

through indemnities. They will all spend all they have fighting, leaving nothing but inconceivable poverty to be divided, and endured among them. In the light of what has already happened, of what has already been spent, and what now must with the inevitableness of the law of gravitation still be spent, no mind in Europe can any longer figure on the hope of reimbursement. In a deadlock of physical force they lie, each side waiting for the other's financial exhaustion to put an end to the struggle. Meanwhile, all together are tumbling headlong toward financial and industrial anarchy.

WILL OUR NATION EXTEND LEADERSHIP TO MORALS AND IDEALS

Yes, the close of this war in Europe, will see America the one great, rich nation of the world leading all the nations in wealth, commerce and industry. The question above every other for us to answer is this: will the United States extend its leadership also to the realms of morals and ideals? Are American ideals of international good will and justice to prevail? Is real Christianity to spread until it embraces the nations in their intercourse; or, are we to confess that during the past fifty years when we were largely relying on the justness of our actions, and our moral ideals to save us from conflicts with other nations, we were wrong, and the European nations alone were right when they spent a vast part of their energies and resources in planning for war? Is America now to be dominated by its suspicious, military minds, or is America to lead the world in the effort to conquer the deadly militarism which, because of its hellish rule, has swept Europe into her present horrors? Because of our leadership, our wealth, our resources and relative strength, our conservation of that which Europe has thrown away, Europe's only hope of rehabilitation lies through us; and, whether we want it or not, we are to have an enormous world influence, and it has come to us at an hour when very literally civilization is at the cross-roads. The world is at that point in its life where either Christian ideals are going to take hold of the nations and make them see the utter insanity of civilized men fighting like wild beasts, and spending the hard accumulated earnings of the people for that which is not bread, until poverty and misery are universal; or, we are in but the first chapter of a retrograde movement wherein the light of civilization fades into another period of dark ages. The present deluge of blood and misery produced by the power of the military mind in Europe is going to be the last thing of its kind among highly civilized nations, and lead to the complete overthrow of the doctrine of military preparedness, or, it is going to lead to such hatreds, tyrannies and fears; to such unbelief in human nature, to such universal suspicion, to such a bold open profession of supreme faith in force, to such a mania of armament rivalry, that what Europe has been for the last forty years, an armed camp, that the whole world is going to be. An armed world, a world given over in every country to the leadership of its military minds, is a world headed for a chaos as much beyond that in which Europe is at present engulfed, as the present European state surpasses in misery all the preceding wars of the ages. No generation of men, therefore, were ever called upon to decide a more momentous moral question, a question so fraught with good or evil, so influencing the whole destiny of humanity for ages to come, as that which confronts the people of America over the problem of increased armament. No one of us could sit on a jury having the life or death of a single man in our hands without a profound sense of responsibility; but in the decision of the United States over the question of vastly increasing our military strength at this time, and in giving our assent to the doctrine that in time of peace it is right to prepare for war, we are deciding the fate of a world; and we are deciding it just the way the men who scoff the loudest at all efforts to create a Christian conscience among the nations, and who openly say that men are going to fight and that fighting, after all, is not a bad thing but a good thing for the nations—just the way these men of supreme unbelief in moral ideals and spiritual forces want us to decide. Further than that, when America votes to vastly increase her military preparedness at this time, she proposes to do under excitement, under fear, under a deliberately planned, nation-wide campaign of narrow minded specialists, and of financial interests which will make millions out of this new program, what her whole moral judgment during all our preceding history has condemned. She

will do what virtually every newspaper in America under the first shock of the news that at last Europe was at war, denounced in the European nations as the very thing which above everything else had led to this universal conflagration. In such a time as this, many of us conceive it to be the supreme patriotic duty of all who believe in a righteous God and an eternal moral order, to which nations as well as individuals are responsible—and against which in the long run a billion men can not prevail—to refuse to let ourselves be swept out of our right senses, but to keep calm—and to look thoroughly into the need, the value and the moral significance of these proposed new and vastly costly policies. To spend billions of dollars over a mere rumor and the fears created by false alarmists, is nothing less than criminal. Before entering into the discussion which is to follow, let me say that I do not consider all soldiers to be militarists, and therefore subject to wholesale censure. All soldiers are not military in mind any more than all preachers are pacifists. For the self-respecting soldier who does his work conscientiously, and so lives and thinks in touch with the best light of his age that he has some hope that possibly the world may be educated and made wise enough, if not to get rid of its soldiers, at least to relegate them to such a place of regulated subordination that they do not eat up all the fruits of our common toil—with such a soldier I have no quarrel. And I hope there may be many such. But for that man, whether in the soldier's uniform, the editor's shirt sleeves, or the garb of a priest of religion, whose ultimate faith for the welfare of society rests upon force and not spirit, upon fear rather than justice and love, I have little respect and no admiration.

