

hence they are at war. Great Britain and Germany were hungry for the commerce of the world, and this is why Zeppelins rain death on English cities, and Great Britain is trying to starve Germany. Militarism, then, is not at all responsible for the present catastrophe. The root cause is the greed of the trader!

The argument sounds plausible, but it will not stand the scrutiny of an unbiased mind. Nobody denies that commercial greed is one of the forces working mightily in our modern world. That the European nations have their ambitions and appetites is not to be denied. That commercial rivalries generate friction, and that friction may lead to a conflagration, is within the circle of things generally admitted. But just because of the presence and might of these national ambitions, it behooved the governments of Europe to use their reason in devising ways of steering civilization through the rapids. When inflammation is acute, we do not want the sore spots to be jabbed with pieces of metal. The fever must be reduced by remedies which have soothing in them. When the relations of nations get into a knot, the knots can not be untied by a mailed fist. The mailed fist only gets the threads into a more hopeless snarl. Modern civilization is so intricate and complicated that none of its problems can be solved by the introduction of a man with a club. Naked fingers, delicate and trained, are needed to straighten out the tangled threads, and if Europe had developed its fingers instead of its fists this war would never have been. The mailed fist is a nuisance in a world which wants to get on. Shining armor is a menace in a world which desires justice and peace. When two men fall into a dispute, they do not move toward a sensible solution by rushing off and buying revolvers. The revolvers only make the rational solution of the controversy more difficult. When two nations find themselves differing from each other in temper and ambition, the surest way of driving them farther apart is to lay in an additional stock of explosives. When the machine guns and submarines have passed beyond a certain number, a reconciliation becomes impossible. Preparedness twists all the controversies of our modern world into a more baffling knot, and lifts every inflammation to a higher heat. No one disputes the existence of racial antipathies, and national antagonisms, and commercial rivalries. These are concrete and solid facts, and must never be overlooked or minimized. But because these are facts, there is another fact which compels recognition, and that is the fact that military preparedness sharpens the antipathies, and deepens the antagonisms, and renders more dangerous the rivalries, throwing humanity into a mood of mind and heart in which it is not possible to deal with intricate and momentous international problems, except by the barbaric machinery of physical force. Let us insist upon it, therefore, that preparedness to shed blood leads to slaughter. That is the crowning lesson of the war.

Let us now examine more carefully the reasons why Armed Peace led to the war now raging, and why it is likely to lead to a similar catastrophe in whatever part of the world it is tried.

MILITARISM A MATERIALISTIC INTERPRETATION

The fundamental assumption of the policy of armed peace is false. If you build on sand, your edifice is certain to fall. The larger your building, the greater the destruction when it falls. Militarism is a materialistic interpretation of the world. Its basal doctrine is that government is founded on physical force. It assumes that physical force is the mightiest of all forces. This assumption granted, many other things follow. National strength is best expressed in naval tonnage. National prestige is most surely maintained by howitzers. National honor is most certainly safeguarded by dreadnaughts and aeroplanes. National defence lies in material fortifications. A nation's supreme duty is protecting itself. Selfishness is the only sound principle of national action. The efficacy of diplomacy depends on the calibre of the guns behind it. A nation is a world power only in proportion to the completeness of its military equipment. Nations are to be ranked by the size of their armies and navies.

All this is false. No Christian who is loyal to the teaching of his religion can admit any one of these assumptions. Government is not founded on physical force, but on reason. Government may at times make use of physical force, but physical force is not the basis of its life or the foundation of its power. The foundation of the family is not force, but reason. The father may coerce his child in rare and excep-

tional situations, but coercion is not the foundation on which family life is built. The universe is built not on physical force, but on reason. The mightiest forces in the world are not physical, but spiritual. Ideas are mightier than bullets, ideals than howitzers. Example is more potent than dreadnaughts. Love will accomplish more than lyddite. We are not under the reign of physical force. We live under a government of love. The heart of the universe is revealed in Jesus of Nazareth. He is the mightiest of world conquerors. Every knee is going to bow to Him, and every tongue is going to confess that He is indeed Master. If this be true, then nations are to be ranked according to their love of truth and justice. They will accomplish most by setting a Christlike example. Their supreme function is to serve one another. Their security lies not in forts but in friendship. Militarism is a denial of the fundamental ideas of the Christian religion. Every nation which accepts the militarist doctrines must end in ruin.

BASED ON FALSE ASSUMPTIONS

Starting with false assumptions, militarism makes its way by using diabolic methods. It systematically poisons the wells of international goodwill. It urges nations to arm in defence. To arm for aggression is now conceded to be base. No nation in Christendom is any longer exhorted to arm for the purpose of overthrowing other nations. Preparedness in the twentieth century is solely for defence. But to prepare to defend oneself against the attack of one's neighbors is to insult them. When a nation shouts from the housetop that it desires only justice, and that it does not covet an additional square foot of territory, and proceeds to load itself with deadly weapons, it says by its action that it considers its neighbors to be conscienceless desperadoes and villains, against whom it is necessary to be ever on its guard. Germany built up her army because the militarists of that empire were constantly exciting men's fears of Russia and France. She built up her navy because the German navy league was constantly arousing fresh suspicions of Great Britain. The military establishment of Russia because of the damaging things which were said of Germany, and the equipment of France grew in the same way. Newspapers in the capitals of Europe went on, year after year, poisoning the springs of goodwill by publishing rumors and gossip, accusations and guesses, until at last the hatred was ripe and the guns belched fire. It is impossible to build up great military and naval establishments without the use of calumny. The militarists are the greatest of slanderers in the world. Their business is to slander other nations.

