—

Love was, and is, my Lord and King!

## LOVE CAME DOWN AT CHRISTMAS

It is not a thing for argument ; it is enough to state the truth, and it flies home—

*amor omnia vincit,*

the tritest, truest of all the proverbs. Love waits at Christmas to be shed abroad in the hearts of men. The Child lifted up in Mary's arms drew wise men and shepherds to Bethlehem, the Man on the cross draws all the world. *I—if I be lifted up!*

Love comes down at Christmas. This year, in Europe, in countries full of graves, many of the bells will be dumb—and here the sound of the bells, which will ring out over the snow, or through the rain, or in the wintry sunshine, will fall sadly on our ears. We are still at war—because love is not loved. The deepest cause of the war—of all war—lies there.

The cry is still everywhere for 'men'. We true lovers of peace—even at Christmas—call with the rest. We ask for men. We too prepare for war, for the Love we love is not all gentle. Nothing can be so severe, so stern, as love. But in all the clatter and turmoil of the preparation for war we hear the music of the skies and the message of peace to those to whom alone peace can come—the men of goodwill; and while we pray for the time when men everywhere will fall in love with love there comes new 'hope and forward looking thoughts' as we remember that

Jesus Christ our Saviour  
Was born on Christmas Day.





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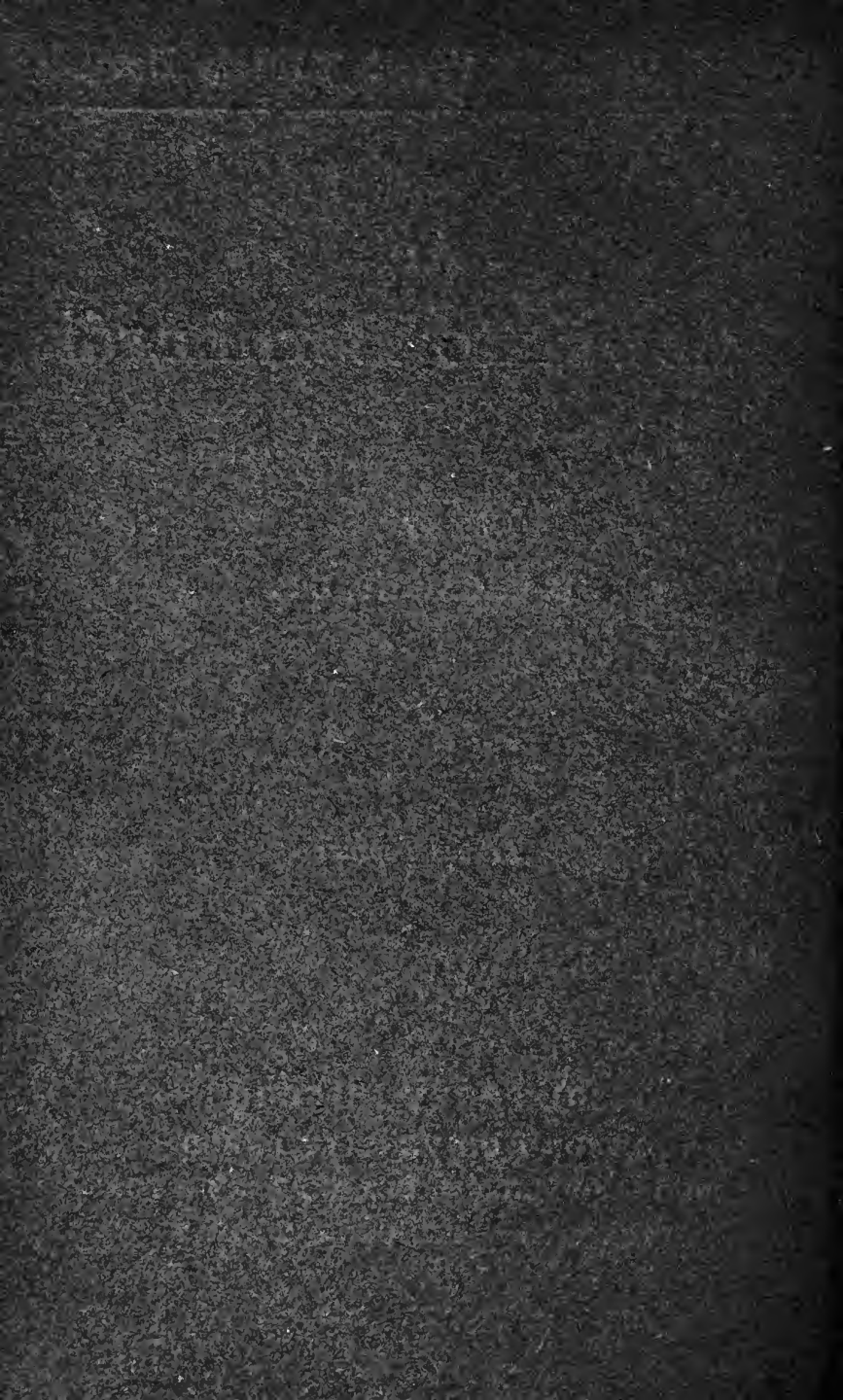
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## EXPLANATORY NOTE

GREAT BRITAIN is engaged in a war from which, as we believe, there was offered to our nation no honourable way of escape. The desire of all who love their country is to serve it in the hour of its need, and so to live and labour that those who have fallen in its service may not have died in vain. While this may suffice to make immediate duty clear, the war remains in the deepest sense a challenge to Christian thought. The present bitter struggle between nations which for centuries have borne the Christian name indicates some deep-seated failure to understand the principles of Christ and to apply them to human affairs.

This series of papers embodies an attempt to reach, by common thought, discussion and prayer, a truer understanding of the meaning of Christianity and of the mission of the Church to the individual, to society and to the world.

Those who are promoting the issue of these papers are drawn from different political parties and different Christian bodies. They believe that the truth they seek can be attained only by providing for a measure of diversity in expression. Therefore they do not accept responsibility for the opinions of any paper taken alone. But in spirit they are united, for they are one in the conviction that in Christ and in His Gospel lies the hope of redemption and health for society and for national life.

## AN ANSWER TO BERNHARDI

FEW names have been more frequently quoted among us of late than that of General von Bernhardt. His volume *Germany and the next War* is generally taken among us as an exposition of the inner mind of Germany. The writer of this tract can only say that after many years of acquaintance with religious and philanthropic circles in Germany, it is his belief that most of their leading minds are quite unacquainted with it, and that, if they were, they would repudiate its ideas with indignation. But it is unfortunately also true that it does represent the party in Germany which is now in the ascendant, so far as we can learn its mind from its press and its public actions, and that this party is heartily supported by the nation. For a full understanding of how this came to be, it is better to wait than to attempt premature explanation.

What is Bernhardt's central thought? It is that war is, and always will be, a necessity, and that it is our duty and wisdom to recognize this, and give it its due place and honour in all our thoughts.

Now the view that war is a necessity is unfortunately held by many good Christians and Idealists, but it is held with a difference. They believe that war is a consequence of human sin, and they tacitly assume that sin will always endure in God's world. But they hold that sin need not have been, and so they are able to condemn war, just as they condemn every form of evil. It is man's doing and not God's purpose.

Bernhardt is more logical and more uncompromising.

## AN ANSWER TO BERNHARDI

He holds that war is not contingent upon what men may or may not wish to do ; that it is part of the ground-plan of the universe, and therefore part of God's purpose for men. Germany's true wisdom lies in recognizing this, and in not being foolishly squeamish about it. Her true teacher here is 'the incomparable Frederick', whose supreme glory it was to recognize the facts of the universe, who through that veracious recognition and masterful handling of the facts has made Prussia great, and who, if Germany will follow 'the Friederician tradition', will make Germany greater still. Hence she must organize herself more efficiently for war, to this end determine her economic, educational, and religious policy on more purely militarist lines, and so attain that actual hegemony of the world to which the superior quality of her civilization rightfully entitles her.

This is the central thought of the volume, and therefore the real answer to Bernhardi must start with his principle of the necessity and glory of war. We shall first of all examine this as Bernhardi puts it, then consider more briefly that view of its necessity which is less revolting to intellect and to conscience, and which is held by many Christians, and shall finally endeavour to indicate that fuller Christian view which is essential to any complete answer. What, then, are Bernhardi's reasons for believing that war is an eternal necessity of human life? We must distinguish, to begin with, between his practical and his philosophical grounds.

### THE INFLUENCE OF FREDERICK THE GREAT

His whole discussion of the matter leaves on the mind the impression that his convictions have been determined by considerations which are not philosophical. He is a *Junker* first and a philosopher second. 'The incomparable Frederick' and not Plato or Hegel is his real



## AN ANSWER TO BERNHARDI

master. War has made Germany great, and more war will make her greater still ; this is the reiterated burden of the volume. When he passes from this sure and massive conviction to the philosophical and religious grounds for it he at once becomes wavering and self-contradictory. For himself he prefers an idealistic philosophy, but he is eager to show that any good and consistent materialist ought to hold the same conclusion. As for Christianity, is it not fundamentally a religion of combat, and did not Christ say ' I came not to send peace on earth, but a sword ' ? How much he really understands or cares about Christianity may be seen from the motto from Nietzsche which, I understand, appeared on the front page of the German edition : ' War and courage have achieved more great things than the love of our neighbour. It is not your sympathy, but your bravery, which has hitherto saved the shipwrecked of existence. " What is good ? " you ask. To be brave is good. '

We must therefore distinguish between the *Junker* and the thinker. The *Junker* may be reminded that, when all is said, ' the Friederician tradition ' may be a very inadequate guide through the unknown ages that lie before humanity, that nations as well as men may secure immediate and striking successes by courses which, if persisted in, may lead in the long run to colossal disaster, and outlawry from the commonwealth of nations, and that One who knew what was in God as well as in man once said, ' They that take the sword shall perish by the sword. '

To do Bernhardi justice, he recognizes that something beyond the practical argument is necessary, and so we find him seeking to ground the policy of ' the incomparable Frederick ', and his own convictions, in the cosmic order by the use of the argument of the ' biological necessity ' of war. ' Blood and iron ' are in the nature of

## AN ANSWER TO BERNHARDI

things. The fundamental law of all life is the struggle for existence, and the survival of the fittest for that struggle. Morality is a secondary result of that conflict, something which grows up within the separate States. It is the result of a concordat between their citizens which experience shows to be necessary if the States are to be efficient in the universal struggle and so to survive. But it has no rightful place in the relations of States with each other, because there is no Super-state to enforce it. Man, as such, has no rights. It is hard to see how, even if there were such an authority, it could enforce an international morality without suspending the struggle which, on Bernhardi's view, is the fundamental law. 'Strife', he would say with Heraclitus, 'is the father of all things,' including morality. All the virtues, on this view, become simply means to national existence and greatness, to the possession of ice-free harbours and gold mines, provinces rich in coal and iron, over-sea markets and so forth. This is plainly materialism of a very elementary kind. The strange thing is that the writer does not seem to see this, and uses idealistic, religious, and even Christian language with the most edifying fervour.

### NATURE OR SPIRIT

But the fact remains that the core of his argument is that the all-determining thing in the universe is nature and not spirit, biological and not moral necessity.

Any complete answer to Bernhardi would thus demand a critical analysis of materialism, which would carry us far beyond the limits of this paper. But a theory may be refuted not only by examining its premisses and by showing its inner inconsistencies and its inadequacy to explain the facts, but also by showing that it leads to consequences so revolting to the conscience of mankind,

## AN ANSWER TO BERNHARDI

and so glaringly absurd in themselves, that the theory becomes itself incredible. This service to humanity Bernhardi certainly has done.

### THE THEORY IN PRACTICE

Let us see how his theory works out in its results. Within the nations men owe to one another justice, mercy, and truth, but cross the frontiers of the State and you owe nothing to any alien. He has no rights that you need recognize. The dawn is still beautiful, and the stars glorious in their courses, human life in its pathos and mystery, its laughter and its tears is the same in essence though the Rhine lies behind you; the glory of art and song and the grandeur of science are the same. But there is one great exception. The moral law has disappeared. The alien has no rights as against you, and you have none as against him. You are now absolutely free to do what you like to him, provided you do not injure your country. You will, of course, be unwise in your own interest if you go too far. But you owe no duty to him or his country or humanity. The Rhine has made all the difference. So in foreign policy the statesman may lie without stint, break all his oaths, and use any rapacity or violence. Nay, if he hesitates to do so when his country's gain requires it, he is wronging his fellow citizens. To humanity, as such, he owes nothing at all. In fact, its interests are best conserved by each State doing the best for itself that it knows and can. This is his sole concession to the idea of a common human interest. Any conscious pursuit of such an ideal interest of all by the will of each is out of the question. He finds room for such a dream only in a foot-note. 'It belongs', he says, 'to the wide domain of Utopias.' We may answer, with a modern writer, that his own conception belongs to the wide domain of Hell.

Anything more repulsive than Bernhardi's outlook

## AN ANSWER TO BERNHARDI

upon the future of the world, or the reign of suspicion, violence, and fear that would result from his principles, it would be hard to conceive. It must seem a mere madhouse to any one who has caught from Christ some glimpse of pity, magnanimity, and truth. The fundamental law is struggle. Struggle means war. Therefore war is of God. Therefore it is good. Let us grasp the nettle boldly. Strong races will accept the law, will glory in it, and will arm not only for defensive but for aggressive war. War is 'God's dreadful medicine' for human slackness and selfishness. It is a school for all the heroic virtues. The love of peace is a sign of national decay.

What are we to think of all this? We have now had rather more than three months of war. It is rarely, indeed, that any volume has had so sudden and so tremendous an illustration of its principles. We have seen how Bernhardt and his comrades of the German Staff conceive of the practice of war. We may frankly admit that they have given us an illustration of its nobler side in the courage and self-devotion that they have shown without stint for the Fatherland. If war were only a matter of enduring hardship and of laying down one's life for the fatherland, we might admit much that he says of it. The real trouble is that it is so much besides. It is not simply that you have to do all that you can to maim or slay the bodies of your antagonists and to crush their spirits; it is that you have to inflict such unimaginable misery and wrong on those who cannot resist, and who are to the combatants as nearly ten to one. Most of us are surer than ever that war is essentially a brutal thing, because of what, through these hundred days, we have heard and read. We seem to have been living in an epidemic of madness, shot through with gleams of light and reason. We have all been a little abnormal, and some of us not a little. What is it that above all has poisoned the brain and inflamed the heart?

## AN ANSWER TO BERNHARDI

It has been what we have learned of the fate of the old men and women and children in time of war. We do not need to go to the innumerable accounts of unauthorized outrage here. It is quite enough to take things which no one denies, and which are understood to be approved and instigated by the militarism for which Bernhardi speaks. They are, therefore, on his own showing, part of the Divine necessity of war. A man and his wife are sitting peacefully talking together in Antwerp in the quiet of an autumn night. No formal investment or warning of bombardment has been given. A Zeppelin sails in in the darkness, drops its bomb beside them, and all that is left of them is a falling drizzle of flesh and blood. Beside them hundreds are maimed or slain. Again, in a great French city, far from the battle-field, a little girl is playing beside her nurse. A 'Dove' sails in overhead, there is a loud explosion, and what remains is a dead woman and a little wailing heap of crippled humanity. The doer of this deed, a strong and bold youth, sails away in triumph to receive military honours and the plaudits of an admiring people. Had that people been in its senses it would have hanged him, and repented in anguish and tears the deed that had stained the honour of a great nation.

But on Bernhardi's theory and presumably, seeing that he is a member of the General Staff, his practice, these acts of warfare were part of the counsel of God. He is welcome to his God. Atheism may be a much cleaner and nobler thing than religion of this type. Every human being who is not out of his senses with fear or pride knows that such things are wicked and shameful. All the sophisms about there being no morality as between nations are snapped like burnt thread in the blaze of righteous anger that springs up in every uncorrupted human conscience against such deeds done to any people under heaven. If our country is going to do such things

## AN ANSWER TO BERNHARDI

and make us complicit in them, then we shall renounce our country and seek admission to some nobler State.

But it may be said, though Bernhardt cannot say it, that such things are no essential part of fair warfare. Why should they not be such, if they are effective? On his theory they are not wrong. Nothing is wrong if done in war to men, women, or children of another nation. They have no rights and no guardian. Torture, burning alive, extermination are all legitimate, if only they are effective for their further purpose of national aggrandizement. If the theory is true, we must carry it through.

Again, take espionage. No man can deny that this is an essential element in all warfare. All nations practise it. The spy is as essential an element in war as the hero in the trenches. Yet who can deny that there is something morally revolting in the conduct of one who comes to a foreign land, enters into kindly relations with its citizens, is hospitably welcomed to their homes and friendships, and who is all the time using this human trustfulness and kindness with the view of bringing on the land in which he dwells all the horrors of an alien invasion? Are ignominies like these an essential part of human life? Is any noble nation really proud of its spies any more than of its hangmen? Yet on Bernhardt's principles this is a mere foolish prejudice. Hospitality to the stranger is a criminal folly, and he who takes advantage of it is a wise and noble patriot.

### MORAL LAW UNIVERSAL OR ELSE ILLUSORY

Is there any need to pursue the argument further? There is something behind all this instinctive human horror and scorn for the many moral enormities of warfare. The human conscience is clean against Bernhardt's view that as between States there is no morality. In fact, his own conscience is oddly at strife with his

## AN ANSWER TO BERNHARDI

theory, for he is quite unreserved in his condemnation of other peoples for acting with treachery and violence in the international sphere. The ice becomes very thin for Bernhardi when he is speaking of the misdeeds of England towards other lands. He cannot have it both ways. Either there is a universal law of Right, or there is none at all. In fact, the whole contention is preposterous. Morality has no frontiers. That which is right on one side of the English Channel or the Rhine cannot be wrong for the same man on the other. We owe justice, mercy, and truth to all men everywhere, or we do not owe them to any man anywhere ; we do not owe them even to our own fellow countrymen. For nothing can be more certain than that if a nation acts with deceit and violence towards other nations, and if it gains success in its aims thereby, the contagion will spread through all its own people, and the whole national life will go down at last in anarchy and shame. So was it with great Rome, and so has it always been with all predatory races. In their development there always comes a time when the unreasoning and instinctive patriotic morality of their youth moves up to a higher and broader plane, or else lapses into moral disintegration and outward ruin.

Bernhardi's philosophy of war, then, leads to consequences which revolt the conscience and common sense of men, when we simply take it as it stands, without raising the deepest question of all,

### BERNHARDI FORGETS GOD

But let us at last raise that supreme question. Bernhardi says that there can be no moral obligation save to those within the State, for there is nothing higher than the State. He has forgotten God. If there exist ' One whom we describe least imperfectly when we call Him Personal ', we cannot but ascribe to Him the noblest

## AN ANSWER TO BERNHARDI

character of Personality, Justice, Mercy, and Truth ; and if this be true of Him who is the only enduring Reality and Power, He must have something to say in this debate. The acknowledgement of God of itself at once universalizes human rights. He must deal righteously with all men, so there must be a moral order of the world ; and if there be such an order, then the whole of Bernhardi's book is a madman's dream, from which soon or late there must be an appalling awakening, an awakening to the reality of the Righteous God.

Moreover, He must have a purpose and an end towards which human history in all its myriad paths is converging, and in the service of which all men and all nations alike find their only true destiny. If God lives, then it is absolutely clear that the greatness of any nation can lie only in the manner in which it has contributed to the attainment of His purpose. ' Things are what they are, and the consequences of them will be what they will be. Why, then, should we seek to be deceived ? ' Everything turns, therefore, on how we must conceive of that purpose and end.

Bernhardi finds the clue to that purpose in Nature. This is the radical error behind the many errors of his volume. If there be a living God, a purpose and an end in the cosmos, the real clue must be found in the climax and not in the proem. To take ' biological necessity ' as the clue to human life is to commit the same kind of error as if we took the opening scenes of *Hamlet* and endeavoured to explain the whole drama in terms of our interpretation of them. Why, we cannot fully understand them unless we go back on them from the revealing climax. So it is the faith of Christians that they alone can understand human life in all its riches who view it in the light of the Kingdom of God. They believe that the purpose of Nature is to produce a being higher than herself, the very nature of whose moral life shows



## AN ANSWER TO BERNHARDI

that he belongs to a greater Order, who judges himself, whether he will or no, by standards higher than those of the brute struggle for existence, through which his soul, by long ancestral paths, has come by ideals which reveal that he is fundamentally not natural but spiritual, that he is made for the Kingdom of God. They believe that the true clue to the whole vast cosmos is found in the Cross and Resurrection of the Christ, in which is disclosed the very nature of that Kingdom. If, then, we are to think of God in terms of the Cross and the Resurrection, it is totally inconceivable that He could ever have decreed that war should be a necessary and enduring element in human life. To maintain the contrary is definitely and plainly to range oneself on the side of Anti-Christ.

### IS WAR PERMANENTLY NECESSARY ?

The only possible course for a Christian, therefore, is to hold that war is always due to some aberration from the will of Almighty Love, by one or both parties to that war. Christian thought to-day, where it is coherent, takes this form.

But Christians differ as to whether war will ever be eliminated from human life. Many say that it can be abolished only when sin is destroyed, and as they believe that sin can never be destroyed they hold to the permanence of war. There is in these despairing conclusions the gravest peril lest they shall simply play into the hands of men like Bernhardt and the militarists. If you believe that any evil is inevitable, all experience shows that you have taken a long step towards making it inevitable. The ages, for instance, when men thought it impossible to win the whole world for God were not and could not be missionary ages. What was the result ? The Church simply played into the hands of the clear-headed cynical exploiters of the non-Christian races, because it did not believe enough

## AN ANSWER TO BERNHARDI

in God, or in man, or in the Gospel. One consequence was the entanglement of Christendom in African slavery. So is it to-day. Trace the impotence of the Christian Churches regarding war to its roots, and it will be found to be due to the same want of faith.

There are two answers to this despairing temper. The first is radical and may be put as a question. By what right do we say that sin is a necessary and eternal element in God's world, and that the Almighty must in the end of the day accept the defeat of His Kingdom in the world that He has made? If, however, this elementary range of faith is not possible to us, and if we accept the existence of sin as an enduring element in human life, it does not by any means follow that warfare must be permanent. There is not one single great crusade for human progress that might not have been paralysed at the outset by such want of faith. The securing of world-peace may seem to be so hard as to dismay the stoutest heart, but is it any harder than was the extirpation of, say, polygamy or slavery? Yet this has been accomplished in all the progressive races of mankind. Is this cancer more radically established in the tissues of the social organism than were those? What would have become of the human race if men of the Spirit had acquiesced in these barbarous customs on the plea that so long as lust and avarice were so deeply rooted in human nature it was hopeless to attempt to remove their social expression? Doubtless both polygamy and slavery had their Bernhardis who endeavoured to consecrate their enormities as 'biological necessities', and therefore as the ordinance of God. And doubtless, too, they found their best allies in those who had so little faith in God that they despaired of their fellow men.

How are such great advances in human life won? Many forces work together to the common end. Economic factors have their own great part to play, and

## AN ANSWER TO BERNHARDI

these are every day becoming stronger in the cause of peace. But history shows, also, that taken alone these can never prevail. There must be a change of heart. Men must come to feel that there is something contemptible, cheap and dreary about the ideals of the past in comparison with the new ideals that are being born. Great causes are won by the power they show of capturing the nobler and more powerful minds in the coming generation. Time and mortality do the rest. That is what is needed to-day. The leading minds and the common consciousness need to be disillusioned about war, to be made to feel that there is more than a taint of madness in it all, that there is something ignominious and brutal in its very essence.

But we need more than that if we are truly to complete our answer to militarism. There is a nobler element in it, and we must find a 'moral equivalent for war'. There is no complete 'answer to Bernhardi' until this be found. His book is not wholly base. Narrow and sordid as are his thoughts of his people's destiny, cynical and envious as are his judgements of all other nations, confused and shallow as is his philosophy, there are in his strange book gleams of nobility, too. He loves his fatherland well, if not wisely, and in her interest he preaches unremitting endurance, toil, and sacrifice. We cannot really answer him until we have met him here, and dealt with his strength as well as with his weakness. Such men are impervious to any purely economic gospel. They have an instinct that they are standing for something that all the economic demonstrations of the profitableness of peace will never satisfy.

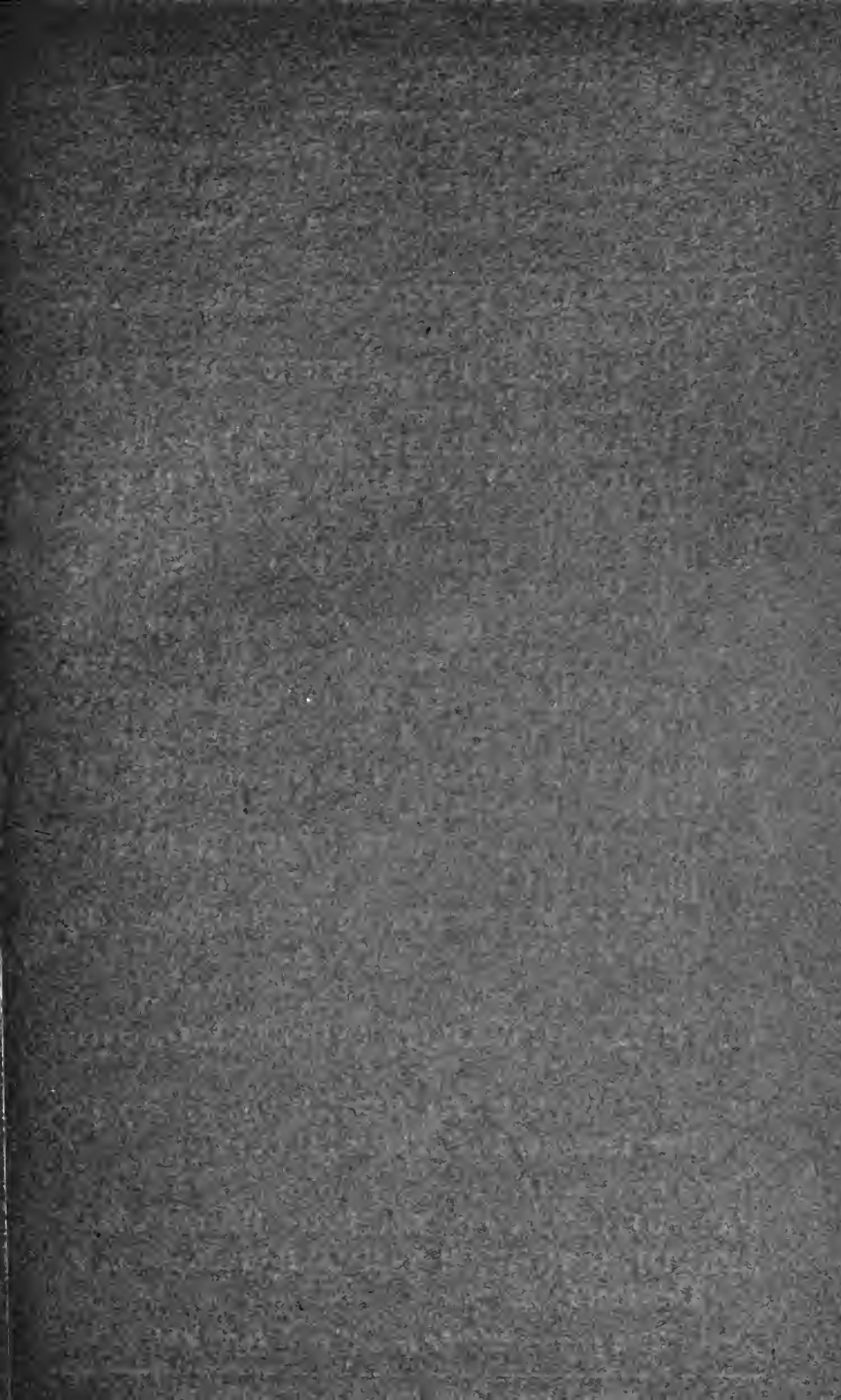
### THE ANSWER

Has the Christian Church to-day no great message to proclaim to all the nations, which will preserve all that is really noble in patriotism and in sacrifice for the

## AN ANSWER TO BERNHARDI

fatherland? Is it not rather an essential if half-forgotten part of her message that there is a world-wide Kingdom of God, too great and rich for any one nation to express in its completeness, but needing them all, with all their racial differences and historical individualities, for its attainment, a real and not simply an ideal commonwealth of all mankind, slowly working out its vast destinies not in a tame cosmopolitanism, but in a true international life, rich in its very antagonisms because held together in a deeper unity in God? Many things, as the Prime Minister recently said, which seemed Utopian a year ago are not Utopian to-day, because we see now as we did not then the inevitable alternative. It has been truly said that the task of statesmanship now is to turn the Balance of Power into a Concert of Europe. The phrase marks the transition from racial separatism to a constructive and united labour for a common end. Only absorption in this end can ever supply the 'moral equivalent for war'. There is an opportunity here for Christianity that never in all its centuries it has had before of preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom of God.

If the spirit of prophecy were to awaken among us again, it would preach to us not only of Doom but of Hope. It would proclaim to men that the life they have been living is hardly life at all, that the life that they may have is as much above what they are having as their life is above that of the savage, and that they are living in a world of riches, natural and human and Divine, which they have hardly begun to discover or to use. It would tell us that to win those hidden riches we need all the nations and all the races. And it will tell us too, as it has always been its mission to do, that the leader of our full human salvation is Christ, that only He can mediate between man and man who mediates between man and God.





*Second Series*

PAPERS FOR WAR TIME. No. 13

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# PATRIOTISM

BY

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## BASIS OF PUBLICATION

This series of Papers is based on the following convictions :

1. That Great Britain was in August morally bound to declare war and is no less bound to carry the war to a decisive issue ;
2. That the war is none the less an outcome and a revelation of the un-Christian principles which have dominated the life of Western Christendom and of which both the Church and the nations have need to repent ;
3. That followers of Christ, as members of the Church, are linked to one another in a fellowship which transcends all divisions of nationality or race ;
4. That the Christian duties of love and forgiveness are as binding in time of war as in time of peace ;
5. That Christians are bound to recognize the insufficiency of mere compulsion for overcoming evil and to place supreme reliance upon spiritual forces and in particular upon the power and method of the Cross ;
6. That only in proportion as Christian principles dictate the terms of settlement will a real and lasting peace be secured ;
7. That it is the duty of the Church to make an altogether new effort to realize and apply to all the relations of life its own positive ideal of brotherhood and fellowship ;
8. That with God all things are possible.



## PATRIOTISM

PATRIOTISM is more easily praised than explained. We do not really know why Belgium objects to being a member of a well-ordered and prosperous German federation, or why a Teutonic province like Alsace should be passionately French, or why a nation like that of Poland, which had no political cohesion in the days of its greatness, should have shown a most exalted spirit of nationalism during the long martyrdom of its dismemberment. We know that a British father, in times of peace, when he is actuated very largely by reason, would rather marry his daughter to a German prince than to an English private ; we know that our scholars would rather be interned with a company of Berlin professors than with the honest dustmen of London. In fact we had long discovered that science, art, labour, feminism, were international ; here, we said, is reason come to its own at last—‘ Workers of the world unite ! ’

And then there was war : and there came a cry in the heart of every man and woman, an insistent ghostly summons. International solidarity crumbled into level dust, because it was only built by reason. Patriotism swept it all away, because loyalty to the fatherland is an intuition. Professors who had worked together and quoted one another all their lives began to hurl manifestoes across the frontier ; labour found that its only real solidarity was under a national flag, battalioned with the *bourgeoisie* ; the militant feminist lay down with the lambs of the Home Office and began to knit mittens. A great psychological philosopher who lectures at Paris, a keen-faced, spare

## PATRIOTISM

Frenchman (with a German name), whose philosophy differs from other philosophies in taking account of human nature, is now witnessing the justification of his claim : ' Il y a des choses que l'intelligence seule est capable de chercher, mais que, par elle-même, elle ne trouvera jamais. Ces choses, l'instinct seul les trouverait ; mais il ne les cherchera jamais.'

We will not try to explain why men are patriotic. Perhaps we needed the infernal crimes and horrors of Armageddon to remind us that they are, and that neither dynasts nor diplomats, neither the theories of Utopian materialism nor the sweet appeal of pure reason, can make them otherwise. The war does at least prove to us that the greatest things are not intellectual, that men are moved by other forces more spiritual, more noble, and more true. The whole world shouts it ; half the world is at war to proclaim it ; and it may be that already a million men have died to prove the reality of an ' abstraction '. Civilization has not pushed out of it, as from some outworn barbarism, but it has grown with civilization. The national principle, indeed, was not established in Europe until the nineteenth century. We may be annoyed by the things that Häckel has said about England, but at least he has proved that he is not a rationalist.

Perhaps God has allowed us to pull down the temple of modern civilization over our heads in order that the survivors may be cured of the modern habit of regarding man as a calculating machine ; perhaps we had to make atonement by blood for our narrow and gross intellectualism ; and perhaps there was no other way for us to be born again, in order that, with the hearts of little children, we might understand that the eternal things are unseen.

Certainly our fatherlands are invisible. We can see only a few fields here and there, or a few slums, or a few heaps of architecture, mostly very bad, and faces that we pass

## PATRIOTISM

in the street, not always admirable ; and books, some bad and some good, and most of the best, translations ; and also there are familiar sounds and smells and tastes. But what we love is a mere 'abstraction', an inward and spiritual grace of which these are but the broken symbols. Yet we love it, and our love for it is wonderful ; quite ordinary people are glad to die in agony for it, and base people are transformed, and careless people become heroic, and selfish people offer great, joyful sacrifices to the unseen.

That is religion. Sabatier was right in his *Orientation de la religion française* when he claimed the passionate devotion of his countrymen to Alsace-Lorraine since 1870 as a sign that France was becoming religious again. This is not the place to criticize patriotism in its theological aspects, to inquire into the ancient henotheisms, or to ask how far, in worshipping their country, men are truly worshipping some aspect of the divine perfection. It may be that patriotism stands or falls with the Invocation of Saints. But at least we may assert that subjectively patriotism is a form of religion ; of this communal charity it may be said that love is of God, and he that loveth is born of God.

Certainly, with many men, that is the only form of religion they possess ; they have come through atheism back to the old henotheistic starting-point, and believe in Britannia of the Anglo-Saxons or Germania of the Teutons as the Semitic tribes once believed in Chemosh of the Moabites or Moloch of the Ammonites. I, for one, would not lessen their devotion by one jot ; if a Häckel will not worship God, it is at least to the good that he should worship something outside himself that eludes his microscope : and our criticism of the free-thinkers who have so long worshipped France, and guided her destinies, for good or evil, is only that their faith has not been broad enough to include the greatest with the less—

## PATRIOTISM

‘ This ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone.’

Patriotism is a salt against rottenness, a glorious spur to high endeavour ; it recovers the half-obliterated virtue of loyalty, calls every man to service, and ennobles great and small alike. ’Tis so universal that even the professors cannot escape it.

But all is not patriotism that glitters. Fear, prejudice, and hate, a base and morbid sensationalism, collective selfishness and corporate egotism, pass themselves off for the true thing in war time : there are not a few who are as eager to make money out of their country’s need now as in times of peace ; and we non-combatants are always in danger of thinking that the beginning and end of our duty is to call vehemently upon the young—and the poor—to sacrifice themselves in defence of our comfortable persons and property. And, in general, this patriotism is marred by gross and cruel faults, just as the religion of Christendom has been, though the faults of patriotism are not used by agnostics as an argument against it—as the faults of religion are ; which, possibly, is because the agnostics are inside the one and not inside the other.

Patriotism, like religion, is of course marred by boasting. So vulgar a fault need only be mentioned, and is really less with us to-day than in former wars ; but it is not dead, and we shall do well to have in mind certain of our own poets, when we sing—

Such boastings as the Gentiles use,  
And lesser breeds without the law—

for the lesser breeds are to be distinguished by the thickness rather than by the colour of their skin, and many Gentiles write articles in our own newspapers.

Patriotism is often marred also by evil-speaking, and in this also it is like religion. The members of each

## PATRIOTISM

church have had an inveterate and suicidal habit of condemning other churches, of abusing, attacking, and persecuting them—even the gentlest Christians seldom rising above a mild disparagement : and the enemies of all the churches have taken them at their mutual valuation. This is a curious eccentricity in human nature, and difficult to explain ; for, after all, an adoring husband does not go about calling on other husbands and explaining what unpleasant wives they have. He is content to admire his own wife. We might try this method in the case of our own church ; and then perhaps our newspapers will follow suit in international matters. It is good to be chivalrous. It is certainly foolish to depreciate the enemy, and no act of grace brings such sublime reward for both sides as to praise him.

Patriotism, too, may become non-moral, or definitely immoral and atheistic. States, like churches, may begin by a lust for power, a straining after infallibility, and pass on through a perversion of loyalty to the consequent loss of honour and the crashing down of ethics. To say, as many do, ' My country, right or wrong,' is dangerous ; to think, as most do, ' My country is always right,' is more dangerous by the addition of a lie ; to make a philosophy of these sentiments, and to say that above the State there is nothing at all, is in fact to drift into atheism. We blame the enemy now because some Prussian writers have taught that the interests of the Fatherland over-ride every other consideration ; we have also, long ago, it is to be hoped, blamed our allies in France for having taught that no other societies, such as the Church, have any rights against the State ; but we shall be wise to examine ourselves whether we also have not given way to both these doctrines which set the State above liberty, above right, above God. A Christian cannot turn to the State for his ethics, or take diplomats as his spiritual directors ; the

## PATRIOTISM

only patriotism which he can respect is that which bows before the God of truth and righteousness. Now this Christian patriotism, because it is moral, is capable of being international. A patriotism that cannot be international, that can find no room for the wider loyalty to humanity or the deeper loyalty to the Church, always becomes criminal, and so long as it endures will continue to stain the pages of history. Loyalty to the kingdoms of the world may indeed become treason to the Kingdom of God. The true patriot must be able to say to his country—

I could not love thee, dear, so much,  
Loved I not honour more.

When he has to choose between faith and fatherland he will not hesitate.

At the root of all the diseases of patriotism, as of religion, lies the spirit of hatred. The history of Christendom indeed would have to be entirely rewritten had Christian nations and churches even tried to love their neighbours, not to mention their enemies; and we are what we are because of the rarity of Christian charity. War could hardly have come upon us now, if the gospel of hate had not been preached for many years, and a boggy England created by the great national historian of Prussia, just as a boggy Russia is made by many sincere English and German pacifists. We, on our side, perhaps not unprovoked, give rein to the vice; many who have never doubted themselves to be Christians are sincerely annoyed if they are told they must love Germans; and I know of one person who left a society because its secretary was feeding a German family and giving them drink. We reproduce horrid outbursts of spleen from the German press, though this can have no result but to inflame hatred on our side; and it has been openly proclaimed that the goad of

## PATRIOTISM

acrimony is essential to military success, as if our soldiers were too weak without that stimulant, and did not know that their business is not to detest the enemy but to defeat him—as if we were not all alike looking for the peace that will come. For, after all, the war will soon be over, and then we shall all have to live in friendly relations together again.

Primitive man could not understand being loyal to his own tribe without warring against other tribes, but we have to put away that old man. In the nations as in the churches we have to learn the simple truth that we can love our own fellowship without hating the fellowships of others.

Nay, more, there is a charity of fellowship. We need to have great heart enough to love other churches and nations, and thereby to love our own yet better. The best Englishman is also a good European—nay, he is a humanitarian: the best churchman is a Catholic—one who loves the whole of Christendom as well as his own group. We have to be patriotic and loyal like Christ, and like Him also to be universal.

In a word, the true patriot is he who believes—not in one patriotism but in all, who respects the nationality of others and welcomes loyalty wherever it exists. In the past we have not been patriotic enough. We have not really believed in patriotism.

That is the key to the international situation. In the past the world was dynastic; countries were mere gauds, to be torn from one crown and stuck on to another. The dynasts strove, by marriage and by war, to enlarge their estates, and patriotism was the last thing they cared about. Then slowly, as the Christian leaven worked, foregleams of a new charity began to appear; the feelings of the peoples who were parcelled and annexed began very faintly to be considered—‘The people, Lord, the people,

## PATRIOTISM

not thrones and crowns but men.' The national principle came to be recognized : after England and France, Spain found herself ; and after and in spite of Spain, Holland ; and, within living memory, Germany and Italy.

But it was always more difficult in Central Europe ; more intricate there was the mingling of races, and far greater wrongs had been done. Turkey had long enslaved a gallant band of Christian nations who have produced martyrs by the hundred or by the thousand every year during the centuries in which they have refused to give up the Cross. Poland had been partitioned, and the Southern Slavs treated as mere serfs ( ' of a lower stage of civilization ' ) to be herded about by Teuton or Magyar. And the hatred of all for each has been something inconceivable. The position has always been acutely difficult, but no one thought of settling it in the only possible way, by recognizing the national principle—that is, by loving one's neighbour enough to consider his feelings. After all, we British would understand quickly enough the cruelty of the old diplomatic way, if we were told to-day that we had to be Turks, and next year that we were Austrians, and the year after that we had been transferred to Monaco with Monte Carlo for our capital. The small nations endured and survived with a glorious persistence : some were rescued by Russia : Greece was also helped by Britain, and Italy had our encouragement. Some became free ; but all remained mutilated.

Then, last August, came the explosion ; and the new Triple Alliance consists of the three empires whose greatness has depended upon the oppression of unwilling subjects. Turkey has been the worst offender—the children born of her were fire and sword, red ruin and the breaking up of laws ; at one time she held Europe (with that once brilliant sister of Europe which was called Asia Minor) up to the very gates of Vienna. Germany is the least offender, yet



## PATRIOTISM

she can never know peace till the peoples of Poland, of Alsace-Lorraine, and even of Schleswig, are reunited to their own families. To both members of the Dual Monarchy we owe much ancient championship against the Turk, but Austria now sins against patriotism most of all: belonging to her on the north is the Slav nation of Bohemia; on her south she still retains two precious fragments of her former vassal—*Italia irredenta*; on her south-east dwell uneasily the Serbs of Herzegovina and Bosnia. Hungary is now her almost equal partner, but the ruling Magyar race is neither Slav nor Teuton, and loves neither Teuton nor Slav; and the Magyars themselves are but 51 per cent. of the people of Hungary, lording it over the Slavs and others who live in grinding poverty and emigrate whenever they can. East of Hungary, but still part of the strange dynastic conglomerate of the Habsburgs, is Transylvania, inhabited by Rumanians, who are proud of their Latin descent and speak a Romance language; north of this *Rumania irredenta* is the province of Galicia, containing the ancient Polish capital of Cracow, and consisting of two nationalities, the Poles, who are far better treated than in Germany, and kept faithful by a large measure of Home Rule, which they have used to oppress their subject-peoples of Russian blood and language, the Ruthenes.

Outside the Austro-Hungarian Empire are the Balkan States, free now at last, but all forced to be oppressors, mainly by the tortuous and immoral diplomacy of Vienna—Serbia, Greece, Rumania, even Turkey, all holding parts of Bulgaria, and all deliberately mutilated and mutually hostile, through the deliberate policy of their great neighbour.

The race-map of Central Europe is a strange thing.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> One is printed in Mr. Ramsay Muir's *The National Principle and the War*, an admirable statement which should be read together with

## PATRIOTISM

A coloured one should be published, to hang in every house, and thus bring home to the people of the Allies and of the neutral nations how wickedly and fantastically the frontiers wriggle through the real nationalities of Europe. Here lies the sin which we are expiating ; here lie our duty and our hope ; and only here will be found the possibility of a peace that shall be permanent in Europe.

We have to be more patriotic, so patriotic that we shall believe in the patriotism of every patriotic nation. And therefore in the future, and for ever, we must consult the people themselves. If Alsace wishes to be French, or Swiss, or independent, and Poland to be an autonomous nation protected by federation with Russia, and Schleswig to be Danish again, the world must respect their nationality and consider their happiness. Croats, Slovenes, Ruthenes and Rumans, Magyars and Czechs, must develop their personality, like Belgium and Holland, in the way they think best. Then Austria, if she sees fit, will be free to federate herself with the other great German States ; for the integrity and prosperity of the real Germany must be as dear to us as our own. Nothing else is Christian, for Christianity means respect of every human individual and care for every human fellowship ; and only Christianity can prevent war.

But Christendom has never yet tried Christianity. The experiment would succeed, and Europe would be happy. We partly err in moaning at the horrors of the war, since the greater horror has been the long-drawn martyrdom of many nations broken and oppressed, which has made the war inevitable.

We have to be so patriotic that we shall believe in small nations as well as large, and no longer think that to be

Mr. H. A. L. Fisher's *The Value of Small States* and the tracts on Serbia, Russia, Austria and the Eastern Question, in the same excellent series of *Oxford Pamphlets* published by the Oxford University Press.

## PATRIOTISM

large is to be great. We owe what we are to the ' Little England '—

This happy breed of men, this little world,  
This precious stone set in the silver sea ;

to the little England wherein were lived the spacious days of great Elizabeth, and to little states like Florence, like Greece—and to a wayside inn in a little town in the smallest country of them all. We need not despise the small state, or be impatient of its stubborn patriotism. From it have come the great treasures, in it has dwelt the mighty heart of freedom, and to it is largely due that teeming life of unity in variety which we call modern civilization.

We have, finally, to be far more patriotic, so that we shall no longer need the goad of war to make us loyal, but shall love our country even in times of peace. For, indeed, patriotism has nothing to do with war—except for the hardness of our hearts—any more than religion has, though men have often fought for both, and forgotten both in peace. The Budget has just been presented to an applauding country as I write. Why do we remember only in war time that tax-paying is a glorious opportunity of national service, and that in this also God loveth a cheerful giver ? Why do we welcome the waste of war, and rage against the beneficent expenditure of peace, unless it be that in times of peace we do not really love our country ? Indeed we do not : in the agonizing years of sullen class warfare which we call the piping times of peace we live base lives, selfish, mean, and cruel ; and year by year the towns spread hideously their streets and their slums over this fair England of ours, for which we are able to die but are not ready to live ; and year by year the poor are oppressed, the lowly degraded, and the weak violated ; and the cry of our submerged millions

## PATRIOTISM

goes up to heaven, while we expensively amuse ourselves. And we think we are patriots! Why, even in the toll of human life, the slaughter of war is small compared with the perennial casualties from preventable diseases, preventable infant mortality, unnecessarily dangerous trades—from ignorance, poverty, drunkenness and vice. It needed this war to make Russia sober; but the gain to Russia in human life alone will be made up in a few years, the gain in character and happiness is already beyond calculation. Alas, that not even this war can make Britain patriotic in the same way!

And yet even we, so accustomed to put private gain before the common weal, are strangely stirred. The careless are awake, the stupid have won that grace of imagination without which no man can be saved, the selfish think of others, the mean are almost generous. We are all patriotic. Virtue has come to us. England is strong. The Empire is united. 'Your King and Country need you.' Great God! Have they not needed us all through our lives?

The war will soon be finished—very soon, as history reckons. Shall we continue to be patriotic when it is over? Our forefathers did not, after the Hundred Years' War, or after the Civil War, or after the wars of the eighteenth century, or after Waterloo. We have not indeed yet shaken off all the degradation into which Britain sank after Napoleon was done with.

Shall we over-ride the coming reaction, and love our country when the war is over? Or shall we justify the philosophy of those who say that war is necessary because nothing else can purge us from the greater horrors of our unchastened wickedness in peace, because nothing else can make us loyal?

That will depend largely upon the spirit of those whose work it is to inform the minds and enlighten the con-

## PATRIOTISM

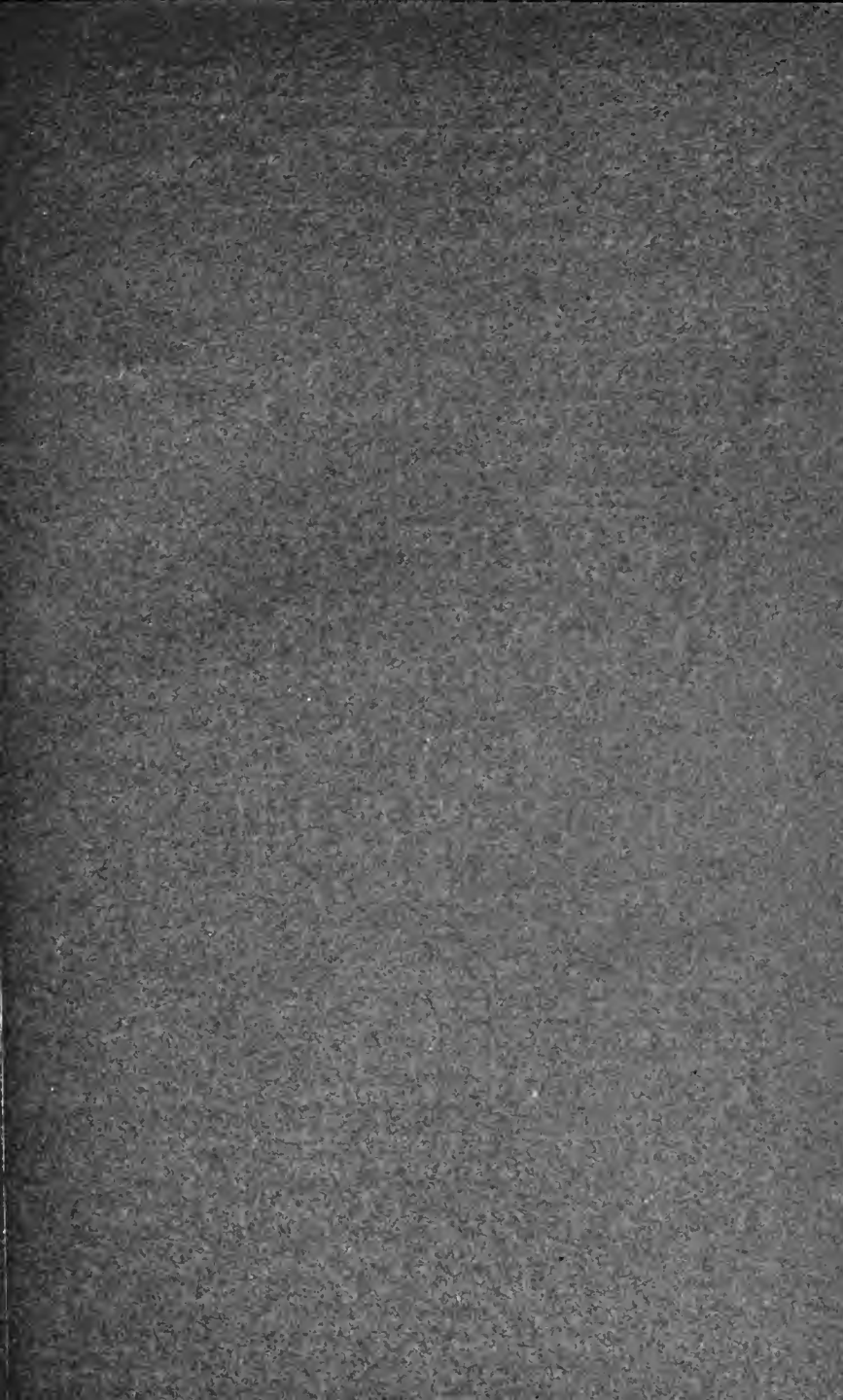
sciences of the people, upon statesmen and orators, journalists and authors, teachers and preachers—and still more upon the common spirit of all those quiet folk who care about the things that are unseen, upon their prayer, their talk, and the abounding influence of their lives.

Our loyalty to our nation will indeed depend upon our fealty to God. It is the very spirit of loyalty that we lack, for we have lost it in religion; our earthly patriotism has been so poor because our patriotism in our heavenly Kingdom has been so dim and shamefaced a thing; we have been disloyal to our native cities, and have allowed other folk to be enslaved in theirs, because we have not claimed our citizenship in the Jerusalem that is above, that is free and the mother of us all—the very matrix of our Christian civilization. The sense even and the savour of loyalty in the highest things has been half lost: no one becomes an American because he disapproves of the censorship, or German because he disagrees with the second article of the National Anthem, or Chinese because he wishes some ancient statutes amended. Yet for lesser things men and women will forsake a church, or transfer their allegiance to an alien creed, running giddily after strange gods. In Britain as in France, in all Europe and America, many find to-day their religion in patriotism, because religion has become so unpatriotic. Folk pick and choose, and fastidiously do poise their souls in nothingness, because we have forgotten that religion, too, is an allegiance, because we have not understood that churches like nations must perish, if their citizens are not ready to love them in spite of their faults and their mistakes, and to pour out their devotion in complete fidelity to the spirit of the fellowship which formulas and hierarchies can never but imperfectly express.

We have thought so long that the Church was founded on opinions, and that is why our loyalty has faded, and

## PATRIOTISM

in the greatest of all kingdoms patriotism has been at its worst. But the Church is not founded upon opinions. It is founded upon Humanity; and in that catholic and divine Fellowship of the Son of Man are gathered up and consecrated all the lesser fellowships which bring into common life the passion of fidelity, the yearning for proud obedience, and the constancy of true love through good or evil to the death.



# PAPERS FOR WAR TIME

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*Second Series*

PAPERS FOR WAR TIME. No. 14

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# Spending in War Time

By

E. J. URWICK, M.A.

*Price Twopence*

HUMPHREY MILFORD

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

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## BASIS OF PUBLICATION

This series of Papers is based on the following convictions :

1. That Great Britain was in August morally bound to declare war and is no less bound to carry the war to a decisive issue ;
2. That the war is none the less an outcome and a revelation of the un-Christian principles which have dominated the life of Western Christendom and of which both the Church and the nations have need to repent ;
3. That followers of Christ, as members of the Church, are linked to one another in a fellowship which transcends all divisions of nationality or race ;
4. That the Christian duties of love and forgiveness are as binding in time of war as in time of peace ;
5. That Christians are bound to recognize the insufficiency of mere compulsion for overcoming evil, and to place supreme reliance upon spiritual forces and in particular upon the power and method of the Cross ;
6. That only in proportion as Christian principles dictate the terms of settlement will a real and lasting peace be secured ;
7. That it is the duty of the Church to make an altogether new effort to realize and apply to all the relations of life its own positive ideal of brotherhood and fellowship ;
8. That with God all things are possible.

## SPENDING IN WAR TIME

WE are in a dilemma, we spenders of money whose incomes furnish us with more than a bare livelihood. The use we make of our money has suddenly become a matter of national importance ; on it depend grave issues of industrial welfare, the continued employment of many workers, the continued stability of many trades, the solvency of many captians of industry. But when we face the question, How shall we best spend this or that pound ? we are met by insoluble difficulties. On the one hand, there is the persistent appeal of the trader, whose motto ' Business as usual ', with its corollary that it is our duty to go on buying and so keep the flag flying, seems to express a common-sense patriotism which very strongly attracts us. On the other hand there is the equally insistent appeal of innumerable new claims, of new forms of distress at home and abroad crying aloud for our aid. Can we or should we turn a deaf ear to these ? Obviously not ; and yet, if we give free expression to our charitable impulses what will become of the shopkeepers and the army of workers behind them ? The rival claims clash ; that is the plain fact of the matter. We cannot subscribe to any single fund, however worthy it may be, without hurting our tailors and dressmakers and many other people who are, in a real sense, dependent upon us. Then what on earth are we to do ?

A closer analysis of the rival claims does not help us out of the dilemma. At first sight, I confess, it seems to open a way of escape. There is plainly something illusory about the tradesman's claim. His plea for business as usual will not hold water ; nothing can or

## SPENDING IN WAR TIME

ought to go on as usual when the times are quite abnormal. A nation which has suddenly quadrupled its manufacture of guns and boots and uniforms and huts, to say nothing of withdrawing a million men from productive work altogether, cannot possibly go on with all its other business on the same scale as before. From the side of the buyer or spender, also, it is clear that there must be a change. Incomes are reduced ; prices are higher ; some economies are therefore imposed upon us by necessity. Others are dictated by common prudence. The future is uncertain in every respect but one, and that is the fact that heavy taxation will curtail every income, and therefore our power to spend. And, further, there is a worthier motive at work. However great may be our sympathy with the shopkeeper and the manufacturer who need our custom, we find ourselves held back from much of our usual expenditure by the sheer incongruity of the business. To go on spending on all our trivial luxuries while our brothers are facing death and incredible hardships a hundred and fifty miles away is too suggestive of Nero's fiddling while Rome was burning. We simply cannot do it, and we ought not to be asked to do it.

But these arguments are not convincing. We know perfectly well that we owe a first duty to those whose livelihood depends directly upon the orders we give them for goods and services. The well-to-do men and women, who cut down their normal expenditure in order to give away all they can afford, feel a real uneasiness when they think of the many thousands of dressmakers and tailors' assistants who are thrown out of work, or of the many hundreds of worthy tradespeople who see bankruptcy creeping up to them through no fault of their own. We cannot argue ourselves out of our responsibilities here. But how are we to meet them ? And if we do our best to meet them by continuing to spend as

## SPENDING IN WAR TIME

before, how shall we fulfil the new duties of abstinence, self-denial and charity ?

Now it must be admitted at the outset that there is no reconciliation possible. The conflict of duties is as real as it is unpleasant ; and there is no clear way out of the difficulty. The most that we can do is to find some line of action which may partially satisfy the demands of both the opposing duties, and to get quite clear as to the causes which we have allowed to lead us into the impasse.

Let us take the causes first. In times of peace and plenty we all form certain habits of expenditure which tend to become fairly fixed so far as the spending of seven-eighths of our income is concerned. This habitual expenditure is determined not only by the size of our incomes, but also by our class and position and family and tastes and interests. On these habits of spending the even course of industry and commerce chiefly depends. If anything upsets them, then industrial dislocation at once occurs. But the habits are not all of the same kind. They may be divided, very roughly, into two classes, the stable and the unstable, or the necessary and the unnecessary. By the former class I mean those forms of habitual expenditure which are common to all or nearly all members of the community who have a living wage or income : we are all habitual buyers of bread and meat and necessary clothing, for example. The other class includes those forms of habitual expenditure which are open only to those who have more than the average income to spend ; only a minority of the community can habitually buy expensive clothes or ornaments, or the thousand and one things which fill the best West End shops. Now an important difference between these two classes of spending habit is this : though in normal times both equally serve to 'stimulate' our industry

## SPENDING IN WAR TIME

and our commerce, in abnormal times the latter class—the spending habits of the well-to-do—tend to break down at once, and thereby to cause industrial failure and distress. We all go on buying bread, but none of us goes on buying ball-dresses at a time like the present. That is why we are bound to call the spending habits of well-to-do people more unstable or even more dangerous than those of the people who have small incomes. And our dangerous habits bring a nemesis upon us whenever a crisis arises ; only, in this case, the nemesis falls upon others, in the shape of widespread unemployment and misery. It is therefore no exaggeration to say that the distress of the luxury trades, which is so painful and obvious a calamity at the present moment, is due to our bad habits of spending at normal times.

But our responsibility can be brought home to us in a still clearer way. We well-to-do spenders have flattered ourselves into believing that, by the very act of spending our money, we have been rendering signal service to industry by ‘benefiting trade’ and ‘giving employment’. This, as every economist knows, is really a fallacy. But it is a most plausible fallacy, and very popular ; and its plausibility lies in the fact that it contains a half-truth. This half-truth we have now to face ; the fallacy we will deal with in a moment. It is undoubtedly true that all spending of money means a directing of industry into particular channels. Whoever spends a pound on boots is thereby stimulating employers and workers to make boots and to go on making boots, instead of producing something different. He does not support or maintain the boot industry in any real sense ; but he causes labour and capital to devote themselves to the making of boots rather than to the making of bags. We see this going on on a big scale at the present moment : an enormous amount of money is being spent



## SPENDING IN WAR TIME

on khaki clothing, with the result that a correspondingly large quantity of labour and capital (including that of some former bootmakers) is being directed into the production of khaki uniforms. Now this direction of labour and capital involves something more than just ordering them to make this thing instead of that. It usually means causing both the workers and the employers' capital to become highly specialized for the particular work required ; they therefore become adapted for that work and no other. This is most true of the directing of labour due to the spending of the rich ; there is generally more specialization required on the part of the makers of very expensive dresses or boots, for instance, than on the part of the makers of cheaper dresses or boots. Now the trouble with all highly specialized workers (and the highly specialized capital and employing ability which work with them) is that they cannot easily adapt themselves to doing any other work. The skilled dressmaker cannot turn to and sew khaki ; the skilled jeweller is not of much use as a gun-maker or a hut-builder. That is why the most pitiable groups of sufferers to-day are just those workers who have for years depended upon the custom of the well-to-do. And they really have depended, and do depend, upon us in this literal sense, that we have called upon them to open shops and practise trades in order to supply our wants, and to earn their living by doing that and that alone. They are therefore *our* workers, *our* dependants, as literally as are our domestic servants ; and the moment we stop or alter our habitual spending, they are ruined.

Here, then, is our responsibility laid bare. And our first duty emerges equally clearly. However much we may feel impelled to subscribe to special funds for the relief of the wounded or the Belgians, it is doubtful whether we have any right to gratify our impulse until

## SPENDING IN WAR TIME

we have made sure that these our retainers are provided for. And this can be done in three ways. First, with regard to past obligations. Whatever has already been bought must be paid for : that is the obvious right of the tradesman and his workers which takes precedence of all other claims. To put it bluntly, we cannot be generous until we have paid our bills. To send a donation to the relief funds while our tailor is still unpaid is not charity ; it is mere evasion or self-indulgence. It is what we all want to do, for an emotional impulse is much more pleasant to gratify than a sense of what is due. But we have obviously no right to do it. Secondly, with regard to current obligations of the same kind. It is clearly necessary, if our habits of spending must be broken, that we should break them as gradually as we can, and only just so far as we are able to devise ways of meeting the distress caused. If we wish to cut down expenditure in order to be generous, then we must remember that the first objects of our generosity must be the people who will be ruined by the mere cessation of our spending. But the difficulty of adjustment is here very great indeed. To talk about going on buying thirty-guinea dresses or giving costly entertainments is absurd : we just cannot do it. But these are exceptionally bad habits ; most of our normal expenditure is not so conspicuously unnecessary. And it is as much our duty to go on with it to a moderate extent as it is our plain duty to keep our servants and not turn them adrift when there is little demand for them. But I carefully emphasize the words, ' to a moderate extent.' We are unfortunately not in a position to protect our dependent tradespeople and workers from all suffering whatsoever. We are, most of us, in a position to prevent their suffering from becoming acute. And this we can do by continuing a moderate expenditure along all our customary channels—buying

## SPENDING IN WAR TIME

some new clothes, some flowers, some Christmas presents, and the like, even though the amount is necessarily less than before.

You will say that this is an unheroic, selfish, peddling line of action to advocate. Of course it is ; have I not said that the whole difficulty we are in is due to our bad habits, and that we cannot immediately find a satisfactory way out? The heroic course would be to break the habits right away ; but when, as in this case, the habits are such that their continuance has come to involve the livelihood of thousands of other people, we simply cannot do the heroic thing without grievously injuring these. It sounds fine to say, ' Away with all my customary comforts and luxuries while the war lasts.' But it does not sound at all fine when one realizes that this means also, ' Away to ruin with all the specialized workers whom I have called into existence in order to supply my customary comforts and luxuries.'

And there is another reason why there can be no satisfactory way out. The difficulty is due to habits of spending which in turn are based upon a dangerous fallacy. I have already referred to this, and passed it by, only noting the half-truth which lies behind it. But now let us look at it more closely, in order to understand why these difficulties have arisen as soon as a crisis is upon us. We have imagined that we ' support ' workers by spending money upon the things they make. Now no spending of money or consuming of stuff supplied in return for money spent supports any one at all, except the person who gets the stuff and consumes it. Workers and industry generally are supported in one way only—by the actual creation of real wealth for them to use and live upon. If you dig a field and grow corn you do really add to the support of all workers. If you merely buy the wheat and eat it, you support only yourself—at the expense of the

## SPENDING IN WAR TIME

grower, whoever he may be. And this applies to all buying or spending. Many people find it difficult to realize this ; but the matter is simple enough. The two processes of making wealth in our capacity of producers or workers and of consuming it in our capacity of spenders of money are exactly analogous to the two processes of cooking food and of eating it when cooked. If my cook prepares a dinner, the natural sequence of events is that I or some one else should eat it. But the eating of it does not at all enable the cook to prepare another meal, nor does it support her or her cookery. That is only done by supplying her with more materials to cook. Or one may liken the spending to the exploding of a gun. The explosion is the natural sequence of the loading ; that is what the gun is loaded for ; but the explosion does not help to reload the gun ; that is only done by producing fresh ammunition. If the explosion has any value, it belongs to a totally different result, which in turn is altogether dependent upon its aim or direction. So with our spending. It may have beneficial effects, if it is well directed—that is, in proportion as it is aimed at supplying the real needs of really needy people. But, qua spending, it contributes nothing whatever to the support of the people whose wares we buy. If we claim to support them, then the whole of our claim must rest on the fact that we have previously earned the money we spend by useful work, and, by that work, have really increased the resources of other workers. We do not, by spending the money earned, add anything to this good result.

There is thus no virtue in our action as spenders ; is it not rather astonishing that we can ever have persuaded ourselves that there can be any virtue in so easy and self-centred a proceeding as that of spending our money to satisfy our own wants ? Often, on the contrary, there is

## SPENDING IN WAR TIME

a definitely harmful result, whenever the amount bought and consumed is excessive. For the workers or makers of wealth are limited in number, and, with all their hard work, the amount of things which they can make or of services which they can render in any year is severely limited, even though it may increase gradually as the years go on. And, in a land which is by no means flowing with milk and honey, no individual and no class can draw very largely on the total stock produced without leaving a deficiency somewhere. This is so true and so obvious that we may go on to assert that for every £100 we spend over and above the first five or six hundred pounds of our incomes, there is necessarily some family somewhere in our community compelled to live on less than two pounds a week—often on less than thirty shillings or twenty-five shillings. Now in 'good' times, when the cry of the needy is not very loud, we do not realize this in the least, and we therefore spend our incomes with a light heart. But a crisis gives us pause; the connection between our plenty and others' want is dimly felt, enough to make us unwilling to spend our money quite as before. Indeed, if the want is great, or if our emotions are deeply stirred, we simply cannot go on spending as before; we are ready to cut off every luxury, every comfort even, so that others may have enough. We are prepared for heroic self-denial; we demand that it shall be really heroic.

Well, it is no longer open to us, except on very difficult terms. We are debarred from the course we would choose by the very faultiness of our past habits, which commits us irrevocably to a course which is not at all as fine as we could wish. We are bound by our past actions; we are compelled to do first what those actions have made necessary. In other words, we must go on spending very much as we have been accustomed to do,

## SPENDING IN WAR TIME

for the sake of the people who have become dependent upon us because of our spending. Luckily for us, it is not always impossible to do this in a satisfactory way. We can spend by proxy, as it were. Many people have found an excellent way of doing this: they continue all their ordinary household expenditure, and bring in Belgian refugees to share the proceeds. We might go further along the same line. Why not—to take a single example—spend what you would normally have spent upon concerts and theatres on employing the out-of-work musicians and actors to give evening entertainments at the camps or to amuse the wives of sailors and soldiers abroad? Of all our specialized dependants few are so hard hit as the professional ‘artistes’; and yet the real need for their services is perhaps as great as ever before. But I am afraid this ‘better way’ cannot be pushed very far; we soon reach a point at which we must spend, as we have been accustomed to do, on ourselves and our own families alone. And, most particularly, let us avoid the one attitude to spending which is quite unpardonable: that is, the attitude of parsimony for the sake of prudence or economy. This is not a time for saving; it is a time for spending, or for giving, up to the limit of our capacity, and to cut down expenditure now for fear of harder times next year is not prudence but pusillanimity.