MEN WHOSE FALSE PHILOSOPHY HAS PRODUCED STATE OF FEAR

Now the first thing I want to say about the program of vast preparedness is that its chief advocates, the ones who have fathered it from the beginning, the ones who have done the most to create the fear that we are in danger of attack, if not from one direction, then certainly from somewhere else; the men who have produced that state of fear out of which this supposed necessity springs, in their philosophy agree perilously near with the European Bernhardt's and the whole blood and iron tribe who are most responsible for Europe's present state. We pick up Bernhardt's book and read it. It fills us with abhorrence. Here is a brain divorced absolutely from heart. Here is a man openly preaching the doctrine that might makes right. Here is a man appearing in the modern world with a spirit as frankly pagan as if he had been lifted bodily out of Rome under Julius Caesar—a world that never heard of Jesus Christ. We lay the book down with disgust, and we say: "A nation under such leadership is headed for the pit." It is horrible to think that modern civilization anywhere could have so degenerated as to make such a human possible; and we can not help feeling that a kind of moral taint rests upon the whole of Germany that a man so divorced from all the finer feelings of humanity should have flourished there. But hold on a minute before you visit your wholesale condemnation upon the German people. Have you read our own American Bernhardt—General Homer Lea, in his "Valor of Ignorance," the book which has received the unqualified endorsement of the military people who are now preaching to us that we are gone unless we straightway arm to the teeth?—the book which has been more responsible for our well nursed fear of Japan than all causes put together. I defy any man to find anything in Bernhardt which is more frankly pagan, which more brutally denies every postulate of the Christian religion than does General Homer Lea. General Lea's God is blind Force: Force and nothing but Force rules the nations in their intercourse. According to this preacher of valor, men live by conforming only to the laws of Force. Hear this sentence: "To exist thus, individually or as a nation, man must ceaselessly endeavor not to thwart but to comprehend and live according to these laws that know not of him and his vain progeny." Some of us, on what we consider even better authority than the dictum of General Lea, have for a long time believed that man lives by conforming to the will of a righteous, personal God, who not only knows of us and our vain progeny, but of the very falling sparrows. But with one fell sweep General Lea wipes God and the whole Christian morality out of existence, and then he proceeds to make for us a new religion founded not on a personal God of love

and righteousness, but on the worship of Force "that knows not of us and of our vain progeny." People who are religious according to that old mistaken notion which was embodied in the teachings of Jesus Christ can do nothing to alter human life for the better. They are so wildly visionary and so completely misread the laws of life, as General Lea knows them to be, "that," I quote again "as far as the world is concerned they might as well be a louse on the back of a wild duck as it wings its way through the stormy night." General Lea holds that religious people who hate war are powerless to stop it, but that military "experts" like the General, who believe in it, by writing books which constantly play upon the fears of the people, can do a great deal toward making men more belligerent. He is as right in his last proposition as he is wrong in the first. Again I quote from our supreme alarmist: "It is in relation to these forces that govern the formation, duration, and dissolution of political entities, that international arbitration and disarmament are to be considered. Not that they themselves are worth even a passing word but for the fact of the mischief that their illusive ideas are capable of bringing about." It is amusing to see the intense anxiety with which each one of the modern war writers from every country, including even Bernhardt of Germany, views the decline of militant patriotism among his own people, and looks upon the growing tendency to find some way to curb war as a sign of national decadence peculiar to his own land; instead of seeing in this growing hatred of war among all free and intelligent classes a worldwide movement big with hope for a new and happier humanity, certain in time to bring about just that change which the militarist says can never come. But to quote again from the author of "The Valor of Ignorance" (better named "The Ignorance of Valor") "Usually these delusions are harmful only to the individual, and as such are not worthy of concern; but when the hallucination is apt to become so widespread as to affect the welfare of the nation, then it is time to point out the mockery of their hopes and the quicksand into which they have led them."

In this class of visionaries we place International Arbitrationists and Disarmamentists, who are so persistently striving through subservient politicians, through feminism, clericalism, sophism and other such toilers to drag this already much deluded republic into the Brodingnagian swamp from whose deadly gases there is no escape. And, we may answer, exactly so reasoned Bernhardt about the same toilers in Germany! Yet, there is not a free mind in all the world outside of Germany which does not feel that it would have been far better for Germany and for all humanity if Germany had had more of these visionary toilers and less Bernhardt's.

"DANGEROUS VISIONARIES" BECOME THE BUILDERS OF CIVILIZATION

War, according to General Lea, who breaks off again and again into peans of praise over the hardened soldier who has been militarily trained until he has shed all the moral sentiments and feelings which belong to ordinary humanity—war is not only a necessary and good thing, it is such a good thing that the very effort to avert and curb it, though that effort appear among intelligent men of all modern nations, is the supreme imbecility and impiety of which the human spirit can be guilty. By the patient and persistent effort of those who were at the time called "dangerous visionaries" by the Homer Lea type of mind, but whom we look back on now as the real builders of civilization; our race has conquered cannibalism and tribal war, slavery and bloody empires that rested solely on murder and rapine, gladiatorial combats; all avowedly wars of conquest; over most of the earth the power of irresponsible kings ruling in wickedness by divine right; wrung from tyranny, ignorance and superstition, a thousand concessions, and put an end forever among really civilized men of the cowardly practice of duelling and the degrading code of honor—all habits of mind as old as war and, once thought to be, as impregnable fixed "in changeless human nature" as war itself. But they are all gone now and are superseded by new and better habits of life. But the one supreme curse of them all, the one diabolical thing which is nothing less than hell incarnate, man's deadliest enemy and father of more miseries than all else, we are asked not to attack, not to question its right to be, but to bow down before it as a great god of fate. Before war alone we must be helpless fatalists. For, according to our wise prophet of the way of