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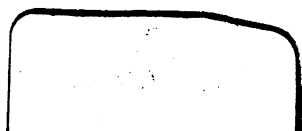
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The NEW CITIZENSHIP

A. T. Robertson



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The New Citizenship

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The New Citizenship

The Christian Facing
a New World Order

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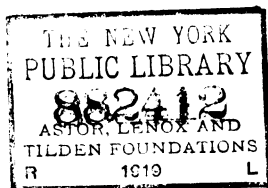
Thy will be done,
As in Heaven,
So on Earth.



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To
MY CHILDREN

Preface

CHRIST brought hope to a discouraged world. The Jews still cherished the Messianic hope, but they interpreted it in terms of Jewish nationalism, a Pharisaic kingdom imposed upon all the Gentiles by force of arms and divine power. For most men the Golden Age was in the past. The glory of Greece was gone. The Roman Republic was an iridescent dream. The great philosophers were in the past. The iron heel of the Roman conqueror was everywhere. The spirit of men was broken. But Jesus boldly proclaimed the advent of the Kingdom of God when the will of God would be done on earth as in heaven. That hope has lived on and lives yet. Augustine pictured his City of God. Others to-day expect no improvement on earth till Jesus comes to set up a literal reign of a thousand years on earth. The hope dwindled into a distant mirage in the desert in Sir Thomas More's Utopia. Socialism had stirred new visions in the minds of many before the cataclysm of August, 1914. Four years of carnage have turned the world once

more to Christ as the hope of the race. Christians have been compelled to face the tremendous issues of the conflict in the light of the Cross of Christ. The present book is the reaction of the author's own mind to the new situation due partly to a month with the Y. M. C. A. Army school for secretaries at Blue Ridge, North Carolina. The old world passed away when Belgium took her stand in front of the Kaiser's hosts. Modern history began on that day. Everything is in the crucible and many earnest people have seen only chaos. Victory has crowned the armies of America and her Allies. The new day has dawned for which we toiled and prayed. World-peace has come. But the fight against wrong has only begun. The task before us now is to apply the same energy and organization to the destruction of foes in the home camp, some of them old foes with new faces. King Alcohol has been dethroned. He must never regain his crown. Disease and crime must not stalk abroad unchecked. We must learn how to function as citizens at home as efficiently as the boys in khaki fought as soldiers in France. The reign of the pot-house politician with his graft and his greed is over. The opportunity for intelligent Christian citizenship is at hand. America is a city set on a hill these days seen of all

men. The eyes of the world are turned upon us. We must clean up our house and keep it clean if we are to lead the nations of earth in the paths of peace to God and righteousness. Mob rule in Georgia is as heinous as in Russia. We must walk humbly before God and men and deal justly with men of all races and all lands.

A. T. R.

Louisville, Ky.

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I

THE LEADERSHIP OF JESUS

"All authority hath been given unto me in heaven and on earth."—*Matt. 28 : 18.*

1. The Immensity of Christ's Claim.

IT is doubtful if even yet we quite grasp the full scope of the words of Jesus in Matthew 28 : 18. Modern critics, forsooth, challenge the genuineness of this logion of Jesus because of the very sublimity of the claim. But the passage has not been successfully contested by criticism. It is virtually the same as that in Matthew 11 : 27 and Luke 10 : 22 (therefore the Q of criticism and one of the oldest sources). The "all things" of Luke is in Matthew 28 : 18 simply expanded into "in heaven and upon earth." It did seem preposterous for even the Risen Jesus to make such a boast if one thought only of human agencies. He made it in the presence of some five hundred believers (1 Cor. 15 : 6), some of whom doubted the reality of His resurrection, while the rest worshipped Him (Matt. 28 : 17). He had asserted, as reported in the Fourth Gospel, that He was the light of the