The duty of simple charity remains. But I have purposely put it last, lest any one should think it is the only duty for the well-to-do. I have tried to show why, for most of us, it is only second to the duty of fulfilling our obligations to our dependants. And even so, the right way of performing the duty of charity is by no means a simple matter. Charities have a way of appealing to us with a force which varies inversely with their real claim upon us. That is why it is so much easier to send a donation to any new fund than to go on with our

## SPENDING IN WAR TIME

subscription to an old one. I do not mean that the old ones are always superior to the new, but merely that their claim ranks first in most cases. However, it is not my intention to plead the cause of the old-established charities which are in danger of languishing to-day. I simply want to connect the subject with our responsibility as spenders. And the connection is this : however carefully we do our duty to our dependants by paying our bills and continuing our normal and reasonable expenditure, there must remain a very large number of workers who are left out in the cold, unemployed, unequipped for new employment, unfit for any employment except that which we no longer demand. These are *our* workers, in a peculiar sense ; and these ought to be the first objects of our charity. They are, for the moment, mostly women—embroiderers, fancy shoemakers, dress-makers, milliners, and the like. What are we doing for them ? I should pass far beyond my present task if I attempted to show what might be done.<sup>1</sup> But it is within the scope of my subject to point out that it is one of the saddest features of the present situation that no real attempt has been made by the late employers of these workers (I mean their real employers, the well-to-do

<sup>1</sup> It may, however, be pointed out that the existing methods of relief do not at all meet the real needs of these people. Most of them are both intelligent and very sensitive : any one who has had experience of social work will understand what that involves. But it is not impossible to help them in a satisfactory way. The most successful help given to the Lancashire cotton operatives during the cotton famine was in the form of ordinary education, plus regular pay while they attended classes ! It should not be difficult to organize something of the same kind to-day, with modifications adapted to the different grades and ages concerned ; indeed, a beginning has already been made, in London and elsewhere, of instituting such classes for the benefit of the younger girl-workers. They would be equally valuable in the case of a large proportion of those adult workers who will almost certainly have to find some new occupation for some years to come. Many of them would be quick learners of new processes, and their training would be a sound national investment.

## SPENDING IN WAR TIME

spenders of money) to mitigate their lot. One wonders whether the women of the upper classes have begun to realize that there are already some fifty thousand of these servants of theirs in London alone, face to face with sheer starvation. Surely here is the first outlet for the charity of the rich, if it is to fulfil the time-honoured condition of beginning at home. These people *are* of our home, far more closely than any other groups of workers, with the single exception of the servants who live with us.

It is perhaps permissible to point a concluding moral. I have not asserted that our habits of expenditure are selfish or unworthy or extravagant or bad, save in the single sense that they involve a very real danger to the existing system of industry. And that they really are bad habits in that sense is proved by the fact—a certain mark, this, of any bad habit—that they do actually plunge the whole system into difficulties as soon as a strain arises. In this way, because of the danger of instability which is inherent in them, these habits of the well-to-do spenders appear to be part and parcel of that dangerous process (always inveighed against by Socialists) of trying to balance the pyramid of industry upon its apex of the wishes and wants of a small class, instead of upon the broad base of universal needs.

But I am not raising here any question of fairness or unfairness. You may assume, if you will, that every one's income is entirely deserved. You may assume that any wealth we have to spend, even the richest of us, is the exact equivalent of valuable services rendered to the community. You may insist that every millionaire has deserved his fortune to the full because he has earned it by adding enormously to the wealth of the world. Even if we grant all this, we are still left with the fact that the result of the present unequal distribution of wealth, in the form of some very big incomes to spend



## SPENDING IN WAR TIME

side by side with many pitiably small ones, is bad for the social well-being. The community suffers: its wealth is not doing its true work of satisfying need wherever need is greatest. Here, then, is our opportunity. A grave crisis brings to light unsuspected dangers: practices which before seemed too innocent and too natural to contain any harm are found to be double-edged in their effects. More thought is seen to be needed; and though we cannot see a simple remedy for the ill effects, we know that by taking thought honestly we shall probably find the way to better practice.

Is it too much to hope that, among other good things which may emerge from this dark crisis, there may come some awakening on our part as to the futility as well as the danger of much of our expenditure? It is not good for a nation that a quarter of its income should be spent in unstable ways. It is not good for a nation that a quarter of its working capacity should be specialized into producing things which are seen and felt to be rather valueless as soon as a crisis comes to apply a test of values. Rich people are not, of course, the only spenders who are at fault: poor people have a few useless luxuries too; but it is the rich people, and not the poor, who are individually the most responsible for the misdirection of labour, since it is they who, individually again, possess the greatest spending power, and therefore also the freedom to choose how they will use that power.

We are beginning to realize at last that upon the thoughtful exercise of this power depends the realization of the true social brotherhood which we all accept as the good end of our social actions. We believe that we are all members one of another: this is the summing up of the social side of our faith. But we have been very slow to perceive that this membership one of another applies to us just as much in all our economic activities as in our

## SPENDING IN WAR TIME

ordinary family and neighbour relationships. In the last century the outrageous idea got abroad that economic activities, or the business side of life, could somehow be treated, actually as well as theoretically, apart from ethics and religion. In the present century even economists admit that this was a deplorable fallacy. But Christians have yet to learn how much that admission involves. Good people feel their responsibility dimly; they will tell you that they like to buy expensive things because they like to think that they are causing people to do 'good' or artistic work rather than spend their days in monotonous factory production. But what use is it to multiply fine workers whose work shall satisfy our wants alone—often our whims alone—when the most vital needs of thousands of our brothers and sisters are unmet because there are no workers at all working for them? Every additional hundred pounds we spend on the yearly upkeep of our lives means that we call upon two more workers to devote the whole of their labour throughout the year to making something for us alone, two workers less to devote their labour to meeting the needs of others. Does it help, or does it hinder the brotherhood when we add to the retinue of our own exclusive workers, just because we have money to spend, and imagine that by spending it we are benefiting any one but ourselves?



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## BASIS OF PUBLICATION

This series of Papers is based on the following convictions :

1. That Great Britain was in August morally bound to declare war and is no less bound to carry the war to a decisive issue ;
2. That the war is none the less an outcome and a revelation of the un-Christian principles which have dominated the life of Western Christendom, and of which both the Church and the nations have need to repent ;
3. That followers of Christ, as members of the Church, are linked to one another in a fellowship which transcends all divisions of nationality or race ;
4. That the Christian duties of love and forgiveness are as binding in time of war as in time of peace ;
5. That Christians are bound to recognize the insufficiency of mere compulsion for overcoming evil and to place supreme reliance upon spiritual forces and in particular upon the power and method of the Cross ;
6. That only in proportion as Christian principles dictate the terms of settlement will a real and lasting peace be secured ;
7. That it is the duty of the Church to make an altogether new effort to realize and apply to all the relations of life its own positive ideal of brotherhood and fellowship ;
8. That with God all things are possible.



## PHARISAISM AND WAR

EVEN in January we still talk more of the war than of anything else, and amid our varied conversations it is interesting to notice how the arguments and attitude of certain people first bore and then nauseate us. It is not the strength of their expressions ; for others use stronger language and are more definite in condemnation of German policy, without producing anything like the same sense of hopeless distaste. Nor can we trace our revolt to those daily prejudices which will have to be surrendered when we commit our lives to the guidance of reason ; it is born of something noble and Christian within us.

The truth is that we find ourselves face to face with Pharisaism, and we do not like its aspect. Unfortunately Pharisaism is at present epidemic over much of this little world of ours, and the typical Briton, in whom foreigners have always found a marked tendency to the disease, is specially liable to be infected. During this war it is no longer foreign critics but our own trusted and patriotic leaders who warn us that there is no danger to our moral tone so imminent and so grave. On every hand are the evidences that it is very easy to fall under the spell. In a country where such an output is expected from the pulpit and the press, a subject guaranteed to be popular is almost irresistible. What a godsend the sins of Germany have been to many a journalist ! How many Nonconformist preachers, conscious of a certain dullness in their sermons since Mr. Balfour's iniquities in connexion with Education Bills could be exposed no longer, put up the paper edition of Bernhardt and knocked him down with all the old satisfying thrills of pulpit battle ! How many an Anglican, whose flock were getting tired of Welsh Disestablishment Sunday after Sunday, found

## PHARISAISM AND WAR

that he could go for forty days and forty nights in the strength of the newspaper references to Nietzsche and Treitschke! The more tempting, the more dangerous: if, as the result, Pharisaism should become more deeply ingrained into the English character than it was before, what an appalling problem the settlement will be, and how miserable we shall make ourselves and others when the war is done.

But at the outset we must clear our minds of the common thought that Pharisaism means hypocrisy in the modern sense. The Pharisees were not hypocrites in our meaning of the word, though it is true that hypocrisy breeds very easily in an atmosphere such as they favoured. If the mass of them had been hypocrites, as we understand it, they could never have conquered and held the respect of the Jewish people, as they plainly did. For the present, therefore, we will sweep away all thought of conscious hypocrisy. Let us try to understand the real thing and how it touches ourselves. Pharisaism was not invented in Judea in the last three centuries before Christ. The Old Testament shows a gradual growth of its influence throughout Hebrew life. Except in Plato and Epicurus, Greek philosophy smelt strongly of its blossom, and the rigidity of Roman civilization had many a trace of its starch. It is not even necessary for Pharisaism to have anything to do with organized religion at all. English party politics are Pharisee through and through, and there is a conventional element in much in our pictorial art and music which, if it is not Pharisaism, at least produces the same weary distaste and shows the same absence of self-criticism and aspiration. Religion by its enemies is often enough identified with Pharisaism, but it is only fair to notice that among those who neglect or attack religion may be found Pharisees of the ripest and most matured flavour, while only an honoured few escape completely. As a matter of fact, a real religion is the only true and permanent cure. Let us then confess

## PHARISAISM AND WAR

without recrimination that, as long as we care about morals at all, we are almost all Pharisees ; that you are a Pharisee, that I am a Pharisee, and that as the trouble is one which springs from fallen human nature, the patrons of the *Daily News* and the *Daily Mail*, of the *Spectator* and the *Nation*, of the *British Weekly* and the *Challenge*, are in this respect brothers under the skin.

In this paper there is time to deal with Pharisaism only in its religious form.

1. 'As long as we care about morals at all'—surely that will help us to begin the dissection of Pharisaism that we may find out what it is. For it is impossible without morality. The cannibal tribe cannot be Pharisaic, as long as its warriors eat for hunger or sport or the nourishment of their valour. They can become Pharisees only as they import some moral sanction into the process and decide that their neighbour is to be sent to Coventry because he does not eat their victim with the prescribed sauce, or that the enemy across the water has been guilty of some social iniquity which can only be expiated in the stew-pot. During the present war there is probably far less Pharisaism in Serbia than is to be found in Britain ; one must be somewhat moral to be a Pharisee.

The man of the world, therefore, bids us abolish the disease by getting rid of morality, which is as effective as to cure a victim of lumbago by sawing him in sunder. Further, the man of the world is never bold enough to perform so drastic an operation on his own morality, and thus after a little scrutiny the symptoms may generally be found in his case also. The cure for Pharisaism is not less morality but morality fuller and more progressive. As a matter of actual history Pharisaism has linked itself with and lived upon some of the noblest emotions of human history. The long robes and petty legalisms of our Lord's day went back but a few score years to Maccabean ancestors, who had girt up their garments to conquer Syria and had died by families at a time rather

## PHARISAISM AND WAR

than deny the great principles of the law. ' They chose to die, that they might not be defiled with the meats, and that they might not profane the holy covenant : and they died ' (1 Macc. i. 63). Even with all the deterioration that intervened, the fall of Jerusalem showed that they had not forgotten how to die. If we take the period of the English Commonwealth, when Pharisaism was so general, are we not bound to remember the uprising of half the nation to enforce the promises of a king ? It was the same spirit that took wings across the sea in the *Mayflower* and found a body for itself in the manhood of the New England states. It is worth remembering, too, that under Cromwell's régime, with all its scars and mistakes, England was respected on the Continent as rarely before or since. Underneath complacency, priggishness and cant, there has often lain a strong and heroic passion for right. The parasite was an evidence of the life on which it fed.

We, too, at this time need a firmer grip on morality. There is a good deal of talking which ignores the tremendous issues involved. We are weary of the war—God knows how weary—the news of slaughter and the clumsy futility of much of this world-struggle have made us long for an end at any cost. But the motive with which the mass of the British people took up arms in the first days of August was to establish righteousness against those who swept it brutally aside. We know more now of the policies which hatched this evil thing, we see in what a death-grapple our country is engaged, or the news of German deliberate ' terribleness ', taken with the bombardment of unfortified towns, may have changed our emphasis and given greater weight to the motive of self-defence ; but at the end, as at the beginning, right cries out for vindication, and we shall betray our Christianity if we do not keep clearly before our eyes the wrong which has been done as the main justification for war. There are different ways of resisting evil and making

## PHARISAISM AND WAR

God's law run operative throughout the earth ; your duty and mine may lead us in different paths, but let us beware at this time that we keep with us the sense of the appalling wrong which has been done to this poor struggling world of ours and to all that slowly gathered, slowly builded conscience of the nations which now stands gaping like a cathedral after the shells have done their work. If the sort of temper is to continue which has directed German militarism, in truth ' the world will be no place for a gentleman to live in '. Without righteousness human life is impossible, the Hebrews taught that to us ; and just now the very foundations of righteousness are shaken.

2. But while Pharisaism is closely connected with morality, the difference is fundamental. Pharisaism is morality gone sour. No morality can thrive without a centre of aspiration which gives its sanction to every known law and calls out those tiny thrills of sensitiveness that herald laws unknown and as yet in embryo. Law for its own sake is a very dull thing, and, as St. Paul saw long ago, questionably moral. We need something to live for, something to give ourselves to, and when we have found what we need, morality follows of itself. Now the most effective aspiration is the love of God, mingled, as it always must be, with the love of man. (There may be other centres of a true life, but I do not know them and therefore cannot bring them into the argument.) The love of God and love of man are always above a man pulling him up to them, they make him concern himself with his own shortcoming, and when in his heart they speak of moral law, it is himself they bid him test. Later on it may become his duty to test others also, that he may give them aid, but a Christian must deal with what is in his own eye, mote or beam as it may be, before he begins to criticize another. Christianity lays a man on his face in the dust before God. It is the only way to become fit to rise. The really religious man is always so conscious of how much more he has to learn

## PHARISAISM AND WAR

of God's will that he never thinks of morality without first testing himself by it. He is so conscious of his brotherhood with men that in any time of conflict he always tries to understand their action, to say as much for them as he honestly can, and to find out first where he himself may have been to blame. He is slowly learning to believe that it is better to suffer wrong than to inflict it. He is not bound by law, for he can take each clause back to love and bid love, which is also holiness, fit it to the need of the moment. Love which made, can also remake at need.

It is just this nerve-centre of morality which in the Pharisee is dead or atrophied; and so we may attempt to define Pharisaism by saying that it is *the temper of moral self-approval and of disparagement toward others, which is possible to those whose spirit is not controlled and sweetened by love to God and man.* It depends on morality, but on a morality which has lost its first principle, a morality which sours just because it is without a centre of aspiration. Why a Pharisee should turn the treadmill of duty, when the life principle is absent, it is very hard to say; sometimes it pays in respectability, and sometimes it pays in cash; some find it easier to be bound by a definite code which saves them from the need for consulting God to find His will, and some do 'right' to-day because they have done it for ten thousand yesterdays. But perhaps the majority of Pharisees are glad to pay the price of morality in order to secure the luxury of self-esteem. In each and every case there is no central principle guiding always to something higher. The religion of the Pharisee therefore has in it no capacity for evolution, no germ of progressive life. It has no sense of the background of half-apprehended duty, still less of the far-stretching land of passionate search newly opening with each new advance of the explorer. Because it has no principle, it is feverishly tenacious of its 'principles'—we do well to distrust all morality which can only be put into the form of external

## PHARISAISM AND WAR

rules. Owing to this same absence of a principle it dare not tolerate discussion of its precepts. We are all mentally indolent, and when we suspect that we have no foundation on which to establish our case, we are apt, as Stevenson puts it in his Fables, to 'gobble like a turkey'. Thus to stifle the spirit of honest inquiry can only lead to the blind distrust of truth so characteristic of all really seasoned Pharisees, and that distrust degenerates imperceptibly into the rank hypocrisy commonly associated with the name, in which devouring widows' houses is not felt to be any barrier to public prayers. The Pharisee is wanting in love to man, and therefore is always disparaging and condemning others; he lacks in love to God, and therefore does more than justice to himself, nor has the spring of penitence within his soul. Europe just now is a stage on which all the actors, hand on breast, pose before heaven in a quite unconscious monotony of self-approval.

3. Plainly Pharisaism is a much worse thing in those who are leaders of the Christian Church. That Church was born in a revolt against this very thing; the need for penitence is part of its central message, and if its priests and prophets prophesy smooth things to their own side and damnation to their opponents, how far the Church will go astray! If the ministers of the gospel of love are afraid or unwilling to bid us love our enemies in this difficult time, how shall men believe that their God is love? At times it looks as if there were no place for penitence; our day of intercession, for instance, might not include humiliation, lest humiliation be misunderstood. Germans seem to be excluded from the benefits of the Sermon on the Mount, and to try to understand their case is unpatriotic. In some utterances of the ministry Germany has become so black and England (with individual Englishmen) so innocent, that there could be no need of repentance for anything in our national policy, present or historic.

## PHARISAISM AND WAR

The fact is that none are so exposed to Pharisaism in its more insidious forms as those who are the guardians of morality. The guardian of morality is almost bound to be a sort of professional reprover. One remembers schoolmaster after schoolmaster who fell into the trap. If English art is Pharisaic, the rabbis are to be found in the ranks of the art teachers. When a parson once forgets that

penitence comes after all  
Imploring pardon,

there is nothing that can save him. The agnostic lecturer on ethics is in like case. For the professional reprover finds it almost impossible to admit his own sins or even to face them with clear and open eyes. To do so would make it impossible to correct those put into his charge, and therefore self-examination would be dangerous and confession a breach of trust. If this is true, we can see now why Britain is in such a peculiar danger. Her cause is for the most part good : why, then, should she 'weaken' it by examining what of wrong may be found in herself ? Moreover, the danger became more serious when, because of her detached position, the championship of public morality was thrust upon her. She stands in Europe as the foe of organized militarism and the protector of a small and injured state. Finding herself thus on the side of the angels, how natural it is for her to close her eyes and to forget that she has ever been on any other side or that there are any of her children who fall short of the highest chivalry. How inappropriate is the language of the General Confession to the champion of righteousness ! Many of the clergy of every denomination, feeling specially concerned by the immoralism of German action, stretch anxious hands to keep the jolts of criticism from the ark of the British covenant. Some who have fought English militarism in the past have for the first time found themselves in accord with a great popular enthusiasm, and they are so glad to be done with weary opposi-



## PHARISAISM AND WAR

tion, that they recoil more than others from any misgiving that would drive them out into the wilderness again. Here and there the strongest language comes from members of peace societies. Now this is not unnatural, when there is so much cause for indignation; and yet indignation, if it escape the bounds of love and self-criticism, is apt to praise self and condemn the enemy in language which smacks more of the imprecatory Psalms than of the Gospels. If the teachers of the Church belittle our Lord's command to love, will the taught put any rein upon their prejudice? If leaders put no bridle upon their tongues, what must we expect of the rank and file?

4. Let us look at a few concrete instances of the trouble. We must make full and glad allowance for the splendid temper of the nation during these trying months, and perhaps most of all in those first days when, fearing the worst that war could bring her, she dared in blind faith to follow duty. If in time past Britain has not always thought for the small nations, that is no reason that we should not be proud that she can help Belgium now. But let us rejoice with trembling. On our side there has been and still remains so much of evil, that it is impossible to condemn Germany in the indiscriminate manner general during the last five months without laying ourselves open to the charge of being Pharisees. It is not that Germany is not wrong, nor even that we have not the duty to say so, but that we have no right to say it in the tone we commonly adopt. It is hard to exaggerate the harm that may have been done by Treitschke or Nietzsche, and, even if Bernhardt was less influential than the puffs of his English publishers would have us believe, he was important as a symptom, for his morality coincides closely with that shown in conduct by a considerable portion of the German Staff. Yet those who escape from Germany tell us that the Germans are culling the spicier morsels from our Jingo papers in order to convict us of the same malice prepense, and that they are convinced of the

## PHARISAISM AND WAR

Bernhardian ascendancy of Leo Maxse over English political ideas. Nietzsche's 'Live Dangerously' may be intended as an attack on what we mean by morality, but the motto of an increasing proportion of our English life seems to be 'Live Comfortably', and that, if less incendiary than Nietzsche, is scarcely more moral. To put Odin in the place of Christ is revolting enough to a sincere Christian, but if the half of every population in Christendom takes Odin no more seriously than it has taken Christ, the moral balance will not be greatly upset. Or again, we are astounded at the arrogance of German plans for a military empire, and protest that we desire no territory. Yet almost before the echoes of our protestations have died away, we sound the war-cry against the future trade of Germany, wilfully forgetting that under modern conditions such a war is more protracted than the conflict of swords, more aggressive and more essentially cruel than annexation.<sup>1</sup> As to territory in the strictest sense, Egypt has already become a British Protectorate (to say nothing of Cyprus); and, if the war brought us no advantage beyond that exchange of fiction for confessed reality, there might be little enough to regret; but there are ominous anticipations as to the division of colonial spoils and pickings, which assume that what is 'greed' in Germany, is with us merely the shouldering of 'the white man's burden'. Again, we are sure that we must object to Germany's occupation of any port that threatens British colonies, yet are equally sure that we can be trusted, and we alone, to hold the key of the Mediterranean and the eastern seas. German war-apparatus has scandalized us all by its prostitution of science and engineering to the purposes of pure destruction; but let it once be proved that we can provide apparatus a little more effective—mines, aeroplanes with 'a definite ascendancy', artillery to equal the 42 cm. guns—and

<sup>1</sup> Purely as a war measure and for the duration of the war the destruction of German trade seems to be justifiable enough.

## PHARISAISM AND WAR

British indignation seems to cool. The very people who with tears in their voices lament the moral failure of the German Socialists and thank God for the courage of the *Vorwärts*, are bitter against any Englishman who dares to discuss the policy of his country in July, because he is hindering recruiting.

There is nothing which has been so frequently on the lips of the crowd as the stories of German atrocities. There seems to be evidence enough that the policy of terrorism is dictated by the General Staff of Prussia, and once that is so, the brutal elements among the soldiery are only too likely to break loose. The sworn statements of Belgium and France are, and must long remain, unclean stains on the name of Germany. But many in England who have made the loudest outcry about the shooting of civilians in cold blood, acquiesce in, and make money out of, the system by which their fellow countrymen are sweated through weary years of slavery. Again, the stories of outrage upon women have rung like an awful bass accompaniment through the varied strains of the popular wrath. 'How would you like to have that happen to *your* sister!' is the chorus. I doubt whether it is possible to overestimate the degree to which this aspect of German brutality has eaten into the common mind of Britain. But one has at times been pained by the suspicion that those who shouted loudest were least trained in chivalry towards women. We must at least remember that Germans believe us to be given over to sensuality. If they visited us on boat-race night, or if their spies are able to report to them the voluntary and widespread surrender of purity that has been notorious on the outskirts of some of our camps, they might perhaps have some excuse. Outrage is wicked enough in all conscience, but if our indignation is real, should it not take account also of the ruin of chastity by consent and under what are practically peace conditions? The report of German crime in Belgium is horrible; but have we any

## PHARISAISM AND WAR

right to speak as if our nation were guiltless, while Britain allows the annual sacrifice of womanhood required, war or no war, to provide the prostitutes of our great cities? 'How would you like that to happen to *your* sister?' —the question is insincere if its only purpose is to inflame us to war, and if in peace it is forgotten.

The situation may be summed up by saying that we idealize our own country and our own people, while in relation to a hostile nation we practise that kind of realism which, in politics as in literature, involves the selection and emphasis of all the ugly and sordid facts. In both its halves this is Pharisaism; when we idealize ourselves we fall short of love to God, and when we give another less than his due, we fail in love to man. Indeed if this is not Pharisaism, nothing is.

5. It is plain, then, that the danger is an insidious one. The moment we condemn, we are on the edge of the precipice. It is obvious that in writing these pages I am likely enough to be more of a Pharisee than usual. The reader who sympathizes with the paper may find that he too is near to the very fault he condemns in others. How shall the danger be met? Once more we must repeat it: *not by slurring over the demands of morality.* The world and the Church need a stronger sense of righteousness—in public matters a far stronger sense. We must keep and develop all the moral passion that we have. Yet there is one condition: we must turn it as readily on ourselves as upon others. That is the shield by which Pharisaism may be turned away.

But the sword by which it may be slain is more difficult to come at and very hard to wield; for the sword is Love. It is rare to find Pharisaism in a mother's relation to her child, and, when you do find it, very horrible. No true lover was ever a Pharisee. Love involves an atmosphere in which self-approval cannot live.

Plainly, if it is to be effective, love must turn toward man and God. First, love toward God. If we love God,

## PHARISAISM AND WAR

we shall share His mind sufficiently to know that it is absurd for us to stand before God as prosecutors, while Germany is the prisoner in the dock. If there is any dock at all, we are both in it. The charges are different, that is all. It is certain that no true love to God will ever allow us to forget our own failure to reach the standard He sets for His children. But love means more than sharing the *mind* of God. If we really love God, we become spiritually identified with Him who endures and redeems all our sins. Love always involves self-identification, and though our capacity for union is small and our desire smaller, through Christ we do become identified with God and share His mind. Now the historical sufferings of our Lord show, as by a momentary flash, what generation by generation the age-long iniquities of the world must mean to God. For instance, He endures this war. His heart is filled with pain that men He loves can guide their corporate life by principles so evil, and that in the best of our politics the Spirit has so scanty a dominion. Throughout this crisis and through all the unnoticed iniquities which our dull minds ignore, He says to men: 'Why will ye die?' Now exactly in so far as we are identified with God in our thought and imagination, the sin of another will produce in us the same pain, the same poignant sympathy, and the same longing to redeem at all costs, that we see in the Cross. Where we see wrong, then, in enemy or in ally, we shall find no satisfaction till condemnation is superseded and we suffer to put the sin away. There is no place for Pharisaism here.

Second comes love to man. If we love men, the same effect follows in another way. Here, too, love means identification; we and they are one and their heroisms and their sins belong to us.<sup>1</sup> Unless we are to refuse to

<sup>1</sup> If any one thinks that this is too visionary for actual humanity, let him notice how any mother of real goodness identifies herself with the sin of her child. Also see Moberly, *Atonement and Personality*, pp. 116-26.

## PHARISAISM AND WAR

accept our Master's command to love our enemies, this identification is ever true in relation to them. The solidarity of the race is as true of its sins as of any other attributes.

During this half-year some nations have raised themselves and some have stumbled and fallen ; but over and above the experience of the individual peoples, humanity itself rises with the heroism of each and is lowered by the general fall. Whether we like it or not, we are members one of another. The Christian sees this more clearly than other men, and therefore he must regard the sin of his brother to some extent as if it were his own. It will be impossible for him in callous disapproval to condemn his enemy—he is one with the foe, and by love the sharer of his sins. And so it will be impossible for us to cry the German sins from our camp into theirs, like Goliath challenging the children of Israel : if we know what spirit we are of, we shall call down no fire from heaven upon them ; we shall remember our own sin, and even while we believe their greater sin forces us to fight, our spirit will stand by their side in humility and confession that these our brothers, these so close akin to us, have done this thing.

We must cease to regard ourselves as God's debt-collectors. In face of our own debt to God, whether it be five hundred pence or fifty, such a commission is not for us. But let us say in sincerity and sympathy, as we look upon Germany in her wrong and her isolation : ' There, but for the grace of God, goes England '.



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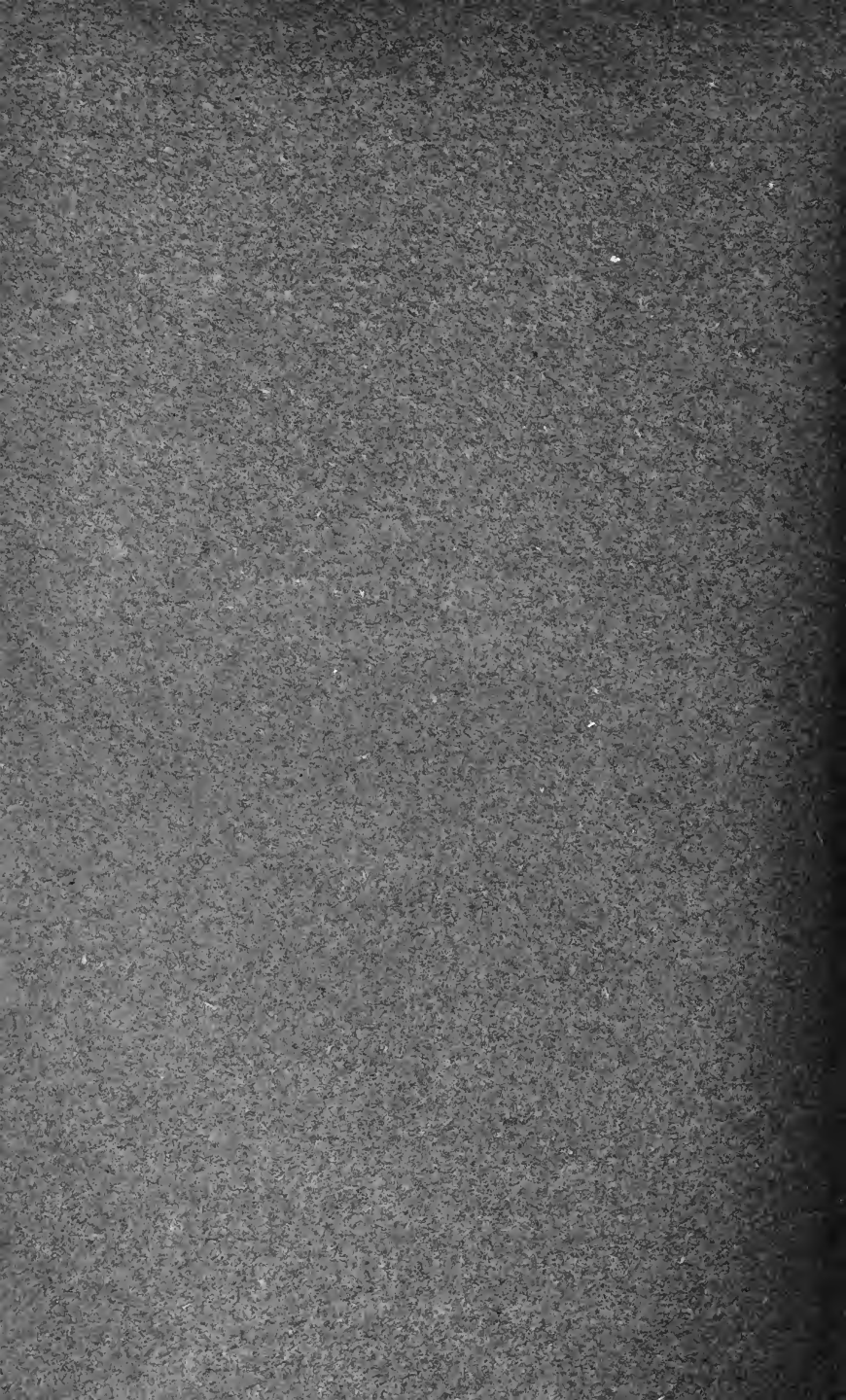
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On behalf of the Committee,

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8. That with God all things are possible.

## THE CURE FOR WAR

WAR, nowadays, is mainly the result of bad habits of thought. Nations do not go to war, as men beat their wives, in a sudden fit of anger, or because they are tempted to do what they know to be wrong, as clerks rob the till ; they go to war because they have persuaded themselves by wrong thinking that they have a right to go to war, and that this right is greater than all the wrong they will do. In every quarrel between nations one at least is in the wrong ; one, if not both, has learnt to think of war as a proper means of getting what it wants or fulfilling its destiny or what not ; and there must be a confirmed habit of perverse thinking in a nation before it can persist in a policy which, it knows, may lead to war.

Before this war began, there were people, not in Germany alone but in all the countries now at war, who talked about the benefits of war or about the right of a nation to go to war so that it might fulfil its national destiny. I doubt if there are any who think so now. We see the evil, what it is ; and we no longer think there can be any greater evils that it could cure. But the question for us is how are we, in the future, to preserve ourselves from falling into those bad habits of thought which make

## THE CURE FOR WAR

war possible. How to preserve ourselves, not the Germans ; for when of two parties each concerns itself with the morals of the other, the result is that each continues to lament the immorality of the other, and with good reason. A moral effort cannot be vicarious ; and, if you would make any one good, make yourself. It may be, as I believe, that the Germans made this war wrongly and that we were right to withstand them, that they had been for years falling more and more into bad habits of thought which led them into this war ; but it is true also, I believe, that they were encouraged in their bad habits by the conduct and the thoughts of all the peoples of Europe. There was a bad habit of thinking about war everywhere ; and, if the first crime in action was theirs, it is not for us to protest that we never could have been, and never in the future can be, capable of it.

Thinking in Germany was in favour of war ; at least one man of genius praised it so eloquently that he made it seem good to himself and many others. But what man of genius here has made peace seem good to us ? We have had our advocates of peace, who deserve praise ; but they have not had the passion or exercised the moral contagion of Nietzsche. He was morally perverse, no doubt ; but he was morally passionate and therefore stronger in influence than our pacifists who make their just and reasonable appeals to self-interest. They tell us that war is foolish, as it is ; he said that it was noble and glorious, which it is not ; but he said it with a power that came from the perverse conviction of his whole nature, and we need



## THE CURE FOR WAR

a genius as passionate as his, but not perverse, to put all the nations of Europe in love with peace.

Why have we not produced such a genius? It is not vain to ask ourselves that question, for genius is not lonely but fed by the ideas and disposition of all ordinary men. Nietzsche was a symptom; and if we have shown no symptom of equal but contrary power, it is the fault of all of us. We may not have loved war, but we have not hated it, or loved peace, strongly enough to make some man of genius the mouthpiece of our common love and hatred. We have been neither hot nor cold, and in Laodicea there is no gospel either of God or of the Devil to fire the world. In Laodicea there are only platitudes; and so to Nietzsche England seemed the home of platitude, and insular platitude which only an Englishman could be dull enough to utter and believe. That is where we, as a nation, have failed in our duty to the thought of the world. We may not have talked nonsense passionately; but we have not told the truth passionately either; and so, when we have told it, no one has listened to us.

It is a curious fact that, before the war broke out, the merchants and financiers of every country were continually saying that their country desired peace above all things, since war would ruin it. They said this, and the statesmen echoed it, and no doubt they all meant it; and yet war has come and is bringing the ruin which they feared; and all the nations, knowing what ruin they might expect, have rushed unanimously into war and swear that they will fight to the bitter end. So the mood of Nietzsche

## THE CURE FOR WAR

prevails ; and no talk about self-interest can withstand it, even when self-interest is on the same side as right. Not only the passions, but the emotions also are for war, and to them the platitudes of self-interest sound only sordid. The poet has seen the truth of it in his *Gods of War* :

How wanes thine Empire, Prince of Peace !  
With the fleet circling of the suns  
The ancient gods their power increase.  
Lo, how thine own anointed ones  
Do pour upon the warring bands  
The devil's blessings from their hands.

There is a return to the ancient gods ; and their worshippers prevail over those who have no gods at all. Those to whom the Prince of Peace is an absurdity are stronger than those to whom He is a phrase. For nearly two thousand years men have been talking about Him ; and they still talk about Him as if He were a prince who reigned but did not govern ; and the governance is in the hands of ministers who are not His and whom the poet, who hates fictions, would have us acknowledge as the true rulers of our minds.

So there is a religion of war, and nothing will overcome it but the old religion of peace made young again. The religion of war always lies in wait for us, because it suits the mind of the natural man, or rather that bodily part of him which is called natural. In modern times it has been supported with scientific doctrines, so that it seems not merely pagan but also rational. You can talk at the same time about the God of battles and about the survival

## THE CURE FOR WAR

of the fittest. In Germany the Kaiser talks about the first, and the professors about the second. But there is national passion behind both ; and their religious feeling is for the old gods who are national gods, whatever name they may call them by. And against these old gods and this fierce religious feeling all arguments for peace based upon self-interest are powerless ; and since this war broke out we all know it.

There is, as I have said, an easy and natural alliance between intellect and passion in favour of war, between pagan religion and materialist theory. To withstand it we need a like alliance between intellect and passion in favour of peace ; that is to say, we need to rediscover Christianity, not as a theological system nor as a system of morals only, but as a way of life both beautiful and agreeable to the intelligence. We need suddenly to be aware of it as something which can be practised like a fine piece of music, so that, whenever we fail to practise it, we may recognize the failure and discord in our lives. But before we can do this, we must see clearly what it is, as the musician sees the music. We must not confuse it with some other way or try to produce a compromise between them. The first claim which Christianity makes is that it is a way for all men in all possible circumstances. Deny that claim ; say that it is a way for individuals and not for nations ; and it is no longer Christianity. If once it is touched by compromise, it loses all its glory both for the spirit and for the mind. Reason and passion consent to it together only when it is utterly accepted, when any

## THE CURE FOR WAR

falling short of it is seen to be failure and not adjustment. Doubtless the Christian is always falling short ; but when he is, he recognizes his failure, like the musician who plays a false note. And this recognition makes a Christian of him as it makes an artist of the musician. But, if we apply this test to nations now, there are no Christian nations. They never fall short ; they only compromise. They never confess their sins, but only their grandchildren do it for them. And because there is this compromise about Christianity where nations are concerned, Christianity has no power to keep the peace between them ; indeed, as soon as war breaks out it is seen not to be Christianity at all, but a number of national religions with national gods, all calling themselves by the same name.

But this compromise does not merely destroy Christianity as between nations ; it destroys it also as between individual men and women. For Christianity is international, or it is nothing. And if you believe that it stops at the individual and cannot be practised by the nation, you fall necessarily into habits of thought that are not Christian. The integrity of your mind, the purity of your passion, the consistency of your reason, is destroyed, and you begin to worship idols or nothing at all. Thus, when nations are rivals with each other and consent to the idea of rivalry as being, not a weakness of human nature, but a necessary and right result of national distinctions, they fall quickly into the belief that they themselves have a superiority of race by reason of which their cause, whatever it may be, is sanctified, and their contempt for

## THE CURE FOR WAR

other nations is righteous. This difference of race, if it has any reality at all, which it often has not, is a physical difference. It may be that Teutons and Latins and Anglo-Saxons are born with different bodies ; but assuredly, if the soul exists, there is no racial distinction between their souls. As Crashaw said, 'Souls are not Spaniards too.' And Christianity said that also to the slaves whom it welcomed into its universal brotherhood. But the doctrine of race insists that souls are Teuton or Slav or Latin, that some men are born in a state of racial salvation and others of racial damnation from which they cannot be degraded or exalted ; and naturally each nation which holds the doctrine of race believes in its own salvation and sacred mission. So this question of racial superiority can only be settled by conflict, and even that will never settle it, for, as we know from history, nations rise and fall and rise again, and a nation that is beaten once in war will not therefore believe in its racial damnation but will try to prove its salvation in some future conflict. The doctrine of race is always preached by nations lately victorious. The Germans preach it now, and it is discredited among us only because they preach it and have wearied us with their talk about the superiority of the Teutonic race. A little time ago we ourselves were always talking about the superiority of the Anglo-Saxons and the decadence of the Latins. The future of the world, we said, was with the Anglo-Saxons ; and all the while we had to discover, as we have now discovered, that there is no such thing as an Anglo-Saxon or a Latin race.

## THE CURE FOR WAR

These races are idols worshipped by nations for whom there is no international religion ; and they worship idols and believe nonsense because, as nations, they are not Christians.

The Christian way, for those who follow it, is not a game which they play to make them happy. They follow it because they believe it to be consistent with the nature of the universe, because it leads them to discoveries which they hail with a scientific passion of delight, because they find in it a rightness which is intellectual and aesthetic no less than moral. Other ways lead to nonsense and ugliness no less than to wickedness, and often the nonsense and the ugliness are apparent before the wickedness. Think, for instance, of all the nonsense which the nations of Europe have talked about each other, and of all the vulgarity of their international manners, before they fell into this war. If individuals behaved thus, and talked thus, they would be put to shame quickly by the laughter of their friends. For we have some Christian wisdom and manners as individuals, but none as nations. We have some notion that rivalry between individuals is not what they live for, but a nation, for us, is the rival of another nation, as if it were a football team and as if all life were a meaningless physical game with rules made by men. That, indeed, is the difference between the Christian way and other ways. They are games with rules which men have made out of their own misunderstanding of the universe, rules arbitrary and inconsistent with each other ; but the Christian way is like an art. It has no rules, but rather principles, based upon truths of

## THE CURE FOR WAR

which men become aware by following the principles. And as the bad artist understands less about art the more he practises it badly, so we nations of Europe understand less about right living and thinking and feeling, the further we, as nations, depart from the Christian way. And now we are faced with the result of our departure in this war, which reduces all our rivalries to an absurdity, as if we were game-cocks fighting out of mere pugnacity until we were all desperately wounded or dead.

And the worst of it is that we have to fight and should do wrong if we abstained. This particular cause of ours is just and the immediate sin of this particular war is our enemy's. But the Europe in which our enemy became capable of this sin is the Europe of all of us. We have all been more or less infected by that evil principle upon which the Germans have acted. They believed that we should do what they have done if we had the chance. They are the criminals, made by bad social conditions, and we should think of ourselves as policemen, not as angels fighting devils. These Prussians are men like ourselves, perverted by a more resolute idolatry than ours, more actively foolish and dangerous because they have thought and willed more clearly in a wrong direction. But still they are men, and if we believe that the virus working in them is peculiarly Prussian we shall soon be believing their false doctrine of race again, and they will not be men to us at all, but merely Prussians, and everlasting, inevitable enemies.

## THE CURE FOR WAR

Many of us have believed that the Christian way as between nations was only a beautiful, impossible dream. The reality is the struggle for life, nationally organized, decently concealed in peace, openly conducted in war. And now the war has come, and we see that it is a foolish game which we have to play because our enemies will play it. Even the nations that win will be far less assured of life than if they had stayed at peace, and they will certainly not destroy the nations that lose. The Prussians themselves will be sick of their doctrine before the war is over. They at least have reduced it to an absurdity; and now is the time for us to discover the other doctrine that shall take its place.

I say *discover*, for it is useless for us to talk the old platitudes about peace that have failed. We need to surprise ourselves and the world with our own thought about the Christian way, with our own enlargement of the Christian doctrine. And we can only do that if we attempt now at once to think and feel in a Christian manner, both about Germany and about ourselves. That would be a very small and humble beginning; but it is the only one possible. We shall find it strange and disagreeable at first, and it will deprive us of the comfort which most of us naturally seek in the anxiety and sorrow of war, the comfort of warm and eager hatred. We shall have to begin by telling ourselves things we can hardly believe; as that the Germans are just as much convinced of the justice of their cause as we are; that they are a nation in many respects superior to us; that their crimes in



## THE CURE FOR WAR

the war are greater than their guilt ; that if they worship the idol of militarism, we have been worshipping an idol of money and have talked as much nonsense about our idol as they about theirs. We can enjoy ourselves in thinking that they are outside the pale, but it is also a fact that they are enjoying themselves in thinking us outside the pale. We believe that we have the future of the world in our hands ; and they believe that it is in theirs. Each of us contends that there is a momentous and inevitable rivalry between two opposed systems and what is light to one is darkness to the other. We must detach ourselves from this romantic view, and at first it will be a cold and painful process. But Christianity is not romantic. It bids men see themselves as if they were not themselves. It bids them cease to love their own weaknesses, so that they may love something better ; and above all it bids them not to confuse self-love with the love of God.

Into this confusion we are always falling, so that men have worshipped their own appetites in the past and are ready to worship their own country in the present. One could, I suppose, easily find a scientific jargon to justify Phallic worship, and there is a current scientific jargon by which country-worship is justified. Nor can it easily be confuted, if you start by assuming that man's business in this life is the struggle for life. Christianity does not argue that point ; no one can argue it. If a man makes the struggle for life his business, it is his business. But Christianity says that if you follow the Christian way

## THE CURE FOR WAR

you will in time see that it is absurd to make the struggle for life your business. You will see that you yourself are absurd so long as you are absorbed in yourself and the prolongation of your existence. And as it is with men, so it is with nations. Apply the Christian teaching to them and it will destroy the belief in their necessary rivalry, just as much as if they were individual men. Christianity tells us that we should not love ourselves, but other men ; and so it tells us, not that we should not love our own country, for that consists of other men besides ourselves, but that we should love other countries too. For the diversity of mankind and of all created things is the very occasion of love, and if we are to love at all we must love what is different from ourselves. We have our idea of a country taken from our own, and the barbaric and heathen notion is that we should hate other countries and the ideas taken from them. It was once perhaps an unconscious result of the struggle for life, but now, where it prevails, it is a conscious result of the theory of the struggle for life, of the theory that that struggle is a nation's main business, even if it is not a man's. But Christianity must smile at this result in the case of the nation as of the man. If you are a reasoning being, and act and think as a reasoning being, how can you allow your values and emotions to be dictated to you by your material interests ? There is an end of reason altogether and a relapse into mere instinct if you are to hate other nations and their way of life and all their achievements because you think there is a necessary

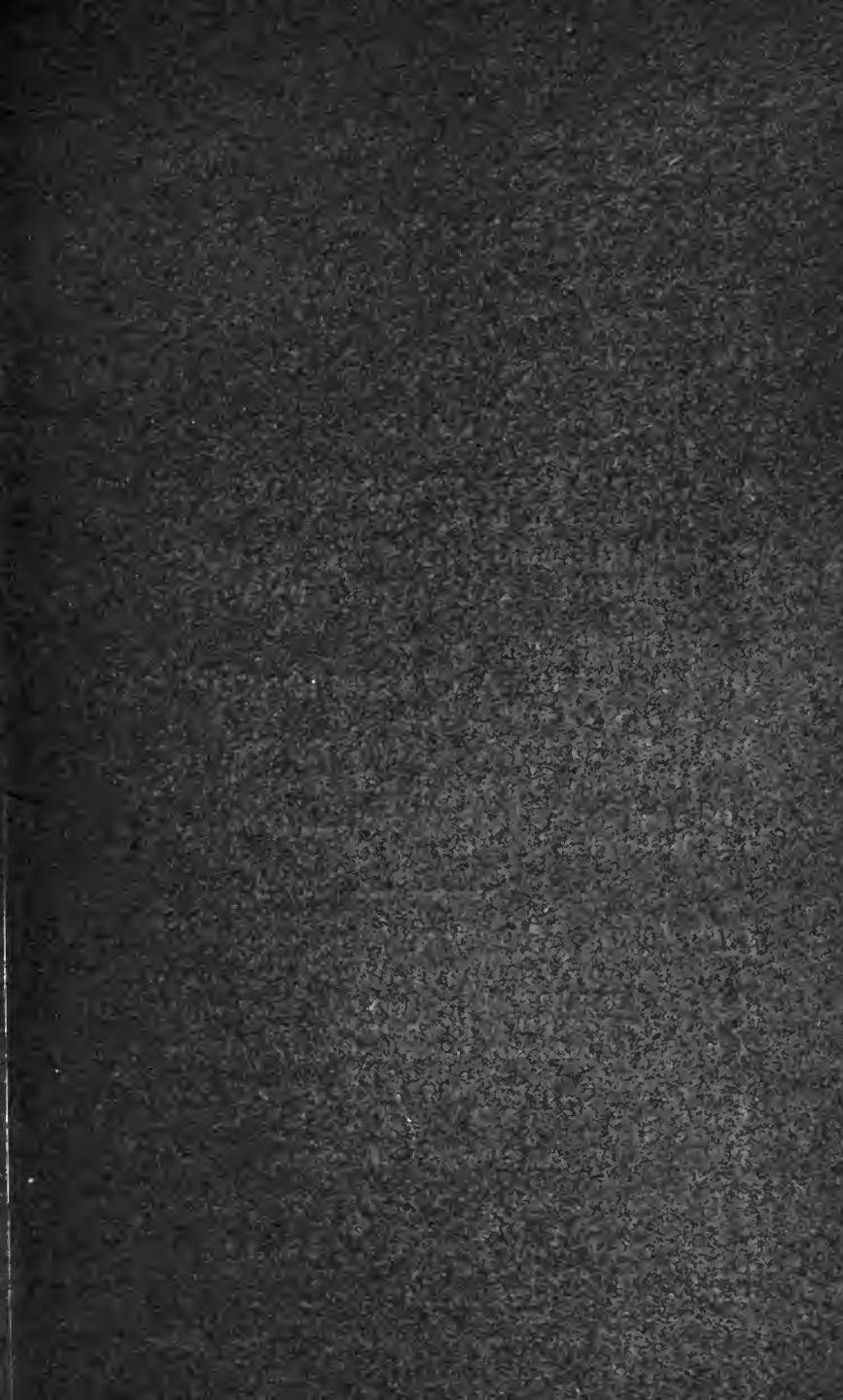
## THE CURE FOR WAR

rivalry between your own nation and them. Christianity does not argue about the necessary rivalry. It says—Pursue the Christian way. Seek to love rather than to hate, and you will find that the rivalry disappears. And here I would insist that Love is something quite different from admiration. Rivals may admire each other and try to imitate what they admire so that they may overcome their rivals. That has been the practice of the Germans, and by reason of it they have more and more lost their own ideas of excellence. They are eclectics and attain to a characterless and joyless efficiency which is never quite first-rate, as it is never spontaneous. But love is a sudden, undesigned delight in a character different from your own. It is something that happens to your mind, a gift from heaven ; but you must keep your mind open to it. You must regard all rivalry as the obstacle to it and to the wisdom and happiness it will bring you.

If we think for a moment, we must see that all the nations have their own excellences peculiar to them, as we do see their diverse excellence in the arts. And if we could love them for these different excellences and for the manner in which they are expressed in the national life, as we love Michelangelo or Mozart or Shakespeare for what is expressed in their art, then the very thought of war with them would be abhorrent to us. We know how the world has felt about the ruin of Rheims Cathedral, as if it were a wanton cruelty done to the spirit of the past. It was the work of a great age with which none

## THE CURE FOR WAR

of us feels any rivalry because it is in the past. But every nation now is doing its own peculiar work which deserves our love like that masterpiece, and it is only the heathen doctrine of rivalry that makes it possible for us to ruin that work in war. For us our own country is like Rheims Cathedral. We know the good there is in it and its promise for the world, and we cannot bear to think of the Germans let loose upon it to destroy like madmen. But, as a matter of fact, is ours better than the other countries? There is no need for us, because we love it, to think so. We love it because we know it, and we should love them if we knew them as well and if the idea of rivalry were removed from our minds. Therefore our task is, even now in the midst of this war, to remove the idea of rivalry from our minds and all the illusions that spring from it. A nation is made up of men and women, and it cannot be Christian to other nations unless they in their thoughts and words are Christian to other nations. It is wrong thinking that causes war, and the thinking is done not by an abstract nation but by the men and women who compose it.



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## BASIS OF PUBLICATION

This series of Papers is based on the following convictions :

1. That Great Britain was in August morally bound to declare war and is no less bound to carry the war to a decisive issue ;
2. That the war is none the less an outcome and a revelation of the un-Christian principles which have dominated the life of Western Christendom, and of which both the Church and the nations have need to repent ;
3. That followers of Christ, as members of the Church, are linked to one another in a fellowship which transcends all divisions of nationality or race ;
4. That the Christian duties of love and forgiveness are as binding in time of war as in time of peace ;
5. That Christians are bound to recognize the insufficiency of mere compulsion for overcoming evil and to place supreme reliance upon spiritual forces and in particular upon the power and method of the Cross ;
6. That only in proportion as Christian principles dictate the terms of settlement will a real and lasting peace be secured ;
7. That it is the duty of the Church to make an altogether new effort to realize and apply to all the relations of life its own positive ideal of brotherhood and fellowship ;
8. That with God all things are possible.

## OUR NEED OF A CATHOLIC CHURCH

IF one of the great saints of the early Church had been told that in the year 1915 the world would still be waiting for the final consummation, and had tried to conceive the life of men and nations as it would be after that long period of Christian influence, what would his conception have been? Surely he would have expected that all nations would be linked together in the Holy Communion, the Fellowship of Saints. Roman, Spaniard, African, Syrian, those strange Germans, and the barbarous Britons who lived in the remotest corner of the earth, might have maintained their own varieties of culture, but each would find his joy and pride in offering his contribution to the life of the whole family of nations. Rooted in knowledge of the love of God, their life would grow luxuriantly and bear fruit in love of one another and service of the common cause. Inspiring each and knitting all together, the Holy Catholic Church, fulfilling itself in service of the world, would gather up all this exuberance of life and love into itself, and present it to the God and Father of mankind in unceasing adoration.

But the world in 1915 is not in the least like that, and the contrast between what is and what might have been is due in part, at least, to the failure of the Church to be true to its own commission. It is also because of this that no practical man dreams of turning to the Church to find the way out from the intolerable situation into which the nations have drifted.

### WHAT IS THE CHURCH?

An eminent politician is reported to have defined the Church on a recent occasion in the following terms: 'The Church is, I suppose, a voluntary organization for

## OUR NEED OF A CATHOLIC CHURCH

the maintenance of public worship in the interest of those who desire to join in it.' And it is to be feared that many people regard it in some such way as that. But of course the Church is nothing of the kind; the Church is the Body of Christ.

It is not a 'voluntary organization' any more than my body is a voluntary organization either of limbs or of cells. No one could 'voluntarily' join the Church, if by that were meant that the act originated in his own will. 'No man can say Jesus is Lord, but by the Holy Spirit.' A man cannot make himself a Christian. The Apostles were made Christian by Christ Himself—'Ye did not choose Me, but I chose you'; others were made Christian by the Apostles, or (as they always said) by Christ working in and through them; and so successive generations have been made Christian by the Spirit of Christ operative in the fellowship of His disciples—that is to say, in the Church. This is the aspect of truth expressed and preserved in the practice of infant baptism. We are Christians, if at all, not through any act initiated by our own will, but through our being received into the Christian fellowship and subjected to its influence. Just as we are born members of our family, so by our reception into the fellowship of the disciples we are 'made members of Christ'. In the one case as in the other, we may repudiate our membership or we may disgrace it; we can never abolish it. Let me hasten in parenthesis to add, that this is only one aspect of the truth, and the protest of those who object to infant baptism will be a valuable force in the Church, until we are finally secure against the temptation to regard a sacrament as a piece of magic. For of course it is true that, while no man can make himself a Christian by his own will, no man can be made a Christian against or without his will. It is precisely his will that the Spirit must lay hold of and convert, and the will can refuse conversion.

The Church, then, is not a 'voluntary organization', but the creation of God in Christ. In fact it is the one

## OUR NEED OF A CATHOLIC CHURCH

immediate result of our Lord's earthly ministry. When His physical presence was withdrawn, there remained in the world, as fruit of His sojourn here, no volume of writings, no elaborated organization with codified aims and methods, but a group of people who were united to one another because His Spirit lived and worked in each. And the great marvel lay in this: whereas all men realize that fellowship is better than rivalry, and yet fail to pass from one to the other because they are radically selfish both individually and corporately, in Christ men found themselves to be a real community in spite of their as yet unpurged selfishness. By the invasion of the Divine Life in Christ, the ideal itself, the life of fellowship, is given, and is made into the means of destroying just those qualities which had hitherto prevented its own realization. The ecclesiastical organizations of to-day are not fellowships of this sort, but if the members of the Church lose their hold on this central principle of fellowship, as they have largely done, we are thrown back upon the futile effort to build up fellowship on the foundation of unredeemed selfishness.

As it is not true to say that the Church is a 'voluntary' organization, so also it is not true to say that it exists 'for the maintenance of public worship', at least in the sense that most Englishmen would give to the words. Certainly the Church, consisting of men and women whom God of His sheer goodness has delivered from the power of darkness and translated into the kingdom of His dear Son, will find its first duty, as also its first impulse, in an abandonment of adoration. But if the God who is worshipped is not only some Jewish Jehovah or Mohammedan Allah, but the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, this love and adoration of God will immediately express itself in the love and service of men, and especially in the passionate desire to share with others the supreme treasure of the knowledge of God. The Church, like its Master, will be chiefly concerned to seek and to save that which is lost, calling men everywhere to repent because the Kingdom of God

## OUR NEED OF A CATHOLIC CHURCH

is at hand. Worship is indeed the very breath of its life, but service of the world is the business of its life. It is the Body of Christ, that is to say, the instrument of His will, and His will is to save the world.

The spiritual life of men is not limited to this planet, and the fulfilment of the Church's task can never be here alone. The Church must call men from temporal to eternal hopes. But in this way it will do more than is possible in any other way to purify the temporal life itself. For most temporal goods are such that the more one person has the less there is for others, so that absorption in them leads inevitably to strife and war. But the eternal goods—love, joy, peace, loyalty, beauty, knowledge—are such that the fuller fruition of them by one leads of itself to fuller fruition by others also, and absorption in them leads without fail to brotherhood and fellowship.

It is not of worship, the breath of the Church's life, but of service, the business of its life, that this paper will speak. But this can only be misleading if the other has not first been given prominence. The Church serves because it first worships. Only because it has in itself a foretaste of eternal life, the realized Kingdom of God, can it prepare the way of the Lord, so that His Kingdom may come on earth as it is in heaven.

### VISIBLE OR INVISIBLE

One question which demands attention concerns the nature of the Church which is to perform this function. Is it enough that there should be vast numbers of Christian individuals, gathering together in whatever way is proved by experience to be the most effective for edification, pursuing their profession as Christians, and so gradually leavening life? Or is there need for a quite definite society, with a coherent constitution and a known basis of membership? The former has much to recommend it; it avoids the deadening influence of a rigid machinery; it ensures freedom of spiritual and intel-

## OUR NEED OF A CATHOLIC CHURCH

lectual development; it may seem to correspond with that loosely constituted group of disciples which was, as we have seen, the actual fruit of the earthly ministry of Christ. Yet it is condemned by all analogies, and is inadequate to the essential nature of religion.

All relevant analogy suggests that a spirit must take definite and concrete form before it can be effective in the world, even as God Himself must become incarnate in order to establish His Kingdom upon earth. No doubt the form has often fettered the spirit and sometimes even perverted it; the history of the Franciscan movement is an instance of this; but the influence of St. Francis would never have done for Europe what it actually accomplished if the Order had not been founded.

One of the clearest illustrations of the principle is before our eyes in our experience to-day. When the spirit of national patriotism makes its appeal, no one has to make any effort to understand its claim; our nation is a definite and concrete society in which we easily realize our membership to the full. We know that there is no escaping from it, and that, when it appeals for our service or our lives, we must either respond or refuse. But the Christian Church, as we know it, is powerless to bring home its appeal in the same way. Largely because of its divisions and endless controversy about the points, secondary though important, which separate the various sections, it has become curiously impotent in the face of any great occasion such as the present, and curiously unsuccessful in persuading either its own members or the world outside of the nature of its mission. We are not conscious, for example, that we are permanently either responding to, or else refusing, the appeal to 'preach the Gospel to every creature'. That appeal does not hit us personally as does the appeal, 'every fit man wanted.' Our membership in the Church does not in fact make us feel a personal obligation to assist the cause of the Church. We are content to 'belong to it' without admitting that it has

## OUR NEED OF A CATHOLIC CHURCH

any power to dispose of its 'belongings'; we think that we 'support' it by 'going to church' and contributing to 'church expenses'. But we feel no link with our fellow-Christians in Germany at all comparable to that which binds us to an agnostic but patriotic Englishman, or at all capable of bridging spontaneously the gulf fixed by national antagonism. By a deliberate effort we can realize that we and they are equally precious in the sight of God, and that they are our fellow-members in Christ. But there is no realized bond of corporate unity that binds us to each other, and we rely upon the very feeble resources of our personal goodwill and personal faith for any sense of unity with them that we may attain. The Church is less powerful than the nation as an influence in our lives partly at least because it is in fact less actual. The Church universal, whether as organization or as spirit of life, is an ideal, not a reality.

### OBJECTIONS

(a) *The failure of Catholicism.* Such an argument, however, simply invites refutation. It is pointed out that when the whole of one section of Christendom was organized as a single religious community under the Pope, men did, as a mere matter of historical fact, fight and hate even more bitterly than now. A common membership in one Catholic Church did not prevent Edward III and Henry V from making war upon their neighbours across the English Channel. And at this moment Roman Catholic Frenchmen appear to be fighting against Roman Catholic Bavarians with no more signs of fellowship between the opponents than appear in other parts of the field of war. So far as the Church is organized as a unity, this does not, in fact, create unity of spirit in its members sufficient to mitigate national antagonisms.

(b) *The snare of organization.* And this, it will be urged, is only to be expected. 'The wind bloweth where



## OUR NEED OF A CATHOLIC CHURCH

it listeth,' and machinery cannot control the spirit. It is only a personal faith in Christ that will lift men above natural divisions so that they spontaneously recognize as brothers those who have similar faith. To build up again a great ecclesiastical organization which shall include all Europe, or even all the world, will not of itself create friendship between the members who compose it if otherwise they are antagonistic. Individual conversion, not ecclesiastical statesmanship, is the one thing needful ; nothing can take its place.

### REPLY TO OBJECTIONS

No ; of course nothing can take its place. And of course an all-comprehensive lukewarm Church will share the fate of its smaller counterpart at Laodicea. When it is said that the Universal Church is not a reality, it is not only the absence of a world-wide organization that is deplored ; still worse is the total absence of any typical manner of life by which members of the Church may be known from others. Men die for Great Britain, not because Britain is a united kingdom, but because there is a definite British character which is ours and which we love. But there is no specifically Christian type of character actually distinguishing members of the Church from others which may make men ready to die for Christendom. Christians differ from others, as Spinoza bitterly remarked, not in faith or charity or any of the fruits of the Spirit, but only in opinion. Assuredly individual conversion is the primary requisite.

But half our troubles come from these absurd dilemmas. ' Do you believe in faith or in organization ? ' Well ; do I believe in my eyes or my ears ? Why not in both ? Of course organization cannot take the place of faith ; of course faith without order is better than order without faith. But why cannot we have in the Church what we have got in the nation—faith operative through order as loyalty is operative through the State and in service to it ?

## OUR NEED OF A CATHOLIC CHURCH

The earlier objection, however, is equally serious. Catholicism has failed in the past and is failing now. One main ground of its failure is to be found, I believe, in its inadequate recognition of nationality, which has avenged itself by almost ousting Catholicism and with it Christianity itself, where national interests are concerned.<sup>1</sup>

### ROOT OF THE CATHOLIC IDEA

This failure to give adequate recognition to nationality arises from too exclusive emphasis on the principle which is, quite rightly, the root idea of Catholicism—the idea of transcendence. Here in the last resort is the fundamental distinction between naturalism and religion ; naturalism may take a form which stimulates the religious emotions and supports a high ethical ideal ; but it confines itself to the limits of secular experience. For naturalism the history of man and of the universe is the starting-point and the goal ; this as fact is the datum, this as understood is the solution. The Will of God, on this view, is to be discovered from the empirical course and tendency of history. But religion begins with God ; it breaks in upon what we ordinarily call ‘ experience ’ from outside ; in its monotheistic form it regards the world as created by God for His own pleasure, and lasting only during that pleasure ; in its pantheistic form it regards the world as a phase or moment of His Being which is by no means limited to that phase or moment. Its philosophy does not elaborately conceive what God must be like in order to be the solution of our perplexities, but, starting with the assurance of His Being and Nature, shows how this is in fact the answer to all our needs.

It is one peculiarity and glory of Christianity that it unites both of those. Its faith is fixed upon One who ‘ for us men and for our salvation *came down from heaven* ’,

<sup>1</sup> I am speaking throughout of the Western Church: the Eastern Church has perhaps been, if anything, too national.

## OUR NEED OF A CATHOLIC CHURCH

and who is yet the eternal Word through which all things were made, the indwelling principle of all existence. Transcendence and immanence are here perfectly combined. But because the former is the distinctively religious element, without which the latter would have been in danger of relapsing into naturalism, the deliberate emphasis was all laid on transcendence. We can see, as we look back, that when once the Incarnation has actually taken place upon the plane of history, it makes no jot of difference in logic, provided only that the Life of the Incarnate is taken as the starting-point and centre of thought, whether terms of transcendence or of immanence are used. The life of Christ is at once the irruption of the Divine into the world—(for the previous history of the world certainly does not explain it)—and is also the manifestation of the indwelling power which had all along sustained the world. In other words, the God who redeems is the same as the God who creates and sustains. But it is still true that the note of transcendence, of something given to man by God as distinct from something emerging out of man in his search of God, is the specifically religious note.

And the Church, as the divine creation and instrument, shares and must express this character. It must be so constituted as to keep alive this faith. That is the meaning of hierarchies and sacraments. Whether any given order is the most adequate that can be designed, is of course a perfectly legitimate question. But every order that aspires to be catholic aims, at least, at expressing the truth that religion is a gift of God, and not a discovery of man. And certainly it is only the gift of God that can be truly catholic or universal. Man's discoveries are indefinitely various; the European finds one thing, the Arab another, the Hindu yet another, and none finds satisfaction in the other's discovery, though in all of them God is operative. Only in His own gift of Himself is it reasonable to expect that all men will find what they need; only in a Church which is the vehicle of this gift, and is known to be this, and not a mutual benefit society

## OUR NEED OF A CATHOLIC CHURCH

organized by its own members for their several and collective advantage—only in a Church expressive of divine transcendence can all nations find a home.

### THE FORMER ATTEMPT AT CATHOLICISM

Yet just because of a too one-sided emphasis on this truth, the Catholic Church in the West has, as a rule, not tried to be a home for nations at all. 'Christianity separated religion from patriotism for every nation which became, and which remained, Christian.'<sup>1</sup> Patriotism is particular; religion ought to be universal. The nation is a natural growth; the Church is a divine creation. And so the primitive Church was organized in complete independence of national life, except in so far as its diocesan divisions followed national or provincial boundaries. No doubt the conditions of its existence made this almost necessary, for the organized secular life of the Roman Empire refused to tolerate it. But it was its own principle, true indeed but not the whole truth, which led to this line of development. The same principle is apparent in the Middle Ages, when there was no external pressure. The Church, as it was conceived in the sublime ideal of Hildebrand, was to belong to no nation, because supreme over them all, binding them together in the obedience and love of Christ, and imposing upon them His holy will.