It is impossible to build up a great army or navy in the United States without the use of calumny. Congress refuses additional appropriations until some foreign nation is slandered. To get a Pacific coast navy it is necessary to say that Japan is a despicable and unscrupulous nation, ready to steal everything she can get her hands on, and eager to snatch the Philippines, and Hawaii, and even California, at the first opportunity. To increase the Atlantic fleet and to secure additional battalions, it is necessary to slander Germany. Somebody must say that as soon as the war is over she is going to turn her army loose on us. She will loot our cities, and carry our gold home to pay off her war expenses. The devil never has difficulty in finding slanderers, and he has no difficulty in finding gullible people who will gulp down the lies, however preposterous and silly. But armed peace can not enlarge her house without the use of slander, and out of slander war soon or late emerges.

Militarism makes constant appeal to fear. Without fear she could do no mighty work. Faith and hope and love are not in her vocabulary. She fixes men's minds on the dismal and the base. Fear is the most unreasonable of all the passions of the soul. It is the most contagious, and it is also, when fully roused, the most destructive of them all. A horse is one of the most sensible of all creatures. We sometimes compliment a man by saying that he possesses an unusual measure of "horse sense." But a horse is not sensible when he is frightened. All his wits go from him the moment he is scared. It does not take much to frighten him, the fluttering of a piece of paper, the crackling of a stick, almost any trifle will terrorize him, and set him into a gallop. Once frightened he cares not what he does. He will kill his master and his wife and their children, without compunction. He will dash into a stone wall, and break his own legs or neck. A horse is crazy when he is scared. And so is a child. A frightened child can not be reasoned with. You may lay before him a hundred reasons why he should

not be afraid, but he will continue to tremble. Men are like children in their inability to use their reason when obsessed by fear. Fear paralyzes the frontal lobes of the brain. Only the basal brain remains active. Men do not reason when they are scared. The governments of Europe have squandered for a generation the resources of their people because of their fright. Scaremongers have been abroad in every land, and they have caused the hearts of the people to tremble. Communities can go wild with fear, as Salem did near the close of the seventeenth century, and whole nations can fall the victim of hysteria. Army leagues and Navy leagues can, by the manipulation of the newspapers, fill with terror the public mind, and legislators thus stampeded will plunge into wildest expenditures of national treasure. The action of Europe within the last forty years is absolutely inexplicable apart from the force of fear. Armaments are the creation of fear. The intenser the fear the greater the armament. It is an interesting fact that the nation which possesses the mightiest of navies had been on the verge of hysteria more than once within the five years preceding this war. In spite of all her ships she feared an invasion. The nation which possesses the most efficient army ever created was so delirious with fear in the summer of 1914, that she plunged into war without taking time to remember her solemn promises, or to think out a possible way toward peace. Armaments deepen fear, and fear has torment. The great nations of Europe have been in torment, for these many years, and the cause of the torment is the multiplication of their guns.

Military preparedness can make no headway in the United States except by frightening people. The Army league and the Navy league and the Security league would be impotent could they not make a thrilling appeal to fear. War scares are the only means of securing larger appropriations, and that is why war scares are so frequent. The European war has subjected our nerves to a tremendous strain. Men everywhere are in an excited frame of mind. This is the best of all times for the enlargement of the United States army and navy because fear can now be most easily increased. And so a great company of brigadier-generals and colonels, rear-admirals and commodores have rushed to the front with their tales of coming disaster. Along with these have come a throng of munition manufacturers and armor plate makers, and explosive inventors, all of them painting the future in hues of midnight and eclipse. War luncheons are held in our leading cities, the express purpose of the speakers being to strike terror into the hearts of their hearers. The moving picture show is mobilized, and the newspapers by scare headlines help the good work along. Thousands of innocent people have been frightened, but other thousands of us refuse to be alarmed. We know the trick too well to be imposed upon. That is the way militarists have worked on Europe for the last forty years. They have played constantly on people's fears. The time has come when men must be sensible, and look facts squarely in the face, and break up this foolery which has shattered the world.

Armed peace is fatal because it plays into the hands of five men, who, because of the structure of modern society, are capable of immeasurable mischief. The first of these is the military and naval expert. Modern armies are large. Large armies demand a multitude of officers. We have recently been informed that for every million men there must be thirty-five thousand officers. These officers are vigorous and virile men in the prime of life. They are well dressed, well educated, and many of them are men of fine character and noble sentiments. But in every company of thirty-five thousand men, will be found a certain per cent of materialists, men who have the ideals of Alexander and Napoleon, and who love war for the opportunity which it brings for promotion, and also for the chance it gives to achieve renown. This type of officer is found in every country. He is ambitious. He wants to show the world what he can do. He is impatient. The ennui of peace is irksome to him. He is on the lookout for perils and sees them in all directions. He puts his ideas into books, magazine articles, speeches. This man must be reckoned with. He is one of the dangerous men of our modern world. He looks at everything through the bore of a gun. He and his companions talk constantly of conjectural campaigns. They form a war party. You can not have a great army without having a war party. The war party in Prussia, of which we have heard so much, is not a unique phenomenon. There is a war party in every country which

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