The inevitable result of this was that the instinct of nationality was never christened at all. It remained a brute instinct, without either the sanction or the restraint of religion. But it could not be crushed, and so the Church let it alone; with the result that, though murder was regarded as a sin, a war of dynastic or national ambition was not by people generally considered sinful. No doubt theologians condemned such war in general terms; St. Thomas Aquinas, for instance, seems to regard as fully justified only such wars as are under-

<sup>1</sup> 'War and Religion' in *The Times Literary Supplement*, Dec. 31, 1914.

## OUR NEED OF A CATHOLIC CHURCH

taken to protect others from oppression, and some of the greatest Popes made heroic efforts to govern national policy according to righteousness. But in the general judgement of the Church, international action was not subjected to Christian standards of judgement at all. This way of regarding the Church sometimes leads people to speak of 'alternative' loyalties, so that they ask, 'Ought I to be loyal to my Church or to my nation?' And while faith and reason will combine to answer 'To my Church', an imperious instinct will lead most men in actual fact to answer 'To my nation'. The attempt to exalt the Church to an unconditional supremacy has the actual result of making men ignore it when its guidance is most needed.

Whatever truth there may be in the statement that the Reformation was in part due to the growing sentiment of nationality, is evidence of the failure of the old Catholic Church in this matter. In England at any rate one main source of the popular Protestantism was objection to anything like a foreign domination. No doubt the political ambitions of the Papacy were largely responsible for the feeling that the Catholic Church brought with it a foreign yoke. But the whole principle of the Church as non-national necessarily meant that the Church was regarded as 'imposing' Christian standards rather than permeating national life with them. The Church tended to ignore the spiritual function of the State altogether, claiming all spiritual activity for itself alone; and thus it tended to make the State in actual fact unspiritual, and involved itself in the necessity of attempting what only the State can do. It thus not only tended to weaken the moral power of the State, but also forsook its own supernatural function to exercise those of the magistrate or judge, so that faith in the power of God was never put to a full test. The Reformation was not only a moral and spiritual reform of the Church, but the uprising of the nations, now growing fully conscious of their national life, against the cosmopolitan rule of Rome. But the Reformation did not fully realize its task. It

## OUR NEED OF A CATHOLIC CHURCH

expressed itself indeed in national Churches, but in actual doctrine tended to individualism; whereas Catholicism laid emphasis on religion as the gift of God, Protestantism, at least in its later development, laid stress on the individual's apprehension of the gift. But not only the individual—everything that is human, family, school, guild, trade union, nation, needs to apprehend and appropriate the gift of God. The nation, too, must be christened and submit to transforming grace.

### THE DIVINE SANCTION OF NATIONALITY

The uprising of the national spirit has had the deplorable result of contributing to the break-up of Christendom, but it is not in itself deplorable at all. All civilization has in fact progressed by the development of different nationalities, each with its own type. If we believe in a Divine Providence, if we believe that the Life of Christ is not only the irruption of the Divine into human history but is also and therein the manifestation of the governing principle of all history, we shall confess that the nation as well as the Church is a divine creation. The Church is here to witness to the ideal and guide the world towards it, but the world is by divine appointment a world of nations, and it is such a world that is to become the Kingdom of God. Moreover, if it is by God's appointment that nations exist, their existence must itself be an instrument of that divine purpose which the Church also serves.

The whole course of Biblical revelation supports this view. In the earlier stages of the Old Testament everything is subordinated to the fashioning of Israel into a nation. When the prophets begin to widen the moral horizon, it is by recognizing the rights of other nations, not by denying the rights of any. 'Are ye not as the children of the Ethiopians unto me, O children of Israel? saith the Lord. Have not I brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt, and the Philistines from Caphtor, and the Syrians from Kir?'<sup>1</sup> Israel was a chosen people;

<sup>1</sup> Amos ix. 7.

## OUR NEED OF A CATHOLIC CHURCH

so were these others. Isaiah looks forward to a time when 'Israel shall be the third with Egypt and with Assyria, a blessing in the midst of the earth : for that the Lord of hosts hath blessed them, saying, Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance'.<sup>1</sup> If the New Testament lays all its emphasis on the universal note, it is only because this lesson of the prophets was not yet learnt, and needed still to be uttered with renewed emphasis ; it is not because nationality is ignored. No citizen ever loved his country more than Christ loved Israel ; there are no instances of patriotism more glowing than the patriotic ardour of St. Paul. Our task therefore is to allow both Church and nation freedom to do just what each can do for the realization of the Kingdom of God.

### THE NATION, THE CHURCH, AND THE KINGDOM OF GOD

The nation is a natural growth with a spiritual significance. It emerges as a product of various elementary needs of man ; but having emerged it is found to possess a value far beyond the satisfaction of these needs. The Church is a spiritual creation working through a natural medium. Its informing principle is the Holy Spirit of God in Christ, but its members are men and women who are partly animal in nature as well as children of God. The nation as organized for action is the State ; and the State, being 'natural', appeals to men on that side of their nature which is lower but is not in itself bad. Justice is its highest aim and force its typical instrument, though force is progressively less employed as the moral sense of the community develops : mercy can find an entrance only on strict conditions. The Church, on the other hand, is primarily spiritual ; mercy will be the chief characteristic of its judgements, but it may fall back on justice and even, in the last resort, on force. Both State and Church are instruments of God for establishing His Kingdom ; both have the same goal ;

<sup>1</sup> Isaiah xix. 24-25.

## OUR NEED OF A CATHOLIC CHURCH

but they have different functions in relation to that goal.

The State's action for the most part takes the form of restraint; the Church's mainly that of appeal. The State is concerned to maintain the highest standard of life that can be generally realized by its citizens; the Church is concerned with upholding an ideal to which not even the best will fully attain. When a man reaches a certain pitch of development, he scarcely realizes the pressure of the State, though he is still unconsciously upheld by the moral judgement of society; but he can never outgrow the demand of the Church. On the other hand, if a man is below a certain standard, the appeal of the Church will not hold him and he needs the support of the State's coercion.

Neither State nor Church is itself the Kingdom of God, though the specific life of the Church is the very spirit and power of that Kingdom. Each plays its part in building the Kingdom, in which, when it comes, force will have disappeared, while justice and mercy will coalesce in the perfect love which will treat every individual according to his need.

### THE CATHOLIC CHURCH OF THE FUTURE

The Church which, officially at least, ignored nationality has failed. The Church which allowed itself to become little more than the organ of national religion has failed. The hope of the future lies in a truly international Church, which shall fully respect the rights of nations and recognize the spiritual function of the State, thereby obtaining the right to direct the national States along the path which leads to the Kingdom of God. We are all clear by now that the Christian Church cannot be made the servant of one nation; we must become equally clear that it cannot be regarded as standing apart from them so that in becoming a Churchman a man is withdrawn in some degree from national loyalty. We must get rid of the idea of 'alternative' loyalties. The Church is



## OUR NEED OF A CATHOLIC CHURCH

indeed the herald and the earnest of that Kingdom of God which includes all mankind ; but unless all history is a mere aberration, that Kingdom will have nations for its provinces, and nations like individuals will realize their destiny by becoming members of it.

We shall, then, conceive the relation of the nation to the Church on the analogy of that between the family and the nation. There is in principle no conflict of interest or loyalty here. The family is a part of the nation, owing allegiance to it ; but the nation consists of families and can reach its welfare only through theirs. So the nation (in proportion as it is Christian) must learn to regard itself as a member of the family of nations in the Catholic Church. No doubt in this imperfect world there is often a conflict of supposed interests, and sometimes even of real interests. Moreover, there is often room for doubt as to where the true interest lies. But the family finds its own true welfare in the service of the nation, and the nation finds its own welfare in the service of the Kingdom of God.

The Catholic Church, which is itself not yet a society of just men made perfect, while upholding the idea of brotherhood and the love which kills hate by suffering at its hands, and while calling both men and nations to penitence and renewed aspiration in so far as they fail to reach that ideal, will none the less recognize the divinity of the nation in spite of all its failures. It will not call upon men to come out from their nation or separate themselves from its action, unless it believes that then and there the nation itself is capable of something better, or unless the nation requires of them a repudiation of the very spirit of Christ, or an action intrinsically immoral. If it is doing the best that at the moment it is capable of doing, the Church will bid its citizens support it in that act, lest the nation be weakened in its defence of the right or its control handed over to those who have no care for the right.

Such a course is intensely dangerous ; the right course always is. The only way of moral 'safety' is tamely

## OUR NEED OF A CATHOLIC CHURCH

to accept deliberately some task less than the greatest ; to aim at the highest is always an adventure and a risk. Recognizing the risk of falling into mere worldliness, the Church will welcome the protest of those who are called to testify exclusively to the universality of the Church and the supremacy of spiritual forces, and are thereby debarred from taking part in any national hostilities. For such there will be, perhaps, an Order of St. George Fox, held in universal honour for its testimony to a vital aspect of truth which might otherwise be forgotten ; but this Order will not be needed for long ; nations which feel themselves, as nations, to be provinces in a Catholic Church will not wish to wage war on one another. Similarly the Catholic Church, being a vast organization, will inevitably tend to neglect the individual in its concern for world movements, unless it has an Order of St. John Wesley (as it would be in England) dedicated to the task of individual conversion and keeping alive the remembrance of its absolute necessity. Not every one will be called to belong to any such Order, just as not every one was called to be a Franciscan or a Dominican. But the testimony of each will be preserved within the visible unity of the Church, maintaining its spiritual balance ; thus we may secure unity without sacrifice of freedom. The Catholic Church itself, because it must be a society of nations, will be organized in national provinces, and in each such province will try to act like leaven in the lump, confessing its failure in so far as the nation remains unchristian and calling on its members, who are also the nation's citizens, to use their national allegiance so as to make their nation Christian, both within itself and in its dealings with other nations.

Nothing but such a spiritual society can secure fellowship among nations. Schemes of arbitration, conciliation, international police, and the like presuppose, if they are to be effective, an admitted community of interest between the nations. But this must be not only admitted but believed in sufficiently to prompt a nation which has no interest in a particular dispute to make sacrifices for

## OUR NEED OF A CATHOLIC CHURCH

the general good, by spending blood and treasure in upholding the authority of the international court or council. What will secure this, except the realization of common membership in the Kingdom of God, and in the Christian Church, its herald and earnest ?

And yet the Church we know is not only divided but at war within itself. This, the Creation of God in Christ, is not more free from strife and faction than the nations which are natural growths. If grace fails, how can nature succeed ? Why should we expect the nations of the world to be at peace, when the sections of the Church are at war ?

Because the Church is so far from what we hope it may become, we can only sketch that future Church in outline. Its building will be the work of years, perhaps of centuries. And probably enough our attempt will fail as Hildebrand's failed ; probably enough there will be scores of failures ; but each time we must begin again in order that for Christ and His Spirit a Body may be prepared, through which His purpose may in the end of the ages find its accomplishment, and the nations of the earth bring their glory—each its own—into His Holy City.

### THE ADVENTURE

There is the goal, dimly enough seen ; but the method is perfectly plain. ' Thomas saith unto Him, Lord, we know not whither Thou goest ; how know we the way ? Jesus saith unto him, I am the way.' And when that way led to the Cross, beside the innocent Sufferer there were two others. One cried to Him, ' Save Thyself and us ;' the other recognized His royalty in that utmost humiliation and prayed, ' Jesus, remember me when Thou comest in Thy Kingdom.' He, and he alone in the four Gospels, is recorded to have addressed the Lord by His personal name. Penitence creates intimacy, whether it be offered to God or to man.

We have been made very conscious of the burden of the world's pain and sin, though perhaps that burden, as God bears it, is no heavier now than in our selfish

## OUR NEED OF A CATHOLIC CHURCH

and worldly peace. Will the Church pray to Him, 'Save Thyself and us'? or will it willingly suffer with Him, united with Him in the intimacy of penitence, seeing His royalty in His crown of thorns? Will it, while bidding men bravely do their duty as they see it, still say that real treasures are not of this world though they may in part be possessed here, suffering whatever may be the penalty for this unpopular testimony? For the kingdoms of this world will become the Kingdom of our God and of His Christ only when the citizens of those kingdoms lay up their treasure in heaven and not upon the earth, only when, being risen with Christ, they set their affection on things above—love, joy, peace, loyalty, beauty, knowledge—only when they realize their fellowship in His Body so that their fellowship also in His Holy Spirit may purge their selfishness away.

Here is field enough for heroism and the moral equivalent of war. The Church is to be transformed and become a band of people united in their indifference to personal success or national expansion, and caring only that the individual is pure in heart and the nation honourable. In her zeal for that purity and honour, and in her contempt for all else, she may have to suffer crucifixion. It is a big risk that the Church must run; for if she does not save the world she will have ruined it, besides sacrificing herself. If there is no God nor Holy City of God, the Church will have just spoilt life for all her faithful members, and in some degree for every one else as well. But if her vision is true, then everything is worth while—rather the greatness of the sacrifice is an addition to the joy when the prize is so unimaginably great. Can we bring this spirit into the Church? On our answer depends the course of history in the next century, and a new stage in the Coming of the Lord.

*The Spirit and the Bride say, Come.  
And he that heareth, let him say, Come.  
Yea: I come quickly.  
Amen: come, Lord Jesus.*



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## BASIS OF PUBLICATION

This series of Papers is based on the following convictions :

1. That Great Britain was in August morally bound to declare war and is no less bound to carry the war to a decisive issue ;
2. That the war is none the less an outcome and a revelation of the un-Christian principles which have dominated the life of Western Christendom, and of which both the Church and the nations have need to repent ;
3. That followers of Christ, as members of the Church, are linked to one another in a fellowship which transcends all divisions of nationality or race ;
4. That the Christian duties of love and forgiveness are as binding in time of war as in time of peace ;
5. That Christians are bound to recognize the insufficiency of mere compulsion for overcoming evil and to place supreme reliance upon spiritual forces and in particular upon the power and method of the Cross ;
6. That only in proportion as Christian principles dictate the terms of settlement will a real and lasting peace be secured ;
7. That it is the duty of the Church to make an altogether new effort to realize and apply to all the relations of life its own positive ideal of brotherhood and fellowship ;
8. That with God all things are possible.

## WAR, THIS WAR AND THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT

WAR is possible only in a civilization which is not yet Christian; nevertheless, this country was and is morally bound to fight out this war. Such in brief is the contention for which this series of Papers stands. But, it may be objected, is such a position really tenable? Are not those more consistent who say that the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount will not under any circumstances countenance war? 'My Kingdom is not of this world, else would my servants fight;' and is it not mere common sense to argue that the wholesale massacre and maiming of hundreds of thousands of innocent persons is the worst possible way of furthering the reign of peace and goodwill on earth?

Plausible as this objection is, and able and sincere as are many of those who urge it, I believe it to be profoundly mistaken. It is not war which is the real evil but the state of mind which leads to war. War at least has its nobler side—not so the domineering temper, the suspicion and hatred, the lust for aggrandizement and wealth which result in wars. War is but a symptom, it is against the disease that the Christian should contend, and at times he must be prepared literally to use the knife.

Christianity is neither a code of law nor a system of ethics; it is a summons to adventure. Christ came not as Lawgiver or Sage, not as a superior Moses or a superior Confucius, but as Captain of a forlorn hope. Christianity and Prussianism are at one and the same time closely akin and bitterly opposed. Both strive for the empire of the world and the dominance of their own *Kultur*. Both call for hardness and discipline; both elicit heroism and sacrifice. But to the Christian world-empire means the Kingdom of God, and its *Kultur* the spirit of liberty and love. As the aims differ, so necessarily do the methods employed; but Christianity is war. Every follower of Christ must serve on some crusade. Thus the Sermon

## WAR, THIS WAR AND

on the Mount is not to be read as a set of rules and regulations but as a battle-song—the Canticle of the Knighthood of the Cross—not its letter but its spirit matters.

Let us try to apprehend this spirit.

‘Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.’ Man’s instinct for vengeance reckes not of limitation. ‘Were every individual hair a life my great revenge hath stomach for them all.’ ‘Reward thou them, O Lord, sevenfold into their bosom.’ But the Law laid down a limit. For injury done let a strict equivalent be exacted, an eye for an eye—no more. The *lex talionis* is the first great step forward. But Christ asks more than this, ‘If a man smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also.’ The injured Christian is to seek for no reprisal at all, however ‘just’ the equivalent; the instinct of revenge is to be utterly repressed. But even that is not enough. Not only is revenge to be renounced, it is to be transformed into the contrary passion. ‘Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you.’

The aggressor, like oneself, is, potentially at least, a child of God, a brother whose good is to be sought. The extent to which that good is sought and gained is the final test of motive and of conduct. In a particular case it may be that this end will be best attained by literally turning to him the other cheek, in another case it may be better attained in a very different way. A soft answer does not always turn away wrath, and experience shows that, where remonstrance has failed, punishment sometimes succeeds in producing a changed heart. If such cases ever occur, as I would submit they do, though rarely, the hard blow is surely *on that occasion* a more Christian act than a soft answer. Nevertheless, such is the infirmity of human character, such the subtle power of self-deception in the human breast, that when an injured party returns the blow, saying and even thinking that he does it ‘for the aggressor’s good’, he is oftenest mistaken. The literal strictness of the Quaker may be—in my opinion it *is*—an error, but in most cases it is an error in the

## THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT

right direction. The true Christian will always begin with the policy of the soft answer; only if that fails will he consent to try a coarser way. And that it will sometimes fail the Gospel also recognizes—‘If thy brother sin against thee, go, show him his fault between thee and him alone: if he hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he hear thee not, take with thee one or two more, that at the mouth of two witnesses or three every word may be established. And if he refuse to hear them, tell it unto the church: and if he refuse to hear the church also, let him be unto thee as the Gentile and the publican’ (Matt. xviii. 15–17).

‘Love your enemies,’ verily and indeed—but it is also written, ‘thou shalt love thy neighbour.’ Take as literally as you like the words, ‘If a man smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also’—yet there is one thing they cannot mean—‘If a man smite thy sister on the cheek look the other way.’ If a wanton injury is threatened to one weaker than myself and I have power to prevent that injury, then, if I fail to exercise that power, I become morally a *particeps criminis*, and no casuistry can absolve me from complicity in the injury itself. No act is more essentially Christlike than the deliverance of the oppressed. Even if in a particular case the threatened party would be willing in the name of Christ to submit to the injury, it is no whit less my duty to prevent the wrong being done—if possible by persuasion, if not by force. The knight-errant riding the world in search of distressed damsels to succour is as good a Christian as the Quaker literally turning the other cheek.

‘If possible by persuasion, if not by force’ I have written, but it is just to the addition of the words ‘by force’ that many thoughtful men, Christian and otherwise, will demur. Can force ever, it is asked, prevent wrong? And, if so, under what circumstances and with what limitations? On the answer to this depends the answer to the further question whether a Christian can ever justify war.

Our ancestors had a wholly exaggerated view of the

## WAR, THIS WAR AND

moralizing influence of force, especially as exhibited in the form of punishment. The legislator revelled in the gallows, the schoolmaster in the rod, the preacher in the fires of hell. An acute reaction from all this has led many modern thinkers to deny that the use of force can under any circumstances serve a moral or educative purpose. In fact in some quarters there seems to be an almost Manichæan outlook—as if force were something evil *in itself*. Force, like matter, is neutral, and only becomes good or evil according to the use men make of it. Many people forget that discipline must precede liberty and that the Gospel must follow the Law. Were the world really Christian the Gospel would suffice, but in a world—and a Church—which is scarcely beginning to be Christian we cannot yet altogether dispense with the Law.

Self-engrossment is a standing weakness of human nature, and very often we are startled to find that even persons of a kindly disposition and of high ideals are curiously obtuse to the claims and interests of others when these happen to conflict with their own. This obtuseness, combined with the instinct of vanity and self-assertion, which from early infancy is a conspicuous element in some, and is to some extent present in most characters, readily leads the individual to take for granted in himself or herself a certain native superiority which bestows a quasi-moral right to domineer. Where such a claim is met with non-resistance, or with a resistance which is readily overcome, the character rapidly acquires that domineering insolence and tendency to wanton aggression which the Greeks described by the untranslatable word *ὑβρις*. One who has never ‘burnt his fingers’, as the saying is, can easily fancy himself a superman.

The strength of this tendency to domineering insolence or *ὑβρις* varies enormously with individual temperament, and its potency in later life depends largely on the wisdom or the unwisdom of early training. In such training the wise parent and the wise schoolmaster will rely in the first place upon personal influence and moral suasion; where this fails they will be compelled to resort to punishment—that is, to the use of force. There are some theorists

## THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT

who hold that punishment can, and therefore should, be dispensed with. Given a perfect parent or a perfect schoolmaster, bringing up a child in a perfect environment, this might be possible. Even amid the demoralizing influences of this imperfect world there are a few who come near to achieving it. But very few parents or teachers have the exceptional character to enable them to do this; and experience shows that in our present stage of moral progress the average parent and the average schoolmaster can only dispense with punishment at the price of producing that ethical disaster known as the 'spoilt child'.

Children are punished not because they are physically immature but because they are morally so, and whenever grown-up persons still show conspicuously that they are morally immature, the fact that they are physically grown up is irrelevant. *ὑβρις* unfortunately is rarely eliminated in childhood, and in the greater power and freedom of maturer years the consequences of *ὑβρις* are far more serious both for the offender and his victims. Hence the need for the policeman and the magistrate.

*ὑβρις* is the precise opposite of the quality of mercy. It curseth him that gives and him that takes. In a world where all injured persons were perfect Christians, ready not only to turn the other cheek but also to love the smiter, aggression would still do moral harm to the aggressor by feeding his already overweening *ὑβρις*, but it would do no moral harm to the injured party, for it would call out new depths of Christian activity. But in the actual world in which we live the aggrieved are far from being perfect Christians, and aggression breeds in them, not love for their enemies, but envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness. This is not a mere matter of theory; it is a fact of experience. In countries like the Balkan States, where violence and injustice have run riot for centuries, the general moral level cannot be compared with that of countries in which law and order have long prevailed. And it may safely be affirmed that the moral level in each of the various countries of the world varies exactly with the impartiality, efficiency and

## WAR, THIS WAR AND

humanity of its system of administering justice and the length of time it has enjoyed good government. The work of the policeman and the magistrate may not be strictly evangelistic, it is at least a *praeparatio evangelica*. Tolstoi, with the passion of a convert and the persuasiveness of a genius, has urged that the literal carrying out of the precept, 'Resist not evil,' involves the abolition of the machinery of justice as well as that of war. In logic he is right. But the business of a Christian is to work out, not the logic of a phrase, but the redemption of the world.

There are, however, many who accept the literalism of Tolstoi without his logic, who admit that in education, and in the administration of justice, the use of force may subserve a moral end, but deny that this can ever be the case where force takes the form of shedding blood, who feel no scruple against the employment of the policeman but decline to call in the soldier. I confess I fail to see the rationale of this distinction. The baton of the policeman would be powerless were it not known that in the last resort it has behind it the rifle of the soldier. When a body of desperadoes is prepared to resist the enforcement of the law with arms, it is only with arms that the law can be enforced. To maintain that the State is justified in using force, provided that it stops short at the shedding of blood, is to compel it to abrogate its function whenever a more than usually ferocious band of criminals appears—that is to say, just on those occasions when it is most needed. The Sidney Street incident is a case in point. But though the authority of the law depends ultimately on the rifle in reserve, the actual calling in of the soldier is admittedly a confession of the failure of the law—if we may use the term 'law' to cover the social and economic organization of society in general, as well as the actual administration of justice. It is only where there is something defective in the social organism that the conditions arise in which the soldier has to be called in. In this country, with all the imperfections of its legal and social system, circumstances which call for the enforcement of the Riot Act occur but rarely. In an improved society



## THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT

they would never occur. The duty, then, of the Christian is to do what in him lies to further this improvement, but if in the meanwhile circumstances arise which demand that justice, or at least such relative justice as such circumstances admit of, can only be upheld by force of arms, he will not deprecate their use.

But what about war? War raises questions which seem to go deeper than the ethics of the Riot Act. An aggressive war, it needs no saying, cannot be justified; but what of a war in self-defence, or in defence of weaker nations? Granted that some nation wantonly breaks the world's peace, and sets about to pillage or enslave another; may that other nation or its allies meet war with war? May the Riot Act be read over the offender? Can an 'indictment be brought against a whole people'? Where is the tribunal to decide the case? And how can a punishment be just or beneficial which inevitably falls with equal severity on that portion of the nation which was guiltless of the outrage and that which was responsible? Minorities desire, and governments declare, war; peoples suffer from it.

The irrationality and the injustice inevitable in any war, on behalf of whatever cause, need little explication. War is and must be evil. Yet I would urge that under certain circumstances, the Christian will choose it as the lesser evil. History shows us that what I have spoken of as *ὕβρις*—incapacity to tolerate an equal, obtuseness to the claims and rights of others—is a fault of nations as well as of individuals. France and Britain have not been immune from this blatant national egoism. Germany, with characteristic thoroughness, has even made a gospel of it. But in a nation the consequences to others of such a spirit may be catastrophic. It leads to a policy of conquest which may mean for centuries the oppression of millions. And oppression, except in the case of quite unusually gifted characters, inevitably means degradation. Virtue no doubt *can* exist in spite of slavery, but liberty is the mother of self-respect, and where self-respect is made difficult, virtue rarely abounds. A nation fighting for its liberty is fighting for a moral end.

## WAR, THIS WAR AND

Germany, so it seems to us, has forced on this war, has set out deliberately to 'crush France'—what a sum of misery is implied in such a phrase!—coercing Belgium by the way, while her ally 'chastises' Servia, with the ultimate ambition thereby to dominate Europe, and through Europe the world. Some one *ought* to set themselves to prevent the contemplated oppression, to vindicate the liberty and the public law of Europe. Britain, France, and Russia have taken up the task.

But who are we, and who are our allies, that we should take upon ourselves to play the magistrate, to read the Riot Act, and to order troops to fire on a disturber of the peace? What reader of history can fail to ask that question? What likelihood is there that we and our allies will rise superior to ancient rivalries, to humiliations old and recent; what chance is there that we shall judge the case with absolute fairness and exact no more than the punishment deserved? A German may well ask that: and there is the great difficulty. In international affairs there is no impartial authority to enforce the law. In international affairs Judge Lynch is the only judge, and his justice is, at best, a rough justice, at the worst, no justice at all. What then? Because no ideal tribunal is forthcoming, is the offender to go unchecked, to the detriment alike of his own and his victim's moral sense? Surely not. The Christian may hope that in the future, somehow or other, whether by some further development of 'Holy Alliances' or of Hague Tribunals and the like, some means will be found of securing a relatively impartial tribunal with coercive powers to enforce its verdict. But till that is done he must recognize that Lynch law is better than no law, and under certain circumstances he must be prepared to draw the sword.

But what, we must ask, is likely to be the effect of such coercion on the offending nation? Can Satan drive out Satan? Will aggressive militarism be killed by force? We cannot tell, but history at least shows that Chauvinism, as it is fed by victory, is sometimes cured by defeat; 1870 changed the character of France, and the humiliating fact that it took a world-wide

## THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT

Empire three years to subdue two Boer Republics has done much to cure another country of the same disease.

A view fundamentally opposed to what I have maintained has been popularized of late, which is sometimes called the 'martyr nation' theory. It is contended that war will end when, and only when, some nation is prepared totally to disarm and to take the consequences. Some of those who advocate the theory anticipate that the moral effect of such an act would be so great that no other nation would as a matter of fact attack it by arms or rob it by diplomacy. Others think that more probably the nation would have not only to be willing to suffer, but would actually have to suffer spoliation and oppression.

On this theory I would remark: (a) Such action would have no moral value, unless the vast majority of the nation were in favour of it. A minority or a bare majority temporarily in power would have no *right* to carry out such a policy. I may, for Christ's sake, suffer my own goods to be despoiled; I have no right to compel my neighbour to do so. (b) It would have no moral value, unless the nation really understood what it was doing—that is, unless the majority of citizens had come to put a very different value on the good things of life, as against abstract principle, to what they do to-day. If a householder who is ready to hand over a burglar to the police; if a tradesman who is ready to sue for his debts; if a workman who is ready to strike against a reduction of wages, votes for total disarmament, he can only do so because he does not really grasp the meaning and possible consequences of the policy. No nation will be prepared in the name of Christ to face the possibility of abject poverty and possibly of virtual slavery as well, realizing fully what these mean, rather than go to war, until the vast majority of its individual members have reached a stage of moral development hitherto undreamt of. But the inter-relation and inter-action of humanity is such that no one nation can be very far in advance of the general level of civilized peoples, and no nation could reach the stage of ethical

## WAR, THIS WAR AND

development contemplated by the martyr-nation theory, until the rest of the civilized world had also reached a stage at which war would long ago have become impossible.

Wars arise because nations are quarrelsome and self-seeking ; and nations are that because the individuals composing them are so. Change human nature and wars will of course cease, but I am not content to wait so long as that. Human nature *can* be changed—that is what Christianity exists to do—but it will not be soon, and the change will not be effected entirely, or even principally, by talking. Nations for centuries to come will have disputes to settle ; what we have to do is *to find some way of settling them other than war*. When nations have got out of the habit of always expecting to fight each other, they will begin to understand each other—and in proportion as they do this they will have fewer disputes to settle. We are on the way to becoming Christian, and therefore wish to abolish war, but we cannot really become Christian till long after wars have ceased. The abolition of war must be worked for as a necessary stage in the improvement of human nature, not waited for as the crowning result of that improvement.

How is this to be begun ? Some tell us that martyrdom will at any rate be needed, of individuals if not of nations. Rumour has it that in Germany Socialists have consented to be shot rather than take up arms. Martyrdom is never wholly wasted, and such actions will at least make others think. But such a course is not open to an Englishman. In this country a conscientious objector may suffer indeed, but never unto death ; and yet nothing less than death would count at all in this matter. Two million men at arms to-day are ready to die for England, and one who would seem a martyr must not do less than these. But in this country, at this moment, and in this cause, martyrs are not the prime need. It is only at the start that great causes require martyrdom ; afterwards they need patient thought and hard work and a long course of minor and

## THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT

unnoticed sacrifice. Martyrdom advertises problems ; it does not solve them. In this country the cause of peace and the sinfulness of war need no advertisement ; and if the shedding of blood counts, it will soon be so in every country in Europe. At the end of this war there will assuredly be the will for peace. In a country where Christians are also voters, it is their business to see that there is also the way. Christianity is a spirit, but it is not one that dwells in the air. Good intentions are as worthless without good machinery, as machinery is without ideals. There was a time when every country gentleman who had a dispute with his neighbour about a rod of land settled it by the battle-axe. Yet in those days there was no lack of men to decry anarchy and extol peace. Peace within the State was secured only when, backed by the goodwill of such men, there had arisen an impartial central authority strong enough to coerce all who would not accept its verdicts. The human conscience is notoriously less sensitive to the claims of international than to those of individual morality, and if within the State we have not yet risen to the stage of dispensing with force, how much less so in things international. Peace between nations will be secured, not by the better-minded nations renouncing armaments, but by their being willing to put their arms, for the purpose of coercing the recalcitrant, at the disposal of some impartial tribunal, or, failing that, of some alliance sufficiently wide to be relatively impartial. No such machinery would work perfectly at first ; the international ethic of which it would be the expression is too rudimentary as yet. But the instinct of international, like that of national justice would grow stronger in proportion as it was enforced, and the improvement of international ethic would react on the machinery which gave it expression.

But in the meantime what has the Christian to say to war, and in particular to this war ?

The *entente* policy of Britain during recent years—like the older guarantee of Belgian neutrality—was undoubtedly intended to preserve peace. Unfortunately,

## WAR, THIS WAR AND

many if not most Germans regarded it as offensive in intention. It may be that but for this impression the war-party in Germany would not have been able to force on a crisis ; it may be that, but for the *entente*, they would have done so earlier. But wise or unwise, Christian or un-Christian, the policy was approved of by at any rate the majority of those in this country who interest themselves in these problems. The choice which Britain had to make last August must be judged in relation to the situation of last August, not in relation to the situation which would have existed if during the previous half-century all the diplomatists of Europe had been wiser, and all the nations more Christian, than was as a matter of fact the case.

This country was bound by treaty to resist the violation of Belgium, it was bound by an honourable understanding—an obligation not less but more binding—to assist France if in our judgement she was wantonly attacked. Even at the level of pagan morality we could not refuse that help. And if a pagan nation could not have refused it, still less could one professedly Christian. It is true that it was to our interest to prevent the subjugation of these countries, seeing we had fair warning that 'our turn would come next'. But the fact that it is to one's interest to keep an obligation in no whit detracts from its binding force ; it merely deprives one's action of any special credit. There is, however, a further consideration which goes deeper than questions of treaty-obligation. The subjugation of Belgium or the 'crushing' of France does not merely mean some alterations of boundaries on a paper map ; the happiness of millions for generations to come is at stake. Such phrases cover an outrage to humanity and a calamity for civilization. If so, to resist is essentially a Christian act, and if effective resistance is only possible through war, war with all its horrors and iniquities becomes a Christian duty. From the purely Christian standpoint, Britain ought to have intervened even if no interest, *entente* or treaty had been involved. Britain is not Christian enough to have done that—had she

## THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT

been so, probably other nations would also have become Christian enough to have made the original aggression impossible. But the fact that Britain would not have intervened, unless interest and honour had pointed the same way as abstract right does not make intervention the less a Christian duty; it merely precludes us from pluming ourselves on any special nobility of ethic. We have but kept our pledged word; 'Do not even the publicans the same?'

In a war of this kind what is the duty of the individual Christian? Surely whenever it is the duty of a nation to fight it *must be* the duty of the individual citizen to contribute his share in the fighting. (I speak, of course, only of the able-bodied male, free from compelling ties, and not serving his country in some other equally indispensable capacity.) Nor is such duty in any way proportionate to the extent to which he personally approves of the object of the war. In any war, just or unjust, the difference between victory and defeat has immense economic consequences. Were the British fleet sunk to-morrow, in three weeks Britain would be starving, Germany overflowing with plenty. When war is once declared the individual cannot separate himself from the fortunes of his country. Even if he is doubtful as to the original obligation of his country to take part in the war he simply cannot wash his hands of it. The only choice now open to him is to eat his bread in safety at the price of other men's blood, or to buy safety for those weaker than himself at the risk of his own blood. When the choice is between sacrificing self for others, or letting others be sacrificed for self, it cannot be doubted which is the more Christian course.

But many who clearly recognize this yet feel a difficulty. 'Love your enemies,' said Christ. How can I be said to love those whom I will to bayonet? Is there not a confusion here? 'Your enemies,' in the text, means those who have done you a personal wrong. The individual soldier has no personal grudge against the individual in the trenches opposite. On occasion he will even fraternize with him. In war the opposition is

## WAR AND THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT

usually—there are, of course, exceptions—quite impersonal. It is the cause, not the individual enemy, that is fought against. If an innocent individual is acting as the instrument of an evil cause, it is better that he should die than the evil cause should triumph—at least if the evil is on a sufficiently large scale. It is better that some thousands of Germans should die, fighting nobly for what *they* believe a just cause, than that millions of Belgians and Frenchmen should live for generations under a degrading tyranny. And the soldier who causes their death does not act in hate. Soldiers rarely hate, they normally respect, their enemies, and respect is the beginning of love. ‘Tomorrow’, said a Saxon to an Englishman on Christmas Day, ‘I fight for my country, you for yours.’

Again, ‘Love your enemies’ does not mean love your enemies more than your friends. ‘Love *all* men, *even* your enemies’—that is what our Lord teaches. Now if by ‘love’ we mean the exact emotional regard that we have towards our nearest and dearest, to love one’s enemies is impossible; but no less impossible is it to love all men. Christian love is not primarily emotional. ‘Wish well and do good to’ is the essential thing; and it *is* possible to wish and to do good both ‘to them that hate you’ and to all men. If the soldier is convinced that with the cause for which he is fighting is involved the welfare of humanity as a whole, including, therefore, in the long run that of Germany also, he can not only shoot the German in the trenches opposite without any feeling of personal dislike, but he can do so for the love of man. And this is not only possible, it is what in nine cases out of ten is actually being done.

But all this concentration on the fact that the soldier, like the executioner, is bound sometimes to take life, obscures the really vital point. The soldier is before all things a man who is ready to *die* for his country; and readiness to die for others is essentially a Christian thing.





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## BASIS OF PUBLICATION

This series of Papers is based on the following convictions :

1. That Great Britain was in August morally bound to declare war and is no less bound to carry the war to a decisive issue ;
2. That the war is none the less an outcome and a revelation of the un-Christian principles which have dominated the life of Western Christendom and of which both the Church and the nations have need to repent ;
3. That followers of Christ, as members of the Church, are linked to one another in a fellowship which transcends all divisions of nationality or race ;
4. That the Christian duties of love and forgiveness are as binding in time of war as in time of peace ;
5. That Christians are bound to recognize the insufficiency of mere compulsion for overcoming evil and to place supreme reliance upon spiritual forces and in particular upon the power and method of the Cross ;
6. That only in proportion as Christian principles dictate the terms of settlement will a real and lasting peace be secured ;
7. That it is the duty of the Church to make an altogether new effort to realize and apply to all the relations of life its own positive ideal of brotherhood and fellowship ;
8. That with God all things are possible.

# THE REMOVING OF MOUNTAINS

## THE NATURE OF OUR FAILURE

WHILE not questioning the common belief that when the violence of an opponent comes to a head, a sane man or sane nation can only offer battle, it is worth while to focus our attention on the fact that any positive good war may seem to bring about is the result of the spiritual travail that accompanies it. War has in it no element of construction; it may produce quiet, but never peace. Peace is a spiritual, or, we may say, mental, state, and can only be produced in any man or nation by a free, inward response to the stimulus of fellowship. The knock-down blow necessary in an emergency is never, even in training brutes, conducive to a nobler order of things in the future. We well know that the real conquest of any animal, or of any nation, does not consist in leaving it stark upon the field, or in causing it to crouch, tail between legs, but in making it a friend and comrade in the onward march. It is evident, indeed, that it would be immeasurably better to attain any end by such spiritual travail as may induce free response in opponents, rather than by the help of destructive warfare.

Man has spiritual power in so far as he may move his fellow men by an influence upon their inner selves, their conscience and reason; and that power, we believe, is legitimate and enduring only when it works along the line of those qualities we call eternal or divine, because they are always advantageous, not only for some but for all. Justice, goodwill—these are spiritual and eternal; swords and cannon—these are physical and temporal, straws blown by the breeze of the moment. In the appeal to conscience and reason a spiritual force is paramount; in the appeal to arms a merely physical and non-moral force is paramount, for where arms rule

## THE REMOVING OF MOUNTAINS

the day, the forts of Liège fall and ships are sunk, whether they stand for the right or for the wrong.

We recognize this, but we are so weak in the things of the spirit that, not only have we been unable to conquer our enemies and thus keep peace by spiritual power, but the greater number among us do not even desire more of such power, do not even admire the evidence of it when they see it. We may obtain some cessation of war by war, but without a great increase of spiritual power we can never have international peace.

We believe that our Lord suffered, and His nation was scattered abroad, because He could not persuade His people to enter into His life of spiritual power, and that, nevertheless, He looked forward to the development of this life of spiritual power in His Church, teaching us to pray that God's will should be done on earth. Thus it cannot be God who withholds from us spiritual power, our lack must be due to our own misunderstanding or culpability, either individual or corporate. Let us seek to find from the Master's teaching and example what is the cause of our lack and what its remedy.

In that saying concerning the twelve legions of angels that were at His bidding (Matt. xxvi. 53), we have, perhaps, an indication of all that Jesus, or His spiritual interpreters, did not regard as a legitimate or spiritual way of conquering men; for that saying brings vividly to mind those wonderful stories of the Old Testament in which God's people and God's prophets are said to have been miraculously delivered from overwhelming enemies by a power that deluded or damaged those enemies, accomplishing sometimes their cruel destruction. Such is the story of the triumphant choir of Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. xx); of the deliverance of Samaria from the investing Syrians (2 Kings vii); of the deliverance of Hezekiah and of Jerusalem from the armies of Sennacherib (2 Chron. xxxii); and—most beautiful and merciful of all, and apparently appropriate to the case of our Lord—the deliverance of Elisha him-



## THE REMOVING OF MOUNTAINS

self at Dothan from the bands of Syria, in which Elisha's servant shares his master's vision of the encircling legions of angels investing the city with a more numerous host than that of its hostile besiegers (2 Kings vi). In refusing to call angelic legions to His aid, Jesus would seem to have set aside agencies in the spirit world that could coerce with blindness or hallucination or disease. But whether or not the words recorded in Matt. xxvi. 53, define our Lord's attitude to such agencies, it appears certain that He refused to triumph over His opponents either by the mental coercion involved in using signs and portents or by becoming a military leader.

The one Divine, spiritual agency acknowledged in the New Testament—the Spirit of God—does not, according to our Lord's teaching, damage or delude. The result of the Divine influence is mental vision and spiritual wholeness. The Spirit of God converts and restores body and soul. Spiritual powers there are in the universe that delude and confuse the soul and damage the body ; but they are not of God. This truth was the central ray of that light which was brought into the world by Jesus Christ, which struggled then with non-apprehending darkness, and is now only conquering the darkness little by little.

Evidently there was in our Lord's mind a way by which His world might have been saved the awful and dastardly crime of the Crucifixion, a way by which His people might have entered into a new and higher phase of national life. That way was the conversion of the alien and the enemy to goodwill and brotherhood ; and obviously we, like the Jewish people, have failed to take that way.

To-day we Christians are slaying and torturing one another, not by twos and threes, not by hundreds, not by thousands, but by millions. To-day the flower of Christian manhood is being wiped off the face of Europe, so that the womanhood of the near future must largely wither childless, and childhood must dwindle and pine because of impoverished heredity and lack of food,

## THE REMOVING OF MOUNTAINS

while the marriage tradition that we hold sacred will inevitably be challenged, and the tendency will be to discard and supersede it. To-day we acquiesce when we see the public exalting the brief, war-hypnotized heroism of martial valour at the expense of all the sober, steady, humane heroisms of a whole lifetime. To-day we can only look forward with misgiving to the natural reaction from the heroic mood, when our people realize the miserable aftermath alike of victory and defeat—old antagonisms again raising their heads, old recriminations again heard, as poverty and privation fasten upon the saddened, weary masses of the people. We are in extremity; some of us know it; and for those who are enthusiastic about the moral value of war there is a ghastly awakening:

Slowly comes a hungry people as a lion creeping nigher,  
Glares at one that nods and winks behind a slowly  
dying fire.

We know, too, that what faces us is no marvellous thing hurled at us from without, but it is the inevitable fruit of our feeble condition. There is a confusion of voices among us too, for many shout that this or that symptom of our blighted condition is its cause—‘our unhappy religious divisions’, ‘our class wars’, ‘our lack of confidence in our righteous cause’, ‘our militarism’, ‘our lack of repentance’, and the like. Some would even have us believe that war itself is the supreme evil—as though, having contracted a deadly fever, we should especially deplore its regular delirium.

How can we change disaster and confusion to life and peace? The moving of a mountain is the symbol of the hardest task that may confront us. The mountain confronts us, and ours is not the word of power.

### FAITH THE REMEDY

If we could go back two thousand years, and ask our Lord, as He stands proclaiming the kingdom of God, the cause of our present failure, He would use the word we translate ‘faith’, and tell us that that cause was

## THE REMOVING OF MOUNTAINS

lack of faith. If we asked Him how we might now regenerate our age, He would command us to have faith. Great teachers give richer meaning to the words upon which they lay emphasis. Our Lord, more than others, must have sought to convey the splendour of great thoughts in terms of a coinage minted in eras of smaller thought. What, then, did He mean by 'faith'?

In seeking to understand Christian faith let us first observe that the more we examine the achievements of the human race, the more we perceive that these consist in the discovery, or the bringing into human consciousness, of natural matters which humanity had previously overlooked, and the more the discovery is pursued, the more it is found that the adjustment of human life to the way or habit of nature which it is thought to utilize, is not elaborate but simple, not difficult but easy. Humanity has had a strange tendency to foul the river of life by plunging and stamping in muddy shallows, and carefully acquiring a taste for the impurity of the draught so toilsomely produced, while all that was needed was to walk boldly out into the stream and drink of the full current. How elaborate and confused, for example, are lower forms of art till, here or there along each line of effort, the master genius comes with the cry 'Back to nature', and the laws of beauty are seen to be very simple, although admitting of endless diversity and combination. How elaborate, again, has been the science of healing! From the ancient world, from past centuries of our era, comes the tale of wild and intricate magical liturgies and strange medicinal concoctions. Mother Earth has seen lives and fortunes wasted in the mad mixing of things that were to produce the life-elixir, has seen the sick pine by thousands in fear of air, in fear of water, in fear of simple food, till they heard the glad cry, 'Back to nature'. Our physicians are now gladly teaching that they can do no more than remove obstructions lying in the path of the inflow of healing life always at work. So we might go through all our arts and sciences. The more

## THE REMOVING OF MOUNTAINS

we realize that nature is doing, or ready to do, the work, and the more simple the adjustment by which the human purpose is linked on to the natural process, the greater the human achievement.

I find it impossible to read such records as we have of the rise of Christianity without the conviction that if we have any history of its Founder, we have the story either of a religious fanatic who demanded belief in impossible lines of action, or of a religious genius who was convinced that there was a great department of power available to humanity which had been overlooked, and that the adjustment of human purpose to this power was very simple. A number of His sayings at once rise to our minds : ' I tell you truly, if you had faith the size of a grain of mustard seed, you could say to this hill, move from here to there, and remove it would ; nothing would be impossible for you ' (Matt. xvii. 20-1) ; ' I will give you words and wisdom that not one of your opponents will be able to meet or refute ' (Luke xxi. 15) ; ' All that ever you ask in prayer you shall have if you believe ' (Matt. xxi. 21-2) ; ' Anything can be done for one who believes ' (Mark ix. 23) ; ' Whatever you pray for and ask, believe you have got it and you shall have it ' (Mark xi. 24) ; ' Now if God so clothes grass, which blooms to-day in the field and is thrown to-morrow into the furnace, will he not much more clothe you ? O men, how little you trust him ! So do not seek food and drink and be worried ; pagans make food and drink their aim in life, but your father knows quite well you need that ; only seek his Realm, and it will be yours over and above. Fear not, you little flock, for your father delighteth to give you the Realm ' (Luke xii. 28-32) ; ' I tell you truly, that unless you turn and become like children, you will never get into the Realm of heaven at all ' (Matt. xviii. 5).<sup>1</sup> Faith is thus shown as an inner process, a simple instinctive process, by which men are to become administrative for God, big with spiritual power.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Moffatt's translation.

## THE REMOVING OF MOUNTAINS

### THE HINDRANCES TO FAITH

It would seem evident that what Jesus meant by 'faith' was man's correspondence with his Divine environment; and that He regarded this environment as not unnatural, but as being indeed the very fount of nature. Before Jesus lived, for thousands of years large sections of men had been proclaiming a divorce between God and nature. But there had also been a spirit witnessing to a simpler, deeper creed. The Creation story declares that evil is unnatural, that nature, fundamentally and normally, is good; the burden of many of the Psalms is that in all that is fundamental and normal God is very near us; and Paul, a Christian Jew addressing Greeks, could say that in God we all live and move and have our being, and could easily identify his thought with the words of the Greek poet, 'We are also his offspring'.

If, then, faith be correspondence with the natural environment of the soul—that is, with the Divine Spirit—some simple or, we might say, instinctive understanding of the nature or character of God is its first requisite. Because man's spiritual nature is moral, it has evil as well as good possibilities; and certainly there is an evil, as well as a Divine, spiritual environment, ready to correspond with the soul that is not wholly with God. This was the doctrine of Jesus Christ.

Let us, then, consider what may be the difference between what the Master called 'faith' and what we call 'religious belief'. For the sake of clarity let us represent certain attributes of spirit under the figure of light, and certain other attributes of spirit under the figure of darkness. It then becomes obvious that little correspondence between man and his Divine environment is produced by man's belief—be it never so firmly and conscientiously held—in a God who is half darkness. If God be light, if 'in Him is no darkness at all', by worshipping what is half light and half darkness we shut

## THE REMOVING OF MOUNTAIN

out half the light that our souls might contain. Indeed, this figure fails to express what our privation by such worship might be, because darkness is mere negation, and if by correspondence with spiritual evil we let external evil push within our souls, we not only have less of God, but we harbour a warring element which seeks to cancel what is good.

In the Jewish nation, in which Jesus was born, we find the conception of the Divine Spirit as Wisdom—wisdom, as we should say, of all sorts. All knowledge of fact, all perception of truth, the search for truth, and the skill to apply true principles to all that pertained to use and beauty, moral and physical—all this was in God, and every manifestation of it was the manifestation of God. It is self-evident that, in so far as moral grandeur can be discerned, it cannot, in the ideal, be dissociated from truth or from beauty. The conception of God as Creating Wisdom included the holiness which was the central idea of the prophetic literature. There were in Jewish writings more partial interpretations of the Divine nature, but it seems to have been the breadth and height of this great conception of the Divine mediating wisdom that made possible the understanding of the intimate Divine love taught in the Synoptic Gospels and the identification of the Logos with 'Love'.

Here, then, we have the bedrock on which to build some hope that we too may understand what our Lord meant by that faith, or correspondence with the Divine environment, which gives spiritual power, which becomes administrative in the Divine kingdom.

Let us note that we have, perhaps rather recently, become psychologically wise, and we know that the judgements formed in the temper of wrath and indignation are not good. They are not wise or consistent with what we call love. We know that if we tenderly and truly loved some one who had done a dastardly or a cruel thing, our abhorrence of the sin would be tenfold greater than if his character were a matter of comparative indifference to us, and it would produce in us an emotion

## THE REMOVING OF MOUNTAINS

very different from what we commonly call indignation. We should at once identify ourself with the beloved culprit, nor should we identify the culprit with what might be called our own lower self—an abject abstraction on which we are often instructed by the religious to wreak our wrath ; rather, we should find that the passion of love raised us above all thought of abstract sin ; the concrete object of our love would stand revealed as in need of our compassion. We should be eager to understand how the deed had become possible ; and it is only the superficial who imagine that this effort to sympathize as far as possible would not be a greater force for righteousness than easy blame. We should know instinctively that not by abuse or coercion or vengeance could the necessary change be effected, that something more costly than any of these would be needed to bring about the regenerative process that our love would inexorably require. This attitude of ours would not be thus analysed by us ; we should take it instinctively or, as is often said, blindly ; but we all know that, in such a case, just in so far as we were wise and loving our impulse would have behind it the power of social regeneration, which anger has not.

There was a good man whose son, mature and earnest-minded, one with him in friendship and labour, committed a crime. The magistrate, in condemning him, was filled with ' righteous indignation '. Do any of us think that the heartstricken father's state of mind would bear the same description ? Which of them, magistrate or father, felt most keenly the sin and shame ? Which was ready to do most to regenerate the criminal ? Which most nearly symbolized God ?

Among the sayings attributed to the Master, quite a large proportion tell us that the human soul can have no correspondence with its Divine environment while it is angry. Judging, condemning, or being angry—if these attitudes of mind make correspondence between the soul and God impossible, we cannot in such attitudes be imitating the Divine goodness. We are told to be perfect

## THE REMOVING OF MOUNTAINS

as God is perfect ; and we are also told that condemnation of the brother shuts us off from God.

There are, of course, passages in the Gospel records as we have them, and in other parts of the New Testament, which appear to exalt wrath and vengeance as righteous, as Divine. There are, however, many more passages that are inconsistent with the worship of what we call anger or indignation as a Divine attribute. This contradiction exists ; in recognizing it we must always remember the certainty that older ideas of God's character would to some degree influence the evangelistic writers. The distinctive and preponderating element in our Lord's teaching, as reported, is the clear-cut conception of God as dissociated from all agencies of destruction, enfeeblement, blindness or disease. Of such great importance did the distinction between manifestations of the Divine Spirit and manifestations of the diabolical spirit appear to Him that He spoke of confusion in this matter as a condition of soul that could frustrate salvation.

Then, again, there is the Cross. If the suffering of the Cross is the truest symbol of the protest of Deity against man's sin, are we wise to worship what we call ' righteous anger ' as a part of God, and imitate its functioning, or to suppose that sin is so slight a thing that anger or retribution could right the wrong ? In this age we have become conscious as never before of the unwisdom and inadequacy of the mood of indignation in dealing with sinners. If, then, we are wrong in attributing this mood to God, we lay ourselves open to a greater spiritual danger in worshipping and serving wrath as a Divine attribute.

At bottom it is a man's conception of God that is the most practical, the most vital, thing in his life. All else springs from it. And it is the conception of God that comes to us in Jesus Christ that is our salvation.

We stand to-day, assured by the holy annals of our religion that, had we faith, we should have been powerful enough to convert our world, not to one opinion or another, not to one practice or another, but to God.



## THE REMOVING OF MOUNTAINS

We ask what ails us ? We are holding hard to God with one hand—of that we assure ourselves with passionate tears. But if—and it seems possible—we are holding as hard with the other hand to some Satanic influence, can God save us ? The corporate worship and service of an Eternal Love in which wrath has no place would work great change. Would it not be worth trying ? It would render our adjustment to the Divine environment more simple. As it is now, we regard God as opposed to half our nature, and imagine a long course of discipline necessary before spiritual power can begin. Or we regard God as opposed to all our enemies and religious opponents, and we must perforce turn our swords and our denunciations against them also. But if God desires to bless all things and all men with blessing of recreative power, and only awaits our co-operation for the blessing to become operative, all the adjustment that is needed is that we turn from our idolatry of wrath and hostility and, with grateful recognition of His true nature, take our stand with God and with all those who bless and curse not. If we truly worship a true God will He not naturally regenerate all our activities of thought and deed, our imaginations and our judgements ?

What is it that, by the example and teaching of Jesus of Nazareth, we find ourselves bidden to do ? Is it not to wash in the river of God's loving-kindness until the leprosy of our selfishness and separatism passes from us, and the normal, fundamental life of the spiritual man flows through us again in abounding health, till our vision is clear and our hand steady, and our feet swift, and our word the word of power ? In our land of Damascus there run two rivers—the Abana of ascetic practices, of disillusionment, of separation and obedience to external authority, and the Pharpar—the majestic Pharpar—of Jahweh worship, of hostility to sinners, of righteous wrath and indignation. Do we prefer to wash in these ? Well ! we have perfect liberty to do so ; God has given us the great gift of freedom, and, being God, He will not take back what He has given. He does not, as some

## THE REMOVING OF MOUNTAINS

would have us suppose, ceaselessly reproach us for trying our own experiments. The only trouble is that we remain leprous and impotent, and in all our afflictions God is suffering too. Is it not time to give the river of God's all-purifying kindness a fair trial ?

### THE SURE REWARD

Just as we all know that we ought to do right and not wrong, so we all know, instinctively and simply, that in any line of action man is invincible if God is with him. Old battle-cries bear witness to this belief. It has filled every missionary who has carried his religion into dark places. When we call God by the names of Beauty or Truth or Love, we find the same instinctive belief in the servants of art or knowledge or political reform. That all things are possible to him that understands God, or gets into line with nature, is both a primitive and a modern notion. It is not difficult, but easy, to make it the central thought of our religion. What is required of the Christian is to understand God as the world does not understand, to get into line with human nature as the world cannot. This will bring about such a revival in Christianity as has come in the department of physical science with the understanding of the right method of learning. We all know, if we look into our hearts, what the result of such understanding of God and man would be. Within us all there is some impulse that bids us rise and greet as true all those splendid forecasts of social regeneration which come ringing down the ages.

Consider the intimate story of a man who, having been carefully trained in that version of the Christian doctrines current in the last generation, renounced them one by one as he came to maturity, and drifted, professedly godless, far out upon the sea of irreligious thoughts and activities, until, dissatisfied, he came, by circumstances I need not detail, to devote a few minutes every morning to the contemplation of a spiritual power

## THE REMOVING OF MOUNTAINS

upholding the universe under the aspects of Life and Beauty, of Joy and Wisdom and Love. After a short time there came to him—what he at first regarded as a delusion—the sense of a response from the Unseen. So attractive were the momentary flashes of this experience that he cherished them, but for months only as one might cherish a delightful dream; and it was his friends, not he, who first observed that his pessimisms were turning into optimisms, the callosities of his heart into sympathies. Roused by this observation, he began to allow himself to address the Divine Being, always under the names of those attributes which embodied his conception of the Highest. Devotion remained with him a fleeting experience, never conventional, never prolonged; but before long he was to the front in his locality in pressing every reasonable reform, and men in trouble or in doubt liked to work shoulder to shoulder with him, and felt their faith in humanity revive and also their hope in God. Perhaps the most salient characteristic he came to possess was a certain ingenuity or inventiveness in beneficent enterprise. If this could be the effect on a life professedly godless of the effort to correspond with the Divine environment, may we not believe that lives steeped in prayer might be raised to a much higher power by an enlarged and purified conception of the Divine activity?

The pantheist says that God is manifest in all; the Christian, that God is manifest in the good. In the degree in which we understand the Divine activity we know what the good is and how to attain it. The knowledge may be wordless, but the attainment declares it. In so far as we work with God we go forward to the highest good—in all statecraft, in all art, in all labour, in all play, in all prayer. The converse is true, if in any aspect of life we are on the wrong track and arrive at what is evil, it is because we do not understand the good and how to attain it—do not understand God.

Let us try to realize what it would be to look out upon the world in the light of Divine love in which there

## THE REMOVING OF MOUNTAINS

was no anger at all. Sin in the neighbour would be a signal to us that love was required—gracious, self-giving, patient, and wise ; and we should know this to be the sure medium of the Divine, recreative power. There could be no question in this certainty, no divorce between the human impulse to help and the Divine out-flow of help ; for if God is love, then love is God in manifestation, and we should perceive, in all that is most normal and fundamental in our earthly relations, the in-dwelling God. With eyes thus cleared we should perceive the Divine agony and patience companioning every human sorrow, every tragedy of soul ; we should know that we could not minister to the least of His creatures without ministering to God.

In so far as we limit God, and conceive of the Divine holiness as negative, or as something that only runs in the track of our conventional pieties, we are ourselves limited, attaining little. When we can lift our pieties and our conventions into harmony with the knowledge of God, the world shall be ours. Just in so far as we can do this to-day, to-morrow and this year, shall we remove the mountains of international antipathy and bring peace to a warring world.



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## BASIS OF PUBLICATION

This series of Papers is based on the following convictions :

1. That Great Britain was in August morally bound to declare war and is no less bound to carry the war to a decisive issue ;
2. That the war is none the less an outcome and a revelation of the un-Christian principles which have dominated the life of Western Christendom and of which both the Church and the nations have need to repent ;
3. That followers of Christ, as members of the Church, are linked to one another in a fellowship which transcends all divisions of nationality or race ;
4. That the Christian duties of love and forgiveness are as binding in time of war as in time of peace ;
5. That Christians are bound to recognize the insufficiency of mere compulsion for overcoming evil and to place supreme reliance upon spiritual forces and in particular upon the power and method of the Cross ;
6. That only in proportion as Christian principles dictate the terms of settlement will a real and lasting peace be secured ;
7. That it is the duty of the Church to make an altogether new effort to realize and apply to all the relations of life its own positive ideal of brotherhood and fellowship ;
8. That with God all things are possible.

## INTERNATIONAL CONTROL

THE present war has above all things shown the need for a new development in international control. The refusal of Austria-Hungary to submit the dispute with Servia to a court of arbitration, the frustration by Germany of the conferences offered on behalf of the Powers, the violation of Luxemburg and of Belgium, and lastly the long sequel, steadily growing, of flagrant disregard for the conventions of war built up patiently by international agreements—all these facts show how weak at a time of crisis is the machinery of international control, and how vital it is that the situation in this respect is not left as it was. Great as are the issues of the present war, the greatest is that of international right and honour, and it is not therefore too soon to face the problem of how international control can be made more effective. In particular two things have to be reconsidered, namely, the position of international arbitration, and the security of international agreements regulating the conduct of war. These two matters are logically connected one with the other. The first object of international control is to prevent, if possible, recourse to force in settling disputes. The second object is to secure that when war has come it is carried on with regard for international conventions in the interests alike of individual combatants, of non-combatants, and of neutrals.

### I

First of all it is necessary to consider the position of international agreements with a view to the peaceful settlement of disputes. Circumstances such as the present

## INTERNATIONAL CONTROL

are apt to sweep out of recollection the great progress which has been made. As is well known, the principle of international arbitration has illustrations which go far back in the history of nations. But it is within quite recent years that by far the most hopeful advance in this direction has been made. In 1899 the first Hague Conference was summoned at the instance of the Tsar of Russia. In 1907 the second Hague Conference was called on the initiative of the President of the United States. It was recommended by the second conference that a third conference should follow at a similar interval. If all the progress that the conveners of the first two Hague Conferences hoped to achieve was not realized, if important questions remained outstanding on which nations were not prepared to reach a settlement, nevertheless the conventions of the Hague and the results which have followed from them mark an important stage in the development of international arbitration. In the first place, the Hague Conventions revealed much as to the state of mind of the several Governments on the leading questions of international control. Neither at the first nor at the second conference were the times ripe for the adoption of 'obligatory international arbitration'. At the second conference the general principle of obligatory international arbitration was accepted, while its application remained within the discretion of each individual Power. But the Hague Conventions have helped materially to determine what questions can be most properly settled by arbitration, while by securing the establishment of a Permanent Court of Arbitration they have provided machinery to hand for the use of nations in case of dispute.

In the second place, the Hague Conventions undoubtedly gave a great impulse to international arbitra-

## INTERNATIONAL CONTROL

tion, and in the past fifteen years over 150 treaties of arbitration have been signed. But these treaties are in most cases limited in two ways. First, they are (with the exception of a joint agreement among certain Central and South American States) separate and individual agreements between two States. There is not, in other words, a general convention among all States willing to arbitrate. Second, all but a few of the existing treaties reserve from arbitration questions of 'national honour, independence, and vital interests'. This type of agreement is to be seen in the Treaty of Arbitration between the United Kingdom and France of 1903,<sup>1</sup> which has been taken as a model for the arbitration treaties concluded between the United Kingdom and other countries.

That Treaty provides, in its first article, that :

Differences which may arise of a legal nature or relating to the interpretation of Treaties existing between the two Contracting Parties, and which it may not have been possible to settle by diplomacy, shall be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration established at The Hague by the Convention of July 29, 1899: provided, nevertheless, that they do not affect the vital interests, the independence, or the honour, of the two Contracting States, and do not concern the interests of third Parties.

It is further provided, in the second article of the Treaty, that in each individual case,

The High Contracting Parties, before appealing to the Permanent Court of Arbitration, shall conclude a special agreement defining clearly the matter in dispute, the scope of the powers of the Arbitrators, and the periods to be fixed for the formation of the Arbitral Tribunal and the several stages of the procedure.

<sup>1</sup> Cd. 1837. 1903.

## INTERNATIONAL CONTROL

Such is the typical treaty of arbitration ; it is hedged about with safeguards, and the fact is symptomatic of the state of mind of nations with regard to arbitration.

Now each of these limitations is in its own way highly significant. To make oneself a party not to a general arbitration convention, but to a particular treaty with another State, and to enter deliberately upon a separate binding engagement with each State, is a method which, if somewhat cumbrous, has certain advantages. As an act expressing direct good relationship between two States it is much more personal than a general convention. Again, it is a simple act binding two parties, which does not carry with it the more indefinite responsibilities and obligations which a general treaty or convention including a large number of States may involve. Further, if it seems a slow and tentative method, the large number of treaties which have been signed proves that it is an effective way of leading nations into the habit of arbitration, while it leaves the initiative to individual States to enter upon more unreserved agreements, as has been done in certain treaties among the smaller States of Europe and America. The cautious but gradual acceptance of the habit of arbitration prepares the way for wider agreements.

Still more important is the second limitation by which, in most cases, nations have reserved questions of ' vital interests, independence and national honour '. Inasmuch as it is open to either of the contracting parties to declare a matter to be a question of ' vital interest ' or of ' national honour ', these reservations seriously limit the scope of most existing treaties of arbitration. At the same time the hesitation of States is natural. The principle of arbitration, while commanding wide assent and receiving

## INTERNATIONAL CONTROL

general sympathy, has to face the strongly established doctrine of the sovereignty of the State, and sovereign States will not readily commit themselves to new and far-reaching obligations which limit their sovereignty. This is the more easily understood as the constitution of international courts has proved a subject of considerable difficulty. The history of the Hague Conferences shows that nations are still inclined to think in political terms about judicial institutions. Equal State representation, or something like it, is strongly desired. But representation is an idea which belongs to the legislative function of government. The judicial function, strictly speaking, has nothing to do with the representative idea, otherwise judgements tend to become political rather than judicial ; and it is the danger of international courts becoming political rather than judicial which accounts in part for the hesitation of States to commit themselves fully to international arbitration. Before sovereign bodies will undertake to arbitrate all things, they must be satisfied as to the competence and impartiality of the court. It is therefore usual to find in treaties of arbitration not only restriction of powers, but conditions laid down with regard to an agreement upon the constitution of the court of arbitration.

Nevertheless in some cases the smaller States have advanced boldly and have drawn up unreserved treaties of arbitration, and in recent years even among the greater Powers there has seemed hope for progress in this direction. Speaking in the House of Commons on March 13, 1911, on the subject of the Army and Navy Estimates, Sir Edward Grey made the following statement :

I can conceive of but one thing that will really affect this military and naval expenditure of the world on the wholesale scale in which it must be affected if there is

## INTERNATIONAL CONTROL

to be a real and sure relief. You will not get it till nations do what individuals have done, come to regard an appeal to law as the natural course for nations, instead of an appeal to force. Public opinion has been moving. Arbitration has been increasing. But you must take a large step further before the increase of arbitration will really affect this expenditure on armaments. I should perhaps have thought that I was not spending the time of the House profitably in asking the House to look to arbitration as something which could really touch this great expenditure, had it not been for the fact that twice within the last twelve months, in March and December, the President of the United States has sketched out a step in advance in arbitration more momentous than anything that any practical statesman in his position has ventured to say before—pregnant with consequences, and very far-reaching. I should like to quote two statements by the President of the United States. Here is the first one :

Personally I do not see any more reason why questions of national honour should not be referred to courts of arbitration, as matters of private or national property are. I know that is going further than most men are willing to go, but I do not see why questions of honour should not be submitted to tribunals composed of men of honour who understand questions of national honour, and abide by their decision as well as any other questions of difference arising between nations.

The other statement is :

If we can negotiate and put through agreements with some other nations to abide by the adjudication of international arbitration courts in every issue which cannot be settled by negotiation, no matter what it involves, whether honour, territory, or money, we should have made a long step forward by demonstrating that it is possible for two nations at least to establish between them the same system which through the process of law has existed between two individuals under Government.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Edward Grey expressed his readiness to meet the advances thus made, and a treaty on the lines of unreserved arbitration, between the United States and England, was drafted. The proposed treaty failed to eventuate, owing to opposition in the Senate of the

<sup>1</sup> Hansard, vol. xxii, p. 1989.



## INTERNATIONAL CONTROL

United States. But the case points to the main difficulty which besets the path of unlimited arbitration. If a State commits itself to arbitration, it is in honour bound to accept the verdict. It is true that there is as yet no international power to execute the verdict against a State which refuses to accept it. But neither the past experience of arbitration, nor an estimate of the considerations which guide States, makes refusal to abide by the judgement of the court a probable contingency. When a State has gone so far as to agree to arbitrate, and has accepted the constitution of the court, it will stand by the verdict. It is in other directions—to be considered presently—that the sanction of force is of much more vital importance.

But the stage of development in which the great Powers will agree to submit 'vital interests and national honour' to a court of arbitration will only be slowly reached. Other steps must precede it, and the first thing to secure is that there is the right of fair and full inquiry before hostilities are precipitated. It is a much more limited but a much more reasonable claim that, if diplomacy fails, there shall be investigation and mediation in all disputes before war is declared. To submit a case to inquiry and mediation is one thing, to agree to accept arbitration is a very different proposal. There is here an instructive analogy with industrial disputes. Experience has shown that in many important issues investigation and conciliation are better methods than arbitration for the purpose of securing industrial peace. Arbitration, which implies a final judgement, has its proper field in certain matters of industrial or political dispute, as for example, in the interpretation of agreements and like questions of a juridical character. But there are other matters, and these of the most vital interest, on which the state of public

## INTERNATIONAL CONTROL

opinion between the disputants—whether industrial or political—is such as to make inquiry and conciliation a more acceptable way of securing mutual understanding and a settlement. A recent development has given a striking proof of the recognition of this fact.

Since the outbreak of the war, a Treaty has been signed and ratified between the United Kingdom and the United States which marks a very important advance towards the peaceable settlement of disputes between these countries. This Treaty, signed at Washington, September 15, 1914, and ratified on November 10, 1914, provides that :

all disputes between the High Contracting Parties of every nature whatsoever, other than disputes, the settlement of which is provided for and in fact achieved under existing agreements between the High Contracting Parties, shall, when diplomatic methods of adjustment have failed, be referred for investigation and report to an International Commission . . . and the Contracting Parties agree not to declare war or begin hostilities during such investigation and before the Report is submitted.<sup>1</sup>

The Treaty further provides for the constitution of the International Commission, and for its appointment within six months after the ratification of the Treaty. It also provides that on any matter of dispute the Report of the International Commission shall be completed within one year after the date on which it shall declare its investigation to have begun, unless the High Contracting Parties shall limit or extend the time by mutual agreement. The Report of the Commission is not, like the award of a court of arbitration, binding on the parties.

The High Contracting Parties reserve the right to act independently on the subject-matter of the dispute,

<sup>1</sup> Cd. 7714, Article I.

## INTERNATIONAL CONTROL

after the Report of the Commission shall have been submitted.<sup>1</sup>

Thus this Treaty, which applies also to disputes affecting the British Dominions, does not provide for arbitration, but by securing investigation and delay it strengthens the chances of peace. But in the present state of international relations it is more important to get a treaty by which two nations will agree to submit all disputes, when diplomacy fails, to a commission of inquiry which has no binding power, than to secure a treaty of arbitration which is limited to matters other than 'vital interests'. It is therefore a highly significant step which the United States has made in inaugurating the establishment of such treaties, and it is greatly to be hoped that the precedents which have now been established will be widely followed.<sup>2</sup>

But even if this is done there still remains a serious question outstanding. Is a sovereign State to have the right of claiming, when it is threatened by another State, that the dispute shall be referred to an international court of inquiry? Is it a fundamental right of States as of individuals that they shall not be condemned and punished without the case being heard? The war has raised and must answer this question. It may be that no single State or group of States is prepared to shoulder an obligation to support this claim on the part of any other State. But if no State is willing to undertake separately or jointly a general obligation, there is a more limited obligation which certain States may be willing to recognize,

<sup>1</sup> Cd. 7714, Article 3.

<sup>2</sup> In the same month, November 1914, a Treaty of Arbitration with the customary reservations, 'vital interests', &c., was signed between such old allies as England and Portugal!

## INTERNATIONAL CONTROL

and which would mark an advance in the security of international relations. In his speech on March 13, 1911, Sir Edward Grey said, in speaking of the possibility of an unreserved treaty of arbitration between the United States and England :

It is true that the two nations who did that (i.e. enter upon an unreserved agreement) might still be exposed to attack from a third nation who had not entered into such an agreement. I think it would probably lead to their following it up by an agreement that they would join with each other in any case in which one only had a quarrel with a third Power by which arbitration was refused.

That is a noteworthy statement, and was made with regard to the right of arbitration, and not to the much lesser right of investigation. May it not therefore be the next practical step that when a nation enters upon a treaty of peace with another State it will not simply provide that disputes between these two States shall be referred for investigation and report before the declaration of hostilities, but that the protection of each shall be guaranteed against any third Power or group of Powers which refuses to accept an international inquiry ? It has been pointed out how that arbitration has advanced by means of individual treaties, and it may well be that by means of such individual treaties of peace weaker nations will be guaranteed against sudden or unfair aggression from other States. No doubt such an arrangement involves risks, but in national as in other affairs it is by undertaking risks that anything great is done. The times are not yet ripe for an international convention binding the family of States to abolish war, and therefore when risks are taken it behoves a State to be prepared for the defence of the rights which it recognizes. But it should be

## INTERNATIONAL CONTROL

clearly understood what is the nature of the right which is to be guaranteed. It is not the right of arbitration ; that is a fuller demand which will in time bring great benefit and relief to civilization ; it is the right simply that, before the trial of war, inquiry shall be made by an international commission, so that nations may hear the case and determine their action in accordance with what they feel to be their duty to themselves and to others. The growth of international control depends ultimately on the strength and morality of international public opinion.

### II

International control has, in the second place, to deal with the observance of rules for the conduct of war. During the past sixty years, since the Crimean War, this subject has from time to time engaged the attention of nations, and has led to important agreements—agreements which, it should be said, have secured a very large amount of observance. For while in the present war there have been serious violations of international agreements, it should also be remembered to what extent the conventions of war have been honourably respected by all parties. The Declaration of Paris in 1856, the Geneva Conventions of 1864 and 1868, the Declaration of St. Petersburg in 1868, the Conference of Brussels in 1874, the Hague Conference of 1899, the Geneva Convention of 1906, the second Hague Conference of 1907, and the Declaration of London of 1909, mark important stages in the progress of discussion and agreement on the principles which should regulate the conduct of warfare, and the rights and duties of belligerents, non-combatants, and of neutrals.

## INTERNATIONAL CONTROL

But there are three considerations which must be kept in mind. First, the conditional character of many of the regulations. While there has grown up a substantial body of rules of conduct regulating very important matters, such as the respect of the Red Cross, the use and observance of the White Flag, the treatment of prisoners who have surrendered, or of wounded captives, the treatment of non-combatants and their property, the bombardment of unfortified places, the sinking of the crews of unarmed enemy ships, and many other matters, yet much which regulates the usage of war is left in a form which is conditional and even indefinite. The latitude of interpretation is wide, and the qualifications made upon the general rules leave room for evasion. But it is not only that in the particular Conventions themselves there are loopholes which largely destroy the value of the rules. The principle laid down in the Convention of St. Petersburg in 1868, that 'the sole end in the conduct of war is the weakening of the military forces of the enemy' has itself been denied. The German Manual on 'The Usage of War on Land' explicitly states the wide discretion which the greatest single military Power reserves to itself :

A war conducted with energy cannot be directed merely against the combatants of the Enemy State and the positions they occupy, but it will and must in like manner seek to destroy the total intellectual and material resources of the latter. Humanitarian claims, such as the protection of men and their goods, can only be taken into consideration in so far as the nature and object of the war permit.<sup>1</sup>

Second, the experience of the present war has shown

<sup>1</sup> p. 52, *The German War Book*, translated with a critical introduction by Professor J. H. Morgan (John Murray, 1915).

## INTERNATIONAL CONTROL

that even in the twentieth century gross violations of the international code of conduct—some actual, others threatened—have to be reckoned with.

Third, there is the fact that there is no international executive to enforce observation of the international rules of war and to inflict punishment where these rules are disregarded. The absence of an effective sanction not only permits nations to disregard in the course of warfare the honourable agreements made in time of peace, but it also has the effect of preventing adequate regulations being made. For it is true at least to some extent that where regulations cannot be enforced they are not made. It is clear from the present state of many Conventions, such as those with regard to the use of mines at sea and of bombs from aircraft, that much more stringent international regulations are required. It is also clear that, with the new developments especially in naval warfare, the field of international regulations has to be reconsidered and extended. But the main problem is to make international control of such regulations effective.

One difficulty which has to be overcome—as a first step towards effective control—is to secure reliable evidence. A nation which has contravened the rules of war will hardly scruple to deny the contravention, and to seek to overthrow the evidence brought against it. Moreover, commissions of inquiry which may be established as in the present way by belligerents will always be liable to the suspicion of being partial, however careful and impartial their evidence and judgement may be. There is only one way of satisfactorily dealing with this situation, namely, that in all cases of war breaking out between two or more nations, accredited international representatives shall be attached to each side of the

## INTERNATIONAL CONTROL

combatants, with full powers of inquiry and investigation, and with the duty of reporting to the international authority on contraventions of international rules. A system of neutral international observers would in itself be a deterrent influence on the commission of crime. It is a fact none the less well known, though it is a melancholy confession, that men are less likely to commit a crime when they are under observation than when they are themselves the sole witnesses and judges of their action. It also seems to be a fact that men in association, especially under the strain of war, will often commit organized excesses which individually they would shrink from doing. But just as in a contest there are the rules of the game and the umpire standing present to penalize any foul play, so, while the same executive control cannot immediately be affected by international observers, none the less their presence would not only tend to check the disregard of international conventions, but it should also bring with it international intervention if the warnings of the observers are disregarded. This, however, raises a fundamental question which affects both the right of appeal before hostilities and the conduct of war when it has come, namely, the question of the sanction which is necessary for the safeguarding of international control.

### III

The weakness with regard to international law and the conventions regulating the usage of war is the absence of an effective sanction. It would be untrue to say that international law and international conventions lack the support of any sanction. There is, in the first place, the moral support which steadily becomes a greater factor



## INTERNATIONAL CONTROL

in the world. There is, secondly, the economic sanction which is already not without importance, and which may become much more effective. By the economic sanction is meant the use of unfriendly economic measures by neutral States against a belligerent State which disregards international law and custom. Neutral States, by cutting off or even restricting supplies to a belligerent country may seriously weaken its strength. But neither moral nor economic considerations furnish a sanction to international law and custom which can be regarded as adequate. So far as international control is concerned, the facts which stand out challenging thought are, first, the refusal of a belligerent Power to recognize the right of a sovereign State to claim investigation by an international commission into the charges brought against it ; and, second, the long sequel of glaring violations of international agreements and the threats of action which at least infringe the principles on which rules of conduct for mitigating the sufferings of war are based. It is, therefore, now more than ever apparent that international law and international custom require, if due respect is to be shown to them by belligerents, to have the support of armed force. Until nations or groups of nations are prepared to treat the denial of an international right or the violation of international agreements as a *casus belli*, there is no adequate safeguard against their violation by a strong military power in East or West.

There is here a simple but fundamental question. Force is in itself neither moral nor immoral : it is the use of force which makes it moral or immoral, right or wrong. Those who hold to the doctrine that force should not be used in controlling the action of nations, should hold logically that the use of force is wrong in the relations

## INTERNATIONAL CONTROL

between individuals. Yet, how many people really believe that the individual should never use force? When an individual sees another person commit an act of murder or theft and takes no step physically to prevent such action or secure its punishment, that individual commits a wrong. There are sins of omission as there are sins of commission. So it is also in the sphere of national and international relations. Nations are capable of committing crimes as well as individuals, and in accordance with moral ideas it is the duty of nations, when they see one nation committing a crime, to prevent it, if necessary by force, from so doing. How many people deny to-day that the use of force in suppressing the slave trade was a moral duty upon the nations? The truth is that, so far from the use of force on the part of a nation in preventing an international wrong being something immoral, the neglect to use force in such circumstances is immoral, and a nation which refuses to intervene is a delinquent.

There is a second fundamental question. Nations have rights and obligations as well as individuals, and in civilized society the right of any nation to have its case heard before judgement is passed upon it is fundamental. It is so with the individual, he cannot be condemned to punishment without his case being heard. It should be so also with nations, that no nation should be condemned and punished by another nation without its case being heard. As, then, there is this fundamental right of a nation to have its case heard, so there is the duty imposed on every State to submit, when diplomacy has failed, its claim to an international court of inquiry and mediation, and a nation which refuses to submit a dispute to inquiry, if not to arbitration, should have judgement declared against it as plainly as an individual who refuses

## INTERNATIONAL CONTROL

to appear in court to plead his cause has judgement delivered against him by default. No less also there is the right of nations to receive the protection which the conventions of war enjoin, as there is the obligation of nations to observe them. To deny the validity of such rights is to strike at the root of all international growth, and there is no more sacred duty of society than to protect and maintain the inviolability of these rights. To-day, then, the sanction of force itself is required : first, to secure the right to any State, great or small, of having its case heard before force is used against it by any other State ; and second, to secure the observance in war of those rules of international conduct which nations have agreed upon.

In making progress towards such security of international control, the initiative will lie with individual States. Conferences, such as those of the Hague, have a highly valuable purpose. But if effective international control must wait until nations are unanimous in supporting it, developments will be indefinitely delayed. The history of arbitration shows how greatly progress has depended upon the initiative and courage of individual nations. The future developments of international control will no less depend upon the resolve of certain States to declare themselves ready to support this policy and, if need be, to defend it by force of arms. We have seen that in recent months the British Empire and the United States have agreed to a Commission of Peace. The first question for members of these States to ask is, how far their States, respectively, are prepared to undertake responsibilities on behalf of international control. Are they prepared to assert the right of any nation to have its case heard before force is levied on it ? Are they prepared

## INTERNATIONAL CONTROL

to protest against the violation of international conventions and to uphold the observance of humane principles in the conduct of war? Are they prepared to try how far they can obtain the co-operation of other Powers, great and small, in securing these two things—the right of a nation to have its case heard, and the right of nations to have international conventions for the conduct of war honourably observed? When once a group of nations has formed itself into such an international alliance, the greatest safeguard has been secured for the world's peace and for its progress.

Judicial institutions come before parliamentary, and the world's tribunal may ultimately pave the way to the world's parliament. Meanwhile a court of international authority, if backed by international power, will give to internationalism a reality which it has hitherto never had. It is well to be guarded in our hopes for internationalism, and to recognize very clearly the significance and value of nationality. But true nationality is not incompatible with internationalism. They are rather complementary. And as the nineteenth century saw the renaissance of nationalism, so the twentieth century must see the establishment of an international control which will itself be the safeguard to all nationalities of peaceful self-development.

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1. That Great Britain was in August morally bound to declare war and is no less bound to carry the war to a decisive issue ;
2. That the war is none the less an outcome and a revelation of the un-Christian principles which have dominated the life of Western Christendom and of which both the Church and the nations have need to repent ;
3. That followers of Christ, as members of the Church, are linked to one another in a fellowship which transcends all divisions of nationality or race ;
4. That the Christian duties of love and forgiveness are as binding in time of war as in time of peace ;
5. That Christians are bound to recognize the insufficiency of mere compulsion for overcoming evil and to place supreme reliance upon spiritual forces and in particular upon the power and method of the Cross ;
6. That only in proportion as Christian principles dictate the terms of settlement will a real and lasting peace be secured ;
7. That it is the duty of the Church to make an altogether new effort to realize and apply to all the relations of life its own positive ideal of brotherhood and fellowship ;
8. That with God all things are possible.

## THE PRICE OF BLOOD

*' Shall I drink the blood of these men that have put their lives in jeopardy ? '—KING DAVID.*

*' It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honoured dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion ; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain.'—ABRAHAM LINCOLN.*

THE British Empire is pouring out without stint its most precious treasure. Its best, strongest, and most promising young life is being freely sacrificed. No question is of greater concern to the nation than what fruit it is going to reap from this prodigal expenditure. What is the real worth of that expenditure ? What gains may it bring to us ? What results are we going to aim at so that there may come out of it all some worthy equivalent for the blood shed ?

The nations at war are paying a tremendous price. Possibly in no equally brief period have any nations in any time passed through so great a stirring of spirit to high sacrifice as has come to Europe during these last months. The two great parallel examples of modern history are the French Revolution and the American Civil

## THE PRICE OF BLOOD

War. In the dread days of the French Revolution the Place de la Concorde witnessed moving scenes, the spilling of much blood, and the sowing of seed-ideas which have resulted in many bloody, and some bloodless, revolutions. The American Civil War exhibited the strange spectacle of men of one race and tongue engaged in a fratricidal struggle in which the whole young manhood of the nation was involved. But these events were slow-moving and on a small scale in comparison with the present happenings in Europe. Every day of this struggle is full of dramatic intensity. Its magnitude leaves the imagination numb and the mind stunned. The British Empire, France, Belgium, Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Serbia are sacrificing their best young life on a scale of prodigality for which we have no parallel.

How shall we think of our share of the sacrifice? We are bound up with the men who are fighting for England in mystical bonds from which we cannot free ourselves if we would. They are bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh. Every British grave in Flanders means blood and tears in the homeland. The fight they wage is ours. The lives they lay down are for the land we love. The things we are going to take out of the war are purchased at the price of their blood. We are heirs to the fruits of their victory and trustees of their sacrifice, responsible for seeing that the price they have paid shall not be in vain.

The blood which is being spilt in Flanders and the tears

## THE PRICE OF BLOOD

which fall at home are shed on an altar. The men who have gone so readily to the front have, generally speaking, gone under the moving impulse of a simple ideal. They have felt that a blow has been struck at liberty, that the maintenance of high ideals concerning international right and honour has been threatened, and that a great wrong has been done in the world. The youth of our land are mostly simple, honest, strong-hearted men, accustomed, in spite of all surface defects, to manly action, and without hesitation they quietly put their bodies between mankind and these things. Unconsciously they erected an altar, and as unconsciously provided the sacrifice, never questioning the end, but facing death and wounds with a sublimely simple faith in the rightness of things, and a calm trust in their own countrymen to see the matter through. They did not wait even to consider how precious was the price they were paying nor how great things it might purchase. In unconscious trust they left that to us.

Such an altar and such an offering call for a priesthood of no common order. The task of interpreting and mediating to the world such a sacrifice is not to be lightly undertaken by any people. The nation must touch that tender responsibility with clean hands and pure hearts. If Britons are worthily to fulfil the trust thus committed to them, they must have a true appreciation of the great price that is being paid and of the things it can purchase.

## THE PRICE OF BLOOD

They must be keenly sensitive to the way in which the trust may be defiled and to the grave danger that there may be failure in fulfilment through slackness or neglect. They must realize that the trust is not a passing and tribal one, but is for the future and for all mankind, and that those who have imposed it come back transfigured and expectant.

The sacrifice is redeeming to us all that we love best : our honour, our homes, our liberty, are being saved by the blood of our sons. It will help to free Belgium and France from the invader. These are the primary things, but there is promise of a greater gain, for the issues and potentialities are larger still. Mankind may be saved from the possibility of such another cataclysm, if the right forces are generated by victory. But that will be a much bigger and infinitely more difficult task than the naval and military operations, and one that will require more patience, for it will mean not only a proper adjustment of naval and military strength, but an ordering of influences, ideals, and tendencies. Every wrong left unrighted in Europe, every sore left festering, will make for a recurrence of war, and it will tax all the wisdom of our wisest statesmen so to adjust a settlement that nationality and human right shall be respected in the days to come, that predisposing causes to international strife are removed, and that all roots of bitterness are destroyed. It is not a day too soon to be thinking hard upon these things

## THE PRICE OF BLOOD

and seeking to form purposes which shall not be unworthy of the redemptive power of the blood spilt. If moral forces are to wield any influence at the close of the war they must be mobilized *now*. We have to ask ourselves now in what sort of way we will enter into our heritage of redemptive sacrifice. How are we going to use it? What kind of gain is going to be worth the sacrifice?

The spirit of the action of our young men has already given us two great gains. First, in striking contrast with the indifference of other times, the mind of the nation is keenly sensitive to the needs of our soldiers at the front and of their dependants at home, and to the wants of all those who, in our land and beyond it, have become the victims of distress on account of the war. In the second place, life has become a very real and strenuous thing for nearly all our people. Senseless indulgence in pleasure and offensive luxury have almost disappeared. Social barriers have to a large extent been thrown down in face of a common task and a common danger. All things have been tacitly, swiftly, and drastically revalued. The things that matter to most people in Britain to-day are life, death, and duty, faith, hope, and God. There is a new community of interest, helpfulness, obligation, and sacrifice. Notwithstanding some unlovely private profiteering, we have come nearer the ideal of having all things in common. And the most casual observer can see the source of these gains. We have bethought ourselves of

## THE PRICE OF BLOOD

our dead and of all the young life in daily peril ; we have experienced the redemptive power of that sacrifice and been stirred thereby to worthier purpose and nobler action than before. If the social revolution which has so silently taken place with such unanimous consent be a real gain (and who shall deny that it is ?), shall the nation be untrue, after the war, to the dead from whom its impulse came and drift back into the old indifference to social wrong and sin, and the old class and party antagonisms ? Or shall each of us resolve that :

I will not cease from mental fight,  
Nor shall the Sword sleep in my hand,  
Till we have built Jerusalem  
In England's green and pleasant land ?

But if there are already distinct gains in these directions there is equally distinct danger in another quarter. In all ages there have been men willing to accept a debased price for blood. The history of Israel contains some notorious examples, culminating in the thirty pieces of silver. But the Jews are not worse sinners than others. It is due to the omission of the historian rather than to any special grace, that the history of other nations does not recount more numerous instances of equally sordid deeds. And the spirit is by no means dead that would greedily drink of ' the water of the well of Bethlehem that is at the gate . . . the blood of these men which have put their lives in jeopardy '.

There are things that men dare not accept as the price



## THE PRICE OF BLOOD

of blood. If we are offered gold or territory or trade or vainglory, shall we accept these as a worthy equivalent for the sacrifice made? It was not the trumpet-blast of these things to which our youth responded, and if others lay stress on such gains, shall we not protest against the defilement of the sacrifice? Which of our sons went to Flanders that we might get gold or land? Who of us would sell the lives of our strongest and bravest for such a base price? Is the sacrifice to be so lightly esteemed that it may be bartered for these things?

The British people felt some disappointment that the first protest on the subject of the war from our friends in America related to interference with commerce. We felt that the precedence of protest did not do justice to the fine American character as we know it. We wanted their primary concern to be Liège, Malines, and Louvain. And yet we are characteristically unconscious that in Great Britain to-day there is a feverishness about enrichment at the expense of the enemy compared with which the dignified protest by our American cousins about the injury to their trade is highly virtuous. We have not gone to war to enable our merchants to join in an unseemly scramble for the trade of the enemy for the sake of the ensuing gain. We cannot afford that it should be said of us that 'Where the carcase is there shall the eagles be gathered together'.

The needs of the hour demand from our manufacturers

## THE PRICE OF BLOOD

and merchants the most strenuous service they can render on behalf of the people. They demand also that those who render such service should not grow rich thereby. The nation is sparing no sacrifice. The rich and the poor are brought into tribute. Every new privation, every new hardship, every lessened resource is part of a sacrifice in order that the Empire may live. We are all going to emerge from this war much poorer. Is it right that any shall emerge richer ; that some shall yield all service and become impoverished for the commonweal and that a few others shall grow rich because of their contribution to the service of the State in the hour of its need ? That would be a strange sharing of the national burden—it would be drinking of ‘the blood of these men that have put their lives in jeopardy’. Men may be placed in such a position that they cannot help making money, but there ought to be an honourable way of escape from the odium of growing rich out of the needs of the present situation. All extraordinary profits at this time are morally forfeit to the nation ; and the Church should proclaim this before the Chancellor of the Exchequer does so.

Lust for gain brings many evils in its train which inevitably affect the whole community. The wise man says, ‘He that is greedy of gain troubleth his own house’. The nation has inevitably to share the pernicious consequences of individual greed. It breeds the temper that makes for class war. Its unlovely fruit is sufficiently

## THE PRICE OF BLOOD

evident in many aspects of the present social order. The redemption price is too costly to be thus prostituted.

Some readjustment of territory will be one necessary outcome of a victory for the Allies, even to secure bare justice to the principle of nationality. Grave questions regarding colonies and spheres of influence will emerge for settlement. The call comes to us now to cultivate a spirit that shall enable our statesmen to approach the settlement of these questions without being urged forward by a public opinion that is actuated by the spirit of gain, but rather with the support and influence of a public opinion that wishes the foundations of a new world laid.

Many strong men would scorn to soil the sacrifice by accepting gold or territory as compensation, but they feel that the situation demands vengeance of some kind. They call for justice to France, restitution to Belgium, and vengeance on the nation that has wronged these lands. Full restitution to Belgium and justice to France are worthy of the expenditure of our best blood and treasure. It is a great thing to be allowed to heal the hurt of any people. We honour our trust to the dead by seeing that their sacrifice to that end shall not be in vain. It is, however, dangerous to talk about vengeance. It comes very near to the soiling of the sacrifice. Talk of vengeance does not ennoble man, and all sacrifice is intended to do so. Vengeance usually means the letting loose of undisciplined and angry passion. The redemptive

## THE PRICE OF BLOOD

power of the blood shed in Flanders should stem such things. And it is well to recognize that in its naked ugliness any revengeful action by a nation means untold vicarious suffering, much misery and many tears for the innocent. Nearly always in addition it means roots of bitterness which foster a continually growing desire for retaliation. The graves of our beloved dead must never be so desecrated.

The sacrifice made has the latent power to uplift and ennoble our own land, and through us all the lands of earth. The situation contains the possibilities of a new world. This alone would give us something worth the price, and the price would be well worth it. In loyalty to the dead we dare not aim at less without betraying the trust reposed in us. In duty to the living and to the lives that are to be, we dare not miss the full fruit of this time of suffering. For what shall it profit the nation if it gain the whole world of gold, trade, territory, and vainglory, and deliver France and Belgium, and preserve our own Empire and liberties, if we fail in the name of our dead to deliver a mortal blow at those forces which are arrayed against the unity of the nations and the brotherhood of mankind? Precious shall their blood be in our sight, and we were craven to let the utmost it can win for the world go by default. Slackness or neglect would be treason to the trust we hold from the dead for posterity.

Such a conception of the possibilities of the situation would enable the nation to lift the heavy end of the load

## THE PRICE OF BLOOD

confronting Europe in the days that are to come after the war. Thousands of millions of pounds are being wasted; but when other nations shall have spent their uttermost farthing, we shall still have spending power, and if the war is waged to the bitter economic end, we shall come out unbeaten, though with sadly wasted resources. Is our first act to be a demand for a big share of any money restitution that can be given? The biggest possible indemnity will be a mere trifle when set against the total wastage, and the claims of Belgium and France cry out for priority. Let us not lessen by any claim of ours the fullest restitution for their grievous wrongs that can be extracted from an exhausted enemy. That would be an ill fulfilment of the task of deliverance which we voluntarily accepted. Indeed do we not owe more to Belgium than mere deliverance? Nobly and at terrible cost did she stay the blow dealt at Europe, and should we too not help to repair her loss?

Shall we go further? If we are really fighting for the brotherhood of mankind we must not forget that if one member suffer, the whole body suffers with it. The exhaustion of the enemy's economic resources, the paralysis of his trade, the poverty of his citizens will react on his neighbours. An indemnity intended to crush would merely have the effect of artificially stimulating exports from the oppressed country without conferring any corresponding capacity for import trade. This would be

## THE PRICE OF BLOOD

disastrous both to that country and to labour classes in other lands. It would be bad economics, but it would be a worse sin against our own ideals, to crush the enemy utterly. It would mean the sowing of seeds of lasting hatred between us and those who are now our foes, and that would prevent the realization of our aim that out of the war should come a new order of things in the world under which Christian nations at least shall dwell together as brothers. Is it possible that the time has come in history when a nation shall say to its fellows : We laid our all on the altar for the sake of mankind, and mankind being delivered and brotherhood proclaimed, we prefer that we and our dead should alone bear the sacrifice it has cost us ? We should witness to a wondering world that we had waged war not for gold or territory or trade or vengeance, but to redeem men from an intolerable ill. We should be purified by the choice, and the proud dead looking on with their white shields would be satisfied because our shields were white also.

If from the supreme Sacrifice there came life more abundantly, may we not dare to hope that from the altar on which our young life is laid down there may also come redeeming influences that shall live on, ever bringing forth fruits worthy of the sacrifice ? If love and goodwill and brotherhood and unity and forgiveness came to men through the sacrifice of the Son of God, in order that all human wrong might be righted and all

## THE PRICE OF BLOOD

human sin cured, can we not reverently hope for, pray for, work for these same fruits from our sacrifice? Unless these fruits come there can be little hope of a permanent peace. Force will never remove international menace. Constructive moral forces with an adequate motive and a sufficient dynamic can alone do so. This is going to be the hardest task of all, but for the sake of the fallen it must be undertaken. History has already thrown up in Abraham Lincoln a great man who earned the unique distinction that while he fought for one side he was thinking of and working for the good of both. We see the result in a unified America, where the North and the South respect each other. We are fighting strenuously for a side, but we can even now think and work for the ultimate good of all. If we do, men and women in the agony of bereavement may possess their souls in quietness and confidence, cherishing the certain hope that from their loss there will blossom new life for stricken Europe. Then the pain of loss will be healed and the worth of the sacrifice understood.

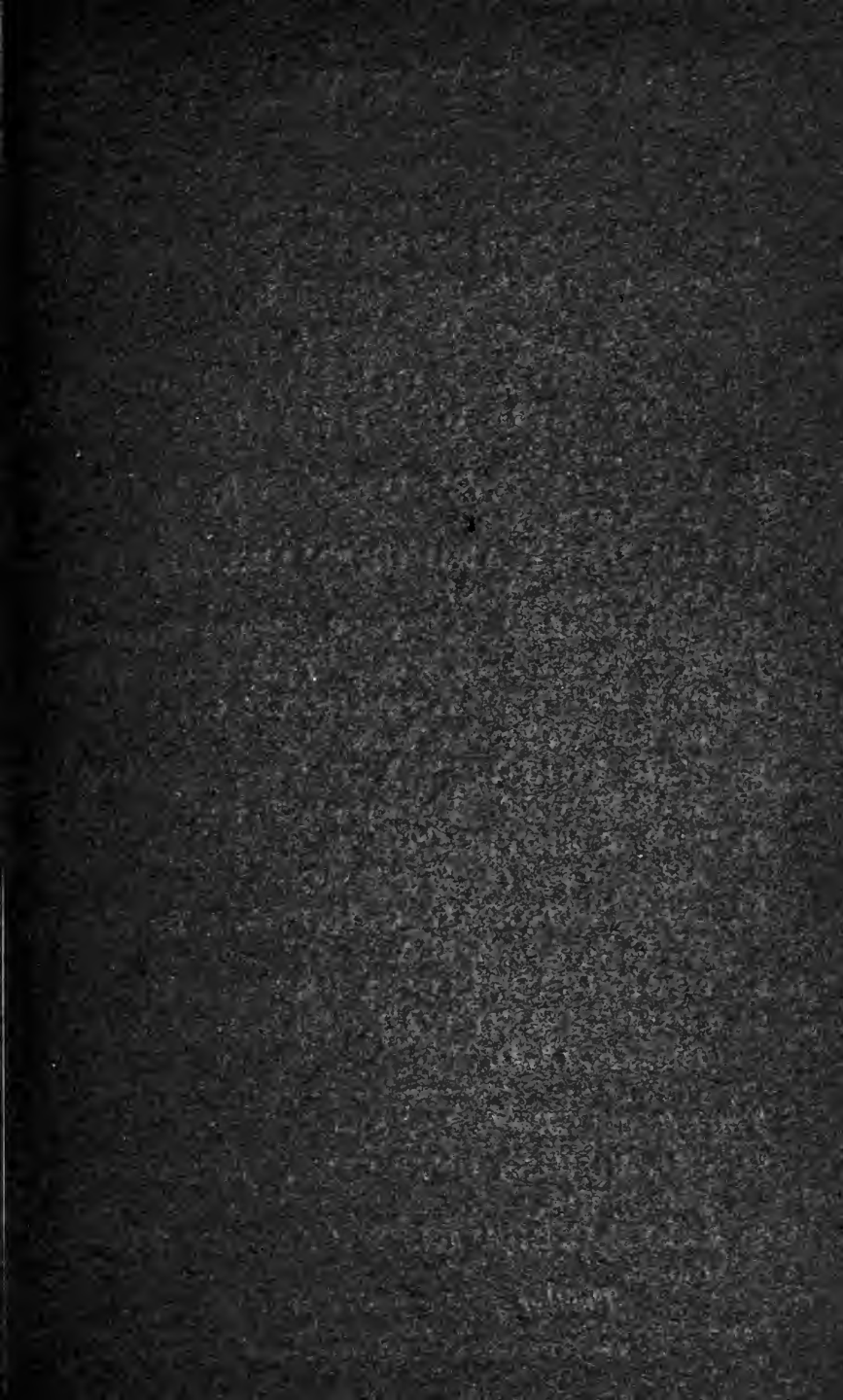
The discipline of any road of redemption is severe, and if the British people set out deliberately to seek a worthy price for the blood we are now pouring forth, there are many fierce tussles of spirit ahead, many acts of bitter penitence, and much purifying of hand and heart. Are we to aim at rebuilding the broken bridge after the war is fought and won? Are we to aim at a reconstructed brotherhood of mankind in which love and unity and

## THE PRICE OF BLOOD

goodwill and forgiveness shall be the dominating notes? There will indeed be an Armageddon in the soul of the nation before such questions are settled, but dare we salute the sacred dead and answer these mighty questions in the negative? We hold the matter in trust for them. We are stewards for those who walk in dyed garments. If blood cries out, does it cry for vengeance, hate, or the perpetuation of animosity? does it forbid forgiveness? When all the cruel wrong of the war flits before the mind, it is hard to think of an afterwards in which we and our foes shall dwell together in unity. The suffering has been very grievous, but there are worse things than suffering. The throwing away of a redemptive power given to us in trust would be a debasing thing.

The opportunity for the exercise of redemptive power is for perhaps the first time given to a nation. The cost of this war in blood and treasure is appalling. The blood may mean a new birth for the world. It may win for mankind a new consciousness of their unity. It can produce new thoughts, ideals, and purposes in the human heart and set a-going new springs of action in the human will. It may ring out death to the law of the jungle. It may purchase goodwill and confidence between the nations. It will do all these things if British men and women mean that it shall do no less. And choosing the highest pathway for ourselves, we choose too for those who have made the sacrifice, for in the full fruit of it they will live on in the power of an endless life.





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## BASIS OF PUBLICATION

This series of Papers is based on the following convictions :

1. That Great Britain was in August morally bound to declare war and is no less bound to carry the war to a decisive issue ;
2. That the war is none the less an outcome and a revelation of the un-Christian principles which have dominated the life of Western Christendom and of which both the Church and the nations have need to repent ;
3. That followers of Christ, as members of the Church, are linked to one another in a fellowship which transcends all divisions of nationality or race ;
4. That the Christian duties of love and forgiveness are as binding in time of war as in time of peace ;
5. That Christians are bound to recognize the insufficiency of mere compulsion for overcoming evil and to place supreme reliance upon spiritual forces and in particular upon the power and method of the Cross ;
6. That only in proportion as Christian principles dictate the terms of settlement will a real and lasting peace be secured ;
7. That it is the duty of the Church to make an altogether new effort to realize and apply to all the relations of life its own positive ideal of brotherhood and fellowship ;
8. That with God all things are possible.

## BIOLOGY AND WAR

WHEN a mason builds a wall he continually tests his work with a plumb-line, a level, and a square. He applies three different tests to make sure that he is building well. Similarly in more complex social affairs where the issue is not clear, it is useful to apply several tests. When they confirm one another they strengthen our resolution ; when they are discrepant, they show us that there is need for further inquiry.

Three familiar tests are to be found in the ideas of the conservation of energy, the conservation of life, and the conservation of moral values—physical, biological, and ethical respectively. The first test condemns an undertaking that is wasteful or that attempts to get more work done than the available energy allows ; and the useful criticism that a business man expresses when he calls a scheme unsound is often based on his discovery that physical principles are being ignored. The biological test asks whether the activities in question are consistent with the health of the individual and with the welfare of the race. The third test asks if the line of action makes for the conservation of what we hold to be most precious and most beneficent in our social heritage—the traditions of civilized behaviour, the standard of conduct, and the ideal of goodwill among men.

### WAR BROUGHT TO THE TEST

We are as a nation practically unanimous that after a certain, or rather uncertain, date, war was inevitable unless we were prepared to sacrifice honour and our traditions of championing justice and liberty. But this does not affect the fact that to have thousands of wholesome men in the prime of life mowed down with machine

## BIOLOGY AND WAR

guns is an extreme of wastage without parallel except in famine and plague. By the first or physical test war is condemned.

When we turn to the social or ethical test, we find that the issues are intricate. It has to be remembered (1) that there may be nobility in the determination to go to war if there is no alternative course consistent with honour, justice, and freedom : (2) that the waging of the war may afford opportunities for courage, endurance, magnanimity, and other virtues ; and (3) that a war which can be carried through with a good conscience may leave a nation spiritually enriched. On the other hand the actual fact of war is a detestable anachronism, full of deadly peril to the character of combatants and non-combatants alike. It seems to come upon the nations because the past is still too strong for them, as a surge of reversion which sweeps them off their feet. It is for us on whom war was forced to hope and pray that the proud waters will not go over our souls.

But our special problem in this paper is to apply the second—the biological—test. Leaving, without forgetting, the social heritage, we have to ask how war affects the natural inheritance of a race, and whether there is in organic nature any object-lesson which may make clearer to us the significance of human warfare.

### EFFECT OF WAR ON THE RACE

Various positions are held in regard to the effect of war on the heritable qualities of a race. There is the view of the extreme militarists that war is indispensable. The nations have to be bled periodically, else they will become soft and adipose. According to Bernhardt, 'war is a biological necessity of the first importance, a regulative element in the life of mankind.' It cannot be dispensed with, since 'without it an unhealthy development will follow, which excludes every advancement of the race and there-



## BIOLOGY AND WAR

fore all real civilization'. There is the view that in ancient times war was (sometimes if not always) an eliminating process that made for progress, strengthening a tribe by the continual sifting out of those less fit for times when fighting was the order of the day; and strengthening the race by the occasional 'wiping out' of a weaker clan by a stronger; but that this useful discriminate elimination has entirely ceased with the change of conditions in modern warfare. There is the position that war is radically dysgenic—that is to say, that it persistently sifts in the wrong direction, impoverishing the race by the loss of a disproportionate number of the more chivalrous, courageous, and patriotic. The best statement of this position is to be found in Chancellor Starr Jordan's impressive *Human Harvest*. We should also recall Darwin's sentence in the fifth chapter of *The Descent of Man*: 'The bravest men, who were always willing to come to the front in war, and who freely risked their lives for others, would on an average perish in larger numbers than other men.' There is the severely scientific position that the influence of war on a nation, biologically regarded, has not yet been investigated by competent statistical methods, and that no certain conclusion can be drawn.

### DISCUSSION OF THESE POSITIONS

Against the view that war is indispensable if the virile virtues are to be kept alive, it must be firmly maintained that in the tasks of peace there is ample opportunity for valour and heroism, and that the annals of exploration, investigation, medical practice, and the like are rich in illustrations of the highest courage. To admit, as we must, that there are worse things than war—slavery, softness, dishonour, and moral unsoundness generally—is not equivalent to saying that nobility cannot be kept alive without war. To admit that a nation may be forced to a crisis where a refusal to go to war would mean disgrace,

## BIOLOGY AND WAR

is not to admit that the battle-field must for ever remain our final court of appeal.

It seems reasonable to draw a distinction between ancient and modern warfare. For in a battle in ancient days there may well have been a useful sifting out, on both sides, of the clumsy, the cowardly, and the cumbersome ; and a raid may have sometimes resulted in the practical elimination of the weaker of the two clans. Just as the brown rat's invasion of a country seems always to result in the extermination of the black rat, which has rather less fight in it, so it may have been sometimes in the history of mankind. But in modern warfare one nation does not exterminate another, and the battle is not always to the strong. Even if it can be proved that military efficiency does on the whole tend to secure victory, it is by no means to be taken for granted that it is based on qualities which make for soundness and progressiveness in a race.

The severely scientific position that we have not sufficient data on which to base a secure judgement, may be met by indicating three conclusions which have a high degree of probability, although statistical proof is not forthcoming.

(1) When a nation with voluntary military service is involved in war the more virile and chivalrous obey the call of their country in larger numbers, and their ranks are disproportionately thinned. Those who cannot fight are left and those who will not fight are left, and 'from the man who is left flows the current of human history', as Starr Jordan puts it. It is true that a large number of brave and desirable men must remain at home to keep things going, and that the elimination does not greatly affect the women—two facts which counteract the impoverishment of the race, but it seems undeniable that a voluntary army raised in a crisis includes a disproportionately large number of those whom the nation can least afford to lose. If the number of combatants be small compared with that of non-combatants, the casualties might not be of sufficient

## BIOLOGY AND WAR

magnitude to affect the welfare of the race, but if Britain, for instance, has to raise an army of three millions and a quarter, as may be necessary, that would be about half of the male population between 18 and 45, and it would not mean every second man by lot, but a larger proportion of the more patriotic and courageous. In this way it seems almost certain that war works precisely in the wrong direction as far as the heritable welfare of the race is concerned.

(2) This is accentuated by the well-known facts that specially brave bodies of men are selected for very hazardous tasks in which the mortality is often great, and that particularly brave men run unusually great risks. The Victoria Cross has been repeatedly awarded to some hero who lost his life in the exploit which won him the distinction. It is true that the fortuitous bulks largely in the casualties of modern warfare, and that there is often no sifting at all, but simply a tragic indiscriminate elimination, as when a battleship goes down. But where sifting does occur, it tends to be in the wrong direction, cutting off the very best.

(3) There is another way in which war works in the wrong direction, by making life disproportionately difficult (and marriage often impossible) for the members of the race who are least readily replaceable. It is necessary to hold by the ideal of the state as a body politic—an organism—in which all wholesome men and women have their place and function, but it is plain enough that artists and discoverers, poets and reformers, are more precious than mediocrities. In the retrenchments that must follow a great war, in which hundreds of millions of pounds are spent unproductively, the tendency is to economize most on super-necessaries, and, unluckily, on the finer super-necessaries, such as books, music, pictures, and higher education. This must tend to handicap most severely the more highly individuated members of the community.

## BIOLOGY AND WAR

The highly skilled, whose work seems to be most readily dispensed with, will be pinched most; and they are certainly part of the salt of the earth.

### WAR AND THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE

It is a common belief that the evolution of living creatures has been due to the struggle for existence, and it is a common doctrine that what has worked so well among plants and animals should be allowed to operate in mankind. In making war, it is said, we are following nature. As Bernhardt says, 'the decisions of war rest on the very nature of things. . . . The law of the stronger holds good everywhere.' This view involves numerous misunderstandings which must be pointed out.

(a) To begin with, biologists are agreed that the essential fact in evolution is the occurrence of variations or novelties. These furnish the raw materials of evolution and they are obviously indispensable. If they are to count they must be entailed or transmitted—heredity being one of the conditions of evolution. If they are to be more than beginnings they must stand the criticism of the conditions of life in which they have emerged, natural selection or natural elimination, which occurs in the course of the struggle for existence, being another of the conditions of evolution. Natural selection prunes off the relatively unfit new departures, but the struggle is not in itself the cause of progress; it must have variations or differences of endowment to work on.

(b) Moreover the struggle for existence does not necessarily make for evolution. In many cases it thins without sifting, and that does not make for racial change. Out of 533 caterpillars of the large garden white butterfly collected by Professor Poulton, 422 died because Ichneumon flies had laid their eggs inside them. This was serious thinning, four out of five, but so far as we know those caterpillars that escaped being victimized were no better

## BIOLOGY AND WAR

than those that perished, so that there was no sifting. The indiscriminate elimination involved in thinning turnips with a hoe benefits the surviving individuals but it does not improve the race. The only result of the struggle for existence that is of direct evolutionary importance is discriminate elimination, where the presence or absence of a particular character determines survival, or, what comes to the same thing in the long run, determines relative success in producing and rearing progeny. For it must be understood that the process of selection is often very slow and even gentle in its operations.

(c) We must also notice the obstinate confusion of thought that selection in the struggle for existence must, automatically as it were, result in the survival of something desirable. What it results in is the survival (immediate or distant) of the relatively more fit to the conditions of life. It may work towards degeneration as well as towards progress, as is well illustrated by that evasion of the struggle for existence called parasitism—the door to which is always open. The liver fluke is 'fit' as well as the sheep, and the tapeworm is as well adapted to its inglorious lot as the lark at heaven's gate.

(d) But there is an even deeper misunderstanding. In spite of many protests, beginning with Darwin's, the idea of the struggle for existence has often been expressed in a narrow and wooden way. It is a fact of life much bigger and subtler than the words suggest, and we do well to bear in mind Darwin's proviso that the phrase was to be used 'in a large and metaphorical sense, including dependence of one being on another, and including (which is more important) not only the life of the individual, but success in leaving progeny'. The phrase is a shorthand formula, summing up a vast variety of strife and endeavour, of thrust and parry, of action and reaction.

What are the facts of the case? Living creatures are continually being confronted with overwhelming diffi-

## BIOLOGY AND WAR

culties and thwarting limitations. For some of these the living creatures are themselves responsible; they multiply so rapidly that there is not enough food to go round, not even enough room to grow up in. We must recognize too, that in the course of time nutritive chains have been established, one creature eating another, and that another, through long series. Beyond that there is the self-assertiveness of the vigorous creature. The lusty animal tends to be at times a hustler, elbowing its way through the crowd, though at another time it will almost surpass man in its gentleness. Not less important is the irregular changefulness and inhospitality of the physical environment. In the crowdedness, the carnivorousness, and the insurgence of life we see three reasons for the struggle for existence, and the fourth is to be found in the unpredictable vicissitudes of the callous surroundings.

We have, then, an almost universal picture—insurgent creatures with a will to live, and surrounding them all manner of baffling difficulties and thwarting limitations. Whenever the creature answers back, reacts, asserts itself, girds up its loins against these difficulties, there is the struggle for existence. Where organisms do nothing or can do nothing—like the myriads of sea butterflies engulfed in the huge cavern of a baleen whale's mouth—there seems no utility in speaking of the struggle for existence. For the central idea is that of 'clash' between one organism and another or between organisms and the inanimate forces of nature.

### DIFFERENT FORMS OF THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE

The struggle may be between fellows of the same kith and kin, as when locust turns upon locust, and female spider on male spider, and stag upon stag, or as in the cannibalism in the cradle that occurs in the egg-capsules of the whelk. Or it may be between nearly related species, as Darwin illustrated by the internecine competition of

## BIOLOGY AND WAR

brown rat and black rat. The struggle may be between foes of entirely different nature—for instance, between carnivores and herbivores, between birds of prey and small mammals, between heather and bracken on the hills, between different kinds of trees in the tropical forest. The struggle may be between living creatures and the inanimate conditions of their life—for instance, between mammals and the winter, between plants and drought, between birds and the storm. When we compare the struggle between fellows and the struggle between foes with the third form of struggle, which we may describe as between living creatures and 'fate', we see that in the third mode the element of competition has dropped out. Thus perhaps we begin to see something of the subtlety of the struggle for existence. But we must go further.

### THE CREATURE'S REACTIONS TO LIMITATIONS AND DIFFICULTIES

What has got into circulation is a caricature of nature—an exaggeration of part of the truth. For while there is in wild nature much stern sifting, great infantile and juvenile mortality, much redness of tooth and claw, and, outside of parasitism, a general condemnation of the unlit lamp and the ungirt loin, there is much more. In face of limitations and difficulties one organism intensifies competition, but another increases parental care; one sharpens its weapons, but another makes some experiment in mutual aid; one thickens its armour, but another triumphs by kin-sympathy. It is realized by few how much of the time and energy of living creatures is devoted to activities which are not to the advantage of the individual, but only to that of the race. Not that this need imply deliberate altruistic foresight, it is rather that in the course of nature's tactics survival and success have rewarded not only the strong and self-assertive, but also the loving and self-forgetful. Especially among the finer types part of the

## BIOLOGY AND WAR

fitness of the survivors has been their capacity for self-sacrifice. And even in the rougher forms of winnowing, must it not be recognized as part of nature's strategy that the individual organism, being kin-bound, realizes itself in subordination to the interests of the species and submits to being lost that a larger welfare for the whole may be gained ?

It is sometimes pointed out, however, that since evolution depends on individual variations and the sifting of these, we come back to the struggle between individuals. Thus Sir Ray Lankester writes : ' the struggle for existence, to which Darwin assigned importance, is not a struggle between species, but one between closely similar members of the same species.' As a matter of fact, Darwin assigned importance to many different forms of the struggle for existence, and although he heads a paragraph ' Struggle for life most severe between individuals and variations of the same species ; often severe between species of the same genus ', he did not bring forward many convincing illustrations. Not that we would doubt that there is sometimes in nature a life and death struggle between fellows at the margin of subsistence ; what we are concerned to maintain is that the decisive clash is often not between competing fellows, but between organisms and their surroundings, both animate and inanimate. It is often the environment that prunes, and the struggle for existence need not be competitive at all ; it is illustrated not only by ruthless self-assertiveness, but also by all the endeavours of parent for offspring, of mate for mate, of kin for kin. The world is not only the abode of the strong, it is also the home of the loving.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The general thesis we are stating has had several exponents, such as Herbert Spencer and Patrick Geddes. It finds vivid expression in Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid* and Drummond's *Ascent of Man*, perhaps best of all in Cresson's *L'Espèce et son Serviteur*. Bishop Mercer has given a masterly statement of it in the *Nineteenth Century*,



## BIOLOGY AND WAR

### THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE AND THE WEB OF LIFE

There is another point of great importance, that the sifting that goes on in nature is necessarily in part determined by the already established inter-relations. Darwin laid great emphasis on the conception of the web of life—that nature is a vibrating system of subtle linkages. No organism lives or dies quite to itself. Earthworms have made most of the fertile soil, and their lives are curiously intertwined with those of moles and birds, centipedes and ground-beetles ; cats have to do with next year's clover crop, and with the incidence of the plague in India ; eighty seeds germinated from one clodlet on one bird's foot ; squirrels affect the harvest and water-wagtails the health of the sheep. Darwin laid emphasis on these inter-relations partly because, as a naturalist in the stricter sense, he was keenly interested in the actual life of living creatures as it is lived in nature, but partly because he discerned that the sifting that goes on must always be in relation to the threads of the web of life. There is a continual tendency in nature to link lives together, to multiply inter-relations, to make an intricate vibrating system, and the selecting or sifting must operate not blindly or haphazardly, but in relation to what has been already established. The selection of variations is very far from being a chapter of accidents. The texture of the web of life is so fine that even an apparently trivial quality may be of vital importance in securing survival and success. Those variations are rejected which are incongruous with the established correlations of organisms. This idea is of great importance in regard to human life, for here again selection is in part determined by the existing systems of linkages. Thus man has in part replaced natural selection

February 1915, which may serve as a useful correction of Huxley's famous Romanes Lecture on *Evolution and Ethics*.

## BIOLOGY AND WAR

by social or rational selection. To a large extent it is his prerogative to make his own sieves.

### WAR A REVERSION TO THE CRUDEST AND MOST PRIMITIVE MODE OF THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE

Socially regarded, going to war may be (in our present state of civilization) the only course open to a nation that would stand for honour, justice, and liberty; ethically regarded, waging war may afford opportunity for the development of high virtues; biologically regarded, war is a reversion to that mode of the struggle for existence in which rats excel, namely internecine competition. We have seen that there are many forms of the struggle for existence; we see no escape from the conclusion that war is a reversion to the crudest and most primitive form.

If this be true, it behoves us to mingle fear with our pride, for there are serious risks of slipping down the rungs of the steep ladder of evolution. As Mr. Theodore Chambers points out in his admirable lecture on 'Eugenics and the War' (*The Eugenics Review*, January 1915): 'it is in the actual environment of war, when excitement reigns supreme, that the most unexpected deep-seated instincts receive a stimulus. Lust, cruelty, and blood-thirstiness on the one hand; sympathy, courage, and affection on the other seem to be intensified. War brings out into bold relief the intensest emotions of good and evil. War tears off the decent garments of custom and leaves the soul naked.'

Among non-combatants too there is apt to be deterioration as well as ennoblement. If war, in spite of being illumined by heroism and endurance, in spite of being embellished by the achievements of science, is in essence a return to the crudest form of the struggle for existence, our necessary preoccupation with it is full of danger. Some of the risks may already be seen in ungenerous and inaccurate depreciation of German culture, in unworthy scaremongering, in unkindness to aliens, in excited talk

## BIOLOGY AND WAR

of barbarous reprisals and impossible humiliations, and in ill-considered readiness to rush into schemes which would mean that we were falling victims to one of the national diseases, namely militarism, which we are combating in our enemies. To quote from our Galton Lecture (*Eugenics Review*, April 1915): 'What sowings of dragon's teeth there must be in the terrible struggle of this war; is it weak to be afraid lest by and by in the crop that springs from them there may be something worse than armed men?' The past lives on in our present; the ape and the tiger die hard; there is always, as Tennyson said, a dread risk of reversion dragging evolution in the mud.

To sum up, man is fortunately not shut up to searching in nature for guidance, but if he does look carefully enough in that direction, he will find nature has another message besides, 'Each for himself, and elimination take the hindmost; contention is the vital force; and careers are open to talons.' There is another message—much harder to obey—of subordinating individual gratification to species welfare. And again, if man does insist on following, as in war, the mode of the struggle for existence in which rats excel, he must not delude himself with the hope that it will necessarily result in the survival of the fittest in any progressive sense. The most desirable types are apt to get sifted out, leaving the race impoverished.

### IN CONCLUSION

The argument of this paper is that *from a biological point of view* war must be regarded with anxiety since it makes for the impoverishment of the race by sifting out a disproportionately large number of those whom we can least afford to lose, and that far from being in full accordance with nature's message to man it is a reversion to the crudest and most primitive form of the struggle for existence, and therefore to be regarded with peculiar fear. At the present time, when we are involved in a terrible war

## BIOLOGY AND WAR

which we believe to be righteous, every energy should be brought to bear, 'with a single mind and with concentrated purpose, in order to achieve, successfully and gloriously, the end we have in view.' But it behoves us also to order our minds so that the issue may work towards a victory over the evil (in ourselves as well as in others) which makes war possible between Christian and civilized nations.

If this war brings racial impoverishment, as it seems bound to do, what counteractives are possible? (a) We may perhaps look for a more marked disapproval of selfish forms of celibacy and a stronger encouragement of chivalrous marriages. (b) There may spring up a freshened enthusiasm for all-round fitness and a high standard of health, and it must be granted that all improvements of 'nurture' in the widest sense are to the good as long as it is clearly recognized that veneering does not make bad wood sound. Perhaps our losses may strengthen our resolution to face the national wastage due to tuberculosis, and to improve the conditions that are in part to blame for the evils which most weaken us as a nation. (c) Some clearer understanding of what selection means may lead us to scrutinize the retrenchments which the costliness of the war will necessitate. To economize upon the nobler super-necessaries means crippling such super-men as painters and musicians. May we not try pinching ourselves in our comforts before we begin starving our souls? (d) What the biologist is most concerned with is the natural inheritance of the race, which is fundamental, and in this regard the outlook cannot but be gloomy, when Britain is losing many of the very best of her sons. But we are also concerned with our social heritage, which is supreme, with for instance our traditions and ideals of honour, veracity, courage, justice, and goodwill among men. It rests with us, each in his own way, to try to secure that if our natural inheritance is impoverished, our social heritage may be enriched.



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## BASIS OF PUBLICATION

This series of Papers is issued under the auspices of a Committee drawn from various Christian bodies and political parties, and is based on the following convictions :

1. That Great Britain was in August morally bound to declare war and is no less bound to carry the war to a decisive issue ;
2. That the war is none the less an outcome and a revelation of the un-Christian principles which have dominated the life of Western Christendom and of which both the Church and the nations have need to repent ;
3. That followers of Christ, as members of the Church, are linked to one another in a fellowship which transcends all divisions of nationality or race ;
4. That the Christian duties of love and forgiveness are as binding in time of war as in time of peace ;
5. That Christians are bound to recognize the insufficiency of mere compulsion for overcoming evil and to place supreme reliance upon spiritual forces and in particular upon the power and method of the Cross ;
6. That only in proportion as Christian principles dictate the terms of settlement will a real and lasting peace be secured ;
7. That it is the duty of the Church to make an altogether new effort to realize and apply to all the relations of life its own positive ideal of brotherhood and fellowship ;
8. That with God all things are possible.

## THE VISIONS OF YOUTH

FOR the young men and women of to-day the tragic interest of the war must be almost exceeded by that of its issues and sequels. It will fall to them in the following years and decades to deal with these and with the problems which they will create.

I am asked, as an observer from without, and, I trust, a hopeful and sympathetic observer, to say a few words about the spirit in which our younger folk will approach the matter, and will be affected by this portentous inroad and eruption of war into the midst of the world's peaceful and progressive life.

It would never have occurred to me to do such a thing if I had not been asked. The young might more naturally speak for themselves. But one man's thoughts may set others thinking; and I proceed.

I should be disposed to say that the attitude of the generation now growing up towards the consequences of the war will be largely influenced by the mixture in them of drastic and hopeful ways of feeling and thought. By drastic I mean that they are ready not only to face and promote change, but to find that it means a great deal of recast, clearance, and transformation in both thought and things, and especially a recurrence to first principles, with an eagerness to see them carried out. It is this last which

## THE VISIONS OF YOUTH

makes me join the words 'drastic' and 'hopeful' together and avoid any which, like 'cynical' or 'destructive', have negative associations. The young generation is not sceptical, though they may seem detached and indistinct in their beliefs. They have seen too many prospects and vistas open, disclosing possibilities of great developments, not to have a great confidence that something is afoot, and that history has a purpose. They are ready to see the game played on a great scale and with big pieces. Science, with its vast exhibition of potent forces, has contributed to this. Religion, with its recent stress upon what is apocalyptic, tells the same way. And now war has come to corroborate all this. It does so by its colossal proportions and by the novelty and prodigious effects of new forces, appliances, and combinations. But I am thinking more of its power to draw all the world-forces into one huge interplay of communication and collision, and more still of its revelation of the vast effects which may come from ways of teaching and thinking, applied sedulously and working constantly, through the whole of a people's life. The revelation of what may arise, as if 'in an hour that we were not aware of', in the shape of a national self-adulation and ambition, working itself through a rage of envy into a worship of hatred, has been enough to make the generation feel that the stage upon which they are starting to play is not one of small passions or limited forces.

With some, of course, the effect will be to suggest evil

## THE VISIONS OF YOUTH

for evil, force against force ; and, old and young alike, we shall have to be vigilant on this side. But the young knighthood of whom we are thinking will not readily acquiesce in thinking that the reserves of power on the side of good are less than those so vividly displayed by evil. They will look for developments of peace as great as those of war. They will be slow to believe that what hatred can inspire, love cannot surpass. It is here that what I called their drastic tendency will come in. They will recognize that the issues of history have cut down to the quick. The young generation may lack definiteness of Christian profession (though, if I am not mistaken, it will have in its ranks a stiffening of Christian men as intrepid, unselfish, and ready for the call as any generation of the past has been), but it has inherited and embraced the central Christian truth that ' love is best ' and has royal rights. Never, perhaps, have more people believed with a passion of conviction that ' God is Love ' ; and those who are not able to make articulate response to that supreme discovery of the disciple (who had learnt it from his Master's character, teaching, cross and victory), are yet clear enough that love and love alone (in no sensual or passionate sense) is the one power which it is worth while to worship. So, for example, at Christmas-time every kind of voice seizes opportunity to tell us.

The war, if I mistake not, will itself confirm such beliefs. In the new start, the younger generation—German, one may hope, as well as French or British—will recognize

## THE VISIONS OF YOUTH

that such a force as devotion to the Fatherland or 'the old country' must be available in days to come for some nobler call, some higher allegiance. The new will not destroy, but it will transcend the old. With even greater confidence the generation which has poured itself forth to suffer and die for England with such unquestioning simplicity and unreserved devotion, will have been self-taught its own ennobling lesson of what the good in human life can achieve. It has been in years past the distinction of socialism in its best and most generous exponents to ask us to believe not only that we may do a little more good with the forces that we have, but that the moral nature of man is a magazine of latent force which high inspiration, strong conviction, and unfaltering faith can convert into available energy. I expect to see that conviction greatly strengthened in the best of our youth. I do not think they will be content with narrow ideals or will be doubtful of human readiness to meet enlarging demands by enlarging response.

It may not perhaps be fanciful or irrelevant to see even in futurism, with its crude and irreverent treatment of our human past, a caricature—significant, though misguided—of the inclination to 'begin again and do better' with the rich material of human nature.

Probably there is required, if the full energy of a generation is to be called out, a combination of the fervour of hope with the excitement of attack. It will be the effect of the Great War, and of all its brood of after-evils, to

## THE VISIONS OF YOUTH

awaken in the younger people a great fire of indignation and repugnance against those features and qualities of our international and national life which have made the war necessary and inevitable, and which are the roots of much other bitter fruit. Sometimes it will be the overgrowth of luxury or indulgence in all classes, sometimes the indifference about public welfare which allows things to drift into crisis and disaster, sometimes the misuse or neglect of the great opportunities given by the command of money, sometimes the insolent or indifferent forgetfulness of God and of His righteous judgements; but whatever it be, its bitter meanings have been writ large in the war. We Victorians must be prepared (if yet alive) to see a younger generation more definitely antagonistic than we should like to a period in which we enjoyed so much, learned so much, progressed (as we still believe) so much, and had among us leaders and guides and prophets whose equals our successors will be fortunate if they find. But they will say, pointing to the upshot in the war: 'This is what your world came to, this was the outcome of all your wealth and your optimism, and your competition and your self-confidence. We will fight in thought and deed for some better, larger, nobler thing.' Well, be it so! Let them make short work of our ways if only they can really get each nation and class and interest to exchange the ways of selfishness for the ideal of common welfare and mutual service: if only they can really succeed in being humble and large-hearted,

## THE VISIONS OF YOUTH

mutually respectful, and reverent to the eternal things of righteousness.

(It would, of course, be idle to disguise, and our young generation will mistake to their bitter disappointment the signs of the time if they are unprepared to find, that such a catastrophe as the war stunts the faith and dulls the life of many, leaves them incredulous of spiritual power, and either listlessly or defiantly acquiescent in the empire of force and selfishness. I assume that the coming time will be one when the battle of goodness and progress will be a hard one to fight. I only reckon upon the quickening and gathering of the forces which are to fight it.)

Unquestionably there is a disposition to believe that with love as talisman and key, greater things can be done than heretofore, better social conditions worked out, the scale and power of motives altered for the better.

Such a thing as the movement throughout education to teach by eliciting and stimulating rather than by inculcating and compelling, is one instance of this which is full of promise. Another (though these channels badly want flushing by more spiritual force) is the change of prison methods in the direction of restoration by humanizing influences to manhood and self-respect. But these are only instances. The larger underlying feeling is that of desire to be rid of ways of thought and speech which interfere with a genuine respect for the value of human personality in all, and to see what more and better can



## THE VISIONS OF YOUTH

be done in a world where this is more fully accepted as the foundation or inspiration of all social relations.

My thoughts have run hitherto on general lines. But it is by no abrupt transition that they pass over on to more distinctly Christian ground. There is a marked tendency to disencumber the Christian life and way and inspiration of much that has grown up about it and become a part of its identity. Those of our juniors who share with us the faith that there is a Body as well as a Spirit of Christ, and a certain structure or order securing to His people His Presence and gifts, will yet not be unwilling to 'go forward' and see how far this plastic organism can become more transparent of Christ and more magnetic to humanity.

In the ways of worship, in particular, this tendency may be expected to show itself.

But these, perhaps, are small matters compared with the great dominant thought of the world-wide responsibilities, challenges, and opportunities with which Christianity is faced. 'Christendom', to use the old romantic name for what was practically Europe, has come to its climax in this war, this huge anti-Christian result in which not only is peace shattered and violence organized to perfection, but the nations or their representatives substitute for love, hatred; for mutual honour, contempt; for the sincere and loyal word of mutual assurance, every artifice of mutual deceit. What remains of Christ in Christendom? What gives the nations of the West, it will be asked, any

## THE VISIONS OF YOUTH

freehold in that same name of 'Christendom' which seemed almost a synonym for all that was pure, lovely, and gracious in civilization ?

To such questions not a few cynical or disappointed answers may be given. But it happens that they are confronted by the developments of a decade which has brought home to thoughtful people with overpowering surprise the opportunity and urgent demand for a Christendom as wide as humanity, embracing all the races, limited by no lines of colour, the world-wide embodiment of the one religion for men. The spirit of the younger men and women has been rising to the great enterprise which the vision suggests. Many of them after this horrible war may, one would hope, realize that here is the noblest outlet for that chivalry of sacrifice which it has been the glory of the war both to discover and quicken among us. The vision is not only that of great fields hitherto explored or closely barred upon which souls may be won for the Master. It is directed to the influence of the kingdom of the King of kings upon the kingdoms of the earth. Great forces of civilization are shaping, developing, and being transformed. They will combine into a united life of man upon this earth such as has never been seen before in its coherence and interdependence.

What these several constructions of racial and national life become, such will the whole be. To the young chivalry of Christ it cannot be doubtful what secret of energy, what salt of wholesomeness, what strong force

## THE VISIONS OF YOUTH

of cohesion will be needed to bring to their best these surging forces of human life. Thus it is that just when Europe has dishonoured Christ, eager hearts looking out on the world-field find fresh and more confident assurance than ever that Christ is the world's need, that in the great reshapings and upspringings of nationality Christ will be the only sure foundation.

They will recognize that even now the 'day' of opportunity for the West is not so wholly past, but that from the West the seeds of this Christianity must come, though the soils and climates of India, China, and the rest must influence their growth. And in the work of building abroad we may get clearer vision of what is needed to rebuild at home.

It remains to be seen whether the unhappy divisions which in the purely religious sphere our sons may find as inevitable as ourselves are to forbid a unity of Christian action in upholding the standard, in instilling the principles, in laying the foundations on which national and international life in the future in East and West alike must depend for its freedom, harmony, virility and capacity for loyalty and sacrifice.

Without being too sanguine we may rightly discern favourable omens. For it has been a notable feature of younger Christian life among us that, whereas formerly men of different conviction either stood aloof from one another, or came together through some sort of laxity or indifference, it has been latterly found by the juniors

## THE VISIONS OF YOUTH

(and taught by them in a degree to elders) that there is a better way by which in a divided Christendom we may meet as Christians without compromise, to know each other, to speak and confer with each other, to seek God together. Often it has happened that men have got far upon some common topic of religious experience and inquiry before they found out each other's denominational position. Yet each will recognize that in that position were the roots of his own life and convictions. This is a development of immense promise. The intercourse so experienced, and the atmosphere so created may indeed in the long run be destructive of differences. But if so, it will be in the right and hopeful way, not by jettison of the precious things of revelation or of spiritual conviction and inheritance, but by making them more and more ready for fusion in the one Truth and one Church of our faith and of our far-off hope. Meanwhile this habit of mutual intercourse will do much to focus upon our moral and social tasks a disciplined and deepened spiritual force.

There is in this direction great cause for hope. For undoubtedly there has been a sense amongst us that Christian opinion and conscience have not had the influence that they should have upon national and international life, and it is doubtful whether a more active interference of 'the Churches' or organized Christian bodies would be the right remedy. Such interference is apt to be resented. It easily becomes interested or political. It may produce a recoil of discord and recrimination in the Church that

## THE VISIONS OF YOUTH

is concerned. But far more hopeful is the creation in some such way as I have just described of warm forces of comparatively unorganized Christian opinion. They would fuse with what is best in ordinary citizen opinion. They would work, as far as we can judge, as our Lord meant when He spoke of the Kingdom of Heaven as leaven hid in the dough. To some extent at least, and in a direction of first-rate moral importance, the ruinous effects of our divisions would be lessened and their disappearance forestalled. I may express the hope that the hesitation of Roman Catholics to bear their part, or the discouragement offered by their authorities for their doing so, may gradually give way; they would be very cordially welcomed.

We may go further upon the same lines. The group of Student Christian Movements joined together as the World's Student Christian Federation, bears witness to the strong desire or (more truly) the native instinct among the younger people to see such fellowship of a really Christian sort extend itself across national and continental limits. When it is realized that in 2,500 universities and colleges throughout the world, with a united personnel of 700,000 students, 180,000 are members of this Movement, its significance for the future will be unmistakable. There is no lack of national feeling among these; no sacrifice of patriotism to some vague humanitarian feeling. Among the British students I believe that 65 per cent. of the members of the Student Movement have joined the

## THE VISIONS OF YOUTH

colours as against 55 per cent. of the whole body of British students. In Germany we hear of the most active and affectionate support by the Movement to its many members at the front. But in each country members are doing a like work, are conscious of the unity of spirit, motive and method, which when the war passes will make them ready for fresh contact with one another. 'The World's Federation', says a Swiss writer after a visit to France, 'has given a new proof of its usefulness in these days when everything is tested, and we all have faith that it is to be one of the most important factors in the rebuilding of the world after the war is over.' Even at the present time of deadly strain upon all such relations, the links that have been formed by these younger folk have not altogether given way; and they find in the friendly action of their neutral-country members some means of touch and mutual knowledge. Thus it is that without the faintest disloyalty to their respective allegiances, Christians are able to recognize the reality of a unity deeper than even the acutest of temporary antagonisms. I believe we have here the earnest of a force which will grow.

These are great matters, about which it is possible to have eager hopes, or anxious misgivings.

But will the younger generation really face up to the two things which are essential in any progress to a better Europe, a better Christendom of the world? Both are elementary, yet they are the very hardest lessons to learn and to apply.

## THE VISIONS OF YOUTH

The first is the need of personal character. The general corruptibility of officers in one country, the accepted debauchery of the young in another, the general taint of fraud in the commerce of a third, or those combinations of such evils in some degree which all must acknowledge : these must be treated as giants in whom our young chivalry must recognize the true enemy. And these have behind them the softness, the lack of restraint, the impatience of hardness, the ' looseness ' of living (to use a word in something larger than its ordinary sense) of which we have had too much reason to be conscious. Will the discipline of the war and the hard times for all which will follow it start a life less unworthy of the Christian name, and shall we say, more true to the nobility of human nature than to its self-indulgence and self-will?

' He went forth unto the spring of the waters, and cast salt in there, and said, Thus saith the Lord, I have healed these waters.'

The second thing is the significance of Christ. Never, perhaps, has there been a more resolute, various, and truly questing search for this than in the last two generations. Nor upon a matter so inexhaustible can we afford to be too critical of each other's ways of inquiry. Much of the quest, orthodox or unorthodox, has gone but a little way, has acquiesced too readily in some shallow or in some mechanically accepted solution. Meanwhile, how many have passed by, not only without searching the problem, but without knowing that there was a problem to search?

## THE VISIONS OF YOUTH

Thinking and unthinking, orthodox or independent, how many men to-day realize that Christ makes light in a dark world, is a rock of foundation on which to build, has the keys of human problems?

But now a stinging shock has awakened us. For we have witnessed the rise of a spirit embodying itself in certain actions and uttering itself in certain principles, bidding for the kingdoms of the earth and the glory of them. The contrast with all that is Christian is perhaps the most dramatic thing in history.

It must, we think, arouse and startle and challenge the generation that enters the field, and recognizes what is at stake. We hope and we must pray that 'out of the eater will come forth meat' and 'out of the' violent 'sweetness', and that such a demonstration of what is anti-Christian may send men back to Christ. Militarism as understood by dominant German opinion is a conspicuous aberration from His principles. But it is not the only one; and Englishmen, we trust, may be less occupied in denouncing it (though denounce it we must) than in searching their own hearts for the kindred mischiefs in their own lives and that of our nation and community, which threaten to 'materialize' life and to substitute the selfishness of 'nature' for the generosity and the devotion to love and duty, which are of Christ.



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This series of Papers is issued under the auspices of a Committee drawn from various Christian bodies and political parties and is based on the following convictions :

1. That Great Britain was in August morally bound to declare war and is no less bound to carry the war to a decisive issue ;
2. That the war is none the less an outcome and a revelation of the un-Christian principles which have dominated the life of Western Christendom and of which both the Church and the nations have need to repent ;
3. That followers of Christ, as members of the Church, are linked to one another in a fellowship which transcends all divisions of nationality or race ;
4. That the Christian duties of love and forgiveness are as binding in time of war as in time of peace ;
5. That Christians are bound to recognize the insufficiency of mere compulsion for overcoming evil and to place supreme reliance upon spiritual forces and in particular upon the power and method of the Cross ;
6. That only in proportion as Christian principles dictate the terms of settlement will a real and lasting peace be secured ;
7. That it is the duty of the Church to make an altogether new effort to realize and apply to all the relations of life its own positive ideal of brotherhood and fellowship ;
8. That with God all things are possible.

## BERNHARDISM IN ENGLAND

GENERAL BERNHARDI is not merely, as many of our newspapers seem to think, a bad man who hates England more even than other Germans. He does not, in his books, show any virulent hatred of England; and his manners, when he speaks of foreign nations, are those of a soldier rather than of a journalist. His doctrine, in fact, is not, as he preaches it, a doctrine of hatred, but rather a doctrine of war. For him conflicts between the nations are inevitable—at least for those nations that are strong enough to fight Germany; and, since they are inevitable, the chief political virtue for him consists in accepting the inevitable, in preparing for it, and in forcing it to happen at the moment most favourable to yourself. There is some excuse for him, since he is a soldier and also a talker. For he talks more easily than he thinks, and, as far as thinking goes, he is satisfied with the proposition that there is nothing like leather, which, for him, means war. He is, in fact, really a kind of Red Indian in a Prussian uniform, but without the Red Indian habit of silence. If he were unique he would be merely a curiosity; but unfortunately he is not, and that is why the word Bernhardtism has been coined, to express not merely what he says but what is said and thought by all those in every country who believe in his doctrine of war.

## BERNHARDISM IN ENGLAND

Every one in England is shocked by it as he preaches it ; but often it is not the doctrine that shocks them so much as his application of it. When, in England, writers have preached the inevitability of war, they have said that it was inevitable because of the wickedness of Germany ; and so the great mass of Germans have said that it was inevitable because of the wickedness of England. And when their Government put the last article of Bernhardism in practice and forced the inevitable at what seemed a moment favourable to them, these Germans submitted to it because they believed that England would otherwise force it at a moment favourable to herself. So it happened, and seemed to prove that Bernhardi himself and all our Bernhardists were right. It was inevitable because so many people believed that it could not be avoided. But most of the Bernhardists in each country were persuaded to their belief by the Bernhardists in the other.

There is, however, a higher, or lower, degree of Bernhardism than the mere belief that war is inevitable because the other country means to make it ; and that is Bernhardi's own belief, that it is inevitable in the nature of things. This kind of Bernhardism one finds latent in the most unexpected places. Here, for instance, is a passage in Mozley's sermon on war, which Bernhardi himself might quote, if he knew it. ' There is ', Mozley says, ' a spring in the very setting and framework of the world ;



## BERNHARDISM IN ENGLAND

whence movements are always pushing up to the surface—movements for recasting more or less the national distribution of the world ; for establishing fresh centres and forming States into new groups and combinations.’ Much of this, he admits, is due to the selfish spirit of conquest ; but, he says, ‘ there is an instinctive reaching in nations and masses of people after alteration and readjustment, which has justice in it and which rises from real needs.’ And then he goes on to speak of ‘ a real self-correcting process which is part of the constitution of the world, and which is coeval in root with the political structure which it remedies ’ and ‘ of the framework of society forced by an inward impulse upon its own improvement and rectification ’. There are also, he says, wars of progress which, ‘ so far as they are really necessary for the due advantage of mankind and growth of society, have a justification in that reason ’ ; and, last of all, he speaks of the judicial character of war, and its lawful place in the world, as a means of obtaining justice, and tells us that ‘ we should keep clear and distinguished in our minds the moral effects of war and the physical ’.

In all this he talks generally just as Bernhardi talks about Germany and the immediate future ; and his phrases have all the dangerous vagueness of Bernhardi. How can war have a judicial character, when there is no judge, unless we assume that victory means right ? And who is to say what wars are justified as the result of an instinctive reaching in nations and masses of people after

## BERNHARDISM IN ENGLAND

alteration and readjustment. Every nation will feel this instinctive reaching when it wants to go to war, and will be ready to persuade itself that it is right because it is instinctive. This is, in fact, the plea of kleptomania, which may be urged for a criminal as a reason why he should be sent to an asylum rather than to jail, but not for a nation as a reason why it should steal by force whatever it desires. And why this glorification of instinct from the minister of a religion which denies that instinct is either glorious or irresistible ?

It is to be noted that Mozley talks altogether in this passage in a vaguely scientific jargon, just like Bernhardi, and he never gives us any examples of the wars which he would justify with that jargon. They are not wars of self-defence, for he distinguishes them from such wars ; and therefore they are not wars of liberation, which is only defence against an existing oppression. The whole passage, in fact, amounts to a statement that there are some wars which no amount of virtue on both sides would prevent ; and that is the doctrine of Bernhardi, except that he applies it to most wars and to all that Germany chooses to wage.

Now it is true of human beings that they will not try to prevent what they believe to be inevitable. If they think that pestilence is sent by God, they will not try to improve their drains. They will even glorify the pestilence ; and so it is with war : once believe that the virtues of mankind are powerless against it, and there

## BERNHARDISM IN ENGLAND

will be no attempt to exercise those virtues ; indeed we shall be told that they are not virtues at all, as between nations, but mere cowardice and sentimentality. The essence of Bernhardism is that what are vices in private life are virtues internationally, and vice versa. And it is clear that, in the cases which Mozley speaks of but does not specify, he would agree with Bernhardt's scale of values. This instinctive reaching in nations after alteration and readjustment, he says, has justice in it. It is, therefore, not merely an animal instinct, but an effort to do the will of God, or, to use other language, an effort to fulfil the cosmic process ; and if any other nation stands in the way of the will of God or the cosmic process, as the chosen nation instinctively apprehends them, then of course that chosen nation will virtuously destroy the obstruction. And it will enjoy the process of destruction and nourish its own hatred of the enemy.

From the Christian point of view you cannot wage war decently if you are a Bernhardist ; for, to a Christian, war is never the result of these vague movements and adjustments and what-not. It is always the result of sin, and therefore not to be enjoyed even by a nation that is forced into it by the sin of another nation. Thus when we find people enjoying it and consciously indulging themselves in the feelings of hatred which it naturally produces, then we may be sure that, whatever their professions about that particular war and whatever their moral indignation against the Bernhardism of the enemy,

## BERNHARDISM IN ENGLAND

they are, consciously or unconsciously, Bernhardists themselves. For those things which are vices as between private people have become virtues to them as between their own nation and the enemy nation. This is not a matter of action so much as of a state of mind. A Christian, who knows that to kill is murder, may yet be a soldier and in war may kill without losing his Christian state of mind. War remains an evil caused by sin, though this particular war seems to him a necessary evil ; and he kills without fury or hatred, seeing in the enemy unfortunate human beings, like himself, who perhaps are driven to this necessity by a sin not their own. But the Bernhardist, not really believing that war is the result of sin, even though he clamours about the wickedness of the enemy, accepts war as a right and natural process, and with it accepts all the feelings which it provokes. He makes no moral effort against them, because they are proper to war, and war is proper to the life of man. It is, in fact, a necessary change from peace, without which men would become cowardly, slothful, and sentimental ; and, when it comes, we ought all to cast off our Christian virtues and our Christian state of mind, and aim at a state of mind quite opposite.

Now the doctrine of Bernhardism is supposed to be abhorred in England, because Bernhardt and other Germans preach it ; and we of course are fighting against everything German. But the symptoms of Bernhardism betray themselves on all sides, and we may be sure that,

## BERNHARDISM IN ENGLAND

where they are, the doctrine is also, however much it may be suppressed for the moment by the fact that Bernhardi is a German. We, for instance, are shocked at the German hatred of England and at the manner in which they abandon themselves to it with an almost sensual pleasure. But our Bernhardists think that it is wicked only because it is England that they hate. It is, on the other hand, quite right for us to hate Germany, and they feel a German glow of righteousness when they do so. For instance, a German paper, the other day, had good sense enough to protest against the German orgies of hatred, saying that they were 'fundamentally tasteless, and not compatible with the future co-operation between the nations which must come', since peace, at last, is at least as inevitable as war. A Christian would welcome those words as making for peace; but a Bernhardist, writing in one of our daily papers, cries that 'The Hun has not changed his skin'. The *Frankfurter Zeitung* may talk good sense and good morals, but no English Bernhardist will believe that it does so except for a base motive. 'Either the German press is reflecting the uneasy official conviction that the game is up, and that it is time to speak softly to the enemy at the gate; or else that their gentle words may betray our pacifists into response. Either thought is vain. The game has always been up so far as Germany is concerned, but it is not over until she is down—and out.'

Notice that, to this writer, 'pacifist' is a term of abuse,

## BERNHARDISM IN ENGLAND

and the very thought of peace is so repulsive that he begins to protest, ungrammatically, against it before it is even mentioned. If any Germans talk decently, it is because they are afraid. Whatever they do is wrong, because they are Germans, and however vulgarly an Englishman may bully and threaten, he is right because England is right in her war with Germany. But sometimes the Bernhardist mixes up his own doctrine with a little incongruous cant. 'Nothing is more exasperating', says a popular provincial paper, 'than the spreading tendency in this country to mealy-mouthedness about Germany and the Germans. If allowed to go unchecked it would become a menace not only to our present interests but to the future interests of international peace and international good life—by creating among us an atmosphere of spurious sentiment towards Germany, from which the only one to benefit would be the country against which all wells of sentiment must be closed for a long time to come.' Here you have the Bernhardist exulting in the thought that he will be able to enjoy the virtuous feelings proper to war even after peace is proclaimed. 'Every right British instinct', he cries, 'is, or ought to be, in unmistakable revolt against some of the windy platitudes that are being insisted upon in the name of the Christian spirit.' No Christian spirit for him, while we are in the blessed state of war. The sayings of the Sermon on the Mount have become windy platitudes; and, if he has his way, they will remain

## BERNHARDISM IN ENGLAND

so as long as possible after peace has become an unfortunate necessity.

The Archbishop of Canterbury said last month that Christians in every land ought to be humbled at the thought that Christendom had been unable to prevent this war, and that they should be on their knees asking for inspiration to make the recurrence of such a catastrophe impossible. Whereupon a Bernhardtist, in the press, almost repeats the words of Bernhardi himself in protesting that war is a necessary part of Christianity. Like some one else, he quotes Scripture for his own purpose—'I come not to send peace but a sword'—forgetting that, if we read the Bible at all, there is a moral obligation upon us to use our brains while we read it. 'Under present circumstances', he says, 'in earth as in heaven force is the final remedy.' But even General Bernhardi, much as he knew about this world, has never laid down the law about the other, or claimed God as a Bernhardtist. He would merely confine God to His heaven; not subjecting Him to the law of man there, provided no effort is made to impose His heavenly laws upon our earth, which knows best how to manage itself. Our Bernhardtist is less moderate. For him there is no room for sentimentality either above or below; and, according to his doctrine, God enjoys the spectacle of the British Empire behaving as He Himself would behave in a like case.

## BERNHARDISM IN ENGLAND

But all this Bernhardism of ours is imitative and the result of a belief that Bernhardism in Germany can only be opposed by Bernhardism in England. If the Germans make themselves ridiculous with their hymns of hatred, we must do our best to equal them in folly. One of our papers talks about this hatred of theirs 'which sings our cheek, like a blast from Hell across these narrow seas'. That would please the German haters, if they could read it; it would make them believe that we take their melodrama seriously enough to become melodramatic ourselves. But the same writer goes on to talk Bernhardism as no Englishman could, unless he were possessed by the belief that the Prussian view of international morals is right and our old English view wrong. 'The British Empire is built up on good fighting by its army and its navy; the spirit of war is native to the British race.' 'War will never end as long as human nature continues to be human nature. And war with all its evils teaches us much good. It reminds us of the value of nationality which in peace is apt to be forgotten. There has been in the recent past a horrid disease of internationalism which has weakened us considerably,' and so on. It is all just what Bernhardt says, just what has made the German Government behave as it has behaved. There could not be a greater triumph for German Kultur and the German doctrine that war has its right to exist like peace, that the passion for destruction is as spiritual as the passion for construction; that hate is as divine as



## BERNHARDISM IN ENGLAND

love. Notice that this writer enjoys telling us that war will never end so long as human nature continues to be human nature ; that is to say, so long as we continue to be no better than we are at present. For him, too, internationalism is a horrid disease of peace ; which means really that peace itself is a horrid disease. It is healthier to be conscious of the difference and hostility between nations than of their likeness and friendliness. Insist upon the fact that you are an Englishman and that a German is a German, rather than upon the fact that both are human beings ; and welcome war because, during war, the enemy is an enemy, and there can no longer be any nonsense about trying to treat him as a friend. All the hollow politeness and artificial restraint of peace are at an end. You can now tell the German what you think of him. You can exult in the failure of the sentimentalists and their deputations of friendship, in the end of that dreary time during which it was necessary to behave to Germans like a civilized human being. Now you can shake your fist in their faces. If any of them, by industry and ability, have won good places in England, you can clamour to turn them out and feel that your jealousy is patriotism. There is, too, an end of all that nonsense which we used to talk about desiring peace. Now it can be said openly that ' the spirit of war is native to the British race ' ; as indeed it is to every race and to every human being who would like to have more than he has got. But in time of peace there is a peace-convention

## BERNHARDISM IN ENGLAND

by which we are restrained from calling the spirit of war a virtue ; indeed, we never call it a virtue in the individual if he shows it by knocking another individual down and taking his watch ; and not often if he shows it merely by hitting another individual in the eye because he dislikes the look of him. And this restraint is irksome to us, or to some of us, like the restraints of decency. So, when war comes, we delight in the chance to escape from it, just as men used to delight in the sanctification of indecency at heathen festivals. Bernhardism, in fact, is a kind of Paganism. It is the glorification of what is commonly called the natural man, that is to say of the man to whom the spirit is merely a thorn in the flesh which he would pluck out if he could. And the essence of Bernhardism is a delight in the state of war because it gives an excuse for worshipping this human nature, rather than some remote God towards whom human nature must painfully aspire. In time of peace this human nature is a nuisance and a shame, and the Christian hates war just because it does give a use and a sanction to all our unregenerate qualities. But the Bernhardist, being a Pagan, loves it for that very reason ; and you can tell him at once by the relief and joy which he betrays when he can abandon himself to the chartered Paganism of war.

It may be thought that I have made too much of the passages I have quoted. From their very language

## BERNHARDISM IN ENGLAND

any one can see that they are written by men ignorant and tired, who therefore, since writing is their trade, take the line of least resistance when they write and say what it needs no thought to say, and what no violent patriot can call pro-German. The newspapers are very much afraid just now lest any one should accuse them of discouraging recruiting. It is as much as a writer's place is worth to have that charge brought against him, and it is freely brought by those who believe that Englishmen will not fight like Germans, unless they are worked up into a state of German virulence. Therefore, it might be said, one should ignore those things as part of the inevitable folly produced by war and the necessity to write about it when you have nothing to say. But there is more in it than that ; for, as we are all more or less ignorant and often tired, we are all apt to take the line of least resistance both in thought and in action. And Bernhardism is the line of least resistance, like all kinds of Paganism. We need a constant effort, both moral and intellectual, to believe that human nature is not merely human nature, or that, when it is, it is not admirable. There always has been for all men an allurements, not only in the passions themselves, but also in a glorification of them. That is the allurements of Paganism ; and it appeals to us all, like soft turf when we are climbing a mountain. In war, too, we have to make great material efforts, and have therefore the less energy left for spiritual efforts. We are tired and a little

## BERNHARDISM IN ENGLAND

afraid. Deprived of many physical luxuries, we want some mental luxury, and we get it in Bernhardism, in a sensuous reaction from all the spiritual effort and the spiritual ideas that trouble us in time of peace. Just as a soldier is most apt to pillage after a hard battle or siege, so we are apt in war-time to free ourselves from arduous hopes and responsibilities, and to enjoy the thought that war gives us that freedom as a perquisite. Then we listen to those who talk most basely and foolishly, as soldiers, when they are out of hand, will follow the worst ruffian among them. The leader of thought is the man who thinks least, the popular prophet is the one who cannot see an inch in front of his nose ; the extremest patriot is the most ignorant, the most tired, the most frightened, among us. For Bernhardism, at bottom, is fear—fear lest there should, after all, be no meaning in the universe, no sense in the spiritual efforts of man. The Bernhardist calls this fear facing the facts, but his facts are really a timid theory, the theory that faith either in God or in man is a very dangerous thing. So it is, or it would not be faith. It is the Christian who obeys Nietzsche's command to live dangerously. It is the Bernhardist who grows angry at the spectacle of his rashness.

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*Third Series*

PAPERS FOR WAR TIME. No. 27

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THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE  
TO WAR

BY

A. HERBERT GRAY, M.A.

HUMPHREY MILFORD

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## BASIS OF PUBLICATION

This series of Papers is issued under the auspices of a Committee drawn from various Christian bodies and political parties and is based on the following convictions :

1. That Great Britain was in August morally bound to declare war and is no less bound to carry the war to a decisive issue ;
2. That the war is none the less an outcome and a revelation of the un-Christian principles which have dominated the life of Western Christendom and of which both the Church and the nations have need to repent ;
3. That followers of Christ, as members of the Church, are linked to one another in a fellowship which transcends all divisions of nationality or race ;
4. That the Christian duties of love and forgiveness are as binding in time of war as in time of peace ;
5. That Christians are bound to recognize the insufficiency of mere compulsion for overcoming evil and to place supreme reliance upon spiritual forces and in particular upon the power and method of the Cross ;
6. That only in proportion as Christian principles dictate the terms of settlement will a real and lasting peace be secured ;
7. That it is the duty of the Church to make an altogether new effort to realize and apply to all the relations of life its own positive ideal of brotherhood and fellowship ;
8. That with God all things are possible.

## THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE TO WAR

How can we do away with war, and yet retain the good effects of war upon the race ? That is the question which is suggesting itself to an increasing number of minds to-day. It might perhaps have been expected that, in full view of the horrors now being enacted in Flanders and Poland, men would have become willing to declare that any kind of life would be better than war. But nothing of the sort is happening. The common judgement declares that many things might be worse than war. Not only might treachery and dishonour be worse than war, but 'mere' peace might be worse. Probably states of peace have often been morally worse than the present state of the world. A society engrossed in a sordid scramble for gold, and suffering the enervation that comes with luxury, is immeasurably lower than a society in arms ; and because a perception of this is becoming common the cause of peace does not greatly prosper. The ideals of the pacifist do not stir the heart, and even while English homes are one after another plunged in the sorrow of bereavement the conviction that the soldier's calling is a high one grows among us. It would be hard indeed to prove that the people of Great Britain are less military in spirit than they were a year ago, in spite of all the horrors which war has wrought.

The fact is that war beyond all question achieves two good results, one for the individual, and one for the nation, and it seems to many that these good things might be lost in peace. It is therefore an essential preliminary to any hopeful work for peace to recognize honestly the moral value that there is in war.

Let us consider the case of the individual first. It is being proved to-day that military training often develops qualities of manhood which had remained dormant during

## THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE TO WAR

peace. Lads who, six months ago, had pasty faces, shifty eyes, and a shambling gait, now walk into our midst for their days of leave transformed—clear-eyed, clear-skinned, morally and physically braced. John has an altogether new value in the eyes of Mary, not only because he is healthier and therefore handsomer, nor only because being in uniform he is better dressed than ever before, but because he really is more of a man, and therefore likely to be more of a support and a defence as a husband. Men who seemed to care for nothing are showing that they can care even to the point of sacrifice for honour, and liberty, and the great thing called 'decency'.

And these results have been achieved just because our new soldiers have found in life a cause so big that for the sake of it they are able to forget self, and are willing to accept discipline. They have put themselves in bonds, and learnt a new freedom. They have surrendered their self-centred life and found instead a larger one. Beyond question they have touched a higher plane of being.

And yet the effect thus produced is not merely the result of discipline or of self-forgetfulness. It is partly due to the fact that the business these men are engaged in is either already dangerous to life or is going to be so. The tedium of life in a training camp would be beyond all endurance were it not for the chance of something greater beyond it, and that something greater is just the excitement of battle. There is a certain thrill in living dangerously, in taking daily deadly risks, in walking with one's life in one's hands; and those who have experienced that thrill bear the marks of it ever afterwards.

For a certain percentage of men life is never so worth living as when at any moment it may be lost, and all the safe paths have a tameness about them which earns them a measure of contempt. War may have horrors untold in it, but it has thrills in it just because of the horrors. It may be dreadful beyond words. It may even drive some men insane. But just because it involves such strains it is the making of other men. Most of it is reported to be a very prosaic and even a very disgusting

## THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE TO WAR

business. Yet because it has occasional moments in it when life has a white heat of intensity it represents the culmination of existence to soldier spirits.

It may be proved to be economically disastrous even for the victors, but if it lifts men from the slough of selfishness and meanness, and even for weeks or months makes heroes of them, it is cheap at the price even for the loser.

Further, even on the onlookers the effect of war is in many ways bracing, at least if it be defensive war such as we have been waging. Britain's moral state is plainly higher than it was a year ago. If we are all poorer, we are at least more willing to share. If we are very anxious, we are at least anxious about such things as honour, and the saving of civilization, and not about stocks, and shares, and petty social successes. If we are very sad, we are at least sad with a sorrow that has dignity in it, for the dead we mourn had given themselves for the country, and ere they died had achieved self-forgetfulness. Nor is it the men only who have snatched moral gain from the hour, for women also are truer women than they were. A hundred useful things are being well done by persons who once seemed both stupid and futile. Thousands have ceased to worry about their pleasures or their rights, and have discovered what immense avenues of service open to the key of sympathy. Men everywhere are being humbled by new revelations of the wonder of the mother heart that is in English womanhood.

It is a sadder, poorer, and more confused world on which the sun shines to-day, but it is in many respects a better one. And it would seem that war has made it better.

The second good result of war is one that affects the nation as a whole. It ought to be readily admitted that the German military philosophers are right when they insist that a great and living nation will never be content to mind its own business. It will always want to mind the world's business. We British have persistently done

## THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE TO WAR

so, even though we have not reduced our manner of life to a philosophy. A nation of overflowing vitality will never be satisfied simply to carry on an intensive life within its own borders. It will always want to express itself in acts which will affect the whole world. If it believes in its own convictions it will want to spread them. If it values its own civilization it will want to extend its influence. In that sense imperial ambitions are the sign of fullness of mental and spiritual life. Thousands of individuals have only just enough vitality to manage their own lives, and that with difficulty. But the men and women we most value are possessed of a certain overflow of life by reason of which they inevitably come to play a large part in the lives of others, and have energy for influence, sympathy, and love. The same is true of nations, and the nation that is great by reason of possessing this overflow of life will always desire the world for the stage of its actions.

Now war may not be the right method for a nation to employ in furthering its national ambitions, but it is at least one method, and it has the effect of knitting a whole nation in fresh bonds of fellowship and common purpose. That has been very noticeably the case with all the nations involved in this war. Each of them is doing one thing, and doing it with a unanimity and a concentration of purpose which has greatly heightened the national self-consciousness. Each has reached a plane of life above that on which it seems decent to obtrude little differences and party disagreements. Their peoples have been welded into corporate existence, and have tasted the ennobling joy that comes with the possession of a common aim.

Peace has often meant slow disintegration. When no great national business was on foot men have often forgotten the nation to which they belonged, and patriotism has sunk to the level of a mere sentiment. But war at once raises it to the level of a constraining motive for action, and so welds the citizens of the state once more into a real corporate entity.

All this side of truth has to be recognized and appre-

## THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE TO WAR

ciated before we can even begin to do any useful thinking about the ways of peace. If we are not to have war, then as Professor James once said in a famous address, we must have ' the moral equivalent of war '.

And yet surely we MUST say that we are not to have war. However true all that has been said may be, it is not the whole truth, and in view of the whole truth war must be pronounced the supreme human folly if not the supreme human crime. To be willing to surrender life is an ennobling attitude, but to be willing to take life can never be so. Indeed to take the lives of those whom we acknowledge to be the sons of God must always involve an element of sacrilege. Here at home we have been seeing the best side of warfare, for military training is nearly all good in its effects. But actual warfare does not only appeal to the greater passions of man, it lets loose also his basest passions, and probably no troops have ever come unscathed through the ordeal of victory in an enemy's country.

Further, war is now used as a method of settling great international questions, but its decisions have no necessary relation to justice. It may work for the deliverance of oppressed peoples, but it has also worked in the past to put weak nations under the heel of brutal oppressors. It is an instrument so crude and primitive that there is a certain humiliation attached to the use of it. It is beneath our self-respect to be using this method for deciding great world-wide issues.

Still further, war is cruel beyond all telling. It is nothing short of a mercy that no human heart can possibly contain a realization of all that this war has meant in suffering for the innocent. It has robbed women in hundreds of that which is dearer than life, and from thousands has taken away the chance of wifehood and motherhood. It has made uncounted children fatherless. It has already slain so many of our best that a certain temporary degeneration of the race is inevitable. It has put the heaviest burden of suffering not on those who have offered themselves for suffering, but on women,

## THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE TO WAR

children, and the aged ; and these in thousands it has made homeless. It has scattered the constructive labours of generations, and has created in our midst so much chaos and confusion as half a century will scarce suffice to undo.

Above and beyond all it has made hate common. And hate either in individual lives or in nations is always a corroding and destructive force. It is the essentially anti-social venom. It distorts the soul over which it reigns, and makes both men and women ugly and dangerous. At its touch the acquired instincts of decency and honour, which many years of moral training may have built up, often crumble away, and the savage appears again. Even white-haired and gentle ladies have sometimes become extraordinarily bloodthirsty of late. And when hate and fear make an unholy alliance together it would seem that there is hardly any power in the world which can resist their united attack. They dethrone reason, paralyse the heart, and lead to unspeakable things. They deal with civilization as angry torrents do with flower gardens.

In view of these facts there really is no case for war. Unless it can be superseded and relegated to the past of the race, we shall be for ever ashamed, and for ever shut out from the realization of our own highest ambitions. The system of thought which would retain it as a permanent element in the life of mankind is essentially the system of Antichrist.

And yet if the alternative be ' mere ' peace we nearly all hesitate. For a world filled with mild and blameless youths incapable of violence we have no taste. For a church that would wish to people the world with that type of humanity we have no patience. The big, virile, and reckless men, of whom God has made a great many, are quite clear about it. Unless they can live dangerously they have no special wish to live at all. Unless great affairs keep them on the stretch they find life unendurable for dullness.

The fact is that peace is by itself a colourless word. It may cover a life noble and true, but it may also cover



## THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE TO WAR

a life mean and narrow. Merely to desire peace does not help at all. Noble peace is a result of right ways of thinking and living. It is as it were a by-product of social health. We make no progress simply by longing for peace in the sense of the negation of war. What we have to discover is a way of life which shall seem to all healthy and wholesome souls more desirable than war. Mankind's true calling cannot involve war. But some great positive and strenuous enterprise it must involve. Both men and nations are too great in spirit to be satisfied with less. What, then, is the calling which will eliminate war and yet call into full activity all our powers ?

It is questions such as these which constrain us to ask with new meaning, ' Is Christ the Saviour of the world ? ' If He is, He must have for us the answer we are seeking. He must offer us just that conception of our race's calling which will meet the needs we have seen to be inherent in our humanity.

Now here it is probable that some Christian artists and Christian hymn-writers have done us a great disservice. Many pictures of Christ suggest an effeminate nature, and hymns about the gentle Jesus ' meek and mild ' confirm the same illusion about Him. For that reason many of the virile sons of men have never supposed for a moment that He could offer them the leadership they desire. But the more the real facts are examined the more clearly will it appear that it is Christ and no other who can offer us all that we rightly demand of life. It conveys very little of the truth to call Him the Prince of Peace. He was and is the way to peace, but only because He is first of all the way to a new greatness of life, of which peace will merely be one feature.

He did not come primarily to offer men a way to safety either in this world or the next. It was not to men's timidity that He made His appeal. It was greatness of life that He offered, and it was a greatness that involved a hundred risks. He was indeed meek Himself, but with that invincible meekness before which mere force is

## THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE TO WAR

powerless. He was perfectly selfless, but He had a passionate power over against evil, which must have been terrible to behold.

We have sometimes fixed our attention almost exclusively on His power to rescue men from sin. But He did not rescue men from sin that they might live less, but that they might live more.

And the central and essential thing in Christ's word to mankind was His summons to men to unite in establishing the Kingdom of God. The constant purpose of His teaching was to make men understand the nature of that Kingdom, and to kindle in them a flame of desire to see it made actual. It was therefore followers with the soldier spirit in them that He sought. It was men with enough greatness of spirit in them to make them able to sympathize with His world-wide purposes whom He needed. And the more His thought of the Kingdom is examined the more clearly will it be seen to be the one object the pursuit of which can unite mankind, and which can secure for our life all that is ennobling in war, as well as all that is holy in peace.

Christ did not challenge a mere Germany, He challenged the whole world, and He needs followers who will dare to stand to that challenge with Him. What He designed was that the current ways of the world should be overthrown, and that in their place the principles of the Kingdom should be established. He took up the gauntlet of every evil in the world, however firmly entrenched by custom or by greed. He proposed to men the ways of brotherhood instead of the ways of strife, and in so doing He brought Himself into conflict with the elements in human life which had seemed most permanent and impregnable. It was a quite correct instinct that once made some Jews say of His followers that they were men who would turn the world upside down. It was His faith that God made the world to be the stage of a life dominated and made beautiful by the principle of brotherhood, and in the name of God He asked for followers who would live and, if need be, die in the effort to overthrow whatever denies our brotherhood.

## THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE TO WAR

He had the whole massive might of money against Him, and from the first singled it out as the arch-enemy of the Kingdom.

He had militarism against Him. For to militarism then, as now, nothing is sacred. He could only reign by overcoming all who delight in war.

He had all the cunning and all the timidity of ecclesiastical organizations against Him, for with their characteristic fear of what is new they dreaded the changes for which He called.

He had the serried ranks of the sensual against Him, and dared to call for a degree and quality of purity which men of the world have always declared to be impossible.

He had all the corruptions of government against Him, and all the prejudices of class and caste. He had whatever is mean and whatever is small in our humanity against Him, and before the end He had the clamour of the populace against Him. And the same foes still oppose all who would have any real part in His campaign. Still they must learn to possess their souls in quietness, though men shout against them. Still they must daily stand before the menace of the world's most deadly powers.

To follow Him, then, may mean peace, but it certainly does not mean mere peace. As a matter of fact His discipleship is so much more like war, that the New Testament is full of military metaphors. It is peace in the sense that it involves no military activity, but it has in it all the thrills that come with essentially great business, and all the fullness of life that comes with danger.

We have seen that one of the great things war does for men is to compel them to rise above their own personal interests, and forget themselves in a great cause. But the service of the Kingdom does this in an even greater measure. Christ's terms are that a man shall lay down his life, and in this service there is no age for retirement. He paraded the fact that suffering, hardship, torture, and even death might be the portion of His followers, and yet still He called on men to enlist. Houses, lands, comforts, relations, worldly prospects, health, and even

## THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE TO WAR

life itself were to be put in a second place. Never did any leader dare to ask so much. But the Kingdom cannot be built by any men less desperately in earnest. It requires all that is most virile and most daring in humanity for its realization. Here indeed is scope for the man who wants to live with his life in his hands, and who rejoices when the risks come thick.

As a matter of fact, the men who in the early days of Christianity responded to its demands rose into a fullness of manhood, and a greatness of spirit which no military warfare has ever bestowed upon its servants. In them self-obliteration reached almost to the point of perfection. They were the great personalities of their time.

No doubt it will seem to some strange and even possibly fantastic that such claims should be made for the Christian life. Do we not know it, they will say, and is it not a very safe, tame, and prosaic affair as nowadays exhibited? But that is only because most of those who now profess to walk in that way have proclaimed a truce with their enemies and are total strangers to the real rigours of their calling. When we again begin to take Christ seriously, and have the courage to burst through the trammels of conventional Christianity and rediscover the real Christian life, we shall find that it still involves a willingness to submit to discipline, and calls for all the alertness of being and all the control over selfish impulse, which now we admire so much in our soldiers. There is probably no man in any country under heaven who is not confronted both in his own nature and in the society around him with so many of the enemies of the Kingdom that if he would honestly accept their challenge he would find himself involved in the kind of warfare that lifts personality to its highest levels.

It may indeed be admitted that there is a certain kind of excitement which nothing but actual fighting can produce. To be trying to kill a man who is at the same time trying to kill you is an experience quite unique, and no doubt produces crowded hours of very intense life. Probably there are deep-seated animal

## THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE TO WAR

instincts in us all which cannot find complete satisfaction in anything else. But is not that just the part of warfare which we can without any loss afford to dispense with? Is not man's craving for that kind of excitement just one of those cravings which must be exorcized in the interests of civilization? The passion to kill is just one of the passions for which there can be no place in man's true life. And for the rest there is no great result of war on character which cannot be otherwise attained. It does not need military fighting to expose men to ennobling risks and to educe a fine hardihood of spirit. It does not need battle to develop the 'sporting' side of man's nature. In man's perpetual war with nature all the possibilities that we need in this direction are offered us. The qualities we are now thinking of are developed in the men of a score of necessary callings. The men before the mast and the men on the bridge, the men who fish in deep seas, the men who master the air, and the men who drive our trains—all these have their beings knit and their spirits disciplined in just the way which our military enthusiasts desire.

And when we really believe in brotherhood we shall insist that these labours be made in a new way common to man. The discipline they involve may not be needed for all men, but there are probably few professional or commercial men who would not be better men if at one time they had had to go through a curriculum of the sort of hardship these occupations involve. When we become serious about developing hardihood in all our citizens we shall probably insist upon something of the nature of a conscription for labour. We shall see to it that our youths all get the chance to have their manhood toughened by exposure to danger, and by having to acquire physical fitness and resource. We shall hold no man really fitted for citizenship who remains soft either physically or morally, and shall organize our life in view of that conviction.

We shall do this, moreover, not because having reluctantly given up war we shall want to keep something

## THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE TO WAR

rather like it, but because when we give our whole minds to the great Christian adventure we shall discover that it demands the sort of men who have been trained in that school of hardihood. We shall realize that men and women who have not had their laziness and their inconstancy of purpose and their self-will cleansed out of them are of no account for Christ's great enterprise. We shall rediscover that following Christ always means carrying a cross, and that the timid and the undisciplined people of the world cannot carry it. When we face seriously the tasks with which our present social condition confronts us we shall realize that they are not to be grappled with effectively except by bodies of men and women who shall be willing to submit to a discipline as real as that of the army. Our present bands of voluntary workers, who hold themselves free to work or not to work according to passing inclination, have been beaten so far by the enemy, and bands of that nature always will be beaten. If we are ever to achieve victory in the battles of social progress, it will need all the concentration of the national will and all the unanimity of purpose which have been produced in us by the challenge of Germany.

For Christ's sake we shall have to accept bonds. To get His business done we shall have to be willing to come under orders. He calls for a disciplined and an ordered host. And when we have found our places in such a host and begun to face the real rigours of His discipleship we shall find out with joy and probably with amazement how great and sweet life is when it has been laid down.

Finally, it has to be realized that Christianity suggests to men the only true imperialism. Christ offers to nations also all that they may rightly desire in the way of an outlet for their energies. He does definitely claim world-dominion, and He does propose to the nations that acknowledge Him tasks of world-wide significance. Only He is different from all other imperial leaders in that He imposes nothing. He cares for no allegiance that is not freely offered. He would be Lord

## THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE TO WAR

everywhere, but only by the choice of free men. None of His benefits can be forced on unwilling recipients. And yet He does need the service of nations for the fulfilling of His will. He would indeed say to nations just what He says to individuals, that they must not regard themselves as the end of their living, but must make themselves the servants of mankind. Whenever any nation, by the exercise of its peculiar genius, has attained to some measure of success in the art of enriching or ennobling our civilization, then immediately it becomes possessed of something which it must hold in trust for the world. For the ultimate glory of His Kingdom Christ needs all the glories and honours which all the nations can bring into it, and when it is built each nation will then have its life enriched by contributions from all the other nations.

When nations come to understand the great Christian adventure, and learn that in pursuing it they will find their own highest life, then war will drop out of the world's life just as swords are dropped by men who want to paint, or make music, or tend gardens, or write poetry. It will seem so mean an interruption to life's real business that men will refuse to debase themselves with it. Then, indeed, there will be peace in the smaller sense, but only because the world will be full of the noise and the joy of the warfare of God. It is Christ and Christ alone who can offer to men something so great that for the sake of it they will forgo the joy of battle.

Some who have read these pages and realized the claim here made for the Christian religion, will probably want to say, 'These things may possibly be true of the religion of Jesus, but they are not true of the religion of the ordinary Church member as we know him or her.' Possibly some will want to declare with some heat that they see no resemblance between the easy-going, languid thing that now passes for Christianity and the strenuous life of warfare pictured in this pamphlet. They may even add that the nominal Christians whom they know are so far

## THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE TO WAR

from being willing to pick up the gauntlet of the world that they are past masters at the art of compromising between Christian principles and those of ordinary society.

No one can possibly have a more oppressive sense of the truth of such contentions than the writer of these pages. If we Christians are to be honest we must admit that we have not been as those who are called to a great campaign. We are being put to shame every day just now by the thoroughness with which men go about their business, who never pretended to any interest in Christ. Tested by their intensity of purpose, we stand convicted of having done little more than play with our business. So far from composing disciplined and well-ordered bodies of servants we have as individuals been often so touchy, so petty, and so unmanageable, that our Churches have been devoid of power. We have claimed that the spirit of the Lord is a great spirit, and that it is given freely to all who ask for it, but for ourselves we have remained year after year timid, small in purpose, and without any note of authority in our witness.

The life we have thus showed to the world is NOT a desirable alternative to war. It is not conceivable that for the sake of anything so anaemic men will lay down their swords.

This war is saying a hundred impressive things in its own tragic way. But among them all surely this is for Christ's followers the most solemn—that if we are to help the world to see that in the following of Christ and not in strife lies its health, its joy, and its fullness of life, then indeed we shall have to rise to a new type of discipleship. We shall have to embark ourselves on the great adventure from which we have hitherto so largely shrunk. We shall have to enlist with a soldier's thoroughness under Him who still says to all would-be recruits, 'If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow Me.'

Without that cross Christianity is *not* the great adventure. With that cross it makes war seem a mean and petty business.



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2. That the war is none the less an outcome and a revelation of the un-Christian principles which have dominated the life of Western Christendom and of which both the Church and the nations have need to repent ;
3. That followers of Christ, as members of the Church, are linked to one another in a fellowship which transcends all divisions of nationality or race ;
4. That the Christian duties of love and forgiveness are as binding in time of war as in time of peace ;
5. That Christians are bound to recognize the insufficiency of mere compulsion for overcoming evil and to place supreme reliance upon spiritual forces and in particular upon the power and method of the Cross ;
6. That only in proportion as Christian principles dictate the terms of settlement will a real and lasting peace be secured ;
7. That it is the duty of the Church to make an altogether new effort to realize and apply to all the relations of life its own positive ideal of brotherhood and fellowship ;
8. That with God all things are possible.

## CHARIOTS OF FIRE

LOOKING over the files of newspapers since the beginning of August, it is pathetic to see how many of our anticipations of a speedy victory have been falsified, and how many cocksure headlines, even in the sanest paper, testify that the wish is father to the thought. But there is nothing more pathetic than to read of the hopes of *moral* conquest with which we reassured our consciences. This was the War to end Militarism; the Last War, most frequently the War against War. It is plain that the desire for this was as sincere as it was general. German papers buoyed up their readers with the same promise. How different is the tone to-day! We have seen more clearly what war means and we find honour billeted with some menacing problems for its bedfellows. Italy, chivalrous nation though she really is, may join in when it is clearer who will be victorious, and it is her own interests she will seek. Japan has aroused anxious questionings by her *apologia* for retaining Tsing-tau and by the pressure she has put upon China while other hands were occupied. Finland seems to find it difficult to accept Russia as one of the knights-errant of outraged nationality. Serbia has suffered with a noble courage that must of itself bring atonement; but who can be sure that the best elements in the nation will guide her diplomacy? The kind of bait offered to the other Balkan States to draw them into the struggle arouses some misgiving as to the influences which will dictate a settlement. Worst of all, we begin to suspect the existence within ourselves of exactly the same possibilities for evil as we fear in others. Is our sense of honour stronger than our self-interest? Is there any strong assurance that we shall suppress the tendencies and policies in Britain which help to keep war smouldering on? Military victory may bring moral defeat. That is why our journalists are less confident, and why there is growing upon us the suspicion that the

## CHARIOTS OF FIRE

settlement will defy the ingenuity of man. To do them credit, our statesmen for the most part are sparing of brave words about the future that is to be. They know how many are the rocks ahead.

One thing, however, it is now possible to say with confidence ; the genuineness and finality of the settlement must depend on the domination of the moral factor. The very utmost that we must hope from this war is that we may successfully resist aggression, and perhaps demonstrate even to the Germans that militarism does not pay. Force cannot create a temper inclined to peace, and the problem is how to create it. It is true that we may hope a good deal from the failure of the military machine to give to the German multitudes the security promised by its originators and advocates. Kicking against the pricks has before now disposed a soul to conversion, and God often uses failure to bring a man or a people to repentance and common sense. But even for this there must be other conditions besides force.

One of these is clear enough, though it is negative. Force must not be pressed to the point where it is felt to be a cruelty and a humiliation. Both these terms, and especially humiliation, require a certain amount of definition ; for a nation which has set out to grasp the leadership of Europe and to crush the peoples into the mould of its own arbitrary ideal must accept a certain sort of humbling as the price of failure. If Germany has set her heart upon a Germanic domination of Europe, and is humiliated as long as she, like others, is the servant of the common weal, then sooner or later humiliation must be her portion. It is unthinkable that she should retain Belgium, and justice will cry out upon us unless in Belgium and Northern France she is compelled to repair the ruin she has caused with so wilful a calculation. There may be other items in the sentence passed upon her ; to say nothing of the casualty lists, the loss of foreign trade, and the despite done to every German reputation by outrages on land and by the murder of non-combatants at sea ; but when we say that Germany should not be



## CHARIOTS OF FIRE

humiliated, we mean that war should not be carried to such a point, nor should such terms be imposed, as will drive the quietest and kindest of her people into a passionate struggle for redress.

However negative our first condition may be, it commits us to a second condition, which is positive and far-reaching : a final settlement must depend upon the will of Germany ; in other words, Germany must reform herself.

All our proverbs about taking horses to the water, and our insistence at the time of the Jameson Raid that we would ' beat our own dogs ', should remind us that the temper of a nation can never be changed by any outside compulsion, but only by the free choice of the nation itself. Indeed, any undue interference from without is more than likely to harden the very tendencies we wish to cleanse away. This can be stated in concrete political terms. If after such enormous sacrifices to their demands the militarist party should fail, if the sword should break in the hands of Germany, it is to be hoped that other elements among the German people will come to power. Others besides the Social Democrats are beginning to be distrustful of the policy that has brought their country to this pass. But on the other hand, if we convince such men that the Allies are seeking to destroy the chance of German progress and cripple her expansion once for all, we shall take away from them the will, and by the same stroke the power, to lead their country in a new path. That settlement, therefore, will be most permanently effective which breaks the power of the military party without embittering the better elements among the German people. God will see to their judgement for the way they used their votes in the past ; it is politic for us to help them to vote rightly in the future. And it is politic mainly because it is Christian.

There is a third condition, which must be lightly touched. It is futile to think of conducting the reform of Germany in isolation from the rest of Europe. Suppose that we succeeded, the moral condition of the rest of Europe,

## CHARIOTS OF FIRE

including ourselves, would drag her back. She is by no means the only enemy of peace. Is Russia entirely without fault? Are we to pretend that our Allies in the Balkan States, present and prospective, have no need of repentance? Does not the mention of the Balkan States remind us that it is easier to begin a war by mutual agreement than to end it in mutual honour, and that on a larger scale we may see, and perhaps be dragged into, dissensions or actual conflict like that secondary Balkan war which scandalized the world? Do we forget our own history of conquest, sometimes by means ill to defend before standards of to-day? And have we not still among us those who are always urging Britain to extend this or that sphere of influence? Have we no regret for the challenge of our navy, and still more for the way in which certain of our statesmen have boasted of our Dreadnoughts and our guns? Let us once more remind ourselves that the fear of Russia on the one hand, and of the British Navy on the other, has been used by the militarists of Germany to persuade the more peaceful elements that they must be prepared to hack their way through. We hear that the general attitude of the better minds of Germany to the Zabern incident, for example, was something like this: 'We hate this kind of military insolence as much as you would, but the officers demand it and it is the price we pay them for our protection.' Violence is the child of fear, and war will persist as long as the power of one nation can be regarded as a threat to another. The victory of the Allies, when it is secured, will be a vain achievement if we stop there. What we want is a stupendous change—nothing less than a new Europe, a Europe in which men realize with Romain Rolland that civilization is their true Fatherland and that the nations are its handmaids.<sup>1</sup> But we shall only found that commonwealth

<sup>1</sup> 'J'entends défendre dans chaque peuple (ami ou ennemi) ce qu'il y a de grand et de bon: car c'est le trésor commun de l'humanité civilisée tout entière, qui est ma vraie patrie.' *Cambridge Magazine*, Dec. 5, 1914.

## CHARIOTS OF FIRE

as all the nations in willing unison bring into it their honour and their glory, as to Zion of old.

Now it is plain that the forces against any settlement of this kind are enormous. Some of these have been hinted at already, but the real opposition will come from distempers of the spirit. It is these that lie at the root of all the manifestations which distress us. So much of the world, so much of our own world, is selfish and apparently beyond the reach of ideal considerations. It has been a little disappointing in the last few days to read the attacks upon Dr. Lyttelton for his address at St. Margaret's. The patronizing admonitions of papers usually sympathetic to the search for a Christian ethic have been almost harder to bear. Here was an attempt to put Britain on fair terms, not with Germany, but with the rest of the world, an attempt to show the sort of policy which we must follow if we are to prove ourselves sincere in fighting against the German passion for dominion, and, behold, an outcry bursts forth from every side that the Head Master of Eton is pro-German! Is it impossible for us to apply to ourselves the measure we mete out to others? Dr. Lyttelton's whole thought was tentative; is it a sort of treachery even to discuss the future? If it be stated that such a speech does harm in Germany, what must we say of much 'patriotic' speaking and writing, which strengthens the resistance of all good Germans by convincing them that we aim at nothing less than the root and branch destruction of their Fatherland? What of the articles which alarm other nations by their unconscious revelation of the selfishness of certain of our 'imperial' thinking? Certainly many who held their peace were grateful that a prominent man should be so outspoken and that the country should be forced to think. But the fact that such an appeal to British fairness was so easily misunderstood, shows how reluctant are many minds among us to examine the practical bearing of the ideals we profess. At the same time we must admit that the achievement we seek is stupendous, and can only be secured by an immense concentration

## CHARIOTS OF FIRE

of moral force. When we look at the opposition and then at the task, we see at once that on the ordinary planes of political argument there is little to encourage.

But are we restricted to the ordinary plane? We stand before a disaster beyond precedent; is it impossible to believe that the moral forces it generates will also be unprecedented, that it may usher in a new epoch?

I once travelled through one of the driest and sandiest plains of Northern China. Where the country was left to itself, the sand was encroaching all the time on the better soil. Yet the cultivated areas were peculiarly fertile. The secret lay in the fact that a very short way below the surface there was a fine water-bearing stratum. All the day and almost all the night the irrigation wheel brought up water, and the stream ran hither and thither like a thing alive. On the surface there was no hope or promise, yet it was only necessary to drive down to strata below to conquer the desert and turn barrenness to brilliant green. That is exactly our case at the present crisis. We must drive down to new planes of spiritual experience, and when we do, we shall find the water waiting for us.

Now to any Christian it is a matter of mere intuition that the water we need to find and draw, is the power of God. The Christian believes that there is no crisis beyond the reach of that power, and that at such a time as this we may regard it as only normal that God should say, 'Now will I arise, now will I lift up myself, now will I be exalted.' The central fact of this whole cataclysm is that God will still the storm and use its devastations for His own great purposes. Even amid the barren brutalities of a world at war we may draw the refreshment we need from the 'wells of deliverance'.

But upon this central subject others have written better than I. The purpose of this paper is to encourage and support such a faith by showing that the power of God is even now working among men in order to prepare the way for those moral changes by which alone our great object may be gained. Some of us do not find

## CHARIOTS OF FIRE

it easy to grasp religion except through the medium of some earthly example. Talk to us of God Himself and it all seems very abstract ; but our hearts leap to Him when we see some man ranging himself on God's side. The servant of the prophet saw no help for his master until his eyes were opened and he saw the chariots of fire. For the ordinary man that is the way in which God becomes plain ; indeed, it was to appeal to such that our Lord took flesh and dwelt with us ; there was no other way for the ordinary man to know God.

Let us, then, attempt to review some of the main evidences that a spirit is abroad which will help to create a great commonwealth of united civilization, the embodiment of Christianity in the life of the nations. We shall find much cause for encouragement.

In the first place there is the fact that the strongest appeal to undertake and prosecute the war is the appeal of right. Self-interest may jump with morality, and in some quarters we read Jingo arguments which would match anything in Bernhardi ; yet, speaking broadly, it is the argument of duty towards an injured people that has reconciled a peace-loving country to participation, and sent the best of the young men of England to the fighting they have been brought up to hate. Nor does this apply only to those claiming to be swayed by duty. Many of our soldiers would be shy of admitting that the argument from justice had much to do with their desire to serve their country, and yet it is safe to say that of this very type few would have volunteered if they had not felt subconsciously that right was on the side of adventure or pride of country or whatever else made them enlist. To say that many German soldiers feel in the same way, so far from exploding our argument, is rather a cause for encouragement. That they should apply moral standards to facts misunderstood makes them more dangerous as foes, and how they can square their belief with their conduct passes our understanding ; yet an immature, or even a mistaken, belief in goodness contains the promise of a new day.

## CHARIOTS OF FIRE

Second of the causes for hope is that among the representative classes of this country we have seen so little sign of hatred, as compared with what might have been expected. We may discount this by saying that we have not as yet realized all that this war might mean to us, or that it is merely a sense of good form which restrains us; but we shall misrepresent the facts unless we realize that there is something of present moment and future promise in the comparative absence of bitterness against Germany. That this should be so does not in the least detract from our determination; it only means that we realize that we shall have to live with Germany in the future, and that it is not worth while to work ourselves up to a hatred which would make that more difficult.

Third, and closely related to the second, comes the freedom which has been allowed to the discussion of the moral problem of war generally and of the justice of our intervention in this war. Many impatient patriots have been grievously offended, but the freedom to criticize national policy is part of the very thing we are fighting for. It is this which puts France, the United States, or England in the first list of civilized peoples, and to suppress free speech, except in its most licentious form, is to seek for victory at the price of all that makes it worth having.

No chill of doubt, therefore, will mar our thankfulness that so much latitude has been given to the critic of policy and to the enemy of all war. It has been interesting to see papers like the *Manchester Guardian* straining every nerve to secure recruits, and at the same time finding space to report the utterances of those who condemned the Government, or deemed fighting wrong under all circumstances. The courageous way in which the *Challenge* has published letters of the same character, though itself loyally supporting the country, and the robust conviction of the editor of the *Cambridge Magazine* that a university journal should give a hearing to all sides, have found not a little approval from the officers in the trenches. Happily the papers mentioned are but conspicuous instances. Again, it is good to recognize that in the pulpit we have men brave

## CHARIOTS OF FIRE

enough to question accepted ideas. It is good that the Head Master of Eton should force us to consider whether we shall be wise to continue to challenge all other nations by holding the keys of every sea. We have taken refuge too often behind the benevolence of our intentions ; we shall only meet the inevitable criticism of neutrals, and even of Allies, when we show that we too are prepared to take risks and make sacrifices for the equal commonwealth of nations. Dr. Lyttelton's words have done their work, despite the outcry against them. Wherever pulpit and press have been faithful and broadminded, this too will be an asset when we come to the reconstruction of European relations.

In the fourth place we may say with little fear of contradiction that on the average the young are far more sensitive to the scandal of war than are their elders. It is partly that they are not so inured to the general folly and wickedness of human society, as we have organized it, and partly that they have not lost the power to dream ; their thinking, too, is clarified by the fact that they may have to back their opinions with their lives, just because a system for which they are not responsible has lacked the moral conviction needful to find a less clumsy method of settling disputes. But whatever the cause, it is impossible to avoid the impression that, for all its wonderful readiness to fight, the younger generation is not satisfied with the conditions predisposing to war, or willing to accept as its mouthpiece the spluttering patriotisms of clubs and drawing-rooms. Please God, when the time for settlement comes, the young will not be silent.

Fifth, we have much to hope from those who have seen the actual devastation which war involves. All those who have harboured Belgian refugees, must have felt it to be intolerable that a nation should be overrun without provocation, and harried without the possibility of appeal. Those who have watched the work of relief in Holland, and still more in Belgium itself, have imbibed a horror for all war which they will keep till their dying day.

## CHARIOTS OF FIRE

Miss Evelyn Sharp tells of a wounded cavalryman who

had seen only two men fetched out alive from a company of eleven, smothered in the falling wall of a trench in which a 'Black Maria' had exploded; and in spite of everything was ready to go back if necessary, but dreaded it all the same—true courage here!—and said emphatically: 'There mustn't never be another war—there mustn't never be another.'

There should be an army of workers for brotherhood who in our ambulances and hospitals have seen the wastage of human life and marked how often the noblest are taken first. Nor must we forget the Red Cross workers of our social order, the men and women who have toiled to provide work for all their workpeople, those who have taken on their shoulders the laborious duty of befriending soldiers' and sailors' wives, the settlement workers, the honest politicians and economists—the people, in short, who live for the sake of others. In this war they have had a practical lesson as to the delicacy of our economic organization, and though to a careless eye we seem to have weathered the storm easily, they know how near it came to universal devastation, and they are not anxious that their own or any country should run the risk again.

Sixth, there is the illustration of social unity for a great purpose. We have accepted as a matter of course limitations or demands which before we thought impossible. To some extent vested interests have been swept aside in the emergency; surely for proven need they may be swept aside again, and to a far fuller degree. It would be easy to quote words of British leaders, but there is much hope in the letter of a German soldier quoted in the *Berliner Tageblatt*:

Shall we once more allow German fathers to fight for home and fatherland without taking reasonable care to guarantee them a portion in the soil they have won in conflict and in blood? Or will the men and women in leading positions have the courage and moral sensitiveness to face and shoulder the responsibility of the German home and the German family? That is the question which will settle the future of the German



## CHARIOTS OF FIRE

kingdom after the war. Oh, mother, this anxiety weighs on me and many a comrade more heavily than the question whether I or the man to the right or left shall get home alive and sound. Believe me, the fight here at the front means less in personal courage than to fight in peace time for truth, right, moral freedom, and unity in spiritual things.

The hand that wrote these words will never write again, but the thought is one which men from the trenches will reiterate in all the fighting countries; when, even in Britain, so large a fraction of the population has been taken to serve the country, we shall not be able to refuse them a fuller right to live. But all experience shows that a genuine democracy cannot afford to tolerate the unbrotherly conditions which make for war—the belief in humanity within the nation involves a belief in humanity outside the nation—and here, too, there is room for high hope.

Finally and chiefly, in the attempt to Christianize the life of Europe we may look to find support from the armies engaged. Whether it be continental conscription or a voluntary response on the immense scale which we have seen in Britain, the present conflict has this great advantage that it calls to the colours the peaceable as well as the pugnacious, hotheads and thinkers alike. At no time in the past have armies been so qualified to gauge the rightness and reasonableness of war; at no time in the past has war been so challenging in its absurdity; at no time has the moral factor been so palpably outclassed by the mechanical. There is abundant evidence that outspoken condemnation of war is nowhere so approved as among the men who train or who fight. To start with, they seem to regard hate as waste of time and energy. A minister writes:

I have on my table letters from almost every camp in England, from Scotland, Egypt, and 'the front'. I search in vain for one bitter or angry word against Germany. The nearest approach . . . is the hope of one that 'he may soon . . . be sent across to strike a blow for the liberties of the nations'.

## CHARIOTS OF FIRE

Or here is the postcard of a German cavalry captain printed in a Berlin paper :

It is a remarkable phenomenon that, except at the outbreak of the war, hatred and contempt are not to be found at the front, but exclusively at home. We at the front do our duty, and respect the enemy who does the same.

On Christmas Day men behaved like brothers, and we are amazed because the reconciliation seems to have been so spontaneous. But surely it is only one more reminder that brotherhood, not conflict, is the natural relation of man to man.

Our soldiers and sailors have seen, too, what war involves ; do we think that the officer of the *Sydney* who went through ' the dreadful job of getting the badly wounded into the boats ' from the *Emden*, and then saw indescribable things along the decks which ' made her like a shambles ', will not be anxious to prepare for peace, if human wisdom can do it ? A subaltern in a Scots regiment was killed on October 18. Two days earlier he wrote home telling how they had been thanked by the Commander of the Division for their grit and courage :

I advanced to a cemetery and stayed there most of the day. It is a beastly thing to have to do, digging trenches among graves and pulling down crosses . . . to make room. One feels that something is wrong when a man lies down behind a child's grave to shoot at a bearded German, who has probably got a family anxiously awaiting his return at home. . . . It was a miserable day. . . . There was a large crucifix at one end. The sight of the bullets chipping Christ's image about, and the knowledge of what He had done for us and the Germans, and what we were doing to His consecrated ground and each other, made one feel sick of the whole war (or sicker than before). . . . The last I saw of that place was the shattered crucifix standing up against the dawn, and the glare of a score of burning homesteads all around.

He has gone, with others of our bravest, but we shall have the same message from many of those who return. Has there ever been a war which has so revolted the combatants ?

## CHARIOTS OF FIRE

There are very wonderful stories of the chivalry of foe to foe. The letters of our own men often give proof of a spirit which would have warmed the heart of Sir Philip Sidney, and every now and then we come upon an instance of self-sacrifice on the German side which cannot fail to bind the nations in brotherhood. There is that story of the German on the stretcher going down to the field hospital with a strip of coarse paper pinned on his breast bearing these words in French: 'Look after this man well; he saved seven of our fellows.'

But as regards the essential humanity which reveals itself in war nothing has spoken more clearly than the letter of the French cavalry officer to his American fiancée, written on the battlefield and found by his body. He tells how he had been wounded in the chest and lost consciousness; then he goes on:

There are two other men lying near me, and I do not think there is much hope for them either. One is an officer of a Scottish regiment and the other is a private in the Uhlans. They were struck down after me, and when I came to myself I found them bending over me rendering first aid. The Britisher was pouring water down my throat from his flask, while the German was endeavouring to staunch my wound with an antiseptic preparation served out to them by their medical corps. The Highlander had one of his legs shattered, and the German had several pieces of shrapnel buried in his side. In spite of their own sufferings they were trying to help me, and when I was fully conscious again, the German gave us a morphia injection and took one himself. . . .

After the injection, feeling wonderfully at ease, we spoke of the lives we had lived before the war. We all spoke English, and we talked of the women we had left at home. Both the German and the Britisher had only been married a year. . . . I wondered, and I suppose the others did, why we had fought at all.

Brotherhood is only waiting for those who have the courage to believe it possible.

Some at least of the Germans have seen it. A captain of the Prussian Guards bearing the honoured name of

## CHARIOTS OF FIRE

the late ambassador to London, Marschall von Biberstein, before he died wrote to the *Friedenswarte* from the trenches the following record of his conviction :

Mankind must learn to conquer war ! It is not true that peace is only a dream, unbeautiful even as a dream; there must, there will come a time which will know war no more, and that time will mark a great advance on our own.

That is the lesson the trenches are teaching, and it all comes back to the passionate bad grammar of the cavalryman in hospital, 'There mustn't never be another war—there mustn't never be another.' As of old the armies will cast their swords into the scale, but this time it will be to secure a civilization superior to the sword.

These, then, are the fiery chariots God is preparing for His people. The issue between militarism and mutual trust will be sternly fought, and it will be long before selfishness and insularity give way to brotherhood. But Evil can never summon to its side such powers as those of which we have spoken. The chariots of fire will win the victory in God's own time.

He who gives us the help of others asks from us in turn all the strength we can muster ourselves. We shall find the enemy within ourselves, and those who are most convinced of the folly of war will find it hard to keep its spirit from rising again in their hearts. A writer in the *Manchester Guardian*, at the conclusion of an article on the Christmas truce, reminds us of this :

Allies as well as Germans, and even the bravest who have just been fearfully tried and cleansed in the fire of the trenches, are all better at catching glimpses than at following them.

Can we follow the glimpses we have received ? Can we mobilize the force for the making of a new world in ourselves and in others ? If we can, we may be sure of the power of God : if not, the struggle which costs us our bravest is likely to leave the moral condition of Europe little better than before.

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HENRI LAMBERT

INDUSTRIEL À CHARLEROI (BELGIQUE)

MEMBRE TITULAIRE DE LA SOCIÉTÉ D'ÉCONOMIE POLITIQUE DE PARIS

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This series of Papers is issued under the auspices of a Committee drawn from various Christian bodies and political parties, and is based on the following convictions :

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2. That the war is none the less an outcome and a revelation of the un-Christian principles which have dominated the life of Western Christendom and of which both the Church and the nations have need to repent ;
3. That followers of Christ, as members of the Church, are linked to one another in a fellowship which transcends all divisions of nationality or race ;
4. That the Christian duties of love and forgiveness are as binding in time of war as in time of peace ;
5. That Christians are bound to recognize the insufficiency of mere compulsion for overcoming evil, and to place supreme reliance upon spiritual forces and in particular upon the power and method of the Cross ;
6. That only in proportion as Christian principles dictate the terms of settlement will a real and lasting peace be secured ;
7. That it is the duty of the Church to make an altogether new effort to realize and apply to all the relations of life its own positive ideal of brotherhood and fellowship ;
8. That with God all things are possible.

## THE ETHICS OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE

*'The making of peace is to be desired and to be regarded as a blessing, when it can insure us against the suspicious designs of our neighbours, when it creates no new danger and brings the promise of future tranquillity. But if the making of peace is to produce the very opposite of all this, then, for all its deceptive title, it is no better than the continuation of a ruinous war.'*—GUICCIARDINI.

### I

IN the present circumstances it is very difficult to preserve that international attitude of mind which alone can enable us to regard the questions at issue from the point of view of the general interests of Europe and of the world, without allowing ourselves to be influenced by the passions and prejudices that are inseparable from the particular interests of nationalities. And yet such a frame of mind is indispensable for any one who wishes to have any prospect of finding in a just and permanent form that solution of the European problem that he is concerned to seek. Nor is it any the less necessary, if we restrict our aim to the search for a pacifist adjustment that can invite the careful consideration and the goodwill of all the parties interested.

The international situation of to-day is due to a series of special circumstances affecting the interests of nationalities. National psychology is a factor which has played in it a part, the importance of which neither is nor can be contested. But the real 'causes', the original and deep-seated causes, were of a far more general character, connected with the very nature and necessity of things.

## THE ETHICS OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE

Any 'pacifist' conception that can hope to offer, side by side with the theoretic principles of a complete and final human agreement, a practical means of putting an end to the work of ruin and extermination that threatens European civilization, must be inspired by a consideration of these ultimate causes: it must stand entirely aloof from all pre-occupation with particular national interests; it must consequently belong rather to the sphere of philosophy than to that of politics.

The war will of necessity be followed by a peace, but the universal and permanent peace, that each of the belligerents declares to be the supreme result to be attained by this war, will not be the achievement of superiority of arms, nor of skilful strategy, nor, alas! of the bravery of soldiers: these forces will only be capable of imposing a temporary peace, consisting in the subjection and oppression of the conquered. A peace worthy of the name and worthy of true civilization will be the achievement of the thought of those who shall succeed in furnishing a conception of the mutual rights of nations, in accordance with true justice. Universal and permanent peace will be established upon the basis of justice—or never at all.

### II

True justice in international relations is before all and fundamentally a policy that favours the economic development of all nations, without excluding any. No doubt the production of wealth is not the supreme aim and object assigned to humanity, and economic prosperity can never provide the consummation of the edifice of human progress; but it does provide its foundation and also its material structure, and the right of every nation incessantly to consolidate and build up this edifice is inalienable. And since the growth of the material prosperity of nations is the very condition that renders possible their moral and intellectual advance—for we cannot conceive of true civilization as a product of mere poverty—their right to the fullest economic development compatible

## THE ETHICS OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE

with the wealth of their soil and their own capacity for useful effort is a right that is natural and infeasible—a divine right. Now the economic development of a nation is inseparable from the constantly extending operations of its exchanges with other nations. Exchange is thus seen to be *de facto* and *de jure* essential in international relations. Every political hindrance to exchange is a blow dealt to international rights. Freedom of exchange will thus be the tangible manifestation and the infallible test of a condition of true justice in the relations between different peoples. And in default of this, international right—and pacifism, which stands or falls with it—will continue to lack a real and solid foundation.

Peace will be assured by law when nations realize and put into practice their true international rights, that are characterized by freedom of trade and are thus susceptible of recognition by all because they respect the primary interests of all.<sup>1</sup>

Until international rights and international justice are one and indissoluble, humanity will continue to experience only periods of more or less precarious peace, necessarily dependent upon the will and the interests of those nations that have force at their disposal.

We must not lose sight of the fact that, under modern conditions of war, only those nations that can command great economic resources can be very powerful in arms. Now it is certain that these nations will finally come to insist upon freedom of trade. Progress cannot be coerced; failing of its normal fulfilment through the agency of ideas, it would attain its realization by force.

Moreover, it is only freedom of international trade that can give to a nation's industries that stability and security of outlets that is indispensable to them; whilst in the absence of such security powerful nations that are careful of their future neither can, nor should, consent to abandon the conception of economic prosperity guaranteed or

<sup>1</sup> As we shall indicate later, freedom of trade will gradually simplify and facilitate, to the extent of making them at last perfectly natural, the solutions of the difficult, and probably otherwise insoluble, problems that arise from the affinities of nations in race, character, and language.

## THE ETHICS OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE

protected by military power. Whatever objections may be urged to this conception, there is no doubt that the great nations and their governments will never consent to abandon it until they are confronted by the final establishment of international economic security. Tariff restrictions are the worst obstacles to the advent of that true civilization, which is to be revealed by the 'peace of disarmament'. Such a civilization and such a peace will only be possible under the conditions of economic justice and security that will result from free trade.

Cobden said : ' Free trade is the best peacemaker.' We may confidently affirm : ' Free trade is *the* peacemaker.'

### III

The pacifists have not sufficiently insisted upon this truth, of *primary importance*, that economic interests are, to an ever increasing extent, the cause and the aim of international politics, and that protection separates these interests and brings them into mutual opposition, whereas free trade would tend to unite and consolidate them.

For the vast majority of individuals, harmony of sentiment can only arise from harmony or solidarity of interests, and whatever unanimity may exist between them, harmony of sentiment will not withstand for long the shock of antagonistic interests. Is it not inevitably the same with national sentiment ?

' Immediately after the Independence War, the thirteen United States of America indulged themselves in the costly luxury of an internecine tariff war . . . and, at one time, war between Vermont, New Hampshire, and New York seemed all but inevitable.'<sup>1</sup> Did not we see, some years ago, the vine-growers of the Aube determined to declare civil war upon those of the Marne, because an attempt had been made to establish economic and protective frontiers between these two districts ? Is it conceivable that, in the present industrial epoch, peace should

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Oliver, quoted by Lord Cromer in a report to the *International Free Trade Congress* of Antwerp (August, 1910).

## THE ETHICS OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE

continue to obtain, even for so long as half a century, between the English and the Scotch, between the Italians of the north and those of the south, between the Prussians and the southern Germans, between the Austrians and Hungarians, between the French of the north and the French of the south, if tariff frontiers were re-established between these groups ?

It is the adoption of free trade within a nation's own borders that, by consolidating and unifying her economic interests, furnishes the real support and solid foundation of national unity; it will be the adoption of free trade between nations that will have to accomplish the same work in the wider international sphere. We must then consider as a fatal error and one too widely spread, the idea that free trade can only be the ultimate result of a good understanding between the nations: the truth is that free trade is the preliminary and indispensable condition of a permanent international understanding.

The predominant importance of protection or free trade in international relations lies rather in moral than in material considerations. It is due particularly to the fact that whilst protection is an aspect of international injustice, free trade is the very embodiment of international justice. And such justice and injustice are *fundamental*, since they apply to the *fundamental* relations between nations, bearing upon their material, vital, *fundamental* necessities.

And further, the material interests of nations, in other words their physiological interests, form the concrete substratum, indispensable and natural, for their intellectual and moral, i.e. psychological interests. (This is indeed no more than a wider interpretation of *mens sana in corpore sano*.)

In order that international politics should *profitably* be controlled, no longer by the material interests of mankind but by their intellectual and moral aspirations, it would first of all be requisite that international methods of dealing with material interests should be, at a minimum, satisfactory. If men are incapable internationally of

## THE ETHICS OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE

dealing successfully with material interests, how can they be competent to deal successfully with their intellectual and moral interests, which are so far more complex !

The pacifists have far too much neglected these realities of the ideal with which they are inspired, and it is this that explains, to a great extent, the ineffectiveness of their noble efforts. They have preached the spirit of conciliation in the policy of States towards one another, international arbitration, disarmament ; but in so doing they have not been attacking the cause of all the evil. Militarism, international quarrels, armaments and even ' race hatred ' are in our day, and particularly amongst the great European races, merely effects, of which the cause is to be sought in antagonism of interests, fostered in the great majority of cases by protection.

### IV

It will not, however, be necessary, in order to bring about the beginnings of an era of universal and permanent peace, that every nation should embrace the policy of ideal economic justice that would be realized in complete free trade : it will be enough that three, or perhaps two only, of the most advanced and most powerful nations—England, Germany, France or the United States—realizing at length their true general interests, economic, social, and political, and drawing their inspiration from the principles of free trade—should adopt ' tendencies ' definitely directed towards commercial liberty and should impress similar tendencies upon the policy of secondary nations, by example, by influence and, if need be, by legitimate pressure.

Hitherto, and especially during the last thirty years or so, the policy of the great nations, with the exception of England, has followed a course diametrically opposed to this. Taking as their guiding principles ill-will, jealousy, and self-interest—a self-interest, be it noted, grotesquely misunderstood—revealing an inconceivable misconception of economic truth and a no less incredible folly, the great



## THE ETHICS OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE

nations have not ceased to increase their efforts to secure isolation, mutual exclusiveness and mutual constraint by means of protective tariffs. The economic foreign policy of each nation consisted above all else in the attempt to apply to other nations a treatment in the matter of tariffs, against which she would hasten to protest energetically and even, if possible, by force of arms, when there was any suggestion of its application to herself. Such a policy, as logically inconsistent as it was unjust, was bound sooner or later—especially as it was applied in an epoch marked by an immense development of industries—to lead to a catastrophe. Could the continuation of such a policy leave room for any hope of the advent of that reign of peace and goodwill among nations to which humanity aspires? It is at once logical and obvious that mankind can never hope for such a reign of peace until some at any rate among the nations resolve, in their economic relations with other states, to conform to the maxim, which sums up all rules of conduct: do not do to others what you would not that they should do unto you.

Moreover, it must not be forgotten that in the sphere of domestic policy, protection is a system of robbery and impoverishment of the masses of consumers for the benefit of privileged minorities of producers; that it is thus based upon the spirit of injustice within the state as well as towards other states; and that it would be contrary to the sound nature and sacred logic of facts, and almost blasphemous, to expect from such a political system that it should produce anything else but evil and disorder wherever it is put into practice.

Because she has failed, or perhaps because she has not sufficiently sought, to induce other nations to adopt the policy of liberty and justice, to which she has herself successfully adhered, England suffers with them the consequences of their errors: for, as has long ago been testified, the rain falls upon the just as well as upon the unjust.

But the storm is one that never should have burst: it could have been, and ought to have been, prevented.

## THE ETHICS OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE

### V

The United Kingdom comprises 45,000,000 inhabitants, and their industries and their trade have at their disposal the markets of colonies that extend over a third of the surface of the globe, that are capable of supporting several thousand million inhabitants and are even now occupied by about 400 millions. The English nation sends out her sons and exports her products, in complete security and stability, into these possessions, of which some, and those not the least important, give a privileged position to English products by means of differential tariffs.

France is in an analogous position from the point of view of her colonies, especially if due allowance is made for her needs, her desires, and her limited capacity for outward expansion. Moreover, she introduces, for the benefit of her producers, a highly privileged system of tariffs, wherever she establishes her rule.

Russia and the United States have vast territories with great natural resources, far exceeding the needs of their populations.

The Empire of Germany has a population of approximately 70,000,000, constantly growing at the rate of nearly a million a year. Their industries and their trade are only assured of their home markets and of certain colonial markets of relative insignificance. The territory of the German Empire is exactly one-tenth of that of the British Empire, and will only be capable of occupation in the future by a very limited number of additional inhabitants and additional consumers of German products. As far as all her other markets are concerned, the German nation, with her very considerable—and entirely legitimate—needs, desires, and capacity for outward expansion, is placed, it must be admitted, in a precarious position.

The idea of protection places all intercourse between nations upon a footing of mere tolerance, which may at any time be transformed into complete intolerance, an

## THE ETHICS OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE

intolerance then extending as well to human beings as to merchandise. Assuredly it is not one of the least disadvantages of protection, that it involves a general instability and insecurity both for those who adopt it and for those against whom it is directed. Germany, by her adherence to protection, both causes to others and suffers herself these disadvantages. Did not Russia announce, last July, that she was contemplating radical alterations in the Russo-German commercial treaty that expires in 1916? Was not France preparing to secure by means of fresh additions to her tariffs the resources required for the application of the 'loi de trois ans'? Is there an assured majority of citizens in the United States converted to the policy of free imports? And can we exclude the possibility that in ten or fifteen years' time England may have a majority of electors favouring proposals of tariff reform and the formation of a vast economic empire of closed markets?

It cannot then be contested that, as far as her foreign markets are concerned, Germany's economic position is precarious.

It is true that an elementary understanding of her true interests, both economic and political, ought long ago to have induced her rulers to adopt a free trade policy, by gradually reducing the barriers of her *Zollverein*, and inviting other countries to extend to her a similar treatment. Had they done this, how easy it would have been for them and how advantageous, in answer to the proposals for disarmament made to them from time to time, to insist that a great industrial nation cannot rest satisfied with precarious markets, and that there can be for her no disarmament failing economic security, the primary element of national security. Germany would thus have won the sympathy, the support and the eager co-operation of free trade England, as well as of Holland, Belgium, Denmark, and the majority of enlightened public opinion in all the nations of the world.

But Germany and her rulers have not chosen such a policy of truth, progress, justice, and peace. They

## THE ETHICS OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE

have been subservient to the particular interests of narrow or unscrupulous agrarians and manufacturers; they have accepted the disinterested but false theories of their professors of 'Nationale Wirtschaft'<sup>1</sup>; they have been fascinated too by the idea of an economic and military imperialism of the German race, and they have preferred the attitude of conquerors, who fail to understand and refuse to recognize any other advantages than those that may be secured by force.

But did this attitude of Germany, clumsy and pitiful as it may have been, make it any the less foolish and impolitic of other nations to expect her to accept as final the inadequate and precarious position created for her by her past history as well as by her own political mistakes in the present day? Should not a true political wisdom, revealed in foresight and justice, have prescribed one of two courses: either that the other nations should agree to facilitate the formation by Germany of colonial dominions of her own, which a very intelligible pride and economic necessity alike prompted her so eagerly to desire, or that they should offer her *stable* assurances and compensations, capable of satisfying both her pride and her interests, by undertaking to throw open to her, if not their home markets, at any rate those of their colonies? It would of course be understood that the German colonies should also be thrown open to free international intercourse.

Nothing was done in this direction, indeed very much the reverse. The plutocrats, the militarists, and the war party in Germany were left in possession of an almost imperative argument in their favour, and thus the other nations helped to maintain and embitter the spirit of conquest in the German people.

<sup>1</sup> How can it be explained that the German *savants* and leaders have not realized that Germany owes her powerful economic development not to the system of protection but in great part to the system of free trade established between twenty-nine States formerly separated by customs frontiers, numbering half a century ago less than 40,000,000 inhabitants, and to-day nearly 70,000,000 free trade producers and consumers?

## THE ETHICS OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE

Economic mistakes, political blindness and folly, an inadequate conception of international justice on the part of all the nations and their Governments, such were the real causes of the cataclysm that is now overwhelming Europe and all mankind.

### VI

Is it too late, or can it be too soon, for the admission of a general 'mea culpa'? *Errare humanum, perseverare diabolicum*. Instead of allowing the abominable and wicked work of ruin and extermination to continue, is it not the duty of the rulers of the belligerent peoples, towards God and mankind alike, to use their best efforts for a reconciliation based upon truth and justice?

Their duty towards God, for the design of Providence for the perfecting of human progress, obviously involves the association and co-operation of peoples by means of exchange, and not their isolation, mutual exclusion or suppression or subjection. Is not the interchange of the products of labour the natural primary fact from which all progress directly or indirectly originates? Their duty towards mankind, because men will become worthy to enjoy the peace of nations to which they aspire, when, under the guidance of enlightened and conscientious leaders, they have been permitted to grasp the idea of human solidarity, by the primary means of exchange, from which will spring the infinite ramifications of mutual service. Their duty towards mankind again, because it is in all that is noblest, strongest, and best in men and all that is most valuable and most useful in things, that is to say in the objects of its legitimate pride, its affections, and its hopes, that mankind is threatened.

And besides, why continue the sacrifice of countless victims and the adding of ruin to ruin? It is, even now, exceedingly probable that, admitting the most incalculable sacrifices of men and material on the one side and the other, there will not be in this war either conquerors or conquered: Germany may be mastered, she will not

## THE ETHICS OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE

be crushed : she will not be brought to her knees. There will have to be ' an adjustment '.

And perhaps it is better that it should be so, for war can never be completely conquered by war, oppression by oppression, injustice by injustice, evil by evil.

There will have to be an adjustment, that is to say that it will be necessary to agree to mutual concessions in satisfaction of the main legitimate demands. And there will have to be an effort to make this adjustment final, with a view to a universal and lasting peace.

The writer of these lines believes that he has shown that it would be advantageous and politic to assure to Germany a more stable economic position. He believes also that he has proved that there can be no permanent peace failing the adoption of a policy inspired by justice in international economics, and thus ' tending ' towards freedom of commerce, to find its consummation in universal free trade.

A final adjustment on pacifist lines would then involve, in the first place, agreements sanctioning the removal of tariff restrictions between the belligerent countries—or at any rate the gradual lowering of tariffs with a guarantee to all of equal and reciprocal treatment. All other reforms that are the objects of legitimate national hopes or intents must, in order to be profitable, be the consequences or corollaries of an equitable economic adjustment.

Such an adjustment of tariffs would also be imperative supposing that, contrary to all probability, this war should end in crushing victory or defeat for one or other of the adversaries—a supposition necessarily involving the sacrifice of twenty, thirty, fifty millions of human lives, on the field of battle, in towns and country districts, by wounds, by sickness, and by privation—involving too the destruction of incalculable artistic and economic wealth, and probably, alas ! the annihilation of innocent Belgium, which will not be the least of European crimes.

Let us suppose indeed that the victors impose upon

## THE ETHICS OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE

the vanquished an inequality of tariffs that places them in a position of economic inferiority, and that mankind thus reverts to the system of race slavery in a modern guise. Is there any man of foresight or indeed of simple common sense who thinks that it is possible to reduce to slavery and *keep* in that condition, under whatever form or by whatever means, nations of which some comprise even now and the others will comprise within a century hundreds of millions of individuals? Certainly not half a century would elapse, before the whirligig of time bringing its revenges, the oppressed would take advantage of fatal dissensions among their oppressors—for how many alliances last half a century?—and reverse the positions with the acclamation of all the peoples that have remained outside the present conflict and its results.

Looking at the matter exclusively from the point of view of the victors, whoever they may be, the only wise and foreseeing policy will be that which has ever been the best: to be just, to live and let live. Apart from the imposition of an adequate war indemnity, nothing durable and advantageous and compatible with subsequent peace could be done beyond imposing upon the vanquished the obligation to abolish or reduce considerably their customs duties, whilst granting them fair reciprocal treatment.<sup>1</sup>

If we have proved that the origin and cause of the present war are economic, that it can only profitably be ended by an economic adjustment, and that such an adjustment could be introduced at once, have we not also proved that it would be criminal to continue the work of ruin and massacre? Is it conceivable that for the sake of securing a war indemnity the English, Germans, and French should demand the sacrifice of countless more

<sup>1</sup> It is worth while to emphasize the fact, too much overlooked by manufacturers and merchants, that the abolition of import duties would be the only reasonable and effective method of suppressing that act of war applied to industrial competition, known as 'dumping', for which German industries have been so justly blamed.

## THE ETHICS OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE

lives of their sons, their friends, their brothers, and their fathers ?<sup>1</sup>

### VII

The system, no less absurd and inconsistent than unjust, of mutual economic isolation and exclusion between nations, vigorously and widely adopted in the last thirty years or so amid the utmost development of industrialism, was the substantial, deep-rooted, and ever-present cause of European dissensions and of the terrible conflict of the present time.

A really effective peace movement must undertake to remove this disturbing cause.

But no doubt it would be a task impossible of realization, especially in the midst of the struggle, to rid Europe, at a blow, of the whole mass of obstacles, consisting of tariff laws, restrictions, and prohibitions, which make it impossible for her peoples to be united and consolidated, even in spite of themselves, by an indestructible network of economic interests. Besides, every undertaking must have a beginning.

Now despite appearances and superficial incidents, the question of colonial outlets—of ‘ a place in the sun ’—has hardly ever ceased to be the central factor in Germany’s legitimate anxieties and the nodal point of all complications that have arisen.

It is then the colonial system that should be the first object of reform—not only because we should then be dealing with the real cause of the difficulty, but because it is precisely on the question of the reform of their colonial administration that the nations would soonest and most easily come to an understanding.

<sup>1</sup> It is not unreasonable to suppose that if the war were to end by the crushing of one or other of the two sides, it would last for at least two more years ; it would absorb almost all the available capital of Europe ; and from it would result unutterable suffering and destitution. No doubt it would be an insult to the intelligence of our statesmen to suppose that they do not understand that the result would be, at no distant date, the social revolution of Europe—unless, indeed, not enough men are left to carry it out. But there will always be electors enough left to deprive of power the incompetent representatives of imbecile ruling classes.



## THE ETHICS OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE

Amongst French politicians, amongst the economists of that country and also in industrial and commercial circles, the idea has grown up, under the stimulus of facts, that the French colonies are suffering from the narrowness of the economic system imposed upon them in the matter of tariffs. On several occasions this opinion found expression in the *Chambre des Députés*, and a *Président du Conseil* was able to assert, without raising a protest or a denial, that the system of the open door ought to be applied to all the French colonies, because it is apparently the indispensable condition of their prosperity. What is true of the French colonies is true of all other 'protected' colonies.

A CONFERENCE, IN WHICH ALL THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD SHOULD BE INVITED TO PARTICIPATE, SHOULD BE SUMMONED AT ONCE (in a neutral country and under favour of an armistice which appears to be possible) ENTRUSTED WITH THE TASK OF AUTHORIZING AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN ALL COLONIAL PEOPLES THROWING OPEN THE COLONIES OF ALL TO THE FREE TRADE OF ALL.

*This conference would further set before itself the object of reaching a second agreement, by which as large a number of nations as possible would bind themselves to a gradual reduction in the tariffs of the mother countries.*

(This reduction might, for example, take place at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum, without, however, any 'obligatory' fall in import duties below 50 per cent. of what they are at present. Example and results would be responsible for the rest.)

Both agreements—that affecting the colonies and that affecting the mother countries—should be concluded for a period of 100 years.<sup>1</sup>

The colonial agreement would apply not only to present, but also to *future* colonies; this would give it its full

<sup>1</sup> It is extremely irrational and dangerous and moreover contrary to sound law to conclude international agreements *ad aeternum*, that is to say, without any limit. Such agreements, like all contracts, should be made for a definite period and renewable. They will thus have a greater precision of meaning and will involve a more formal obligation. An international treaty without the stipulation of a period involves the mental reservation *rebus sic stantibus*.

## THE ETHICS OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE

value and would remove a great danger of subsequent dissension.

The throwing open of the colonies to international freedom of trade would not necessarily mean the immediate abolition of all colonial tariffs, *but it would imply the immediate extension to traders of every nationality of identical economic treatment in all colonial markets.* England would thus have to surrender the preference granted her in Australia, Canada, and South Africa : in doing this she would only be following the example of Holland, which has refused any preference in her colonies for her home products. On the other hand, France, Germany, and the other nations would throw open to British activities their colonial territories—and this applies to territories which are four times as large as Europe, and in which trade and industry are all the more capable of development, because, under the restrictions of privilege, they are at present relatively insignificant.

The objection may be urged to the system of freedom of trade—and also to that of equality of treatment in the matter of tariffs—that these systems might prove unfavourable to the interests of poor or less wealthy colonies, some of which necessitate constant sacrifices on the part of their mother countries : for if the latter no longer derived any *direct* advantages or compensations in return for their sacrifices, they might neglect such colonies. But it is easy to conceive some clause in the colonial agreement, stipulating that the whole or some part of the expenses of the mother country should be redistributed among the nations in proportion to the amount of their respective trade with the colony concerned. The natural result of this would be a system of co-operation, with a control which would be the best guarantee for the coupled profitable employment of the money spent and for the good administration of the less prosperous colonies.

*Such a system would in every respect be the equivalent of the internationalization of the colonies—without its disadvantages and its difficulties—and it may be proposed*

## THE ETHICS OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE

as a method of just and loyal association or co-operation of all nations in the universal work of colonization.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, these two agreements—affecting respectively the colonies and the mother countries—would be the decisive step in the direction of universal free trade and peaceful industrial civilization.

Need it be pointed out that the great lesson in justice and civilization that would result from such an adjustment on pacifist lines, would be calculated to make a profound impression in Germany, where, after all, men with minds capable of embracing anew ideas of liberty and justice remain in a vast majority? And it would be calculated to detach, in her foreign and domestic policy alike, the liberal and democratic parties, as well as the most clear-sighted of her manufacturers and merchants, from the parties of plutocratic reaction and militant imperialism.

We have said over and over again, but we do not hesitate to repeat once more, that it is not by force that the spirit of militarism and of conquest can finally be overcome: it can only be by the adoption of the principles of truth and justice in international politics.

### VIII

The author of the present paper has had two objects in view: to provide a theoretic formula for universal and permanent peace—that is summed up in the term free trade—and also a practical formula, resulting from it, for the adjustment on pacifist lines that is desirable at the present time and that is capable of leading up to such a peace.

<sup>1</sup> There is no longer any doubt that the annexation of the Congo was, from various points of view, a great mistake. It is a thankless task and far too heavy for Belgium. Some Belgians, amongst whom was the author, had proposed the internationalization of the Congo, a resolution that was at that time possible, because first England, and then France would very probably have supported it. The system now proposed is far superior to internationalization; it offers France and England the opportunity of doing a service to Belgium, and at the same time to themselves. As early as 1908—on the occasion of the annexation of the Congo by Belgium—the author had suggested the internationalization of the whole basin of the Congo and colonial free trade as the only means of dispersing the heavy clouds that threatened Europe.

## THE ETHICS OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE

But he cannot allow himself to be reproached with having apparently overlooked or neglected the question that has the most powerful, the most legitimate and the most sacred hold upon the hearts of his compatriots and their friends : the question of the fate of Belgium.

We have said that an ' adjustment ' is inevitable, that is to say a many-sided agreement embracing equitable concessions on both sides. But no peace and no adjustment are possible,—nor desired, *by any Belgian*, that do not involve the restoration of Belgian independence and the freedom of Belgian territory.

Equitable moral compensations and material indemnities will be due, moreover, to this nation, the victim and the martyr of the errors and quarrels of her powerful neighbours.

Let us suppose that Germany, recognizing her economic errors, the futility of her conception of human progress and the defects of her international policy, should announce her acceptance of the pacifist adjustment that we have proposed—and that we hereby submit to the statesmen of Europe ; let us suppose that Germany, announcing her desire to resume her place in the ranks of civilized nations, should undertake to evacuate Belgium and to indemnify her—with or without the concurrence of the other belligerents. It could only be France that could urge any objections. England obviously could only be too happy to see Germany enter upon the path of an economic policy on liberal lines and moreover in conformity with her own. Russia has no colonies (unless we regard Siberia as such), and it does not seem unlikely that she might be inclined to become a party to a possible agreement between the mother countries, tending towards greater freedom of trade in the future. Austria is in precisely the same position.

But France is engulfed in the quicksands of Protection ; she has forgotten the period of commercial prosperity that she enjoyed under the commercial treaties of the second Empire, which from that point of view was more liberal than the third Republic ; and in spite of the advice of

## THE ETHICS OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE

her most enlightened politicians, of her best economists and of her most authoritative Chambers of Commerce, she might insist upon maintaining for her colonies the hateful economic system that she has imposed upon them : a system that has brought misfortune upon them, upon herself, and upon Europe. But I do not hesitate, as a Belgian, to assert that the government and rulers of France must refuse, eventually, to be guilty of such an act and of such an attitude, if there is one word of truth in the protestations of eternal and boundless gratitude which have been expressed by France to Belgium in the last few months. I would add that these protestations were not in the least extravagant, for on two occasions—after Liège and after Louvain—Belgium sacrificed herself, without any material, moral, or international obligation so to do, and saved first France, and then England, from the designs of the Germanic race. I would venture to remind France and England that they have a duty to fulfil : the duty of employing every possible means of saving Belgium from the supreme ordeal, provided these means do not prejudice the civilization of the future but rather tend to promote it.

In the interests of future peace the question of Alsace-Lorraine must also receive a solution. But here we must not overlook the legitimate interests of the inhabitants of German origin, who form a very important part of the population of these districts. Nor must it be forgotten that many of the inhabitants of French origin abandoned the idea of reunion with France on the strength of satisfactory and radical alterations in the Reichsland statute. Is it impossible to conceive in these provinces a government autonomous and *neutral* satisfying every legitimate interest, aspiration and feeling, whether French or German ?

The author asserts his belief and indeed his conviction that the two questions of Belgium and of Alsace-Lorraine can be easily solved by the economic agreement which he proposes, and which he considers calculated to satisfy the legitimate demands of Germany.

It is appropriate to emphasize here the general truth

## THE ETHICS OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE

that freedom of international commerce will greatly facilitate and simplify the solution of the complex and delicate questions arising from racial affinities. What interest could nations have in organizing huge empires, embracing numerous peoples and vast territories, if they were certain never to need to fight either amongst themselves or against other nations? Would not a superior condition of industrial civilization give them henceforward an assured and unrestricted power to exchange their goods and interchange their ideas? What grounds could they still have for refusing to loosen or abolish the ties of a dependent position that has either always been resented or has become distasteful? With freedom of commerce, the nations will soon come to recognize that all the advantages that they hoped to obtain through territorial expansion, through the conquest and subjection of other nations, are to be found, with no risks and no drawbacks, in the stability and security of international relations. Such a system alone admits of the permanent reconstruction or preservation of those 'natural nationalities', whose aspirations are amongst the noblest and most legitimate of our era; for the principle which they embody, as has been brilliantly proved by Novicow (*La Question de l'Alsace-Lorraine*), is the basis of the international as well as of the social order.

### IX

A study of the European question cannot ignore the question of armaments, upon which it may certainly be noted that it is an extraordinary delusion, indeed an inconceivable blunder, to suppose that by the suppression of armies war would be suppressed and that to assure peace a beginning must be made by suppressing armies. Is it not the simple common-sense truth that, in order to be able to suppress armies, we must first of all suppress war—that is to say, we must create a position of international security?

Treated illogically, the question of disarmament, or of mere limitation of armaments, is inextricably complex

## THE ETHICS OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE

and calculated to raise the most dangerous difficulties, not only between belligerents who are in a fair way towards a pacifist adjustment of their differences, but also between belligerents and neutrals, and between nations in actual or prospective alliance with one another. But the question would be readily solved, either by agreement, or perhaps by simple natural causes, so soon as it was attacked logically. This question can obviously only follow upon that of the organization of international security, which will tend to become identified with economic security, as mankind completes the transition from military civilization to true industrial civilization. Disarmament will be the logical and natural consequence of the establishment of economic security between nations.

The same will be true of compulsory reconciliation and compulsory arbitration between nations, which will then become acceptable and will be quite naturally accepted.

Students, statesmen, and pacifists have far too much overlooked the fact that the evolution of human progress has constantly and increasingly been influenced by the economic conditions of each epoch. Henceforth political science must draw its inspiration more and more from the data of economic science, which deals with human relationships in conformity with the nature and necessity of things—that is to say, reverencing natural truth and justice. And since humanity is an integral part of nature, it is very right that its evolution and its history should be controlled by natural laws, which are indistinguishable from the Will of Providence. Amongst natural laws, those of economics, which are the basis of the practical life of individuals and nations alike, are the most important to observe in politics, if it is desired to avoid the shocks and disturbances that convulse from time to time societies and empires.

Mankind in Europe seems to have reached the decisive turning-point of its history. Utilitarian progress and the growth of luxury at an excessive and abnormal rate, not balanced by the requisite progress in the sphere of morals

## THE ETHICS OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE

and philosophy (a defect, of which the primary cause can easily be determined and is purely economic), had created entirely artificial conditions of social and international life which were weak and unstable in the extreme. In the sphere of international relations, the wishes of a faction, the discontent of a monarch, the rashness of a minister, the excesses committed by a mob, were sufficient to disturb to an alarming extent the all-dreaded 'European balance of power' and to endanger a civilization that, whilst apparently extremely advanced, was in reality merely fortuitous. The problem is to give cohesion, stability, and unity, in foundations and superstructure, to a world of social and international incoherence.

We are not here concerned to deal with the social problem; it is the international problem that is urgent. Now whatever politicians and pacifists may have thought, the preservation of economic frontiers (the direct consequence of lack of equilibrium between utilitarian and philosophic progress) has been the main obstacle to the realization of intellectual, moral, and social unity in Western Europe. The European Confederation that is the dream of some thinkers, would, it will be admitted, only be possible if tariff frontiers were removed; but if these are removed, the *political* federation of the States of Europe is no longer needed. The unique and fleeting opportunity is now offered of laying the first free trade foundations of a co-operative association between the nations of Europe, which would mark the beginning of an era of boundless economic and social progress, as well as the advent of universal peace.

The Romans had conceived the idea and the hope of a permanent 'Pax Romana'. The emperors of mediæval and modern Germany have cherished themselves and fostered amongst their peoples the ambition of a 'Pax Germanica'. No doubt many friends and admirers of England would ardently desire a 'Pax Britannica'. But truth and justice, the eternal twin forces that bear sway over mankind, will never rest content till men attain to the 'Pax Œconomica'.



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# INDIA AND THE WAR

BY

JOHN MATTHAI

A MEMBER OF THE ANCIENT CHRISTIAN CHURCH OF SOUTH INDIA

HUMPHREY MILFORD  
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## BASIS OF PUBLICATION

This series of Papers is issued under the auspices of a Committee drawn from various Christian bodies and political parties, and is based on the following convictions :

1. That Great Britain was in August morally bound to declare war and is no less bound to carry the war to a decisive issue ;
2. That the war is none the less an outcome and a revelation of the un-Christian principles which have dominated the life of Western Christendom and of which both the Church and the nations have need to repent ;
3. That followers of Christ, as members of the Church, are linked to one another in a fellowship which transcends all divisions of nationality or race ;
4. That the Christian duties of love and forgiveness are as binding in time of war as in time of peace ;
5. That Christians are bound to recognize the insufficiency of mere compulsion for overcoming evil, and to place supreme reliance upon spiritual forces and in particular upon the power and method of the Cross ;
6. That only in proportion as Christian principles dictate the terms of settlement will a real and lasting peace be secured ;
7. That it is the duty of the Church to make an altogether new effort to realize and apply to all the relations of life its own positive ideal of brotherhood and fellowship ;
8. That with God all things are possible.

## INDIA AND THE WAR

IN estimating the results to India of this war, it is safe to say that it will have no effect on the great masses of the people—at any rate, no direct effect. There was a slight tremor, almost approaching to panic, among the villages round about Madras on the east coast and near Cochin on the west coast, when the *Emden* appeared in Indian waters and threw a few shells on to the land and sank a few ships. The story goes that the captain of the *Emden* got hold of a few fishermen when he was prowling about Madras and told them to tell their fellows on land that the British *raj* had been defeated on the high seas, and that his ship was the vanguard of a host of other German ships on their way to India. The story, like most war stories, lacks confirmation, but that there was some sort of apprehension among the village folks is certain, from all that one has heard. An Indian government official wrote to say that for a whole weekend he was occupied with receiving callers from neighbouring villages anxious to be assured that there was to be no change of *sirkar*. That tremor has now passed with the disappearance of the *Emden*, and things have got back to their even tenor. The war apparently is forgotten except in the little echoes that come gently and fitfully from the bazaars of the city. Other and more important matters now fill the mind—births, marriages, and funerals—and so long as the sun shines and the rains fall in their season, and the tax is not too heavy, and there is enough grain and salt, life will be as tolerable as ever; for the villagers' attitude to life is seldom anything more than an amused tolerance.

The effect of the war must be sought among the educated class. They are a small minority in India, a tiny speck in the vast ocean of India's millions. But

## INDIA AND THE WAR

on that account they are not to be disregarded. It would be a mistake to ignore their influence. If this war had no effect at all on any other class in India, even then it would be worth a serious attempt to gauge the extent to which it is going to tell on the men educated in our colleges. If they are a minority, they wield an influence immeasurably beyond the extent indicated by mere numbers. There is, of course, a fairly common impression that it would be possible in some way to secure the continued support of the masses in the work of maintaining order and progress, while the educated men stand aside. It is a rather surprising notion. Imagine a Hindu joint family, composed of men of various degrees and sorts of relationship, who, even if they do not always live under the same roof and maintain themselves out of a common fund, yet preserve many of the more human bonds of the family. Imagine two or three men in this close association of many single families sent to one of the English-teaching colleges for education. They grow up under the admiring eyes of the whole group. The examinations they pass are the pride of every one in the family ; to hear them read a book and spell out the English of it is delight itself. It is not likely that if they happen to hold a strong opinion on any matter, it will be easily discountenanced by those who have grown up with them in the same household and have looked up to them for the last word on every question. Take this joint family and plant a number of such families in a compact village community. The village community has lost much of its old cohesion, but not all. The ancient village site remains, old traditions survive, there are tender memories and there is the sweet round of village festivals. Imagine half a dozen men who have emerged from the darkness and obscurity of the village, and after laborious years have secured that mystical thing, a degree. Very often, it is true, their occupation takes them to the city, and the bonds that bind them to the village are loosened. But there are periodical visits



## INDIA AND THE WAR

to pay, lands to look after, needy relations to maintain, matrimonial affairs of the children to be arranged, and beside the village well gossip is ever busy with the doings of the great ones who have gone abroad. Take these few men out of each of a vast number of family groups and village communities scattered over the infinite plains of India, knit them together by means of a single vigorous political organization, and you get some idea how far and how long you may play fast and loose with this supposed negligible minority.

The first effect of the war in relation to this class is that it has supplied a good test of their willingness to stand by the Empire. But this really need not have been doubted. There have been differences of opinion among them as to the details of immediate policy, and as to how much or how little should be done at any particular time by the Government and the people respectively. But that any perceptible number of them would take advantage of a crisis in the Empire to cause trouble was always unthinkable. The question is often asked whether they are loyal. It is a somewhat difficult question to answer. Not that there is anything in the facts which must be concealed, but it obviously turns on what is meant by loyalty. It is conceivable that in certain circumstances mere disobedience to an isolated executive order may be regarded as an act of disloyalty. To give a definite answer, then, must be difficult, unless we have some standard to go by, and perhaps *Murray's Dictionary* will give us as good a standard as we can find. The definition there of loyalty is 'faithful adherence to the sovereign or lawful government. Also, in recent use, enthusiastic reverence for the person and family of the sovereign'. On the second of these there has never been any question. For Queen Victoria and her successors on the throne the educated class have shown a reverence as great as that of any other class in the country, and the recent Delhi Durbar offered striking proof of it. On the first, their faithful adherence to the

## INDIA AND THE WAR

lawful Government is proved by a simple fact which is often forgotten. The majority of those who constitute this class are either in the various Government services or in the legal profession, and the ambitions of the majority of the rising generation, and of their fathers for them, centre round one or other of these two careers. It is of course true that in the more acute type of unrest which has prevailed in recent years there has been noticeable a certain aversion to entering Government service. But this does not affect the main position. It is obvious that Government service cannot, as a rule, be a career for those who want to destroy the Government. And the legal profession cannot very well be a career for those who would destroy the authority which sustains the courts, and under whose auspices much of the codified law of the country which the courts administer has grown up. It is not merely that the educated class seek to make a living out of professions so intimately connected with the existing political order, but they take an active interest, which even their worst critics will not deny, in every measure meant to render the services and the courts more efficient and more acceptable to the people generally, and therefore more enduring.

The war then, in the first place, has made more manifest than ever the readiness of educated India to keep their place in the imperial system at a really trying moment. But it has, or will have, another effect, which on the face of it may appear to go against the first, but as a matter of fact it does not. This war will immensely strengthen the spirit of nationalism which has been growing in the country within recent years. It is a war, above all, for vindicating the principle of nationality. It began in the attempt by Austria to outrage the life of Serbia as a nation—which Russia would not tolerate. Britain was dragged into it because Germany would not respect Belgian nationality. The moral support of the civilized world has gone to the Allies' cause because, on incontestable proof, Germany has been planning to build an

## INDIA AND THE WAR

empire on the wreckage of independent nationalities weaker than herself. Cabinet ministers in England have more than once pointed to the reform of the geography of Europe on national lines as a sufficient recompense for all the suffering and sorrow. The question will naturally arise, is all this talk of nationality to be confined to Europe? Has it no application in the East? And this question will derive additional force from two facts. First, Great Britain has accepted, and warmly acknowledged, the services of an Asiatic people, Japan, in vindicating the principle of nationality on behalf of a European people. Secondly, Indian troops are fighting on the battle-fields of France by the side of European troops for the same cause. Here, then, is the very principle which has been growing up in our midst, at which some of us trembled, others rejoiced, and which a vast number passed by unheeding. Now it has been sealed as a sacred thing by the blood of the best sons of the Empire.

In attempting to apply the principle of nationality to India, the predominant objection would be that it could have no application in a country so full of diversities. It will be remembered that we are confining ourselves in this paper to the educated class, and we started on the assumption that they have a possible influence on the masses out of all proportion to their numbers. If these educated men, then, have developed a feeling akin to nationality, and if we are right in our estimate of their influence, the likelihood is that it will not be restricted to them, but, sooner or later, in whatever form, will be carried forward to the masses. Twenty-five years ago, competent observers on Indian affairs made no distinction between the educated class and the masses, but considered that the growth of nationality in India was an impossible thing with regard to both alike. Sir John Strachey, for example, wrote<sup>1</sup> in 1888: 'A native of Calcutta or Bombay

<sup>1</sup> *India*, p. 3.

## INDIA AND THE WAR

is as much a foreigner in Delhi or Peshawar as an Englishman is a foreigner in Rome or Paris'. It is a significant fact that in a recent edition<sup>1</sup> of the book in which this passage occurs, an edition revised by the present Permanent Under-Secretary of State for India, a great authority on Indian matters, the following note has been added :

This is still substantially accurate as regards the mass of the population. But as regards the educated classes, a common system of government, the spread of trade and commerce, the increasing habit of travel, and the diffusion of the English language, have of late years done much to break down the walls of separation between different parts of India. An educated Indian is now at home in any of the larger cities. The National Congress holds its annual gatherings, which attract large throngs of delegates and visitors, in turn in every part of India. It is significant that the language used at these gatherings is English, the one tongue which makes men differing in race and language to understand each other. The ideas also are European. The emergence of a distinct Indian nationality among the educated classes is possibly only a matter of time, if existing conditions endure. Whatever direction its predominant sentiments may ultimately take, it will owe its origin and inspiration to the English language and English political thought.

The problem of nationality is an exceedingly difficult problem to discuss with any degree of precision. Nobody seems sure when it begins or how it grows or what is essential and non-essential in the complex of things which make it. But probably Sir Thomas Holderness is right, in the passage quoted above, in putting a common system of government first among the causes of Indian nationality. Various things are necessary, such as language, traditions and culture, both to prepare the ground for the formation of the sentiment and to help it forward when it has once been set on foot, but it does look as if some kind of a revolt against a common system of government is the thing that primarily brought it to conscious life in many of the European countries which have been

<sup>1</sup> *India*, fourth edition, 1911, p. 18.

## INDIA AND THE WAR

the great homes of nationality. A common system of government, in countries where the constitution is inorganic, creates nationality less by placing itself alongside of the people than by creating in them a sense of grievance, real or fancied, against itself, and stimulating them into opposition. It matters not whether the grievance is well founded or ill founded. What matters is that it should be honestly entertained. Government is a thankless job even in the freest and best governed of countries. It is especially so in a country which is not free ; and every kind of ill which men suffer is first laid to the charge of this palpable and ponderable cause. A common feeling of grievance would by itself be impotent unless the ground had been prepared beforehand by such factors as a common culture or common language, sufficient communications, etc. But the unity which these latter things help to make is, as a rule, passive and unconscious of itself until it receives the stimulus of a sense of common interests against the Government. It is strange that such a strong, spiritual force as nationality, which has been accounted worthy of so much bloodshed, should really start in a common sense of mere material interests. But so it appears. The point was recently summed up by a well-known writer<sup>1</sup> on questions of modern history in this form :

The nationalities of Europe became conscious of themselves through a common sense of injustice, of moral and physical and intellectual discomfort—the result of sheer bad government. The philologists alone could not have created the national sentiments which have formed and are transforming the map of Europe, nor could the poets, the prophets and the historians. They gave form and a voice to the sentiment that existed or was born ; but the sentiment itself was due to the instinctive drawing together of the peoples, conscious of common interests and aspirations, for mutual support against systems of government that had become intolerable to them. Once set going, the sentiment of

<sup>1</sup> W. Alison Phillips, *Edinburgh Review*, 1915 (January).

## INDIA AND THE WAR

nationality becomes an end in itself ; it develops into a sort of religion, fierce and exclusive and intolerant in proportion as it is new.

In India, there are undoubtedly certain large obvious contrasts among the people, there is also a certain background of unity in literature, traditions, culture, and so forth. What has happened to minimize these differences and to accentuate the common features ? The answer is that it is the various unifying influences of British rule ; but the unity itself is, to a large extent, made conscious and kept alive by a certain common feeling of dissatisfaction.

Some one will ask, what is all this discontent about ? For that we must go back to Queen Victoria's Proclamation to the Indian people in 1858. There was a great mutiny of the troops in India, and enormous damage and bloodshed followed. It was rather a military than a popular movement, but it coincided, strangely enough, in point of time, with some of the well-known European national movements such as the Italian revolution ; and it is conceivable that when Queen Victoria as the head of her people gave this solemn charter to the people of India, there was an idea at the back of many minds that it was really a charter granting full possibilities of national life to India. The document, in the tone and spirit of it, is undoubtedly a very large-hearted and generous document. ' In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward.' About the same time as the granting of this charter were founded the principal universities of India ; and one of the first results of their education began to be manifest exactly twenty-five years after, just enough to mark the lifetime of a generation, in the founding of the Indian National Congress. The result of the education was, broadly, to make manifest to the people the possibilities implied in Queen Victoria's charter, to awaken the consciousness and energies of an ancient people to the goal of a national life. So in this analysis two things stand out

## INDIA AND THE WAR

—first, a solemn compact by England with the people of India, granting them a full measure of national life ; second, partly arising from this and impelled by the force of western education, a growing sense of nationality among them.

Let us come back to the war. The Prime Minister, speaking on the war last August, in one of the greatest speeches ever delivered in the House of Commons, said :

If I am asked what it is we are fighting for, I reply in two sentences. In the first place, to fulfil a solemn international obligation, an obligation which, if it had been entered into between private persons in the ordinary concerns of life, would have been regarded as an obligation not only of law but of honour, which no self-respecting man could possibly have repudiated. I say, secondly, we are fighting to vindicate the principle which in these days, when force, material force, sometimes seems to be the dominant influence and factor in the development of mankind—we are fighting to vindicate the principle that small nationalities are not to be crushed, in defiance of international good faith, by the arbitrary will of a strong and over-mastering power.

The question which we put to the British people, or will put as soon as the pressure of this war is over, is this : What about your solemn agreement with *us* ? What is going to be your attitude to the question of nationality in your own dependency ?

But we have not got yet to the point of the grievance. It turns on the following passage in the Proclamation of 1858 : ‘ And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects of whatever race or creed be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity to discharge.’ This is a cautious and duly guarded statement, but the spirit of it leaves no room for doubt. In the first place, it will be answered that the vast number of subordinate offices in the service of Government in India are nearly all filled by Indians, that therefore they have already a very considerable share in it.

## INDIA AND THE WAR

This would in a sense constitute a good answer ; but it is weakened by certain circumstances which are liable to suspicion and misunderstanding. The salaries attached to these offices are such that, as a rule, they will not compensate Englishmen for the inconvenience of leaving home ; the offices are so numerous that, even if you will, you cannot get Englishmen to go out in sufficient numbers to fill them ; the duties involved are more or less of such a laborious character, requiring enormous patience and a very intimate knowledge of local minutiae, that they will not get done satisfactorily by Englishmen. So you will be met, if you make this answer, by the obvious rejoinder that you are making a virtue of necessity. Take, therefore, the superior offices, the places where men do things comparatively on their own initiative and responsibility, and in doing so feel that they find full scope for their powers. As a matter of fact, it is round places of this kind, in which what is concerned is not so much the desire to make a living as the more worthy desire of making one's personality count adequately in the life of one's country, that the sentiment of nationality naturally enough often centres. Suppose, for the purpose of argument, we take offices to which a salary of £800 or more is attached as offices which would give this opportunity—and the supposition may not be far wrong—there were in 1910 in all 1,721 such appointments in India, and of these Indians held 161.<sup>1</sup> Now, roughly, there are in India 40,000 English-speaking graduates of universities. And how comes it, in spite of this relatively unlimited choice, that there is this very large gap between the number of superior offices and the number of Indians actually holding them ? The Indian graduate may be a very inferior person, but when he has made the fullest use of the best educational facilities which your administrators have fashioned and placed at his service—and, mark you, placed with the set purpose at the beginning of fitting men for this very thing—when at the end of it,

<sup>1</sup> *Moral and Material Progress of India, 1911-12, p. 66.*



## INDIA AND THE WAR

you tell him with a wave of the hand, ' You are an inferior person, and your chief fault is your education,' he may be pardoned for feeling a little aggrieved. He says to himself, quite naturally, ' When I was ignorant I was disqualified by my ignorance : now that I am educated, I am disqualified by my education.'

It is perfectly true that if this clause in the Queen's Proclamation, with all its reservations, were taken to a court of law and sued upon between the Indian graduate and the British administrator before an independent and impartial judge, the judge might find considerable difficulty in making up his mind ; but when he does, we feel it is more than likely he will make it up in favour of the Indian. But the point is, the Queen's Proclamation was an infinitely greater thing than a legal document. In interpreting an agreement between two peoples in which the sensitiveness and prejudices of one and the honour and justice of the other are so intimately bound up, to put it at its lowest, it is very unsatisfactory that there should be all this wide room for honest doubt. An excellent principle for construing such an agreement was laid down last year by President Wilson in connexion with the Panama question between England and America : <sup>1</sup>

We consented to the Treaty and its language, we accepted if we did not originate it, and we are too big and powerful and too self-respecting a nation to interpret with too strained or refined a reading of words our own promises, just because we have power enough to give us leave to read them as we please. The large thing to do is the only thing we can do.

The essential difference in the two cases is that England and America are two independent and almost equal nations, to whom it is open to resort to force of arms to make their claims good. Surely it need not be urged on a people whose sense of honour has more than once led them into perilous responsibilities, deliberately under-

<sup>1</sup> *The Times*, March 6, 1914.

taken, that an obligation to pay a debt is not weaker, but stronger, when your creditor is too poor to enforce it.

It will be noticed that in the Queen's Proclamation there is no reference to elective, representative government, and that brings us to the big, oft-disputed question, Is the principle of parliamentary government suited to the genius of the Indian people? The question is too vast and vague for any cut-and-dried answer, but now that we are on this subject of nationality, it is worth while to remember a few relevant facts. In neither of the two types of government met with generally in civilized India in the past—the central government of the king and the local government of the village community—was there, so far as we may make out, anything really akin to the method of deciding public matters or choosing public men by counting heads. Almost everywhere the bond was largely mystical and rested rather on imagination than on calculation. Again, the party system which appears essential to any modern democracy seems to depend for its safe working, at any rate in England, where on the whole it has succeeded best, on two things among others—(1) the habit of adjustment incidental to a predominantly commercial people, and (2) an attitude of amused, not over-serious, rivalry between parties which comes of the sporting habits and traditions of the people. Both these considerations are to a large extent inapplicable in India. It must also be remembered that the caste system, which so far has shown but little signs of giving way before western civilization, makes the constitution of our society anything but democratic. The caste system may or may not be an unmixed evil, but it is difficult to imagine that a political constitution could work which is essentially opposed to the general structure of society.

There is no intention here to suggest that if once the Indian people make up their minds to it and bend their thoughts and energies to bringing about such circumstances as will make election and party government and universal suffrage possible, they may not succeed, and

## INDIA AND THE WAR

on the whole, with remarkable success. They are people who in the past built up a great civilization, and they are finding their youth again, and a task like this may not be beyond them. But it cannot too often be borne in mind that political institutions, in every country where they have grown up, are characteristic products of national habits and circumstances, and the adoption of a foreign political formula may necessitate also for its successful working the adoption of foreign habits and circumstances. The one without the other seems impossible. If, therefore, we decide to borrow all this, it may be asked if we shall ever make of our country anything more than a sort of second-rate European nation. And this would go against the essence of the principle of nationality. For that principle, however selfish may be its origin in any particular country, becomes worthy of the travail of a whole world only because of the assumption that each nation has something distinctive to give to the world, which no other nation can give. Suppose we in India proceed to destroy the distinctive and essential bases of our life, which are ours, and set about to produce things which could be had in superior and more abundant form elsewhere, are we doing our duty by the world? If the doctrine of nationality were only this, that the wealthy in each nation should be made more wealthy, and there should be a general increase of wealth in the country, and the learned should be made more learned, and the comfortable more comfortable, it is hard to believe it would be worth a single drop of honest blood. The basic idea of nationality is, or ought to be, giving and contribution, not getting and appropriation. It is presumably also the ground on which political economists base their doctrine of international trade. To put it roughly, if country A and country B have about equal facilities for producing the same commodity, but B has better facilities for producing another commodity useful to the world, it is worth her while to turn to this rather than the first.

So far we have been speaking of the national movement

## INDIA AND THE WAR

as it will be strengthened by this war into a movement of revolt. But it has another side, more important and of more immediate urgency, and that is its constructive side. It is a much more pleasant task to turn to this. This war will increase the interest which has already been growing in recent years in the condition of the masses, who form seventy per cent. of India's immense population. This it will do in two ways. We cannot very well continue to applaud the justice and heroism of a war undertaken for the preservation of oppressed nationalities when vast masses of men lie at our very door in a worse condition, which only lacks the romance of war. Such an effect is noticeable, perhaps, here in England, in a greater awakening of conscience on the slum problem. The same effect will also be reached in another way. If this war drives us to a keener sense of nationality, it will be obvious that we cannot get on very far as a nation when all but a third of our people are still almost entirely absorbed in the lower struggle for bare physical existence. This would be a ground of expediency as the first would be one of chivalry. On both grounds let us assume that the educated classes in India are going now to devote much greater attention than before to the question of the masses. What does this amount to ?

In the first place, it must strengthen the belief in the necessity for maintaining order and security in the country, because the condition of the masses, quite demonstrably, is absolutely hopeless without a fair measure of security. The three commonly recognized problems now are economic regeneration, education, and sanitation—corresponding to the triple infirmity of the ryot, indebtedness, ignorance, and malaria. The solution offered for the first is the formation of Co-operative Credit Societies. It is clear that men cannot be got to mix their several credits when that security is lacking which is the basis of each individual credit. As for primary education, the agriculturist, living as a rule from hand to mouth, cannot be expected to indulge the luxury of feeding the minds of his

## INDIA AND THE WAR

children when the little plot of land with which he feeds their mouths is not assured to him. And the last, sanitation, is impossible without education, and the same considerations therefore apply. These are very simple and elementary facts; and if we of this generation are convinced that we cannot get far ahead on the road to nationality unless the millions are to some extent lifted, then it seems a clear obligation to submit to whatever humiliations and sacrifices may be necessary for the purpose. The life of this generation is but a short span, but the country must live on for ever, and the humiliation and the sacrifice will not be too great a price to pay if those who come after us may enter upon a goodly heritage. The call that comes to us in India to-day is the call of a dull, drab heroism—therefore, in a sense, a more difficult heroism. If to realize this is our duty, it is the duty of those responsible for the government of the country to see that that cross is not made a whit heavier than it need be. There should be no unnecessary galling and hurting, no flourishing of the cross. The salvation of India must ultimately come, not from the masses, nor even from the Government, but from the educated classes. It is therefore wrong policy to anger them. The task is so great and the labourers are so few that every man of them driven to despair is verily an asset lost.

In the second place, an increased sense of the social need will make an increased demand on the ancient spiritual resources of the people. The mere bigness of the task of elevating two hundred millions of men, the ignorance, apathy, and often the positive resistance of the men themselves, the absence of an effective public opinion which will sustain the worker when individual strength fails, the poverty of financial resources, the shadow of suspicion which in recent years has gathered about us as a class—all these will, it seems, throw the pioneers of this and coming generations more and more upon those higher sources of strength which their fathers knew so well.

## INDIA AND THE WAR

And who can tell what may be the consequences when a religious system fashioned by rare thought and lonely meditation is brought in contact with hard, practical difficulties in the everyday affairs of common life? Mr. Gokhale is a case in point. To us of the younger generation, it is a regret, deep and poignant, that we shall miss the living inspiration of that selfless and toiling figure, walking in and out among his countrymen whom he loved, with his eyes set on the far future and his hands ever busy plying the things of the present. The nation that produced Gokhale may yet produce others like him, and while we mourn, we need not cease to hope. Mr. Gokhale in religious matters was perhaps in a sense an agnostic, but he was nevertheless deeply spiritual. The Servants of India Society which he founded is essentially a body of monks devoted to social work; and often a phrase that used to be on Mr. Gokhale's lips was that he meant by his Society 'to spiritualize public life in India'. The writer remembers hearing a member of this Society, one of the most respected public men in South India, address a meeting of students in Madras, and he told them how again and again in the depression and discouragement of his work, he fell back on the *Bhagavad Gita* and found in the utterances of the Lord that inspiration which his own strength failed to give him. Another and perhaps a more striking instance is Mr. Gandhi, who led the passive resistance movement in South Africa. He is a more pronounced ascetic than Mr. Gokhale, but the type is the same.

Looked at from this point of view, the war is likely to react in an important way upon India. We in India have seldom looked upon western civilization as anything but a single whole. The relatively minute differences between one country and another do not somehow come home to us, and the apparent collapse of this civilization implied in the war must wake up many minds, of which more will be heard when the war is over, to its probable causes. It is likely that the explanation which will commend itself will

## INDIA AND THE WAR

proceed somewhat along the lines suggested by the Bishop of Oxford in a recent address : <sup>1</sup>

Is it not the case that what we are in face of is nothing less than a breakdown in a certain idea and hope of civilization, which was associated with the liberal and industrial movement of the last century ? There was to be an inevitable and glorious progress of humanity of which science, commerce, and education were to be the main instruments, and which was to be crowned with a universal peace. . . .

I do not know what evils we might find arising from a world of materialistic democracies. But I am sure that we shall not banish the evil spirits which destroy human lives and nations and civilizations by any mere change in the methods of government. Nothing can save civilization except a new spirit in the nations.

We in India too, especially during the past decade or two, have endeavoured strenuously to found the civilization of a newer day on education and commerce. In the upper strata, the cry is higher education and industrial development ; in the lower strata, it is economic regeneration and mass education. Perhaps it is not yet too late to take warning.

To sum up, the argument of this Paper is briefly this : The effect of the war will for the present be confined to the educated class whose importance, however, is not to be measured by their number. It has shown them to be a loyal body willing to co-operate with Government. At the same time it will strengthen the spirit of nationalism among them. The primary cause of the hostile element in Indian nationalism is the extent to which Indians are shut out of the higher offices ; to remedy this is the immediate necessity. In the meantime the question of elective government and the extent of its possible application must be carefully weighed and thought out before any large committal is made. On the positive side, nationalism will be prompted under the influence of the war to devote itself more than before to the condition of the

<sup>1</sup> *The War and the Church.*

## INDIA AND THE WAR

masses ; this added sense of social needs will strengthen the desire for security and peace, it will also lead to a deeper cultivation of the ancient spirituality of the race.

If these considerations are at all valid, it may be added that there is nothing in them to alarm or to alienate either people. There is much to give hope and confidence to both. There have been things in the past to hurt and wound. They need not have been. But it seems we have decided to forget the things of the past. In the face of the unspeakable tragedy which is enacted before our eyes, in which men of many nations are mingling their blood for a common cause, we can afford to fix our eyes away from the past across this vale of tears, on the love and hope and abiding peace of the future. There was no black and brown and white in the blood which flowed from Calvary. Nor is there in the warm, precious, human blood which flows over the battle-fields of Europe. All of it is red alike, and every drop of it, without distinction of race, betokens the sob of a broken mother-heart. Therefore, while this great elemental struggle is driving us back to a sense of eternal values, let us put back—all of us, both those who won and those who lost, those who laughed and those who wept—let us put back the things that divide and hold fast to the things that bind.



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## BASIS OF PUBLICATION

This series of Papers is issued under the auspices of a Committee drawn from various Christian bodies and political parties, and is based on the following convictions :

1. That Great Britain was in August morally bound to declare war and is no less bound to carry the war to a decisive issue ;
2. That the war is none the less an outcome and a revelation of the un-Christian principles which have dominated the life of Western Christendom and of which both the Church and the nations have need to repent ;
3. That followers of Christ, as members of the Church, are linked to one another in a fellowship which transcends all divisions of nationality or race ;
4. That the Christian duties of love and forgiveness are as binding in time of war as in time of peace ;
5. That Christians are bound to recognize the insufficiency of mere compulsion for overcoming evil, and to place supreme reliance upon spiritual forces and in particular upon the power and method of the Cross ;
6. That only in proportion as Christian principles dictate the terms of settlement will a real and lasting peace be secured ;
7. That it is the duty of the Church to make an altogether new effort to realize and apply to all the relations of life its own positive ideal of brotherhood and fellowship ;
8. That with God all things are possible.

## BRITISH AND GERMAN SCHOLARSHIP

WAR and scholarship have not in the abstract much to do with one another. The scholar is normally in a back-water where the tide of public life flows past him without ruffling his environment; and men of affairs put him out of their reckoning as an excellent person who may be a national asset but is very little qualified to be a national adviser. In this war, unique as it is in so many directions, the scholar has become a storm centre. The university professors of Germany are regarded in this country as responsible beyond any single class, except the bureaucracy itself, for the making of the atmosphere in which the war arose; and one of their number, Treitschke, is held accountable almost in the first place of all. We are learning how a marvellously efficient system of national education, in a country where education counts more than in any other, has been skilfully organized by the ruling oligarchy to hypnotize a docile people into the right spirit. Very possibly the professors are in some danger of receiving too large a share of the credit for the figure Germany is now presenting to the world. But the fact is clear that the intellectuals, so far from seeing vividly and teaching irresistibly that war is a crime against humanity,

## BRITISH AND GERMAN SCHOLARSHIP

have lent themselves to the militarist propaganda. They contributed very largely to the development of the temper which has been Germany's undoing. Fatally deficient in the saving gift of humour, the nation has developed a megalomania which imagines civilization destined to die with itself. And the pity of it is that the men who must bear the blame of a terrible failure in a crisis where ideas weighed more than in any crisis in history, are men who in all branches of pure knowledge have been among the leaders of the world. They could interpret the face of the sky, but they knew not how to interpret the signs of the times. It is to be feared that were Plato revising his *Republic* with an experience gained in modern Europe, he would think twice and thrice before making the philosopher king.

In this paper we are not so much concerned to discuss the past as to look forward to the possibilities of the future. The difficulties of settlement are stupendous, and they depend so overwhelmingly on the issue of the war that we can hardly wonder if people turn impatiently from any discussion as premature. At present White and Black have alike lost a terrible number of pieces, but we feel very sure White has the winning position. Yet it remains wholly uncertain whether it is to be mate in ten moves or in a hundred, and it might be stalemate after all. Calculations based on any of these three possibilities, putting out of sight the unthinkable fourth, are liable to be wholly upset by the turn of events, and we can only wait. Still, as public opinion must have a great deal to do with the ultimate settlement, there



## BRITISH AND GERMAN SCHOLARSHIP

should obviously be the most strenuous effort to prepare opinion without hurry, even if results are only contingent. And in any case there must be every effort to cultivate the temper in which alone both justice and humanity can operate. Indignation, stern and deep, can coexist with unsleeping vigilance lest we should be unjust to our enemy, or fail to allow for the forces which have deranged his better nature. Unflinching determination to use force, since we have been forced into it, till force is finally dethroned, is consistent with a master passion for reconciliation. Even the rough unthinking man of the world cannot deny that we shall have to live with the Germans somehow when the war is over ; and it is worth his while to ask how we can keep them from cherishing schemes of revenge and preparing for it even under the severest system of repression. The Christian meanwhile—driven to make a choice of evils, in a world where the hardness of men's hearts is always making the ideal impossible—will never feel that we have conquered Germany till we have slain the enmity. We draw the sword with no less resolution because we draw it with horror and loathing ; but we mean Love to have the last word when Belgium, and France, and Serbia, and Poland, and the dominions of the Turk, are all delivered from the god of battles into the hands of the God of Peace.

With these objects in view, we may turn to the special department with which this paper is concerned. German scholarship and science are naturally being canvassed vehemently in Britain to-day. One cannot be surprised

## BRITISH AND GERMAN SCHOLARSHIP

if a general depreciation of things made in Germany extends to its hitherto acknowledged intellectual eminence. Noisy obscurantists are thanking God that they know no German, and declaring that the most mischievous things in our religious life are importations from over the Rhine. Yet it is not long since many of them were rejoicing over a German Daniel come to judgement, who was supposed to have seriously damaged an established theory of literary criticism in the Old Testament. On the other hand, we have heard first-rank scholars declaring that we have taken the Germans too much at their own valuation, to the detriment of our independence. It may be so, though the extent of this servility has been greatly exaggerated. The acceptance of German results on the part of British scholars is far more frequently due to the conscientious industry with which German research has done its work. Those who know accept, and those who do not know may cavil. It would be more dignified and more profitable if those who are interested simply in the advancement of knowledge would turn from such debates, and receive for rigid testing, and grateful acknowledgement when approved, the work of investigators in any nation. Nothing but science and her votaries will suffer if research ceases to be cosmopolitan, and seekers after truth duplicate their investigations through refusal to read work already published in a foreign and hated tongue.

Much might be said, no doubt, of provocation that has come from German scholarship, arrogantly ignoring the best work of other nations, and suffering the nemesis

## BRITISH AND GERMAN SCHOLARSHIP

which Science always inflicts on those who forget her first laws. But there has certainly been a marked improvement in recent years ; and a real republic of letters never seemed nearer than it was when the great chasm suddenly opened between us and our fellow workers. One or two illustrations might be given from fields that are more familiar than others to the writer himself. Comparative Philology, a science which sprang out of an Englishman's daring guess, has been almost exclusively cultivated by German research. Yet the only [first-rate manual of Greek and Latin philology produced in this country, since the new birth of the science under great German philologists thirty years ago, has been translated into German. The later history of Greek, developed into a new science by the pioneer work of German philologist and theologian, has been pursued under the fullest and happiest conditions of fellowship between British, French, German and American scholars and explorers. In some fields, such as that of Iranian language and literature, German workers have little enough from Britain to quote, but use most freely what does come. Theology, so far as one may generalize on so many-sided a subject, is in a less happy condition, and German thought would be all the better for a larger knowledge of the best British work. But even there the enormous output may well be held largely responsible. Here, however, we may claim on this side that our leading theologians have rarely shown themselves ignorant of the best that has been done in Germany. Sometimes of course there has been unwarranted haste in accepting theories from a country whose scholars are

## BRITISH AND GERMAN SCHOLARSHIP

generally stronger in collecting facts than in divining consequences. But British theology has far more often received and weighed to its own immense profit, proving all things with sane and cautious judgement, and holding fast only what is good.

Now the prominence of a number of exceedingly eminent German theologians, scholars, and scientists in the paper defence of their country at the present time has started some natural problems in the minds of educated Britons. It must be admitted that these leaders of intellect show few of the qualities we should have expected from men trained to examine evidence and decide dispassionately on momentous issues. The most rigidly neutral critic might safely be invited to compare the temper of pleas by distinguished British and German intellectual and spiritual leaders, as printed in the three first numbers of *Goodwill*. Is there anything from the German side to compare in fairness and freedom from bitterness with Professor Sanday's pamphlet or Mr. Clutton-Brock's *Thoughts on the War*—to name only two out of many? We have Professor Wundt not only accepting guilelessly the forged speech of Mr. John Burns, and sundry other fairy stories which perhaps he has no means of testing, but showing such grotesque incapacity to read the English character that we begin to reflect with amazement that he is the author of a notable book on *Völkerpsychologie*. We have the two manifestoes by theologians and leaders in foreign missionary enterprise, sincere and poignant in the extreme, and full of the distress which any real Christian must feel in the fearful

## BRITISH AND GERMAN SCHOLARSHIP

rending of Western Christianity. But even here patent facts are astonishingly distorted. Belgium is not mentioned in the first : in the second our British Reply has brought out a defence through which a child can see—the fact that Belgium had tried to make some provisional arrangement for help, when faced with strategic railways concentrated on her frontier, is regarded as cancelling her neutrality ! Harnack makes the same point in his reply to British Free Churchmen (*Goodwill*, p. 33) ; and he shows the same incapacity to understand our veneration for the ‘ scrap of paper ’, which for our Government and our nation turned the scale last August. Nor do any of them make any allusion to Sir Edward Grey’s entreaty to the German Government to propose an alternative course if his own proposal of a conference were unacceptable. These will serve as typical examples of the blindness and unfairness of men from whom penetration and judicial temper might have been expected. Can we explain the failure ? A great many intelligent and serious men put the matter away as not needing an explanation. They simply assume that the mask of civilization has been torn from a people who are barbarians at bottom—

Not five in five score,  
But ninety-five more.

An explanation which merely falls back on original sin gives us as little light on the past as it gives hope for the future. We know some of these men, and we shall not be persuaded by all the journalists in concert that such men were insincere in their friendship, secretly toasting ‘ The Day ’ when they pretended to desire nothing but peace.

## BRITISH AND GERMAN SCHOLARSHIP

It is a truer psychology which points out that national panic is capable of producing very strange symptoms in men normally sober and humane. We know something of the German public's ignorance of events which all the world knows, their confident belief in a whole mythology with its scene laid in Britain: the national genius for thoroughness has had full scope in the official news department. Join this imperfect information with the anxiety, public and private, resulting from the hope of victory deferred and now becoming more than doubtful, and we can more or less understand how men with the German temperament should have lost in time of need so many qualities for which they once were distinguished. Harnack himself—to take one eminent example—whose daughter has been widowed by a British bullet, has evidently failed to apply to the British case against Germany the impartiality he would show in a discussion on New Testament criticism. Such suggestions are not made as if they excused the violence and futility of famous scholars who in this controversy have damaged nothing but their own reputation. There may be other elements in the diagnosis of which we necessarily know nothing. But before we cast out their names as evil, let us remember what we thought of them this time last year. And let us reflect that they stand with men whose practical Christian enthusiasm showed itself by many infallible proofs, leaders of missionary enterprise who sat with us in the World Conference at Edinburgh, influential churchmen who were labouring earnestly and successfully in the cause of Anglo-German friendship. If the key to their

## BRITISH AND GERMAN SCHOLARSHIP

present behaviour is nothing but a blind patriotism which overwhelms both heart and head, we may well give up human nature as an insoluble riddle.

To analyse scientifically the psychology of German scholarship at the present time is an interesting problem, but not the most practical to which we can address ourselves just now. We have to ask what the future relations will be between British and German fellow workers. This is only a section of the general question which will be the first of all questions when the war is over ; but in view of the immense weight of the scholar class in Germany it becomes a matter of the utmost importance that Britons who come into relations with them should have the right end in view, and pursue it with insight, firmness, and sympathy.

First among all our duties as thinkers or church workers must obviously be the checking of tendencies to Prussianize our own country. These tendencies are by no means imaginary. Among recent utterances of leading intellectuals among us the fine fighting speech of Professor Ridgeway from the chair of the Classical Association is specially worth noting. A vigorous denunciation of mere subservience to German theorizing leads up to a frank acceptance of the most decadent of all Treitschke's dogmas.<sup>1</sup> A condition of unbroken peace would, it seems, 'be the greatest calamity that ever befell the human race. Such a condition means the death of all that is noblest

<sup>1</sup> 'Unconscious acceptance', one should rather say: Professor Ridgeway nowhere suggests that he fathers this dogma on its most conspicuous advocate. He would be the first to shrink from the logical consequences of the doctrine.

## BRITISH AND GERMAN SCHOLARSHIP

and the growth and prosperity of all that is vilest. . . . In a world of perfect peace humanity would perish from its own physical and moral corruption.' That the ideals of the Sermon on the Mount involve such disasters had not occurred to most of us ; and the present is not the happiest time to preach Treitschke and Bernhardt as nobler and more robust evangelists than the original four. If Britain is going to win in this appalling war, it will be through being herself, and not a debased copy of Germany. The drill sergeant as we know him has done his own appointed work to admiration ; and he has no ambition to take charge of departments of our national life in which he has no place. The invasion of the voluntary principle by the Prussian ideal would infallibly ruin our most characteristic virtues, without importing the Prussian efficiency.

In other directions, however, we shall certainly do well *et ab hoste doceri*. There is no reason why our scholarship as well as our business life should not go much further than ever before on the road of German industry, thoroughness, and tireless attention to detail. A large meeting of manufacturers was recently told by a legal and scientific expert that ' the English dislike study. The Englishman is excellent in making the best of the means at his disposal, but he is almost hopeless in one thing. He will not prepare himself by intellectual work for the task that he has to do.' <sup>1</sup> The indictment is not without force even among professed scholars in our country. To be lavish of pains in order to attain perfect familiarity with that corner of

<sup>1</sup> Speech by Lord Moulton, F.R.S., at Manchester Town Hall December 8, 1914.



## BRITISH AND GERMAN SCHOLARSHIP

a big subject in which one hopes to advance knowledge, is a condition of success which the Germans have learnt better than we. The learning of this lesson will not impair but only enhance that gift of divination in which the British scholar at his best excels the German. It will certainly do a great deal to make the ignoring of British work absolutely impossible in future generations.

There is no reason to fear that the collapse of the German military conspiracy will interpose more than a temporary check to the fellowship of research. For a time, of course, feeling is certain to be bitter. The study of the 'North American and West Swiss' languages in Germany will be impeded by the sheer difficulty of getting natives of Britain and France to go and live among a deeply resentful people. But here scholars of the Allied nations, if true to their own ideals, can pursue quietly and tactfully the work of reconciliation. The *ultima ratio* of all research is international co-operation. Never has this been more finely shown than by the famous Berlin theologian, Professor Adolf Deissmann, in his paper on 'International and Interdenominational Research of the New Testament'.<sup>1</sup> And at the head of this most catholic exposition, written in the spring of 1914, there stands the significant comment: 'Upon the Editor's request and after consultation with Dr. Harnack, Dr. Deissmann has agreed that the article shall be published in spite of the present situation.' A great pioneer scholar thus leaves on record his estimate of the indispensable service that British and German scholarship can render to one another

<sup>1</sup> *Constructive Quarterly*, December 1914, pp. 786-804.

## BRITISH AND GERMAN SCHOLARSHIP

and to the cause of knowledge. There must inevitably be severe provocation for some time to come in the writings of many German scholars, who are sure to ignore when they can, and scold when they cannot ignore. But the true princes of learning will most successfully resist temptation, and on our side there should be a minimum of reprisals. We in Britain shall necessarily be much less isolated than in the past. National sympathies will draw together the scholars of France, Russia, Belgium, Italy, Holland, Sweden, America, and our own country, to the great advantage of all ; and a country where knowledge is so prized as it is in Germany will not long be content with aloofness. Our own aim should be to welcome imports from German workshops and appraise them with unflinching impartiality, biding our time till the exports of British learning are equally free in passage. When we have repelled the grisly horror that threatens the world, we can afford to be generous and tactful towards the wounded patriotism of men by whose side we want to work once again, as in the happier days before the evil spirit rose from the abyss to trouble the peace of mankind.

All this our scholars will do by instinct, by the virtue of a tradition of chivalry which our great nation has not to learn now for the first time. But the thinkers of the world will have a higher function yet. This war has been influenced by ideas beyond all wars in history. A titanic struggle, which posterity could hardly match in mere bigness if the loathing bred by it proved insufficient to teach the lesson of peace, has brought out with unimagined vividness what is the meaning of the Will to Power. It

## BRITISH AND GERMAN SCHOLARSHIP

has been ' war in heaven '—Michael and his angels arrayed against the Devil of Nietzsche. Before the war on earth began, we could see the strife in the heavenly places, where thoughts meet in the clash of warfare before they materialize down below. In Britain no less than in Germany the doctrine of force was being proclaimed ; and the right of the strong to do as he willed with his own was set forth in our reviews with barefaced effrontery that made old-fashioned people blush and gasp. Now the consequences of the new morality are before the eyes of all mankind, and men who have suffered from it will be less inclined to regard it as an improvement on the old. It is often said that force cannot destroy the cult of force. But force can only reign while successful, and when defeated on its own field no longer commands the adoration of its blind votaries. The world waits eagerly for the discrediting of the grim idol before which ghastly hecatombs have been offered with blood and tears beyond all thought. Soon, we believe, Moloch will be dragged from his pedestal, and some other object of worship will be set in the empty shrine. Can we doubt what this will be ? The Tempter offered universal sovereignty to the Son of Man, were He only ready to bow before him and hold the throne in fief from the first creator of the Will to Power. He has tempted the nations all too successfully in every age, and in this colossal strife we see the effects of yielding. Surely now the weary nations will turn to the only rival claimant for that throne. Philosophers will preach a new idealism, historians will bring new morals from the accumulated experience of the past, biologists will show

## BRITISH AND GERMAN SCHOLARSHIP

that men do not live by bread alone, or survive in the struggle for existence by the use of the mailed fist. And so, illuminated in heart and mind by salutary pain, the intellectual leaders of the nations will enthrone at last the one true Superman, and He shall reign in His own right to the ends of the earth.

POSTSCRIPT.—*The above pages were passed for press before the publication of Sir John French's report on the effects of the German poison-gases, and, of course, before the sinking of the Lusitania. By these crimes, and by the poisoning of wells in South Africa, official Germany has shown that there is no longer a conscience to appeal to ; and if it proves that German civilians, including the professors, applaud these deeds, or even abstain from denouncing them, we must feel that the gulf between Germany and the civilized world, first opened at Louvain and Rheims, has become too wide for us to bridge till time and God's Spirit have brought contrition. The writer of this paper would only urge that the Christian attitude remains unchanged, although indefinitely harder for flesh and blood to attain. Our supreme fear must be that uncontrollable indignation may sweep our own people into acts which would be unworthy of ourselves. May God preserve us from even the most attenuated contagion of such foulness !*

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## BASIS OF PUBLICATION

This series of Papers is issued under the auspices of a Committee drawn from various Christian bodies and political parties, and is based on the following convictions :

1. That Great Britain was in August morally bound to declare war and is no less bound to carry the war to a decisive issue ;
2. That the war is none the less an outcome and a revelation of the un-Christian principles which have dominated the life of Western Christendom and of which both the Church and the nations have need to repent ;
3. That followers of Christ, as members of the Church, are linked to one another in a fellowship which transcends all divisions of nationality or race ;
4. That the Christian duties of love and forgiveness are as binding in time of war as in time of peace ;
5. That Christians are bound to recognize the insufficiency of mere compulsion for overcoming evil, and to place supreme reliance upon spiritual forces and in particular upon the power and method of the Cross ;
6. That only in proportion as Christian principles dictate the terms of settlement will a real and lasting peace be secured ;
7. That it is the duty of the Church to make an altogether new effort to realize and apply to all the relations of life its own positive ideal of brotherhood and fellowship ;
8. That with God all things are possible.

## ARE WE TO PUNISH GERMANY, IF WE CAN ?

It is a doctrine of civilization that a nation at war must consider two things, namely, its own victory and survival, and the future relations of all civilized peoples. It is the second consideration that has produced international law, according to which nations still have duties to each other when they are at war, because they have duties to the future of mankind, which includes their own future. There is no judge or policeman to enforce international law ; yet it exists because of a common faith of the nations in each other. They lay down rules in the quiet of peace to restrain themselves in the heat of war ; and these are like good resolutions that we make when we are not tempted, so that we may remember them when we are tempted, and so that we may not break them and be treacherous to ourselves.

International law assumes that war is an abnormal state, an evil, and a threat to all civilization. Its aim is to make the threat as little dangerous as possible ; to prevent the exasperation of war from lasting into the peace that is sure to follow ; and to confine the war to the original cause of quarrel, so that, when that is decided

## ARE WE TO PUNISH GERMANY—

by the event, the war may not be continued merely because of the manner in which it has been conducted. Quarrels in some barbarous nations become blood-feuds lasting from one generation to another, and it is one of the chief duties of a family to carry on its blood-feud. International law tries to prevent wars from becoming blood-feuds and from wrecking all civilization by their persistence.

When nations at war keep agreements which they have made in peace, they still have some civilized relation with each other, so that, after the war is over, they can fall back easily into their normal state of friendliness, feeling that the quarrel was about some particular point and not a quarrel for ever or to the death. But if agreements are made in peace and broken in war, there will be a greater exasperation than if there had been no agreement at all; the war, whatever its result, will not end the quarrel; the peace will be one of exhaustion rather than of reconciliation, poisoned by memories of the manner in which the war was conducted.

So it is important that agreements made in peace should be kept in war, merely because they are agreements, and because the breaking of them produces a lasting resentment and a general insecurity. A nation that refuses to enter into any international agreements threatens

## IF WE CAN ?

civilization and its own future less than one which breaks agreements it has made. If it does that, it will seem to have made the agreements only so that it might have the advantage of unexpectedly breaking them ; and this is an advantage for which it will not soon be forgiven. That seems now to be the case of the Germans. They undertook not to use poisonous gases in war, as they undertook not to violate Belgium neutrality ; and in both cases they have gained an advantage by breaking their agreement. We cannot tell how far this bad faith was meant from the first. Probably they always meant to violate Belgian neutrality but not to use poisonous gases. They may have entered into most of their agreements meaning to keep them. Unfortunately they could not conceive of a war in which Germany would not soon make her victory certain. They were ready to keep their agreements, or some of them, so long as her victory seemed certain but when the certainty vanished, then, they felt, the agreements must vanish too ; and they must get what advantage they could by breaking them. This is a war, they say, of life and death ; and what do agreements matter compared with the survival of Germany ? Hence their growing disregard for all international law, both in its main principles and in its details, a disregard which has culminated so far in the use of poisonous gases and in the sinking of the *Lusitania*.

## ARE WE TO PUNISH GERMANY—

The war is a life-and-death struggle, they say ; and they will make it as desperate as possible. They do not look beyond it to the future peace, because that will be made by the crushing of one side or the other ; and there will not be enough left of the losers to feel exasperation or, at any rate, to vent it. That, of course, is nonsense, as the war of 1870 proves. The Germans will not cease to be a nation, if they lose ; nor shall we, if they win. There will always be enough of us left to desire revenge and to make that desire a danger to Germany. But the Germans will not believe that now. We cannot, at present, make any appeal to their reason. We must, therefore, consider only the question of our own conduct.

In discussing this it is worse than useless to express amiable sentiments vaguely or to lament the general wickedness of war. These particular crimes are not part of the general wickedness of war ; and it only exasperates people now to tell them that every nation at war is equally guilty, because it is not true. We have to deal with a situation in which one nation thinks nothing of the future of Europe and wages war with no thought except of victory. She does not care whether she wrecks civilization in the process. If she wins, by whatever means, civilization is secured ; if she loses, it will be destroyed. That is her belief ; and so victory is her only aim, beyond

## IF WE CAN ?

which she does not look. The question is, therefore, whether this recklessness of hers is to impose the same recklessness upon us. Whether we too are to forget the future of civilization in our effort to punish Germany and defend ourselves. There is, of course, a real danger that we shall catch her recklessness, if she is strong enough to win further victories of moment. Our exasperation will grow with her success, especially if she succeeds through her breaking of international law. Then this may become a war as religious, or as irreligious, as the Thirty Years' War and may end in a general and lasting demoralization.

But we can separate in our minds the effort to defend ourselves from the effort to punish Germany; and this separation is important as concerning our motive.

There are people—and it is very natural—who wish not only to defeat the Germans, but to punish them for the manner in which they are conducting the war. But at once the question arises, If we are going to try to punish the Germans, what Germans shall we succeed in punishing, and will the German nation regard it as punishment? Let us take the case of gases. The gas used by the Germans not only puts those who are overcome by it out of action; it also causes them to suffer great pain for a long time afterwards. Now, it may be

## ARE WE TO PUNISH GERMANY—

that we could discover a gas which would put our enemies out of action, but would not afterwards cause them pain. Suppose, then, that we used, not this gas, but the painful gas, with the object of punishing the Germans : those Germans whom we should punish would be poor soldiers who had used the German gas only because they were told to do so, and most of whom were fighting for their country from a sense of duty. The Germans themselves, perhaps, have used a painful gas because they thought that we deserved punishment for our misdeeds ; and we can see in a moment the cruelty and injustice of making our soldiers suffer for the supposed wickedness of Sir Edward Grey. Now I do not believe for a moment that we or our allies would use a painful gas, where a painless one would serve, with the object of punishing the Germans. I only give it as an obvious instance of the cruelty and injustice of reprisals in war, or indeed of any attempt to punish a nation. To those who make the attempt it is a nation that they punish, but to the nation punished it is individual men, or women and children, who suffer ; and they are only enraged at the injustice and cruelty of it, as we are at this moment, when we think of our soldiers choking with the gas or our defenceless countrymen and women drowning in the sea. When one nation tries to punish another, it is never the nation that suffers or is conscious of punishment. The nation is conscious only



## IF WE CAN ?

of the wrong done to individual members of it and of a desire to avenge that wrong.

Thus reprisals, if they are meant to punish, punish the wrong people ; and, if they are meant to deter, they have the opposite effect. We have seen that already in our ' special treatment ' of the prisoners from German submarines and in the eagerness with which the Germans took revenge for it. If they were at all afraid of us or our threats, they would never have bombarded Scarborough. They are not considering the question how they shall pay the bill if they lose. They are not going to lose, they think, but to win through their desperation ; and the more we punish them the more they will punish us, or rather those innocent and unfortunate Englishmen whom they are able to punish. Are we, therefore, going to make our soldiers and sailors suffer, because we want to punish the Germans ? That is the first question we have to ask ourselves, when we talk of punishment ; and to that there can be only one answer.

But there is a further question that we have to ask ourselves, and one that is more important still and perhaps more unpleasant. When we wish to punish the Germans, why do we wish to punish them ? Our immediate answer, if we do not stop to think, will be that we wish to punish them so that they may never do the like again. But is that the real reason ? That is a question which every one

## ARE WE TO PUNISH GERMANY—

must answer for himself ; only it is his duty to find the true answer. There is nothing very wicked in desiring vengeance upon the Germans at this moment ; at least most human beings would desire it ; but to deceive yourself about your own motives is dangerous to yourself and to others. Therefore we must not tell ourselves that we wish to punish the Germans for the good of civilization, if our real desire is to take revenge on them ; for in that case we shall assume the most important point at issue, namely that our revenge will be for the good of civilization. Now it is through assuming points of this kind, and through supposing that their instinctive purposes are moral purposes, that the Germans have reached their present state of mind. Their crimes are great, but not such as no other nation could commit, and they have not committed them because they wished to be wicked. On the contrary they, like us, pride themselves on their moral sense, only unfortunately they have made it flatter their instincts. They wish to win, and they have told themselves that it is for the good of the world that they should win. Hence they do not care how they win, since their victory will be good in itself. We must not fall into the same error, lest we commit crimes like theirs. We must not tell ourselves that our revenge is for the good of the world ; for, if we do, we shall not care how we take it. Let us therefore assume that we have a very natural

## IF WE CAN ?

desire for revenge, and, having assumed that, let us ask whether it is for the good of the world that we should take it. All experience of revenge in the past will tell us that it is not. Revenge always breeds revenge, and no nation was ever convinced of its misdeeds because vengeance was taken for them. If we want to know what is the best way of dealing with our enemy, we must concern ourselves with his state of mind as well as our own. We are filled with moral indignation against the Germans ; but they are no less filled with moral indignation against us. Nothing is easier for any mass of human beings than to feel moral indignation, especially when they are in the wrong. It is in fact the means by which they protect themselves against their consciousness of their own wrong. And if revenge is taken upon them for that wrong, it merely acts as fuel for their moral indignation. They do not see it as revenge at all ; for to do that would be to admit that there was reason for revenge. They see it only as gratuitous wickedness, for which they proceed to take revenge, if they can. Therefore revenge, on one side or on the other, never has any effect except to gratify the instincts of those who take it.

Now we are not fighting this war to gratify our instincts. We have said, a hundred times, that we are fighting it for our own safety and the future of Europe ; and we must

## ARE WE TO PUNISH GERMANY—

continue to fight it for those objects and for no others. Revenge will not bring us safety ; it will do harm, not good, to those of our countrymen who are in the enemy's power ; and it will prolong the war instead of shortening it. For if the Germans see that we are fighting for revenge, they will fight to escape the shame of it long after they are hopeless of victory. If they saw this war only as a trial of strength, they might confess defeat when they were defeated. But if they see it as a war of vengeance, they will fight on with growing recklessness and exasperation, as the Carthaginians fought the Romans in the third Punic War. We may crush them, perhaps, but we shall convince them, not of their wickedness but of ours. And at the end we shall have to deal with a sullen and ruined remnant, still a part of Europe, and still dreaming of future vengeance and past heroism. We want to teach them a lesson, as the saying is ; but it must be one that they will learn. Napoleon tried to teach Prussia a lesson ; but what Prussia learnt from him was the very opposite of what he tried to teach ; and so it will be now if we try to teach through vengeance.

We must make up our minds to it that, if the Germans are to learn any useful lesson at all from the war, they will learn it slowly through defeat and the inevitable consequences of defeat, not through our anger against them ; and further, that, while the war lasts, they will

## IF WE CAN ?

think it treachery to Germany to learn any useful lessons whatever. The consequences of their policy and conduct will become clear to them, not during the war, however much they may suffer from it, but afterwards, when they can consider calmly why they forced it and what they have suffered from it. We have, probably, a wild desire in our hearts to force them to see and confess their misdeeds. We dream of a broken and contrite nation abasing itself before its triumphant enemies. We may be sure that, whatever happens, that will not happen. We may force the Germans on to their knees, but they will not kneel and do penance from their own conviction of sin ; and our desire to see them kneel, however natural, is not to be encouraged. Since we are men and not gods, our business in this war is to conduct it with the aim not of punishing our enemies but of securing a lasting peace after it. And we must, therefore, make the securing of peace our one problem and not confuse it with any other problems suggested to us by our own sense of German wickedness. We must see ourselves, in fact, not as avenging angels but as policemen. The policeman is a figure less glorious and beautiful than the avenging angel ; but remember that Germany at this moment thinks of herself as an avenging angel, and that is why she seems a devil to the rest of the world. If we are avenging angels to ourselves, we shall be devils to the

## ARE WE TO PUNISH GERMANY—

Germans and shall continue to be devils even when we have taken vengeance. That is the way in which the human mind works ; and our moral duty in this war is to be aware of the way in which it works, both in ourselves and in our enemies, and to act so that our actions may have the best possible effect both on our own minds and on theirs.

We may take it for granted that we all feel the German wickedness and should all like to punish them for it. There is no need to prove by strong language our sense of their guilt, or our sorrow for the loss and suffering which it has caused. We do not, in this matter, need to think of ourselves and our own attitudes and emotions at all ; but only of what is best to be done, so that the German crimes may not breed crimes between our children and theirs, many of them orphan children already. If we have a lust for vengeance, let us ask ourselves whether we wish to take it on those children, whatever nation they belong to. That question will make us forget our own emotional luxuries in the desire to save all those children from the calamities which their parents are suffering. The cure for all sentimental savagery, for all hysteria disguising itself as moral indignation, for all egotism that calls itself patriotic, indeed for self-deception of every kind, is in the thought of children

## IF WE CAN ?

and what is to be done for them. And that is not only because of the strong tie of blood which binds the father's present to the future of his child, but also because we see that children are children, and their childishness is not disguised or staled to us by the marks of age that ought to be experience.

But these German leaders, who think themselves gods of war and set their faces fiercely so that they may frighten the world, are only children, too, who have lost all the charm of childhood with their own pretension of wisdom and strength. They can do immeasurable harm because there is no one to whip them and put them to bed. We could laugh at their antics and at all this childish hysteria of the German people, if it were not so mischievous. But, though it has filled the world with mourning and rage, it is still childish and pitiful and blind. Their wickedness is naughtiness, defiant, hysterical, glutting itself upon its own violence. It has to be restrained, if we can restrain it. Germany must be mastered and held down like a child that has lost all control of itself, but not hated or shattered with a blind violence like her own. For if we all give way to the childishness that is in us, the world will become a hideous nursery of murderous children, with no grown-up wisdom or kindness to prevent them from shedding each other's blood ; until nothing is left but death and ruin. We have

## ARE WE TO PUNISH GERMANY—IF WE CAN?

the chance now to exercise that wisdom and also that kindness which, if we cannot feel it for our enemies, we must feel for our own children. And, if we feel it for them and let it guide our hearts, it will not rob us of courage and endurance, but it will make us desire what we ought to desire in the conduct of the war ; and it will show us how that desire may best be accomplished.



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*Third Series*

PAPERS FOR WAR TIME. No. 33

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PEACE WITH EMPIRE!  
THE PROBLEM



BY

EDWYN BEVAN, M.A.

HON. FELLOW OF NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD

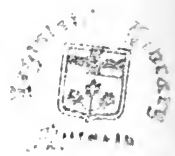
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## BASIS OF PUBLICATION

This series of Papers is issued under the auspices of a Committee drawn from various Christian bodies and political parties, and is based on the following convictions :

1. That Great Britain was in August morally bound to declare war and is no less bound to carry the war to a decisive issue ;
2. That the war is none the less an outcome and a revelation of the un-Christian principles which have dominated the life of Western Christendom and of which both the Church and the nations have need to repent ;
3. That followers of Christ, as members of the Church, are linked to one another in a fellowship which transcends all divisions of nationality or race ;
4. That the Christian duties of love and forgiveness are as binding in time of war as in time of peace ;
5. That Christians are bound to recognize the insufficiency of mere compulsion for overcoming evil, and to place supreme reliance upon spiritual forces and in particular upon the power and method of the Cross ;
6. That only in proportion as Christian principles dictate the terms of settlement will a real and lasting peace be secured ;
7. That it is the duty of the Church to make an altogether new effort to realize and apply to all the relations of life its own positive ideal of brotherhood and fellowship ;
8. That with God all things are possible.

## PEACE WITH EMPIRE: THE PROBLEM

‘GERMANY must be crushed.’ ‘To humiliate Germany would prevent any lasting peace.’ So the war of phrases goes on in our ears to-day. And it *is* largely a war of phrases. For if one gets the people on either side to describe what sort of resettlement of Europe they would like to see after the war, one does not find much difference, so far as recasting the European system goes. No responsible person in England has suggested that Germany should be dismembered in the sense that regions genuinely German in race and sympathies should be torn away from the Empire. No one on the other side can suppose that a settlement involving the loss of Alsace and the Polish provinces would be contemplated for a moment by Germany, except after a defeat so signal as to constitute in itself a pretty considerable humiliation.

What is overlooked in most of this controversy is that the question of resettlement is much more than a European question. When Germans say that they are fighting for their ‘place in the sun’, it is not Europe that they are thinking of, but Africa and Asia Minor and the Islands of the Pacific. Seeley pointed out long ago that rivalry between European nations for the acquisition of extra-European dominion was a main motive behind the wars of the last three centuries. It is well known that up to the eighties of the last century Germany had developed no ambition of extra-European empire. Bismarck, as we are constantly reminded nowadays, looked unfavourably upon a movement which would complicate Germany’s huge European task by rivalries in the colonial field. He was, however, induced to sanction in

## PEACE WITH EMPIRE : THE PROBLEM

April 1884 the appropriation by Germany of a region in South-West Africa ; and then the process began. In the same year the German flag was hoisted in the Cameroons, in Togoland, and in East Africa. In 1885 Germany acquired a large portion of New Guinea, Kiaochao in 1897, and finally Samoa in 1899. The policy of Bismarck, who had described Germany after the Franco-Prussian War as 'satiated', was now thrown over as out of date. The new German Empire, coming as a parvenu among the older European States, which had already divided so much of the world outside Europe amongst themselves, was intensely anxious to have everything that constituted imperial prestige. It had the nervous and assertive delight of the parvenu in finding itself really in possession, just like England, of an Empire overseas. The party of Greater Germany was able increasingly to win the people to its own passion as it brought home through popular publications an imaginative realization of these countries beyond the sea which were Germany's very own. The story by which they had been acquired, the fights with brown or black peoples, the losses incurred by German troops, it invested with a halo of epic sentiment. And yet all the time there was a root of bitterness in the rejoicing. Germany had come too late into the field. Its Empire was really not comparable to the French African Empire, much less to the British Empire. But Germany deserved by its national greatness and efficiency to have the finest Empire of all ! And in the different colonies there were special causes of bitterness, constant galling reminders that their rivals had had the better of them—British Zanzibar an eyesore to German East Africa, the French dominions completely enclosing the German Cameroons, as Lieutenant Mizon declared with a note of triumph to the Paris Geographical Society—'Le hinterland des Camerouns est fermé.'

It is fairly evident that so long as this colonial rivalry goes on, there can be no steadfast peace, however satisfactorily to all concerned the map of Europe might be



## PEACE WITH EMPIRE : THE PROBLEM

drawn. Those persons who are so zealously employed in directing popular attention to the principles on which political frontiers are to be readjusted, in the event of Germany being compelled to accept the terms of the Allies, might perhaps more usefully invite attention to the question of Imperialism outside Europe, if they really wish to labour for a 'lasting' settlement.

As has been said, there is already practical unanimity with regard to the leading principles on which the map of Europe should be re-drawn, whereas about the other questions people hardly think at all. A long letter, for instance, lies before me, sent to the press on September 17 by representatives of the Union of Democratic Control. The letter is headed 'Principles of a Lasting Settlement', and there is not one word in it of extra-European questions !

Perhaps many people, sympathetic with the kind of outlook for which the Union of Democratic Control stands, think that the settlement outside Europe could be effected in a simple and complete way by Great Britain restoring to Germany the colonies captured in the course of the war. It is plain that motives of various kinds might impel us in that direction. There would be a nobler motive—the desire to do the generous thing, to make no gain out of a contest waged professedly for an ideal principle, and also a motive distinctly baser, though apt to run into the other, the thought of what the other nations might say, the dislike not so much of being selfish as of being called selfish, the attraction to a generosity which shows in the world's eye. But the question is not really so simple as it may seem, and the considerations which might deter us from handing back to the German State its former colonies are by no means merely egoistic : there are the complications arising from the part taken by France or by the younger nations of the British Empire, by Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, in the conquest of the German colonies, there is our obligation to consider the peoples native to the territories in question.



## PEACE WITH EMPIRE : THE PROBLEM

For it is not mere inanimate property with which we are dealing, but races of living men, and, after our experience of what the German State is, it might be an act of questionable nobility to replace some millions of our fellow creatures under its absolute sway. And even the desire that England should make no profit out of the war does not give clear guidance, since the value of the German colonies, supposing England *wished* to appropriate them for its own benefit, falls very far below the expenditure which will have been incurred by England in the war, so that it is really not a question of England's gaining by the war, but of England's recovering some small part of its losses.<sup>1</sup>

It would be out of place in these Papers to argue for either policy. One can merely point out that the question is not a simple one which can be decided straight away either on a generous or an egoistic impulse. One thing, however, it seems important for our purposes to realize. If it is the satisfaction of Germany we are thinking about, that is not at all likely to be achieved by our giving back to Germany her colonial Empire as it was last July. It is a leading fact in the situation that Germany felt her colonial Empire to be far too mean for her national greatness ; she was tormented by the consciousness that it showed to a disadvantage beside the rival dominions of Great Britain and France. Germany's Empire had value for her, not for what it then was, but because she saw it as the nucleus of a much vaster Empire which successful war might give her in time to come.

To give Germany back her colonies, as they were, would be to restore a *status quo* essentially unstable. It does not even seem clear that Germany would not more easily acquiesce in a position where she stood altogether aside from the rivalries of transmarine Empire, than with dependencies which kept her appetite for overseas Empire

<sup>1</sup> See Sir Harry Johnston's article, 'Germany, Africa, and the Terms of Peace', in the April number of *The Nineteenth Century and After*.

## PEACE WITH EMPIRE : THE PROBLEM

always alive and which yet could not satisfy it. If she is in for the running at all—to use the colloquial phrase—she can hardly be satisfied so long as she is not making the figure proportionate to her dignity.

But, on the other hand, if Great Britain and France continue to exhibit vast dominions overseas, as a source of exclusive profit and pride, can we expect the German people to do anything, through the generations, but lie in wait for another opportunity to grasp at Empire, a continual danger to European peace? The answer is that, so long as the old Imperialism continues to move the imagination, and excite the cupidity, of the different peoples, there can be no stable peace in the world. What is needed is a thorough re-examination of the imperial idea: we want an Imperialism—if we still give it that name—of a new sort.

One must face—not such questions as ‘What right has Germany to the Cameroons?’ or ‘What right has England to New Guinea?’—but the more fundamental question, ‘What right has any nation to mark out great tracts of the earth’s surface, inhabited by alien races, and proclaim, “This is ours”?’ We inherit, of course, through our school-books, through our popular standards of value, the old pagan tradition which attached a glory to conquest. It is hard to divest ourselves of it, but a time of resettlement after a great world-convulsing war is just the time to re-examine our old principles of action.

One must notice that the question of overseas dominion is confused because the same term, ‘colonies’, is applied to two altogether disparate things. There are colonies proper, such as Canada and Australia, where the surplus population of a European country has emigrated into lands overseas and formed a new self-governing community, and there are dependencies, like British and German East Africa, where the administration of a territory, whose population, for climatic reasons, must always remain non-European, has been forcibly assumed by a European State. In reference to German Imperialism, there is no

## PEACE WITH EMPIRE : THE PROBLEM

question of colonies in the proper sense. England is justly proud of her self-governing colonies, and they, on their part, contribute not a little to the strength of the British Empire as a world-power. It is now too late for Germany to get colonies in this sense, because there is no more unclaimed land left on the planet where a European race can live and propagate. England is not, in this matter, clinging selfishly to something which it might, if it were generous, make over to Germany. Australia and South Africa are not inert bodies to be handed about by superior Powers. They do not 'belong to' England : they are autonomous States which choose to be members of the British Empire. Whether they choose to adhere to it or whether they choose to leave it, no other Power can say them nay.

When we apply the word 'colonies' to the extra-European dependencies of Germany—and the same is true of most of the French 'colonies'—we mean something altogether different. They are not countries which give a home to an overflow European population, but countries inhabited by backward races and governed autocratically by small bodies of European officials. The British Empire, besides including colonies in the proper sense, includes also a number of dependencies of the same nature as the German and French colonial possessions. It is in relation to such dependencies, not to colonies proper, that Europe is faced with the moral problem indicated just now.

That the process by which white men in the last few generations have taken control of the lands inhabited by savage or barbarous peoples has some justification, we can see by asking ourselves whether the result of a contrary policy would have seemed satisfactory to us. Could we wish that a large and fertile part of the earth's surface should remain permanently in the sole possession of backward races who could never develop its resources for the benefit of mankind as a whole? Obviously not. But what needs to be examined is the title of one civilized

## PEACE WITH EMPIRE : THE PROBLEM

race as against the others to call a portion of this land its own. It is plain, surely, that we cannot speak here of the rights of property in the same sense in which we speak of the rights of private property in an organized State. What is 'mine' among my fellow-citizens is what I have acquired under certain conditions prescribed by the law of the State. But there is no common jurisdiction to which the different civilized nations are subject. By a kind of fiction the acquisition of 'colonial' Empire is sometimes assimilated to the acquisition of property in an organized State : documents are drawn up by Europeans in quasi-legal form, which barbarous chieftains are induced to sign and which make over to particular European trading companies the government of this or that extensive region. That a right based on this kind of play-acting is really like a right based on a legal transaction within a civilized State, it would be absurd to imagine. Or the right of the European nation to a territory is based on conquest *sans phrase*. But it is doubtful, surely, whether conquest can confer any 'right' at all. Conquest puts the conqueror in actual possession of a certain territory : he may hold it till a stronger comes to take it away : but the word 'right' would imply that all other Powers were bound to respect his title. Why should the stronger respect the title of the Power in possession, if the title had no other basis to start with than superior strength ?

The justification of 'white' rule in Africa and the South Seas is that the products of those countries are thereby made available for mankind as a whole. But, if so, the rule of any particular nation is only justified so far as it acts as trustee for the rest of the world. The moment it attempts to exploit the country for its own exclusive benefit, we have that anti-social kind of Imperialism which makes assured peace between nations impossible. It might be ideally desirable, as some writers like Mr. J. A. Hobson have indicated, if the rule of civilized nations over the backward parts of the earth were not

## PEACE WITH EMPIRE : THE PROBLEM

left to the chances of a scramble but were directed and controlled by some central Council representing all the civilized nations. One does not see how, in the present state of the world, such an idea is practicable. Nothing, however, seems to need more concentrated thought by those who wish this war to be followed by a 'lasting settlement' than in what form an international character can be given to Imperialism. One thing at any rate seems plain at the outset. Any nation attempting to rule out the trade of other nations from the territory under its control by protective tariffs would be immediately condemned. There would have to be an open door for all trade alike. If a self-governing colony, like Canada or Australia, wished to establish in its own land a tariff preferential to the mother-country, or if a tariff were established in India which protected native industries against British and non-British competition alike, that, even if an economic mistake, would not offend against the principles of the new Imperialism. What would offend is that any nation, in a sphere which it ruled despotically, should give a preference to its own trade. If there are no longer after the war any extra-European territories administered by the German State, the German people should be given no reason to complain that their commercial energy had not full scope to develop on an equality with that of England, France, and America, wherever England, France, or America bore rule outside their own borders. Whatever measures we may rightly take during the war to capture German trade as a method of warfare, our only attempt after the war to capture German trade should be in the way of fair competition.

As a matter of fact, of course, England *has* in the past kept an open door in India and the Crown Colonies to the trade of other nations, and German commerce has developed more largely under the British flag than under the German. But England has never bound herself by an international undertaking to adhere to this policy. There is a doubt, it may be said, whether

## PEACE WITH EMPIRE : THE PROBLEM

France would be willing to do so. Well, of course, France will do as she thinks best in her own dominions, and Great Britain is not in a position to prescribe to her. All we can say is, that supposing France, after the war, does take the course of placing German trade in her African Empire at a disadvantage to her own, the seeds of another European war will continue to be there.

But the European nations who bear rule in Asia, Africa, and the Islands of the Sea are not trustees for the rest of the world only. They are also trustees for the people of the land. If a conquest which suppresses any national life is criminal, no rule can be justified over those races which have not developed a civilized national life, except in so far as the ruling people does whatever is possible to develop the rudiments of it. That this is more or less recognized is proved by the frequency with which the autocratic rule of Europeans over Orientals or over backward races is justified by the benefits it confers. No one supposes that the motive of Europeans in establishing their rule was to confer benefits on the indigenous peoples: their motive was a commercial one; but they have been fain to justify their rule, when it is once there, by showing that it is the best thing for the people governed. It would be wrong not to recognize the extent to which a genuine sense of duty to the people governed was actually operative in the European Imperialism of the nineteenth century. The finer type of European administrator has always been ready to lay down his life for the good of the people committed to his charge. We may say that in so far, whether consciously Christian or not, he approximates to the standard of greatness characteristic of Christ's society, which goes by self-surrender in service and not by power to command, and according to which the Greatest of all was the Servant of all and came to lay down His life as a ransom for many. But we must recognize too that this Christian sense of service has been intermingled in the older Imperialism with the pagan pride of race, pride in the possession of power as

## PEACE WITH EMPIRE : THE PROBLEM

such, just what Christ pointed to as characteristic of the kingdoms of the world and ruled out from His own. The two were blended in different proportions in different individuals. Sometimes one seemed entirely to exclude the other. If we were considering the effect of this pagan pride upon the work which the European, whether as civil servant or missionary, has been trying to do in Africa and the East, one would have to point out how its manifestations are more quickly felt and more keenly resented, as is natural, by the peoples of old civilization, such as those included in the Hindu castes, than by primitive and savage peoples, like the Indian hill-tribes or the black tribesmen of Africa ; and it is just in proportion as the European succeeds in transmitting his own civilization with its special standards of value, in proportion as the Asiatic or African becomes educated in the European way, that sensibilities are created to which the white man's assumption of superiority is wounding. At this point, however, we are rather considering the effect of pagan pride, the pride in empire, upon the relations of the European peoples to each other. And in this connexion one has to bear in mind how very large the element of imagination and sentiment has been in the colonial rivalry of the different nations. It has indeed been the profit to be extracted from the ' colonies ' which has incited different companies and financial groups to push the governments of their countries into a forward imperial policy. The governments, however, were no doubt moved partly, and the peoples who supported them were moved mainly, not by considerations of profit, but by the glamour and prestige of Empire. To the nameless multitude who went to the polls the overseas dominions were something which they saw in imagination through the medium of the popular press, and it added a gusto of pride to thousands of obscure lives to be able to reflect ' I belong to an imperial people '. It was such a feeling which made whole peoples ready to go to war, if any other nation threatened to touch their ' possessions '.



## PEACE WITH EMPIRE : THE PROBLEM

If, on the other hand, the aspect of empire as service became the really popular one, it is questionable whether there would be the same intensity of competition for it among the nations. It seems possible that, as the result of this war, the already large British and French Empires may be further increased by the accession of territories which in July 1914 were German. Such an event may well be regarded with apprehension by those who have a sense of our existing responsibilities. But whether it ultimately proves an aggregate of power such as the world cannot stand depends on whether we honestly in practice conduct our administration in the spirit of unselfish trustees. If Germany, for instance, found in the experience of years that she could dispose of the products of her industry and acquire the raw materials she required as easily under the British flag as under her own, could she really go on believing that her national life was strangled, unless certain tracts in the backward parts of the earth were actually ruled by the German State—tracts, it is to be remembered, in which there could be no question of her emigrants, except in rare cases, finding a home ?

But might not Germans say that even if Empire were divested of profit and of pride, it would still grieve them to be cut off from a share in the work of developing the waste lands and educating the backward peoples ? If England and France acted honestly as impartial trustees, the Germans would not be cut off from their share in the task. They could still come into the different regions of Asia and Africa as traders and explorers and missionaries. They could still, as individual Germans, win an honoured name to be long remembered after them. It would not be Germans who had forfeited their share in the task : it would be the German State. Can we wish that to be otherwise ? To be generous in a Christian way to our enemies does not mean that we are to ignore the enormity of the crimes perpetrated by the German State against humanity, honour, and civilization. These

## PEACE WITH EMPIRE : THE PROBLEM

things have been done, and we cannot so displace the constitution of the world as to prevent their having consequences. It cannot now be possible that a claim of the German State to take a share in civilizing backward races should seem anything but a dreadful mockery. But we are bound to recognize the goodwill, the high sense of honour, the Christian temper, which characterize many individual Germans. As Monsieur Bédier remarks, after citing the journal kept by a German officer in the present war, we may find that the same document which is evidence against the Germans, as to their conduct of the war, proves also that there are Germans who will speak out as strongly and righteously as any one could desire about the facts, when they see them in their brutal reality, not through the distorting medium of official assurances.<sup>1</sup> We must hope that there will be a wide field for the beneficent activity of such Germans in the world after the war, and honour paid them among all nations.

One must of course recognize that to make the Imperialism of the future international, in spirit or in form, would not by any means neutralize all its danger. So far as the object of Empire is to develop the natural resources of the earth, to make Imperialism international would secure that this work should not be carried out for the exclusive benefit of this or that nation. The particular evil of rivalry between civilized States which the old Imperialism has involved would be cured. When, however, we think of the other trusteeship involved in Empire, trusteeship for the indigenous peoples, and consider the temptation which the rulers are under to assert their

<sup>1</sup> ' Diese Art Kriegführung ist direkt barbarisch. Ich wundere mich, wie wir über das Verhalten der Russen schimpfen können ; wir hausen ja in Frankreich weit schlimmer, und bei jeder Gelegenheit wird unter irgend einem Vorwande gebrannt und geplündert. Aber Gott ist gerecht und sieht Alles : " Seine Mühlen mahlen langsam, aber schrecklich klein. " ' Journal of an officer in the 46th Regiment of Reserve Infantry, Vth Reserve Corps, date October 15, 1914. Cited by J. Bédier in the *Revue de Paris* for April 1915 (p. 615).

## PEACE WITH EMPIRE: THE PROBLEM

power beyond what is needful, to refuse to resign it as the education of the people progresses, perhaps even to use it harshly and cruelly—that evil would not be cured by internationalizing Empire. It might even be made worse. Perhaps the worst fate that could befall the backward races is that they should fall under the dominion of vast international business organizations, without conscience or human care. Even German rule, whose principle was laid down by the German explorer Zintgraff as ‘Africa for the Africans *and the Africans for us*’,<sup>1</sup> might be better than that.

In view of the danger on that side, one may believe that it is desirable that particular nations should go on bearing the trusteeship for particular regions of the earth. So far as England bears it for the extra-European dependencies she will have after the war, the way of peace for her, so far as the other civilized nations are concerned, will be to hold the door as open for the world’s trade as it would be under any system of internationalism. With regard to the indigenous peoples, the most delicate and difficult part of her task is before her, as they are brought nearer to her by European education. It is true that she has a rich experience in dealing with primitive races, which give her an advantage over people coming fresh into the field. And yet self-complacency would be dangerous, since the worst difficulty is where England has to deal with peoples that are not primitive, or are ceasing to be so. Here in the future one may hope she will learn the lesson which her closer acquaintance in these days with the spirit and methods of German government might teach her. For the claim of the Germans to superiority is based on exactly that greater scientific system and order, that more perfect efficiency, which we believe we possess in reference to Orientals. We can realize what it would feel like if the German system were imposed

<sup>1</sup> *Das überseeische Deutschland*, by Hutter and others (Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft), p. 164. The saying is quoted as ‘the so uniquely right maxim of Zintgraff’.



## PEACE WITH EMPIRE: THE PROBLEM

upon us by force. Supposing that happened, would it make up to us for the German arrogance if the advantages of German efficiency were clearly proved to us? We know how we should feel, and we can understand, perhaps, how the demonstration that British rule is for their advantage does not immediately make up to sensitive men of the Oriental peoples for the manners of many Englishmen. There is too much akin to the German—that is the fact of the matter—in the Anglo-Indian ideal, something we shall have to get rid of, if we are to accomplish the delicate part of our task before us. This does not, of course, mean that government should be weakly carried on, or an inefficient person, European or Oriental, put, out of Christian charity, in a position for which he is unfit; but we cannot help knowing that it is very hard, as human nature is, for the exercise of power to be separated from a love of power for its own sake, or for a race which has been in a position of privilege not to assert superiority in a hundred ugly ways. Ultimately, no doubt, it depends on the attitude of the heart: it is not the mere fact of rule which hurts; it is the feeling which one human person has for the attitude of another; and where some one really possessed by the spirit which wills rather to serve than to rule is called to rule, men can acknowledge his authority without the sense of humiliation. We need to be reminded over and over again that in none of the departments of life which bring human beings into contact with each other—neither in the relations of state to state, nor race to race, nor class to class—can any change in the forms of association, any readjustment of political or social arrangements, make the contact a happy one, apart from a change of heart.

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## BASIS OF PUBLICATION

This series of Papers is issued under the auspices of a Committee drawn from various Christian bodies and political parties, and is based on the following convictions :

1. That Great Britain was in August morally bound to declare war and is no less bound to carry the war to a decisive issue ;
2. That the war is none the less an outcome and a revelation of the un-Christian principles which have dominated the life of Western Christendom and of which both the Church and the nations have need to repent ;
3. That followers of Christ, as members of the Church, are linked to one another in a fellowship which transcends all divisions of nationality or race ;
4. That the Christian duties of love and forgiveness are as binding in time of war as in time of peace ;
5. That Christians are bound to recognize the insufficiency of mere compulsion for overcoming evil, and to place supreme reliance upon spiritual forces and in particular upon the power and method of the Cross ;
6. That only in proportion as Christian principles dictate the terms of settlement will a real and lasting peace be secured ;
7. That it is the duty of the Church to make an altogether new effort to realize and apply to all the relations of life its own positive ideal of brotherhood and fellowship ;
8. That with God all things are possible.

## THE REASONABLE DIRECTION OF FORCE

THERE are three great instruments for living the common life—love, reason, force. All three are liable to misuse, and all three have been in turn over-valued and in turn neglected ; but the consequences from the misuse of force are so appalling that there are men, and these among our greatest, who have refused to recognize it as an instrument in any sense. None the less, its use continues, alike between individuals and between nations. Only it is vital to notice that between individuals, in civilized countries at least, its use is rare and strictly regulated ; between nations, even highly civilized nations, its menace is perpetual and its use scarcely regulated at all.

Why is this ? Doubtless in part because the problems between individuals are simpler, and in some ways much easier to adjust. There are, it is true, sound analogies between the life of individuals and the life of nations, but there are also important differences, which are often overlooked.<sup>1</sup> (a) The life of a nation is continuous over a long stretch of time, but individuals incessantly replace each other by the processes of life and death, and death, though it is no solution of injustice, constantly puts an end to an unjust situation. (b) Other ways of escape

<sup>1</sup> For the following section see Mr. Bradley's lecture on *International Morality in The International Crisis in its ethical and psychological aspects* : Oxford University Press.

## THE REASONABLE DIRECTION OF FORCE

are open to individuals through change, movement, growth : a partner in trade, unfairly treated, can leave to found business elsewhere, a workman finds fresh employment, an oppressed child grows up and emancipates himself, but States cannot remove themselves, and when they grow, intricate problems grow with them. (c) An individual often may, and often does, feel it his duty to sacrifice his own existence, but this can rarely be the duty of the State. There are millions of individuals in this world ; there are perhaps forty States, scarcely twenty that are civilized. It cannot be the same to surrender one out of millions, and one out of twenty existences, especially if we add the poignant thought that an incalculable sacrifice is being imposed on the future as well ; millions yet to be born are being deprived of their natural rights. And the contribution to human life made by a great nation is irreplaceable, beyond comparison with the contribution made by any ordinary individual, however noble. Nevertheless, this distinction should not be exaggerated. There is too much cant about the constant danger to national existence, whereas, in the last hundred years of European history most of the sacrifices needed, and refused, could not for a moment have imperilled the national life of any State ; the life of a nation is not the delicate plant that some would take it to be. The European States themselves have, on occasion, been better than some of their theorists,<sup>1</sup> and in general it is clear that the union of large countries like England, France, Italy, and Germany would have

<sup>1</sup> e. g. the South German States when surrendering their independent foreign relations for the sake of German unity in 1870 : England, when she handed the Ionian Islands to Greece in 1863.

## THE REASONABLE DIRECTION OF FORCE

been impossible without self-sacrifice on the part of the smaller units which they replaced. But allowing for all this, the broad statement remains true that a nation cannot and ought not to surrender its existence or its rights as readily as an individual.

This truth, far more than the idea that human nature cannot change and that man is by nature a fighting animal, lends strength to the instinctive morality which says 'we shall always have war'. If there is no other way of defending national rights and national liberties except by war, then, it is felt, war must be accepted. And here it may be said that the present writer accepts the first article in the basis of these pamphlets, agreeing that England, having to choose between two evils in August 1914, was justified in choosing what was perhaps the lesser evil—war. But such a choice of the lesser evil remains morally right only so long as the mind refuses to accept either alternative as really satisfactory and struggles forward to a better way.

To that struggle we must give ourselves, and it is here we meet with a second instinctive morality, just as strong as the first, which believes that war, as we know war, must and shall be abolished. The strength of this instinct does not rest entirely on a sense of the horrors of war (which may be shared by those who say wars must last for ever), but rather on a sense of the guilt which war involves. Kant (*Zum ewigen Frieden*, 1795, note at the end of the chapter on the second article of peace) explains how he would think it 'not improper' (*nicht unschicklich*) if, at the end of a war or following a victory, after the usual rejoicings and services of thanksgiving, there should be prescribed a day of repentance, to be spent in asking pardon of Heaven in the name of the State



## THE REASONABLE DIRECTION OF FORCE

for the great sin of which the human race is still guilty in not submitting its international relations to a legal settlement, but in its pride still preferring to use the barbaric method of war, which fails to secure the end sought, namely, the rights of each State.

This second instinctive morality has already accomplished much. Its greatest achievement is constantly ignored : in ancient times the normal condition between States was that of war, only interrupted by compacts of peace ; gradually it has come to be that of normal peace rarely interrupted by a state of war. After the murder of King Alexander and Queen Draga in June 1903, when diplomatic relations were broken off between England and Serbia, the resulting condition, which might be called the normal condition of modern countries, was not that of war, but of peace. Had we wished to go to war with Serbia at that time, we should have needed a regular declaration of war.

The second achievement of this instinctive morality is also great ; war, it is felt now, must be justified on other grounds than those of mere acquisition ; it matters little that the justification is often shallow, or even false : a public standard has been established, and it is one of incalculable value. The efforts made by all executives to justify themselves in the present war are only a single proof. It is remarkable with what vigour and tenacity the peoples concerned have taken up this question ; their arguments all tend to the same end, to prove that they were attacked. It is dubious whether this is a valid line of argument ; it springs, no doubt, from the perfectly right instinct that there is something wrong in the way we make wars at present, but as an attempt to save the situation, it is hopelessly inadequate.

## THE REASONABLE DIRECTION OF FORCE

The distinction between offensive war and defensive cannot be made absolute ; in the present case it has broken down completely : it has broken down in fact, for all sides claim to be on the defensive, which seems a *reductio ad absurdum* ; apart from this the argument breaks down in theory, for, if the use of force in the shape of war is right at all, by what possible reasoning can it be made wrong for a State to attack voluntarily on behalf of right ? Why must it wait until it can produce some shallow pretext of being attacked ? We all admire the man who thrashes the bully found beating a victim, and no case is more constantly quoted by militarists to prove their position, yet the hero who beats the bully has not himself been attacked. We side with Garibaldi against the Austrians and Bourbons, yet it was undoubtedly Garibaldi who made the attack.

## THE DEFICIENCIES OF OUR PRESENT SYSTEM

The conflict of these two instinctive moralities accounts for our present curious condition : the wrongness of war seems to be so patent, and yet—we have war.

Undoubtedly our international lags behind our national morality. The differences between States and individuals are, as we have seen, great ; yet, after all, States are composed of individuals, and war and peace, coming within the general sphere of human right and wrong, depend for their existence on the operation of the human will. It is not a question of striking out into a visionary and untested Utopia, far in advance of our personal or even our communal morality, but of bringing international morality into line with the rest of human endeavour, of abolishing this amazing discrepancy. States, we admitted,

## THE REASONABLE DIRECTION OF FORCE

are excluded from the benefit of rapid or easy change of circumstances or from that of the great solvents, birth and death ; but we need not on that account despair of finding a solution, for our own reason has already made a beginning in the work ; we need only courage to follow up our own discoveries.

War is the use of force, and the use of force is not in itself wrong at this stage of human life ; but war is the use of unregulated force, and as such profoundly unsatisfactory, entirely inadequate to the conception of justice which we have already evolved. It is claimed that war is a rough kind of international justice, and indeed, it is difficult to see on what other claim the horrors of war could be contemplated. But what kind of justice is war after all ? In civil justice we do not shoot our criminals at sight, or put them into prison for years before we try them, nor does civil justice involve that vicarious punishment which is so truly terrible in war, where it is not those who have made the war, whoever they may be, who suffer, but others, often women and children, who undergo the worst outrages. Moreover, even if we put the utmost confidence in the character of the accuser, we do not allow him to mete out punishment to the accused by a kind of swift and glorious instinct, without any impartial scrutiny, any application to the judgement of another than himself. It is well enough to talk of the commission of nations, but it is unendurable that we should put power into the hands of any single nation whatever to chastise in this haphazard and arbitrary way. In private life it would be thought insane to expect justice on such terms.

But it is claimed for war that it is, more or less, a successful adjuster of the relations between States : ‘ negotia-



## THE REASONABLE DIRECTION OF FORCE

tions up to a certain point—yes, but after that war ; there are some situations which only war can adjust’—how often have we not heard the well-worn argument ? But does war adjust ? Is it successful ? Can it bring about a better state of things ? When all have the means of force at their disposal, the use of force evokes the answer of force. The victory of right, therefore, is dependent on securing for right the greatest force, and this can obviously only be secured if the preponderance of force is in the hands of those who will aid the preponderance of right. Unless these two coincide, force had better not have been evoked.

A desperate attempt to save the situation is made by those who argue that the innate justice of a cause will lead to victory. This was formerly an illusion of the human race, and as long as it obtained, men could not be blamed for the use of war. It was an illusion—but it should be one no longer. Experience should have taught us by now that victory depends, in the main, on factors quite distinct from moral right, on military and economic factors. The old fallacy is due to the optimism of the human race, which, in spite of bitter and long-repeated experience, cannot bear to confess that the wrong conquers on so huge a scale ; to admit even a temporary victory for evil seems to many good people a blasphemy against the good ; they will not face the forces of evil and content themselves with a general belief that the good triumphs. But an eventual triumph of good may be hastened or retarded ; the point of human effort is to hasten it, and experience shows it can be retarded.

‘ But a deeper investigation, a more profound analysis—history herself, looking over a long vista of past time, affirms the eventual justice of the verdicts given by war.’



## THE REASONABLE DIRECTION OF FORCE

Why then should history struggle so hard to investigate the rights and wrongs of famous wars, if it were not just that she doubts war's brutal verdict? No: the judgement of history is sometimes inconclusive, sometimes it modifies, rarely it affirms, often it contradicts, the judgement of victory, for the reflective mind of man is wiser than his action done in heat and passion. Men may say that they accept victory as judgement: but they are better than their word. Is the total and amazing victory of Prussia in 1866 and of Germany in 1870 to prove that there was no right whatever on the side of Austria or France? Is there nothing to be said for Poland? or for Jerusalem? History contradicts these harsh and untrue verdicts of war.

After all, a few moments' reflexion should show us that it is really impossible on our present system to guarantee that the nation which happens to be most in the right shall at that moment of its history have the best guns, the biggest population, the most money, and the ablest leaders. The benefit of war, as we know war, is in fact so questionable that the nations of Europe have shrunk from it recently in a way that is almost cowardly: again and again they have slurred over serious questions and even hideous crimes, rather than have recourse to it, and the actual outbreak, when it has come at last, has been due not so much to the deliberate purpose of a whole nation as to the chicanery of a group, or the effect of sheer chance on those vague emotional factors that are so hard to calculate and so potent when aroused. In our whole system, or lack of system, what is there to ensure that the preponderance of force between nations should be used on the right side? But to ensure that is our crying necessity.

## THE REASONABLE DIRECTION OF FORCE

### THE PREPONDERANCE OF FORCE TO AID THE GREATER RIGHT

This should be our aim, and to help us in it we need some system that will achieve, first, a real inquiry into the question where lies the greater right, and next, some practical means for securing the preponderance of force in accordance with that inquiry. We need, in short, an international court of justice and a police. Force is used successfully within the nation by the invention of the police, the police courts and Parliament, and its success depends upon the fact that the majority use their preponderance of power in accordance, on the whole, with the accepted principles of good order. To count on such success involves, no doubt, the assumption that most people want the world to be peaceful and orderly, and that they can agree on their fundamental conceptions of order and peace, but this is an assumption that the author, for one, has no hesitation in making.

No, it is objected, the police-force rests eventually on the sanction of martial law, the use of the police is only a mild form of martial law disguised. This is a fallacy : a fallacy that depends on the confusion between the normal life of the State, when there is, on the whole, an essential agreement throughout the mass of the people as to the fundamental principles of order, and the abnormal, dislocated, diseased condition of far-reaching civil strife when the State is as a house divided against itself. Such abnormal conditions do occasionally arise, and pacifists should bear them in mind, but within the nation they are now recognized as abnormal. The declaration of martial law by a modern Government is a confessed failure of government, and no one expects the failure to be

## THE REASONABLE DIRECTION OF FORCE

permanent. No Englishman could tolerate the thought of living year in, year out, under martial law ; the one subject which Parliament has debated with real vigour lately is the question of courts martial as against the civil courts, and here the instinct of the nation has plainly condemned martial law. Obviously modern government is largely by consent, and the idea that it rests on force alone is even more ludicrous and misleading than the view that there is no force in the world at all ; where consent breaks down, modern governments are apt to be peculiarly helpless—witness the suffragettes. Therefore we need not despair of regulating and restricting the use of force between nations as within nations, even though we admit the possibility that from time to time martial law between them, as within them, may have to be proclaimed. We may hope much from the federation of States, and yet recognize that not even federation can guarantee universal peace. The American Civil War arose from a split within a federation. But we shall not do ill if martial law is used as seldom, in proportion, between nations as within their borders.

The use of the police, then, may be taken as our type, a peculiarly successful instance of government both by consent and by coercion ; it involves both these principles. No system of government, national or international, will be successful, which does not look facts in the face, and the facts are just these : that neither persuasion nor force, taken alone, are at present sufficient instruments for adjusting human relationships : both are needed. It is on this fundamental principle that we trace a true, and not a false analogy between the lives of States and the lives of individuals. The condition of the civilized world will continue to be wrong until the

## THE REASONABLE DIRECTION OF FORCE

true connexion between persuasion and force has been established in the system of States. The use of force must no longer be arbitrary and unregulated ; it must follow, one might say, automatically, after an investigation into rights and wrongs on principles of reason.

Now the investigation into rights and wrongs is not an easy thing. It requires :

1. Time.
2. Impartiality and disinterestedness of mind.
3. The judgement of more than one person, i.e. a community of minds.

In international affairs, at present, the first condition can be obtained only by self-control, helped by some such arrangement as the new treaty between America and England, imposing a year's interval between open disagreement and the recourse to war. But anything in the shape of an international trial might also give the required condition, for justice refuses to be hurried ; the delays of the law are sometimes all to the good. The second and third conditions can be obtained only by *an international tribunal of neutral nations*, and it is on these neutral nations that will rest the responsibility of imposing their decision, by force if necessary. Yet the use of international inquiry alone might experimentally precede the use of international tribunals backed by the sanction of an international police. It would be a great point gained if the nations would submit to inquiry, even without binding themselves absolutely to accept a legal verdict. (For this point and a discussion of the different degrees of international arbitration which are or might be acceptable see Professor Adams' pamphlet, *International Control*, in this series.) Again, the 'economic sanction', i.e. the cutting off of all supplies

## THE REASONABLE DIRECTION OF FORCE

from the offending nation, will be a perfectly sound application of police principles, where circumstances allow it ; it may range from a moratorium, or closing of all Stock Exchanges against the offending country, to a blockade preventing the entry of food or anything else whatever. The threat of it should in many cases be sufficient. It is further clear that in cases of what might be called assault, action must be taken by the neutral Powers simultaneously against both parties, even if all the wrong seems for the moment to lie only with one party ; it is decidedly instructive to notice that in cases of individual assault the police insist that both parties should proceed to the police station, where a preliminary investigation is held. If it is objected that it is one thing to walk quietly to a police station, and another thing to face troops and guns, the answer is that a nation conscious of the rightness of its cause will not oppose the entry of the international police to occupy some strategic points in the country ; there can be no question of a violation of national sovereignty, such as at present makes even mobilization on the borders of a neighbouring country cause such frightful resentment and emotion ; for such a precautionary entry of the international force is 'without prejudice'—to use a lawyer's phrase—to the rightness of a cause. It is clear that the international police must undertake the duty of protecting an occupied country from the other side, and from a practical point of view it is essential to arrange for the quick mobilization of the international force. But we are taking for granted that the international force will be in deed and fact a preponderant one, and most of these problems are, if difficult, only problems of mechanism and ingenuity ; the wit of man

## THE REASONABLE DIRECTION OF FORCE

has solved far more difficult things, and the increasing quickness of world communication is a distinct asset.

Whatever may be the practical arrangements evolved, their primary aim will be to secure opportunity for an impartial tribunal to hear the causes of the nations. Then indeed can force be used in the right way—then will the new Europe come to birth. But if the tribunal is to be impartial, it will be essential that the decisive voice should not rest with either of the disputing nations. They must plead only as accusers and accused, not as sole and final judges, a condition that has been hopelessly lacking in most of the disputes concerning the present war. If it be argued that this is to take a very low view of human nature, and that even those who are interested may give a just verdict, the answer is, alas! to be drawn from our human experience. The truly extraordinary trouble taken to exclude all interest from modern juries and modern judges speaks for itself, and we cannot, at any rate as yet, afford to disregard such evidence. At the same time it would be well not to confuse the two distinct qualities of impartiality and holiness. Holiness is an attribute of the Divine justice; no human judge is holy. England flagrantly violated the neutrality of Denmark in 1807; let us be quite clear about this and not gloss over the sin or assume a quality of holiness which we never can possess. True; yet England may be right in her accusation concerning the violation of Belgian neutrality, and the author, for one, counts it not idle to dream of a future when Germany herself shall bear a distinguished part in asserting the sacred rights of international law.

# THE REASONABLE DIRECTION OF FORCE

## CONCLUSION

The reasonable direction of force in the lives of nations, i.e. the use of international tribunals and international police, will not always be satisfactory, just as the verdicts of our present courts of justice are not always satisfactory. Yet it will be worth while to accept the unsatisfactory for the sake of the satisfactory. We sometimes rail against the law, yet we should do very ill without law.

The reasonable direction of force in the lives of nations will be inadequate, and yet by no means so criminally inadequate as that state of the nations in which they were unable or unwilling to prevent the Armenian massacres, the dismemberment of Poland, the disfranchisement of Finland, the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the devastation of Belgium, and in which for years they had to condone the Congo horrors. Nevertheless, it is true, it will be inadequate. For when all is said and done, neither reason alone nor force alone, nor the reasonable application of force, will adequately deal with international relations. Situations between nations, as between men, will be insoluble except with the help of the first among the three instruments of living, the most potent of them all—love. Goodwill between nations is the indispensable preliminary to universal peace.



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## WHAT IS AT STAKE IN THE WAR

SINCE August 1914 much has been written about 'the war which is to end war', and even those who are too strongly imbued with the reality of things to believe in so sudden and radical a change in human nature, earnestly hope that when once the hurricane which is still devastating Europe has spent itself, it will at least be followed by a long period of calm and recuperation. The Napoleonic Wars ushered in a generation of peace, and it is safe to assert that the present war before it is over, will have crowded as much carnage, destruction, and human misery into a relatively brief period, as the twenty years of upheaval to which the French Revolution gave birth. The millions who return from the field will have no desire to renew their experience of modern armaments or to extend the study of cultured savagery. They are likely to hold to strict account those responsible for their sufferings, to insist that the struggle shall not have been in vain, and that the settlement shall give some concrete expression to their ideals.

Never in history will the statesmen, in whose hands the control of Foreign Policy lies, have been faced by so great a responsibility as in those months of negotiation which must inevitably separate the conclusion of hostilities and the final establishment of peace. It is already obvious that no single Power will obtain the maximum of its desires and that disappointment is in store for all extremists. But this need not cause excessive regret; indeed it may even be regarded as indispensable to the attainment of that *juste milieu* which will assure safety and satisfaction to the victors without kindling in the vanquished that intolerable sense of wrong which goads men to fresh violence.

## WHAT IS AT STAKE IN THE WAR

The new Europe must be built on deep and broad foundations—but on lines of atonement, not of vengeance. We must make it possible for our enemies to emerge from the mood of exaltation and arrogance into which their rulers have plunged them, and to join in the necessary work of reconstruction. But this involves as an essential preliminary the overthrow of those hidebound diplomatic traditions which have so long been the bane of international relations and which are above all responsible for the present war. The Congress of Vienna (1815) remapped Europe in accordance with the interests of her dynasties ; the Congress of Berlin (1878) settled the Near East on a basis of governmental interests, as conceived by the Great Powers. The coming Congress of 1916 or 1917 must give preference to the interests of the nations themselves. No fair-minded student of modern history can resist the conclusion that it was the neglect of national aspirations and of the economic problems which are so inextricably bound up with them, that has been directly responsible for most of the great wars and revolutionary outbreaks of the past century, and above all for the failures which attended more than one diplomatic settlement.

Hence all who have the peace of Europe at heart, are bound to insist in season and out of season, that the chancelleries of the Entente shall not be allowed, whether by the corroding influence of the censorship or by the momentary exigencies of the military situation, to betray that principle of Nationality to which they stand irrevocably committed. It was a true instinct which nailed the colours of nationality to the mast ; but rust and rough usage are already loosening the hold of the nails. Those who control our foreign policy are thoroughly honest and well-meaning : but unless they receive firm backing from a keen and well-informed public opinion, they run grave risk of succumbing to the forces of reaction which are so steadily being brought to bear upon them from the most unexpected quarters both at home and



## WHAT IS AT STAKE IN THE WAR

abroad. Unless such a body of opinion can be created—and it cannot as yet be said to exist—it is utterly futile to indulge in vague invective against ‘secret diplomacy’. All sensible democrats are in favour of democratic control of Foreign Policy, but the foremost obstacle to that control has been not so much the existence of an aristocratic caste or its alleged aversion to intruders from another class, as the boundless and dispiriting indifference of the masses in this country to the problems which inevitably give to that policy its direction. As an able critic has recently remarked, ‘there can be no *revolutionary* change in foreign politics until the Peoples have learnt more’. People who neither know nor care about the difference between Sofia and Bucarest, between Poles and Czechs, between Trieste and Valona, between Tangier and Tripoli, are obviously incapable of forming any just views upon the future of the Balkans, upon Russo-German rivalry, or upon British naval policy in the Mediterranean. The war has revealed the abyss of ignorance beside which the nation had so contentedly reposed for years, and we are now faced by a unique opportunity for making good the omissions of the past. But in spite of many gallant efforts we are still some way from that concentration of expert opinion and practical experience which is the only sound basis for a constructive, as opposed to a merely negative, policy.

What, then, is our policy to-day? Its main principles were brilliantly summed up by the Prime Minister in his memorable speech of September 19. They were, he said, ‘firstly, to vindicate the sanctity of treaty obligations and what is properly called the public law of Europe; secondly, to assert and to enforce the independence of free states, relatively small and weak, against the encroachments and violence of the strong; and thirdly, to withstand, as we believe in the best interests not only of our own Empire, but of civilization at large, the arrogant claim of a single Power to dominate the development of the destinies of Europe’. Yet clear and admirable as

## WHAT IS AT STAKE IN THE WAR

this summary is, it is meaningless unless we attempt to translate its phrases into the hard facts of the political world.

One fact has already become abundantly clear since those words were uttered—that whereas the victory of the Central Powers means an absolute German hegemony over enemies and allies alike, the victory of the Entente will be the joint work of an ever-expanding group of Powers. While Germany, if she wins, will justly regard herself as having saved Austria-Hungary from destruction, not one of her rivals, in the event of the triumph of the Entente, will be able to claim a monopoly of the credit. Each will have contributed to the common cause, but in each case that contribution will have been an indispensable part of the total effort. Here at least it is possible to find some consolation. The victory of William II would be a victory for the spirit which inspired Louis XIV or the first Napoleon, a reversion to the vanishing era of insolent conquest and plunder. The victory of the Allies will be a victory for Europe and the European system. What might have been a mere war for French or British or Russian Imperialism, has thus become a conflict in which all good 'Europeans', to say nothing of Americans, are ranged against a single renegade foe.

The creed of the Allies is a creed of diversity, that of the Germans is a creed of uniformity. The openly avowed aim of their political and academic thinkers is the imposition of a single form of 'culture'—the German—upon a world which has blindly failed to appreciate its merits. Hence their victory would mean the subjection of Europe to a new doctrine of Infallibility as demoralizing for its inventor as it would be intolerable for its victims. The victory of the Allies, on the other hand, will be the joint work of widely different ideals and traditions, and will vindicate the right of every people to preserve and develop its own national individuality. As a writer in the *Nation* has well said, the allied nations oppose to Germany's senseless worship of the 'Will-to-Power' an

## WHAT IS AT STAKE IN THE WAR

invincible faith in the 'Right-to-Live' of small and great nations alike.

Let us turn from theory to practice, and consider briefly what the victory of the Allies involves in the language of hard political facts. We are fighting three enemies of widely differing character, quality, and strength—Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey. In any consideration of our policy towards them, it is advisable to treat them in the inverse order to their importance, for reasons which will soon become obvious. In peace-time all save the extremists favoured palliatives. To-day only the most drastic measures will meet the case. Hence the victory of the Allies means the dismemberment of Turkey and Austria-Hungary—first because only thus can we hope to isolate and bring Germany to her knees, and secondly because only on their ruins can we erect the new Europe of our dreams. Of these two organisms, the one is rotten to the core, the other has unhappily shown itself incapable of internal regeneration, and both have made themselves the voluntary tools of a stronger and more unscrupulous Power.

In Turkey to-day the issue is clear. The art of government has always been a sealed book to the Turk, and for generations past there has been a blight upon everything that he has touched. 'The grass does not grow under the Turkish hoof,' says the Christian proverb, and never has proverb been more signally justified. The final and unanswerable condemnation of Turkish rule consists not in recounting the periodic massacres and outbreaks which its discontented subjects have provoked, but in contrasting the material and moral condition of the various provinces before and after conquest, and still more their condition a generation before and a generation after the expulsion of the Turks. Whether it be Hungary, Croatia, Serbia, Greece, Roumania, Bosnia, or Bulgaria, it is always the same monotonous story of corruption, misery and stagnation, followed by a rapid resurrection from what seemed irretrievable physical and moral

## WHAT IS AT STAKE IN THE WAR

ruin. The Turk has never understood any principle save that of physical force : by the sword he built up his empire, and by the sword he is losing it. When the discord of his former vassals, aggravated by the intrigues of the Great Powers, enabled him two years ago to recover the last wreck of his European dominions, he became a mere tool of the state which had always shown a complete and consistent disregard for the fate and interests of the Balkan Christians. To-day Turkey is dragged at the heels of Germany. A tiny group of adventurers, as little Turkish by race as they are Mohammedan by religion or conviction, dictates to the Khalif of Islam, in German interests, a Holy War against the leading Moslem power in the world ; and its ringleader, the assassin of his own commander-in-chief, is accepted as an honoured ally by the monarch who plunged Europe into war on the pretext of avenging the murder of an allied prince. Truly the times are out of joint.

‘ The Turkish Empire ’, said Mr. Asquith, ‘ has committed suicide and dug with its own hand its grave,’ and all British parties are to-day united in accepting the Gladstonian policy of driving the Turks ‘ bag and baggage ’ out of Europe. The delicate problem of Constantinople and the Straits, so long evaded and postponed, must at last be definitely solved ; and we are faced by the alternative of bolstering up for a fresh period the unstable and iniquitous rule of the Sultan, or freely offering the city to Russia, thus satisfying the yearning of centuries for St. Sofia and for the open sea. The creation of a small international state, composed of the countries bordering upon the Sea of Marmora, is an attractive idea, so long as it is merely considered theoretically ; any attempt to put it into practice would conjure up the very gravest difficulties and dangers. The Cross of St. Andrew is the only possible substitute for the Crescent of Islam, and it can hardly be doubted that Constantinople will profit as fully and as rapidly by the change as did Batum or Baku a few decades ago. To Russia the question is one of sentiment, of strategy,

## - WHAT IS AT STAKE IN THE WAR

and of economics, and these three needs once satisfied, the Western Powers in their turn would be entitled to demand that Constantinople, shall remain a free port for the commerce of all nations, and that special guarantees of free access to the Mediterranean shall be offered to Roumania, to whom the question of the Straits is a matter of life and death, and who has all the more claim to be considered in view of her peculiar position as the guardian of the Danubian delta and that great river's trade with Central Europe. Bulgaria already has a direct access to the Aegean, which may perhaps be extended as the result of a friendly agreement with her neighbours; but Roumania will always remain dependent upon the Bosphorus, and no solution of the Eastern Question which ignores her interests and claims can be either just or permanent.

The problem presented by Austria-Hungary is infinitely more complicated. With its twelve principal races and ten chief languages, with its seven religions and twenty-three legislative bodies, it provides at every turn pitfalls for the unwary or superficial student: and the bare idea of its collapse has filled with terror every advocate of the *status quo*. Small wonder that Palacky's famous phrase, 'If there were no Austria, it would be necessary to create one', should have been re-echoed as a parrot cry for the last sixty years. A true instinct made even the most ignorant feel that the continued existence of the Habsburg Monarchy was essential if a European cataclysm was to be avoided. And yet M. Sorel was unquestionably right when he declared that 'on the day when the Eastern Question appears to have been solved, Europe will inevitably be confronted by the Austrian Question'. The troubles which precipitated the great struggle were due to the inter-action of Balkan and Austrian racial problems—the jetsam of the receding Turkish tide. During the long reign of Francis Joseph, Austria-Hungary has made marked progress in many directions—politically as well as materially; but the attitude of her governing

## WHAT IS AT STAKE IN THE WAR

classes has always been a fatal drag upon the wheel. Her statesmen, far from realizing that so conglomerate a state could not rest upon a negative basis, openly proclaimed and acted upon a policy of 'jogging along' (the famous 'Fortwursteln' of Count Taaffe), of half measures alike in internal and in external affairs. The House of Habsburg, with all its faults and shortcomings, has earned the gratitude of Europe as the champion, for three centuries, of Christendom against the Turks. But with the disappearance of all danger from that quarter a fresh policy was needed, in order to weld into a single whole the medley of peoples whom the dynasty had gradually gathered round it. The necessity for a strong lead in this direction became more and more urgent with every decade, as national feeling gathered force; and yet Francis Joseph has consistently refrained from giving such a lead. At last, when the approaching dissolution of the Dual Monarchy was already the theme alike of superficial observers outside and acute thinkers within, there appeared in the person of the late Archduke Francis Ferdinand a man who seemed to possess the energy, knowledge, and gifts of leadership without which so herculean a task as the regeneration and reconstruction of the state would have been foredoomed to failure. His shortcomings were obvious, but his honesty of purpose and his belief in the mission of his house could not be gainsaid. It is the fashion to regard his uncle as the victim of some elemental Oedipean tragedy; but surely the fate of the nephew is infinitely more tragic. At the moment when he awaited with growing impatience the supreme moment of opportunity, confident that he would rally round him in his effort all the best brains of the Monarchy—at that moment he was struck down by the hand of an assassin, and his place was filled by a thoughtless and inexperienced youth better versed in light opera than in even the simplest problems of the political world.

His death removed the one man capable of restoring order to an internal situation which—for lack of any

## WHAT IS AT STAKE IN THE WAR

positive action—was rapidly becoming desperate. It removed, too, the chief restraining influence in the councils of the Monarchy and left the war parties supreme in Central Europe. The reactionaries of Berlin and the reactionaries of Budapest joined hands over the inanimate body of Austria. German and Magyar are inspired by a common resolve to maintain their domination over the Slav, to prevent the rising democracies of Western Slavdom from coming to their own. To-day we see Germany mercilessly draining the resources of Austria-Hungary in a quarrel which is altogether hateful to a majority among the latter's population; we see the exploitation of close upon thirty million people by their traditional enemies. If the menace of German military hegemony is to be removed from Europe, the first and most obvious task of the Allies must be the emancipation of the Slav and Latin races of Austria-Hungary, the vindication of their right to a free national development.

Before the war much was heard of the alleged attempt to 'ring round' Germany by a superior combination of hostile Powers. The events of the last nine months have effectually exploded the theory of the Entente's menace. Germany has not only proved herself a match for her three great rivals, despite the secession of one member of her own group, but has even succeeded in galvanizing her remaining ally into fresh life. But this is the last spasmodic effort of a system which belongs to the age of feudalism rather than to modern times. The great war is a hideous proof that the policy of racial dominance and forcible assimilation is morally bankrupt, but through its long-drawn-out horrors we believe that more than one dream of national unity and liberation will be realized, and that those racial minorities whose separate existence reasons of geography and economics render impossible, will attain guarantees of full linguistic and cultural liberty.

The moment is still far distant when we can attempt to define the new frontiers of Europe; but in view of the complicated issues involved it is already necessary to

## WHAT IS AT STAKE IN THE WAR

weigh very carefully the various alternatives. The dissolution of Austria-Hungary—an event which is only conceivable if Germany should be completely defeated—would involve a complete re-grouping of Central and South-eastern Europe. The chief features of the new situation would be (1) the union of Polish Galicia with the new Poland; (2) of Ruthene Galicia with the Russian Ukraine; (3) of the Trentino, Trieste and Western Istria with the Kingdom of Italy; (4) the creation of an independent Bohemia—including not merely the Czechs, but their Slovak kinsmen in Northern Hungary; (5) of a Greater Roumania, including the Roumanian populations of Hungary and the Bukovina; (6) of a new Southern Slav state, composed of the present Kingdoms of Serbia and Montenegro, the ancient but dormant Triune Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia-Dalmatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Eastern Istria and perhaps the Slovene districts of Austria, and finally (7) of an independent Hungary, a national state shorn of the races whom she has so long and so grossly misgoverned, and herself set free for a new era of democratic development. In some cases it may prove difficult to reconcile the rival claims of ethnography and strategic necessity, but by accepting nationality as the guiding principle of any settlement, and insisting that no race shall be handed over to an alien rule without being previously consulted, a great step will have been made towards placing Europe upon a new and surer foundation.

But even with the establishment of free and vigorous national states upon the ruins of the old order, there must inevitably remain the difficult problem of racial minorities, whose interests are of secondary but none the less of vital importance. And just as every effort must be made to ensure the survival of the smaller nations, as the surest bulwarks of true culture and tolerance, as the guardians of racial individuality and diversity of type, so also they in their turn must be induced to offer the fullest political and intellectual



## WHAT IS AT STAKE IN THE WAR

liberty to all racial minorities within their boundaries. A guarantee of linguistic rights in schools, churches, local bodies and cultural institutions must be a *sine quâ non* in the settlement of every problem. Thus the Germans of Bohemia and Southern Hungary must enjoy the same privileges as the Magyars in the new Roumania, the Slovenes in Italy, and the tiny group of Italians in the new Jugoslavia. Those who see their monopoly threatened by such an arrangement will describe it as Utopian, but it is certainly attainable on a basis of careful study and good intentions.

If Nationality is to be the dominant factor in the future settlement of Europe, two other vital factors—economics and religion—must on no account be neglected, unless we are to court disaster. The geographical configuration of the Continent and the distribution of the various races renders some international arrangement of a commercial nature an almost essential postulate of future peace. The free navigation of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus is in a special category of its own, and lies in the interests of every nation in Europe without exception. If Italy should succeed in establishing her claim to Trieste, she must, alike in her own interests and in those of European peace, convert the city into a free port for all commerce. Its inclusion in the Italian tariff system would rapidly reduce a flourishing port to ruin and create an intolerable situation for its entire *hinterland*, besides acting as a direct challenge to Germany to upset the settlement at the earliest possible date; whereas its proclamation as a free port would give full scope to every legitimate aspiration of German commerce in the eastern Mediterranean. In the same way, if Fiume should become the port of the new Serbo-Croat state, some satisfactory arrangement must be made for the free access of Hungarian and Bohemian commerce to the sea. From such an arrangement each of the three states would derive great benefits, and its triangular nature would be its most effective guarantee. A similar experiment has already

## WHAT IS AT STAKE IN THE WAR

been successfully tried at the harbour of Salonica, where Serbia possesses a special zone of her own, exempt from Greek customs dues. It is to be hoped that Greece will voluntarily cede Kavala in return for valuable territorial expansion elsewhere ; but failing that, a free port and special tariff concessions for the future Struma valley railway ought to be assured to Bulgaria.

Finally, in the north of Europe similar adjustments would be necessary. If, as all but a few reactionaries hope and believe, this war should bring at least a partial atonement for that greatest of political crimes, the partition of Poland, then the river system of the Vistula will resume its old importance as a geographical unit, and the new Poland must inevitably obtain its outlet to the sea. The only possible way of ending the secular feud of Pole and German is to reunite the broken fragments of the Polish race and to restore the port of Danzig to its natural position as a free port. The alternative would be the cession of Danzig and at least a portion of West Prussia to the new Poland, the isolation of East Prussia from the German motherland, and the consequent creation of a new ' Alsace-Lorraine ' in the east of Europe. This would be not to undo, but merely to invert, the crime of the Polish Partition, and to produce a situation such as must inevitably lead to fresh armed conflicts. Here then is obviously a point at which wise and farsighted commercial provisions can do much to modify acute racial antagonisms.

There is indeed much to be said for some special international arrangement, on the lines of the Danube Commission, for regulating the commerce of all the riparian states with each other and with the outer world. In such cases as the Seine, the Po, or the Volga only a single state is concerned, and the problem must be regarded as one of internal policy. But Germany has as great an interest as Holland in the mouth of the Rhine, Belgium is no less interested than Holland in the mouth of the Scheldt ; on the Elbe and the Moldau depends much of

## WHAT IS AT STAKE IN THE WAR

Bohemia's prosperity ; the Danube is likely to assume for Hungary an even greater importance in the future than in the past ; while the Vistula supplies the key to the Polish problem.

There remains the religious problem, and nothing is more remarkable (in a war which has pitted Protestant against Protestant and Catholic against Catholic and thus appears to many scoffers as the bankruptcy of the Christian ideal) than the silence which our public opinion has hitherto preserved on one of its most vital aspects. In the very forefront of the vast problems raised by this war is the emancipation and regeneration of the democratic and progressive Slav nations of Central Europe. Of these, five out of seven—the Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Croats, and Slovenes—are overwhelmingly Catholic ; the sixth, the Ruthenes, so far as they inhabit Austria-Hungary, belong to the Uniate Church ; while only the seventh, the Serbs, are Orthodox, and on them religion sits lightly, as on all Balkan peoples. This bald statement of fact should suffice to show the utter hopelessness of any attempt to solve these Slav problems on an Orthodox basis. The baneful influence of a tiny clique of reactionaries in Petrograd is being exercised in that direction ; but the overwhelming mass of the Russian people, while clinging firmly to the Orthodox faith as a living expression of their innermost soul, will fiercely resent and repudiate any attempt to sow discord between Catholic and Orthodox. The Panslav ideal can only be attained by the enforcement of a religious truce ; those who would like to identify Panslavism with Orthodoxy are in reality Pan-Muscovites, and must inevitably rely upon a policy of Russification. Such ideas are a reversion to the evil tendencies of the Middle Ages, to the very traditions by which German and Magyar policy is inspired, and will fail to arouse even the faintest echo among the Western and Southern Slavs, who are all deeply imbued with Western thought and culture.

A classic example of the new spirit is provided by the fraternal example of the Croats and Slovenes, whose fervent

## WHAT IS AT STAKE IN THE WAR

Catholicism does not hinder them from ardently desiring union with their Orthodox Serb brethren, and whose tolerant attitude is more than reciprocated by the Serbian Government and public opinion in Serbia. The Concordat arranged last year between Serbia and the Vatican is almost unprecedented in modern ecclesiastical history for its far-reaching and liberal concessions. It is to be hoped that this statesmanlike act will form a precedent for Russia's attitude to all her Slavonic kinsmen under foreign rule, and that when the Russian armies again enter Lemberg, such deplorable incidents as the persecution of Monsignor Szeptycki, 'the Ruthene Strossmayer', will not be repeated. That Catholics and Orthodox can live amicably side by side without any injury to the national cause is shown by the almost ideal relations which subsist between the Roumanian Uniate and Orthodox Churches in Transylvania. The enthusiasm of many million Catholic Slavs in Bohemia, Hungary, and along the Adriatic coastline, for Russia as the great Slav brother is an asset which a few fanatics must not be allowed to barter rashly away. Neither the Southern Slav nor the Bohemian nor the Polish nor the Galician questions can be solved on any basis save that of a Tregua Dei between Catholicism and Orthodoxy; and as the solution of all four problems is an essential preliminary to a durable European settlement, it lies quite as much in the interests of the Western Powers as of Russia herself, to insist upon this point of view.

In order, then, to bring the principle of nationality to its own in Europe, it will be necessary to destroy Turkey and to dismember Austria-Hungary. But to attempt to apply similar methods to Germany would be to deny, not to enforce, that same principle. The regeneration of Germany can only come from within; it can never be imposed from without. And that regeneration must be the aim of Europe, if the future peace is not to be one long nightmare of rival armaments tempered by epidemics of bankruptcy. For the moment Germany is content

## WHAT IS AT STAKE IN THE WAR

with the Hohenzollern conception of kingship and of the state ; and any attempt on our part at interference with the internal arrangements of the Empire could only strengthen its hold upon the people. Underlying the whole struggle is a fundamental difference of mentality and outlook, and herein lies the true tragedy and the crowning danger of the situation. Only by exploding the doctrine of Materialism and Brute Force as the gospel of humanity can we hope to produce in Germany a reversion to that cult of idealism in which her people formerly led the world.

Attempts are being made in certain quarters to imitate the ridiculous outbursts of hate by which a German poetaster has advertised his name and which the lineal heir of the Stuarts, Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria, has stooped to endorse. The exposure of authentic 'atrocities' is a thankless but necessary task ; but those who found anti-German societies or inveigh against the inclusion of German Rhodes scholars on the roll of honour of an Oxford college, are not merely betraying a lack of perspective and wasting energy which might be well employed upon definite war objects : they are also guilty of a crude tactical error, for their abuse only tends to strengthen the reactionary party in Germany. It is a notorious fact that the brutalities committed by the German authorities in Belgium are not merely the expression of a militarism run wild, but also part of a deliberate policy which aims at stifling any tendencies on the part of the progressive elements in Germany to favour reconciliation with the Western Powers. It is equally notorious that the German military authorities were seriously alarmed at the friendly feeling displayed by the troops on many sections of the front towards their enemy in the opposing trenches, and that drastic steps were taken during the winter to stifle the growth of such a feeling. To those who are aware of the changed attitude of our own soldiers during the past six months—from chivalrous and tolerant regard for a gallant foe to burning

## WHAT IS AT STAKE IN THE WAR

indignation at methods of foul play—further comment is superfluous. But though no one with a spark of humanity will be surprised at this result, it is well to realize that it was deliberately desired by the German authorities, and to decline as far as possible to play their game in other fields. The Junker party is playing for a rapprochement with the Russian reactionaries, and the German Radicals, who are to-day paying for their impotence and lack of policy in the past, find themselves reduced to silence by the tactless, though perfectly natural, exaggerations of a few fire-eaters in the West. They do not, it is true, represent a very serious force in German politics; and indeed the history of the last seventy years in Germany has been the history of the discomfiture of popular government by the exponents of military despotism. And yet a time may be at hand when they will no longer be a negligible quantity. Defeat may secure for German democracy what victory could never bring. On the very eve of war one of the most distinguished of Prussian historians, Professor Hans Delbrück, freely admitted in a moment of candour that the German Officers' Corps would never tolerate the introduction of a parliamentary régime in Germany, save after a new Sedan in which Germany was not the victor but the vanquished.<sup>1</sup>

Lack of humour and ignorance of psychology lie at the root of the German official attitude. Their attempts at 'frightfulness' are based on a characteristically low reading of human nature, on the tacit assumption that material considerations must rule the world. A classic instance of this lack of comprehension was supplied at an early stage in the war, when the German press treated the special prayers prescribed by the Archbishop of Canterbury as a sign of fear and panic. These critics made the same mistake as an English king six centuries ago, who saw the Scottish army kneeling in serried ranks upon the field of Bannockburn, and joyfully hailed their approaching surrender. To William II we can surely

<sup>1</sup> *Regierung und Volkswille*, page 136.

## WHAT IS AT STAKE IN THE WAR

repeat the words of Edward's more discerning general :  
'They kneel, Sire, but not to you !'

Since the war began, many words have lost their meaning, values are utterly changed. The nation has on the whole shown a truer perception of this fact than we perhaps had any right to expect, and has incidentally proved that it is by no means so lacking in imagination as its critics were fond of asserting. It is true that a few individuals are still incapable of flinging aside the old catchwords and still cling to the theory when the practice has already been abandoned ; but the number of those who hailed the collapse of the party system with unabashed delight is unquestionably far greater than the few survivors from that vanished world of 'pre-war' ideas and theories would care to admit. The classic example of the overwhelming transformation which ten months of war have wrought, is the new attitude of the nation at large towards the army. If many of those who opposed Lord Roberts's propaganda in the years that preceded the war have no hesitation in admitting their error to-day, we are at the same time entitled to protest with equal emphasis against those who wish to force unalloyed 'conscription' upon a nation of 'slackers' and against those who regard the slightest departure from the voluntary system as a crime against freedom and humanity. The one party tends to minimize what has been achieved, the other to minimize the vast task which still lies before us. Both fail to realize that such claptrap phrases as 'conscription' and 'compulsion' are wholly inadequate as the interpretation of our present need. The true traitors to our national cause are those who, for whatever motives, read into the noble phrase of 'National Service' a meaning which is utterly alien to it. National Service can have no limitation. In times of crisis every citizen must serve his country, whatever may be his age or sex or profession ; and it is the duty of the State to apportion to each individual his or her own special task, whether it be military or civil. But at all costs we have the

## WHAT IS AT STAKE IN THE WAR

right to demand that the idea of National Service shall never be restricted in a merely military sense, but shall remain as an irresistible claim upon the whole nation. In the words used to me only a week ago by a prominent Socialist deputy, 'every man who is not doing something for the State to-day, is fighting for the enemy!'

Many of us, whom our work has kept at home, are frankly envious of the men at the front and feel that our best efforts in other causes are contemptible in comparison with the sacrifice they have made with so gay a heart and with scarcely a word of false sentiment or parade. We gladly face the fact that after the war it is the millions who return from active service who will be the controlling force in British politics. We know that they will introduce a steadying influence, an element of reality, which was too often lacking in the internal disputes of the nation, and that their voluntary acceptance of the hardships of war will have given them a moral force which compulsion could never have supplied. But there can be no hard-and-fast rules for supreme moments like the present. After ten months of war we are still at the beginning of our task, and we must be prepared to discard many more of our comfortable habits and traditional prejudices before the goal can be reached. To the pessimists who accuse the nation of sloth and indifference we can proudly point out that never in history has there been a voluntary acceptance of military duties on so large and so successful a scale; while the optimists who accept this undoubted fact as a proof that further innovations are not needed, may be reminded with equal truth that the efforts put forth by this country are still relatively far less than those of our little Serbian ally, and that complete victory, whether on the field of battle or in the intellectual sphere, only comes to those who are prepared to pay the full price of sustained and concentrated effort.

The goal of this effort is the destruction of the German military machine. It is a task of enormous difficulty,



## WHAT IS AT STAKE IN THE WAR

but it can be performed, and we have no choice but to perform it. But we have not got to crush the German people, because that is at once impossible and undesirable. Impossible, because a compact and highly organized nation of 75,000,000 souls can never be crushed or annihilated, and any such attempt must inevitably recoil upon its author. Undesirable, because, despite the wild and inaccurate statements of our Jingo press, the German people represents, and always will represent, one of the most valuable elements in the intellectual and moral life of Europe. Its very virtues have contributed to its exploitation by a relentless and unscrupulous machine.

Earlier in the war it was almost a commonplace that we were fighting the military caste, but not the people; but this argument was abandoned when at last it became clear that the German nation is genuinely behind its leaders. And yet it is necessary to uphold the distinction between the governing class and the nation as a whole, for on this distinction alone does any hope for a better future rest. With the existing régime in Prussia there can be no permanent peace; but unless some *modus vivendi* can be found with the German people, Europe will inevitably be condemned to a fresh period of agony and fratricidal strife.

The blasphemous arrogance with which the Supreme War Lord has claimed the Deity as a kind of Hohenzollern lackey is thoroughly in keeping with his attitude for many years past. At the same time those who have studied the psychology and behaviour of the military caste in Germany for the last two decades ought not to have been (and generally have not been) surprised at the manner in which its official 'Kriegsbrauch' has been translated into practice in the present war. Neither the pseudo-Christian Caesarism of William II nor the brutal theories of the General Staff are typical of the German national character, though the crimes and errors of both are inevitably visited upon the head of the nation as a whole. Hence to treat Germany as a pariah is as

## WHAT IS AT STAKE IN THE WAR

shortsighted as it is futile. Our outspoken condemnation of the infamies of Louvain and Dinant, of illegal methods of warfare on sea and land, were salutary and necessary ; and if fortune favours our arms, we shall most assuredly hold the highly-placed criminals to strict account. But Germany herself will recover her senses, as surely as France after the orgies of the Reign of Terror ; and we, who have long since ceased to regard our closest ally with the eyes of Burke or Pitt, must frame our policy to meet the requirements of the future as well as of the present. While firmly resolving never again to be caught napping by an unscrupulous diplomacy, and insisting on practical steps to render fresh aggression impossible, we must at the same time avoid any action such as might render more difficult Germany's recovery from the madness which has overpowered her. I have no desire to echo the futile cry of a handful of sentimentalists that ' Germany must not be humiliated '. Defeat is always humiliating, even after a fair fight ! and those who do not desire Germany's complete defeat are traitors to the cause of Britain and of civilization. We must impose our terms, if we can, but this can be done without outraging the soul of a great nation. In the words of M. Paul Sabatier—most assuredly one of the spiritual guides of the new Europe—' Victory on the battlefield will not be complete and definite unless we crown it, not by acts of revenge against the countless misdeeds of the Germans, but by a sort of missionary effort. Civilization would be lost, if in order to take vengeance on the Germans, we were to adopt the sentiments of national pride and ferocious hatred which have created German militarism and made of Prussia a spiritual danger '. The spirit which aims at dismembering the greatest national State in Europe must be sternly discouraged, not merely because it reveals an incapacity to distinguish between the possible and the impossible, but above all because any such attempt would be a monstrous negation of the very principles of which we have made so loud a profession.

## WHAT IS AT STAKE IN THE WAR

The dominant factor, then, upon which not merely Anglo-German relations but the whole future of civilization depends, is simply this: What will the 75,000,000 of Germans think after the war? What will be their attitude to the world around them? Can they be brought to believe, and above all to impose the belief upon their rulers, that there is a higher appeal than to Brute Force? Or are they so sunk in materialism, so tamed by long years of over-discipline, as to be incapable of realizing the triumphant power of an idea? There was a time when no people on earth understood this so well as the German: time alone can show whether they will revert to the idealism of a great past, or whether the system of blood and iron which now holds them as in a vice, will prove too strong for the awakening spirit of self-criticism. This is the great riddle of the future, to which no man can pretend to supply a trustworthy answer. It will be the duty of the statesmen of the Entente to avoid so far as possible a policy which would either silence the advocates of conciliation or drive them into the arms of the reactionaries.

Some well-meaning people to whom the domain of Foreign Policy remains a sealed book despite all their efforts to map it out, would have us believe that the evacuation of Belgium and Northern France by the Germans would provide a tolerable basis for peace negotiations. *Sancta Simplicitas!* we may well exclaim. On the one hand the Prussian Government will never consent to such terms until its financial (if not its military) situation is desperate, though it is already using such informal proposals as a convenient manoeuvre to impress neutral countries with its moderation. But on the other hand—and this is infinitely more important—public opinion must grasp the fact that our aim in this war is not merely the restoration of unhappy Belgium to her former position. That is one of our many aims, and it was one of the determining facts in our action last August. But it is only a small detail in the great task that awaits

## WHAT IS AT STAKE IN THE WAR

us—and I use the phrase advisedly without for one moment minimizing all that Belgium means for Europe and for us. Our task is nothing less than the regeneration of Europe, the vindication of the twin principles of Nationality and Democracy, the emancipation of subject races from alien rule. Restore Belgium, reunite Alsace-Lorraine to France, but ignore the agony of Poland, the irresistible movement for Southern Slav Unity, the new and hopeful dream of an Italian Italy, the growing resolve of Bohemia, the aspirations of the Roumanians, Slovaks, and Ruthenes, the impossible nature of Turkish rule, the vital need for Balkan co-operation, the overwhelming claims of Russia to an access to the Mediterranean,—and in so doing you are giving your vote for the old Europe of reaction and materialism, and selling your birthright in the new and transfigured Europe of our dreams. Half-measures are for times of peace; to-day we must build on broad foundations, not waste our time upon the scaffolding of a house which has been condemned as unsafe. But where is the master-builder? That is our greatest need to-day. The nation has already shown during this war that it can respond to a clear call; and in the great problem of munitions at least one man has shown himself ready to lead us. But in Foreign Policy the same lead is urgently needed—no longer the silence of pessimism or caution which has weighed upon our spirits during the past six months, but the gallant and incisive phrases with which our statesmen roused our enthusiasm in the early stages of the war. Britain must prove true to her mission as 'the soul of the Entente'—not as the exponent of some new-fangled 'English Culture', but as the champion of those wider principles of mutual tolerance without which neither a healthy national life nor healthy international relations are possible.

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## BASIS OF PUBLICATION

This series of Papers is issued under the auspices of a Committee drawn from various Christian bodies and political parties, and is based on the following convictions :

1. That Great Britain was in August morally bound to declare war and is no less bound to carry the war to a decisive issue ;
2. That the war is none the less an outcome and a revelation of the un-Christian principles which have dominated the life of Western Christendom and of which both the Church and the nations have need to repent ;
3. That followers of Christ, as members of the Church, are linked to one another in a fellowship which transcends all divisions of nationality or race ;
4. That the Christian duties of love and forgiveness are as binding in time of war as in time of peace ;
5. That Christians are bound to recognize the insufficiency of mere compulsion for overcoming evil, and to place supreme reliance upon spiritual forces and in particular upon the power and method of the Cross ;
6. That only in proportion as Christian principles dictate the terms of settlement will a real and lasting peace be secured ;
7. That it is the duty of the Church to make an altogether new effort to realize and apply to all the relations of life its own positive ideal of brotherhood and fellowship ;
8. That with God all things are possible.

# THE CHURCH THE HOPE OF THE FUTURE

## I

EVERY day brings home to us more directly and more poignantly the terrible price which our nation with our allies is paying for the maintenance of freedom and right. The question presses harder on us whether there can be any return great enough to compensate for so great a loss. There is but one thing that can reconcile us to the sacrifices which have been made. It is that the suffering should be the birth-pangs of a new and better world. If things are to go on in much the same way as before, if with energies exhausted and resources depleted and infinitely poorer by the loss of its bravest and best the world is to resume unchanged its former course, then of all tragedies that which we are now witnessing is the greatest.

Never was blood so freely shed. The agony is greater than we thought we should ever live to see and feel. But the saddest thing of all would be that the suffering should be in vain. How could we bear the thought of the countless graves in Flanders and in France, and on many far-off shores, or of the brave lives which the sea has engulfed, if from this sacrifice there is to come no commensurate fruit? Those who have fallen gave their lives for the sake of freedom and of right between man and man. We who still live owe it to them to see that the price has not been paid for nought. Not by our own choice, but by the fact that our lives and possessions are still ours only because other men have died, we are dedicated to the task of making the world worthy of so measureless a sacrifice.

If we are to succeed in this task, we must be clear with regard to the real causes of our present evil. As to its immediate cause we are not in any doubt. The war was brought about by the temper, ambition, and folly of Germany. But if our analysis stops there, we have not

## THE CHURCH THE HOPE OF THE FUTURE

penetrated far beneath the surface, and have failed to reach the heart of the evil. As an explanation of political events the answer is adequate. But in regard to the religious meaning of this terrible tragedy it does not go deep enough. The real depths of the problem were sounded long ago in the pregnant saying, 'Lust, when it hath conceived, beareth sin; and the sin, when it is full-grown, bringeth forth death.'

It is not enough to know that Germany is responsible for the war. It is necessary to inquire further how Germany became what she is. We are blind to the real problem if we forget that Germany grew to her present state as a member of the community of European nations. She has allowed her life to be poisoned by false teaching, the true character of which stands clearly revealed in its execrable fruits. But it would be absurd to maintain that the other peoples of Europe were in conscious and open revolt against these false ideas. It would be easy to fill a volume with quotations from English books and magazines vehemently advocating the very doctrines with which we are supposed to be at war. German ambition and German diplomatic methods in the past half-century have much to answer for, but it cannot be said that in the history of other nations Germany could find much to point her to a higher and better way. However great the guilt of Germany may be, we ignore the root of the evil if we fail to see that the European tradition is at fault. If men's minds remain under the sway of the same ideas as before, if the attitude of the nations to one another continues to be one of rivalry, suspicion and armed hostility, there is no reason why the catastrophe against which our hearts revolt should not occur again. The war is the final condemnation of the whole system of ideas on which international politics and diplomacy were based. The defeat of Germany in itself would mean no more than the cutting down of a noxious growth; the roots would remain to bear in the future the same pernicious fruit. No political advantage, how-

## THE CHURCH THE HOPE OF THE FUTURE

ever great, can reconcile us to this expenditure of blood and tears ; only for the sake of some large spiritual gain can we feel that the travail and sacrifice have not been in vain.

But it is not merely the unsoundness of international relations that the war has laid bare. Its fierce light has shown on what insecure foundations western civilization rests. It may be that the war with all its horrors has saved Europe from a still greater calamity. When it broke out, Great Britain appeared to be on the verge of an unprecedented industrial upheaval. The other nations of Europe were also seething with social discontent. If the growing embitterment between capital and labour had been allowed to continue unchecked, it might have led in the end to a conflict more awful than war between nations. Tragic as the present struggle is, it is in some degree redeemed and glorified by the social solidarity which it brings about within the nation, the subordination of selfish interests to the public good, and the readiness to make sacrifices for the preservation of national ideals and the loved traditions of a great past. Industrial strife, like the conflict of nations, may be inspired in some measure by ideal ends. But a struggle which is primarily economic is in danger of becoming sordid ; and when class is pitted against class, sympathy and understanding may be so lacking that the conflict may attain an undreamed-of bitterness and lose the human touch which survives even in war. In the minds of many thoughtful men the universal industrial unrest was no less grave a menace to western civilization than the national rivalries and armaments which have resulted in the present explosion. The conflagration might have been occasioned as easily by the one cause as the other. It will avail little to put an end to militarism and to deliver Europe from the incubus of armaments if the industrial struggle is to continue with unabated intensity.

Again, behind the antagonisms of western nations there looms ever larger the question of the relations between the white and the coloured races. Year by year the

## THE CHURCH THE HOPE OF THE FUTURE

problem grows in magnitude and urgency. The war has in many ways made a right solution far more difficult. The nations of Europe, weakened by their losses, will be less fitted to discharge their enormous responsibilities to the peoples of Africa. The splendid loyalty of India, which has so deeply moved us, marks the opening of a new stage in the relations between Great Britain and India, in which new and harder demands will be made upon our sympathy and understanding. If the destiny which has so strangely united peoples so diverse as those of India and of Great Britain is to bring blessing to both and not be their undoing, some power hitherto unknown must make its presence felt and character must rise to heights yet untried.

The plain truth is that without an inrush of new spiritual forces human society can no longer hope to hold together. Disintegrating influences have long been sapping its strength, and under the present strain the whole fabric is in danger of collapse. What such a calamity would involve it is impossible to conceive. The civilizations which history shows us were far less comprehensive in their extent, far less complex and closely knit. For the first time we have a world civilization so interdependent in all its parts that its dissolution would spread universal ruin. Yet the war makes plain that a civilization based on materialism and egoism must ultimately compass its own destruction.

If this lesson be deeply learned, the war will not have been fought in vain. Nothing less, perhaps, would have opened our eyes to see where the world was drifting. The conflict has thrown into clear relief the disruptive principles at work in society and the consequences to which they lead. Germany, without knowing it, may be the means of recalling the world to a better mind. With her unique gift of systematic thoroughness and scientific precision she has carried a certain view of life to its logical conclusion, until the conscience of the whole world has risen in revolt. But the principles which Germany has

## THE CHURCH THE HOPE OF THE FUTURE

applied so ruthlessly are principles which have deeply penetrated the whole life of the world. The sum of her offending is that she is pursuing what she conceives to be her material interests without the least regard to the rights and feelings of others. But is not this just the principle of conduct which, less clearly recognized and less openly avowed, is the root cause of commercial rivalries, industrial disputes, class antipathies, race antagonisms, and all the other disruptive tendencies that threaten the stability and well-being of western civilization? Our war is with the German people only in so far as they have identified themselves as a nation with this destructive principle; the real and final conflict is with the view of life and temper of mind which can produce such dire results.

In letters of blood and deep scars upon our hearts the war is impressing the lesson that a social order based on egoism cannot survive. The eternal truth on which the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament continually insist, that there is an indissoluble connexion between sin and death, has again been forced home on our forgetful minds. The bravest and best in Europe have died in hundreds of thousands to expiate our worship of false gods. Yet the moral government of the world which has established this connexion between sin and death has a redemptive purpose. God is calling us to strike at the evil root which has borne this harvest of death.

The call comes not only in the tragedy of failure and the agony of loss, but also in the exaltation and inspiration of the hour. For never was it so clear how splendidly worth saving society is. The war has shown that the social organism is suffering from terrible disease, but it has at the same time revealed its magnificent force and health. If a nation can even now reach the heights to which the nations of Europe have risen, what could it not do if its life were sound and whole?

It is not difficult to see the principle which human society requires to give it cohesion and health. What is

## THE CHURCH THE HOPE OF THE FUTURE

needed is that the good of the community should be set above all selfish interests. The individual must acquire the habit of thinking not merely of his own interests, but of the needs and feelings of the other man. In the industrial sphere capitalists must not think chiefly of defending themselves against the claims of labour, nor working men of obtaining at all costs the maximum concessions from capital, but both must set themselves to learn what is fair and equitable and right between man and man. Nations must rise to the difficult height of setting the good of the human race above particular and selfish national interests. To state the principle is simple. But its application would completely transform the life of the world and opens up an infinite task. The attempt to reconstruct the whole life of the world on sounder social principles will demand no less 'iron sacrifice of body, will, and soul' than has been poured into the death-grapple of the European nations. It is not necessary that the task should be completed all at once. What is urgently needed is the right kind of leaven. A salt that has not lost its savour can keep the body from corruption. But this salt there must be. Unless there is some mighty quickening of new energies of life, the pain and travail of this awful hour in human history will not be, as we trust and pray it may be, the birth-pangs of a new and better world, but the dying agonies of a civilization lacking the moral strength or right to survive.

### II

From whence can these fresh spiritual energies come, of which the world stands in such dire need? Only from God, the fountain of all life, and mainly, as regards the human instrument, through the Church of Christ.<sup>1</sup> For the Church has been set in the world for the realization of that social ideal of fellowship and brotherhood which

<sup>1</sup> The term 'Church' is used in this Paper to denote all Christian bodies which claim the name. Whether they all have a full right to do so is not material to the present purpose.



## THE CHURCH THE HOPE OF THE FUTURE

the world needs if it is to be restored to health and soundness. It is a daring thing to make this claim for the Church. The world does not believe that the Church has this contribution to make to its life. The witness of the Church has not been so clear and unequivocal that men instinctively think of it as a fellowship founded on different principles from those of the world and committed to deadly war with selfishness and materialism. If therefore we are to continue to believe with heart and soul that the social order, if it is to be saved at all, must be saved through the Church, it is necessary first to re-examine the grounds of this belief, and then to inquire what the Church must be and do if it is to accomplish in the future what it has failed to achieve in the past.

The Church has the power to redeem the social order, because its starting-point is not aspiration and effort, but faith. It comes to its social task not with the weakness which attaches to all human aspiration and desire, but with the strength which is rooted in the knowledge of what God is and what God has done. Its ideal for human society is no dream at variance with the hard facts of life, but the living reality of the dawn into which the darkness of night is passing. For its aims and hopes are based on the nature of God Himself. In the heart of history God has set the Cross of Christ—the weakness of God which is stronger than men. On the sacrifice of the Cross He has placed the triumphant seal of the resurrection. Thus God stands revealed as eternal love. In His inmost nature He is the Father. And because He is Father it is His purpose to bring many sons to glory and unite them in the bonds of brotherhood. The whole creation is waiting for its deliverance from the bondage of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God. The same power that moves the tides of the sea and that urges on the stars in their courses is working for this great and splendid consummation. The faith of the Church is the victory that can overcome the world.

Being born of God the Church is the vehicle of a

## THE CHURCH THE HOPE OF THE FUTURE

transcendent life. The powers of the world to come work in and through it. Its roots are struck deep in the eternal order. Even if European civilization were to break and dissolve, the life of the Church would still continue. And it is just because of this truth, and in proportion as it believes it, that the Church has the power to save civilization. Because it is deeply aware of the insufficiency of this earthly life for the full desire, outreach, and capacity of the soul, and has its hope set on the eternal city whose builder and maker is God, the Church can see the true path through the confusion and perplexities of the passing day. Beholding the face of God and worshipping in His presence it is able to mould human life in accordance with the pattern in the heavens. It remains serene and strong because its life is continually renewed by communion with the living God, in adoration, prayer, and sacrament, and in the study of the Scriptures, in which God has been revealed. It can draw upon inexhaustible power, since all the resources of the infinite God have been made available to prayer and faith.

Again, the Church is the chief hope of social salvation, because it aims at a radical cure. It does not deal with symptoms, but with causes. It demands from the individual a complete change of heart. It proclaims the judgement of God on the spirit of selfishness and materialism which is the canker at the heart of our civilization and tells men that they cannot serve God and mammon. Because the Church preaches a Gospel which brings men into the presence of a holy and loving God, it can create that temper of profound humility united with a supreme confidence in God, out of which great reforms and great achievements can be born. The Christian Gospel leads men to repent deeply and yet not be discouraged. It raises them to new heights of resolve, and sends them forth as converted men in the whole-hearted, enthusiastic, passionate service of a new ideal.

The ideal to the service of which men are called in the Church of Christ is a social ideal. It has to do, that is

## THE CHURCH THE HOPE OF THE FUTURE

to say, with the relations of men to one another. The evidence of the New Testament on this point is unmistakable. Christ Himself made it quite clear that He intended to create a type of society which should be governed by principles entirely different from those prevailing in the world. 'You know the rulers of the Gentiles lord it over them, and their great men overbear them: not so with you. Whoever wants to be great among you must be your servant, and whoever wants to be first among you must be your slave.'<sup>1</sup> Throughout the New Testament there is the most intimate connexion between the supernatural powers of the new life which broke into the world in Christ and the expression of that new life in changed human relations. In the Gospels the Divine forgiveness is made inseparable from our willingness to forgive others. St. Paul has continual recourse to the argument that because Christ humbled Himself and took the form of a servant, Christians must learn to forbear one another in love, not looking each to his own things, but also to the things of others. The breadth and length and height and depth of the love of Christ which the apostle explores in the opening chapters of the Epistle to the Ephesians have for him the practical consequence that fathers are to behave in a certain way to their children and masters to extend a particular kind of treatment to their servants. No one can read the New Testament with a fresh and open mind without discovering that the Church depicted in its pages was essentially a company of people, who because they had seen a new revelation of God and had experienced the power of a new life were seeking to realize a new kind of society governed by principles quite different from those accepted in the world.

### III

All this the Church was meant to be and to do. But looking back on the long process and play of forces which

<sup>1</sup> Mt. xx. 25, 26 (Dr. Moffatt's *New Translation of the New Testament*).

## THE CHURCH THE HOPE OF THE FUTURE

have culminated in the present catastrophe, we can see how little the Church has leavened society with the principles of fellowship, brotherhood, and service. It has not succeeded in expressing its own social ideal with such clearness and force as to make the world aware of the presence in its midst of a way of life radically different from its own.

When, therefore, we speak of the Church as the hope of the future, it can only mean a Church different from what it has been in the past. And the difference will lie in a new consecration to the task of creating a society, which in its life and organization will truly express the Christian spirit. In embarking upon such an adventure the Church will be thrown back on its supernatural resources, and will discover unsuspected depths of meaning in the faith by which it lives. The power of our Lord's life in its human aspect lay in the unflinching resolve with which He brought the principles by which He Himself lived into full and direct contact with the real life of the world. What raised His life to such an immeasurable height, and gave to it such an infinite meaning, was the tremendous clash of truth with error, and of love with selfishness.

It is a simple and, in a sense, a very obvious thing to say that the Church must take its own social ideal seriously and apply it to the whole of life. Yet this would herald a revolution in human thought and a far-reaching transformation of social life. All that it would involve we cannot yet apprehend, for it is a law of the spiritual life that only as we use the measure of light we have is fuller light granted to us. But already it is possible to see clear lines of action which lead directly to the goal, and which can claim the devotion, the energy, and the enthusiasm of a lifetime.

1. It is clear that the first step is to begin to realize the ideal of brotherhood in the ordinary relations of our daily life. Many of us have given so little thought to this that we are hardly aware how greatly the accepted conventions and habits of common life conflict with the true spirit of

## THE CHURCH THE HOPE OF THE FUTURE

brotherhood, or how remarkable a social transformation would take place if Christians were to put their professed principles into practice. The relations of mistress and servant, of employer and employed, of buyer and seller, of neighbours who do not belong to the same social circle, the chance encounters of business and travel will furnish all the school we need. At the bottom of much of our industrial unrest lies the fact that the working man has been treated too frequently as a 'hand' and not as a living man with ideas and wishes of his own that require to be taken into account. The actions and words of most of us are apt to be determined by our personal convenience, with little thought of the way our demands affect those who serve us, or of the needs of those to whom life offers few opportunities or of the loneliness of the stranger or foreigner whom we might cheer by an invitation to our home. The first lesson in the school of brotherhood is to learn that to be a Christian means to act differently in such matters as these from those who have never sat at the feet of Christ. It would mark a great advance if the Church were to give this truth a new prominence in the instruction and education of its members.

2. We should thus come increasingly to think of the Church not only as a place where we gather for the common worship of God but as the meeting-place of those who practise a new way of life. That in itself would be a remarkable change. The Church would be distinguished for its atmosphere of friendliness. It would consist of people who regard nothing that is human as foreign to them, and who welcome every opportunity of passing beyond the narrow limits of their class, their profession, their denomination, their individual tastes and prejudices, and of entering more fully into the deep, pulsating life of humanity. If it should seem that this is a somewhat trivial and earthly view of what the Church was meant to be, we can appeal to the authority of St. Paul, for whom, as we have already seen, the sublime mysteries of the Christian faith had as their practical consequence the

## THE CHURCH THE HOPE OF THE FUTURE

establishment of right relations between masters and servants, and between fathers and children.

3. There is abundance of room for the exhibition of the Christian spirit not only in the personal relations of members of the Church with one another but also in its formal deliberations and actions. The proceedings of ecclesiastical gatherings are not always such as to leave in the mind of an outside observer the feeling that he is in an atmosphere notably different from that of an ordinary public meeting. If we would set ourselves to the task, it should not be difficult to create a habit of conducting business in which we should be less concerned to defeat our opponents than to assimilate the truth which they are trying, however partially and mistakenly, to assert, and should rely for a solution of our difficulties less upon controversy and more upon prayer. The habit once acquired might be expected to extend its influence to our relations with our fellow Christians belonging to a different fold. Another high end for which we may strive is that the Church should make it indubitably clear to the world that the Christian good of the nation and the service of the common people are far more important in its eyes and awaken a more passionate enthusiasm than the maintenance of its own rights and privileges as an institution. The Church was meant to be, and to exhibit to the world, a new type of society, and its influence will be in proportion to the degree in which it succeeds in expressing in its corporate life its own distinctive genius and spirit.

4. The existence within the State of a body of people whose entire energies are directed to the promotion of understanding and reconciliation would in itself be an enormous contribution to the health of the social organism. But the Church is called to more than this. It needs to think out with far more thoroughness than has yet been attempted the social implications of the view of God and the world to which it is committed by its faith. It is not, of course, the business of the Church to frame political measures or economic theories. But behind political and

## THE CHURCH THE HOPE OF THE FUTURE

economic questions there lie views of life with which the Church is very much concerned. If these are changed, the political and economic questions assume a new aspect. If, for example, it is taken for granted that every one will try to make as much money as the law permits him to make, certain political and economic doctrines will naturally follow. But if we can convince men that the welfare and healthy growth of human life is much more important than any financial interests, new forms of political and social organization will become possible. It will not do for the Church to stand outside the organized life of the world and proclaim the Christian ideal. That life has to be brought into obedience to Christ, and this can be done only by Christian men taking the Christian ideal with them into the market-place and workshop and seeking to apply it to the social life around them. We need Christian thinkers who will approach political and economic questions with Christian presuppositions, and behind such men there must be a Church passionately concerned to see the Christian social ideal realized in practice and the will of God done on earth as it is in heaven.

5. Side by side with the intellectual effort to understand the social implications of the Christian view of life must go a great courage in applying what we already know to be true to the actual conditions of the world's life. There is no use in denouncing evil in the abstract. It has to be attacked in the concrete.

An illustration will make clear what is meant. Among the national weaknesses which the war has laid bare is our moral powerlessness in face of the drink evil. It is not necessary to approach the subject from the standpoint of fanaticism. Room may be left for widely differing attitudes towards the drink problem. It is not a question whether the proposals brought forward by the Government were sound and wise ; very probably they were not. The damning fact is that the nation, even in the hour of supreme emergency, was powerless to deal freely with an evil that was a menace to the national safety because the

## THE CHURCH THE HOPE OF THE FUTURE

financial interests with which that evil was bound up were too strong. We know now that it is an easier thing to defeat Germany than it is to overthrow this enemy of national well-being in our midst. It does not matter what kind of temperance legislation we believe to be best ; the point is that the nation is not free to adopt any kind of temperance legislation which conflicts with all-powerful financial interests. It is the plain truth that the moral health of the nation is at the mercy of money power. Against such a state of things the Church ought to be in open and hot revolt, if it has any prophetic mission in the world at all.

This is but one of the many powers of darkness with which the Church is called to engage in mortal combat. The spirit of selfish egoism is deeply entrenched in the accepted standards, traditions, conventions, and customs of social and national life. Against this spirit in all its manifestations the Church is called to declare open and relentless war. The world is dying for the lack of a great moral adventure. Why should not the Church, which acknowledges as its Lord One who, daring all things, bade His disciples attempt what is impossible with men but not with God, cast aside unchristian caution and embark on what would be the greatest of all crusades ?

Not with a light heart or with blowing of trumpets can the Church enter on such a crusade. No one who through the months of war has seriously tried to judge national conduct by the light of Christian standards can have failed to realize how hard it is to see one's way in the midst of such great and confused issues. The Church will always need to be chary in asserting that in a complex situation one particular policy is the only Christian course to take. But if we are diligent in cultivating the spirit of brotherhood in small things we shall be able increasingly to bring to bear upon the larger questions of social and national policy the conciliatory temper and instinctive regard for the rights and feelings of others, which are a surer guide than mere intellectual power. Only by



## THE CHURCH THE HOPE OF THE FUTURE

a thorough mastery of the elementary lessons in the school of brotherhood can the Church acquire the insight and capacity to deal rightly with the larger and more complex problems of social and national life. Nor dare it undertake these greater tasks without a deeper experience of the life of communion with God. Only by taking refuge in the hidden place of prayer and by the discipline of waiting to hear God's voice can it escape the danger of serving the ends of a political party and of confounding 'will-worship' and earthly motives with the pure and high service of God. But though the larger tasks are beset with danger and difficulty, and cannot be attempted without long preparation and severe discipline, the Church cannot flinch from undertaking them. For Christ must be enthroned as King of the whole of life. His followers must seek to set Him there or be prepared to die in the attempt.

6. What has been said may perhaps be summed up in the remark that whereas in the past the Christian ideal has found striking and splendid expression in the lives of individual saints, the task now confronting us is to devote our energies to securing that it should find full expression also in the corporate life of the Church. It is, of course, necessary to bear in mind that the Church is not composed solely, or mainly, of Christians who are full grown. It is a home for the infirm and a school for the immature. We need cherish no illusions of a perfect Church. And yet the Church alone, and not individual Christians, can accomplish what needs to be done. The truth of this will be evident if we recall to our minds the character of the world in which we live.

The significance of the life of the community in relation to that of the individual has been brought home with fresh force by the war. We have seen men prepared to sacrifice themselves in thousands for their country, because they felt that apart from their country their own life would have no meaning or value for them.

Who stands if freedom fall ?

Who dies if England live ?

## THE CHURCH THE HOPE OF THE FUTURE

It is only in and through the community that the individual lives at all. Take from a man the knowledge which past generations have accumulated, the institutions they have created, the social, intellectual, and spiritual atmosphere which he breathes every waking moment, and he ceases to be himself. His family, his school, his class, his country, humanity as a whole live in him and make him what he is. The British Empire in a peculiar degree has been the result of individual adventure and initiative, and yet it is not individuals who have made it. It is the genius and spirit of England, of Scotland, and Ireland, that working in and through their sons have created this mighty fabric.

The dependence of the individual upon the community becomes greater from year to year. Economically the world has become so interdependent in its different parts that the collapse of a business house in the country may affect the lives of individuals in twenty others; and an inventor in the United States or in Japan may, without intending it, deprive of their means of livelihood hundreds of people in rural France or England. The system of knowledge is so vast that no one can become master of more than an infinitesimal fraction of it; for the rest he must rely upon the work of others. The work of the world has become so complex and so highly organized that only through co-operation can anything effective be accomplished. The individual must unite with others if he is to achieve any large or great purpose.

The deep and elemental truth that no man lives for himself alone is as true in the spiritual as in the natural sphere. Christ's work was with individuals, but it was to bring them in the fellowship of a society. 'We being many', wrote St. Paul, 'are one Body in Christ.'

This truth, always essential to the full and perfect expression of the Christian religion, is increasingly pressed upon our attention by the circumstances of our time. We live in a world which is highly complex, and organized on the basis of co-operation. As a result of the immense variety of its interests it is divided into more or less self-

## THE CHURCH THE HOPE OF THE FUTURE

contained groups of people who are absorbed in their own profession, pursuits, and hobbies, and who restrict their reading to a particular and often narrow range of literature and newspapers. In such a world a mere individual, however gifted, can exercise only a limited and circumscribed influence. The big things which have to be done for Christ can be done only by a Church. If civilization is to be saved from becoming a soulless machine, it needs the inspiration of a social ideal. There must be the leaven not only of Christian individuals but of a Christian society, the example not merely of regenerated and sanctified personalities but of a social order redeemed and inspired by Christ. The goal on which our eyes must be set is a Church that will in its own corporate life conspicuously express the Christian ideal of fellowship and brotherhood, and at the same time strive persistently to mould national, industrial and social life in accordance with the principles which are the fountain light of all its day.

It is clear that the Church, as we have known it, is not equal to the great spiritual adventure which the occasion seems to demand. But may it not be that at the touch of God's finger the Church will awake, and that its light will shine with a brightness that the world has not yet seen? The war marks the end of an epoch in human history and the opening of another. The men of to-morrow will think and feel quite differently from those of yesterday. The civilization we have known has broken in pieces; the new structure which will rise on its ruins, whatever shape it may take, will be altogether unlike the old. Amid such mighty changes can the Church, to which has been given the Spirit of Truth, be content with the attainment, the outlook, the aims and the ways of days that are gone? Out of experiences so overwhelming will it not gain a fresh and deeper understanding of the treasure of the Gospel which it possesses and of the purpose for which God set it in the world? Let us pitch our expectations high. Let us believe in the power of God to create something wholly new. Let our ears be open to the voices of the morning,

## THE CHURCH THE HOPE OF THE FUTURE

and our eyes be quick to catch the flush of dawn. For of such calamities as those through which we are now passing our Lord has said: 'When these things begin to come to pass, look up, and lift up your heads; because your redemption draweth nigh.'

O Lily of the King! low lies thy silver wing,  
And long has been the hour of thine unqueening;  
And thy scent of Paradise on the night-wind spills its sighs,  
Nor any take the secrets of its meaning.  
O Lily of the King! I speak a heavy thing,  
O patience, most sorrowful of daughters!  
Lo, the hour is at hand for the troubling of the land,  
And red shall be the breaking of the waters.

Sit fast upon thy stalk, when the blast shall with thee talk,  
With the mercies of the King for thine awning;  
And the just understand that thine hour is at hand,  
Thine hour at hand with power in the dawning.  
When the nations lie in blood, and their kings a broken brood,  
Look up, O most sorrowful of daughters!  
Lift up thy head and hark what sounds are in the dark,  
For His feet are coming to thee on the waters!

O Lily of the King! I shall not see, that sing,  
I shall not see the hour of thy queening!  
But my Song shall see, and wake like a flower that dawn-winds shake,  
And sigh with joy the odours of its meaning.  
O Lily of the King, remember then the thing  
That this dead mouth sang; and thy daughters,  
As they dance before His way, sing there on the Day  
What I sang when the Night was on the waters!

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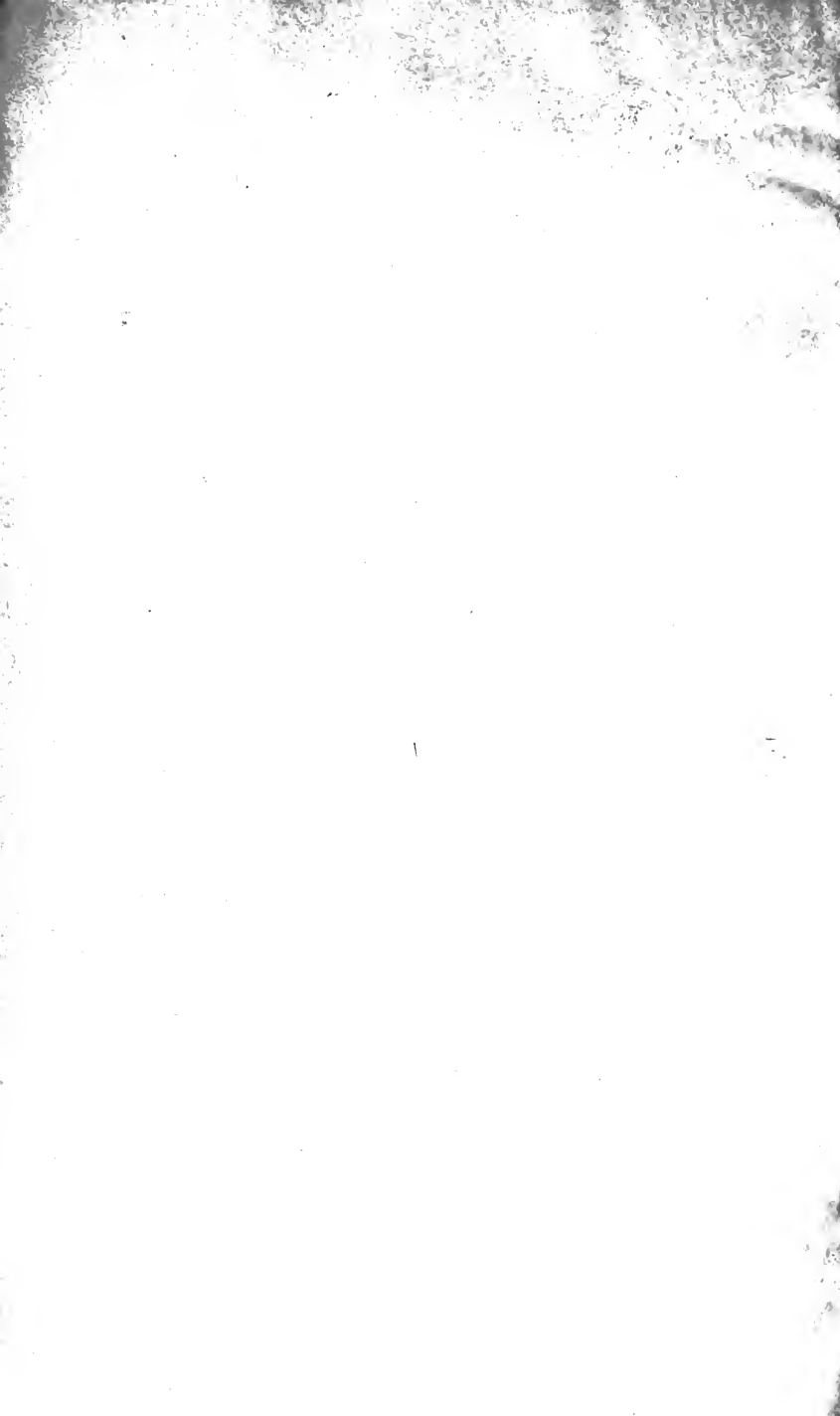
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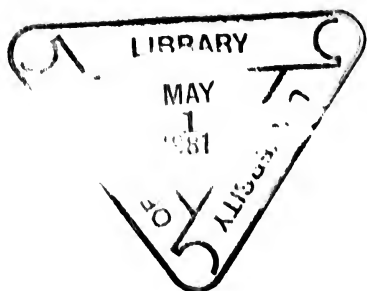
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