world (John 8 : 12), but even His enemies had not taken this in a political sense. Jesus had expressly said to Pilate that His kingdom was not of this world else His servants would fight to prevent His death (John 18 : 36). Peter had used the sword against Malchus to defend Jesus from arrest in the garden of Gethsemane, but Jesus made him put up his sword (John 18 : 10 f.). And yet Jesus boldly claimed to have power over Pilate (John 19 : 11) to the bewilderment of that official. The disciples who knew that Jesus was risen from the dead accepted Him as the Messiah, the Son of God, and were, no doubt, willing to admit His claims to "all authority in heaven." It has been more difficult for Christians to allow that Jesus has "all authority on earth," except in spots. Indeed, many devout Christians deny the potential authority of Christ on earth. They draw a sharp line of cleavage between things sacred and things secular. They do not recognize the power of Jesus in certain sections of their own lives as in politics and in business. The lamentable experience of men, when Church and State were united, has had much to do with this sensitiveness about mixing religion and politics. Preachers are usually warned to keep their hands off of politics and business, about both of which they are assumed to be ignorant.

And yet Jesus taught His disciples to pray, "Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth." But the Kingdom of God itself has been confined in our minds to purely spiritual affairs and has almost been relegated to heaven. The will of God on earth is treated as purely hypothetical and chimerical if taken seriously. The result has been that we have practically ruled Christ out of a large part of our life whereas He asserts authority over all of it. It is this divided fealty that makes the language of Jesus seem unreal and visionary. Certainly Jesus did not prescribe forms of government for men. He did not outline details and rules of business, but He clearly claimed power over the whole life of man including the State.

This is not saying that the Church has power over the State; very far from it. But Jesus is Lord of heaven and earth. He is King of kings and Lord of lords. He brings all rule and government under the sway of His will and of His love. If this is true, the German doctrine that the State is above law and right falls to the ground. It is not the pope who has power over kings and presidents, but Jesus Christ. God holds all rulers to strict account to moral principle and righteousness. Nations are not above God. They cannot by *fiat* make wrong right.

Might is not right, but right is might. We have no right to claim to be a Christian people in any sense unless we are willing to follow the leadership of Jesus. We praise Jesus, but fear to follow Him. If we follow Him, we shall have to change many things and suffer much inconvenience. Do we admit the lordship and the leadership of Jesus to our whole life here on earth, here and now as citizens of the United States of America? That question confronts us at the very start of our inquiry. President W. H. P. Faunce quotes a Chinese official who said of Jesus, "Provincial by birth, mechanic by trade ; . . . never was one worse equipped to found a commonwealth " (" Religion and War," p. 44). But Jesus is the wisdom of God and confounds to-day all the worldly schemes of men.

2. The Program of Jesus for World Dominion.

It is clear that Jesus has a program for world rule, though some scholars deny it. Men like Schweitzer (" The Quest of the Historical Jesus ") affirm that Jesus had a mistaken eschatology, thinking that the world would come to an end quickly with a great cataclysm and thus usher in the Messianic kingdom. This view makes Jesus adopt the theory of the Jewish apocalyptists and makes His ethical teachings *interimsethik* or

ethics only for a brief interval before the world upheaval should come. Dean Shailer Mathews admits that it is not improbable that Jesus held this catastrophic view of the establishment of the Kingdom of God, though he thinks it was not His central thought ("The Gospel and the Modern Man," p. 253). President Faunce goes so far as to say: "Probably he did expect a speedier end of the age than we can expect. But his eschatology could not transform his ethic" ("Religion and War," p. 61). Jesus employed apocalyptic language in discussing the unknown end of the world, but He nowhere formally committed Himself to an early date for the end of the world. It is wrong to take literally symbolic imagery when the rest of the teaching is clear. Jesus outlined a program for world conquest, as we shall see.

In the temptation on the mountain the devil showed Jesus "all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them; and he said unto him, All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me" (Matt. 4:8 f.). Luke (4:6 f.) reports the devil's words thus: "To thee will I give all this authority, and the glory of them: for it hath been delivered unto me; and to whomsoever I will I give it. If thou therefore wilt worship before me, it shall all be thine." This the devil said after he had "showed him all

the kingdoms of the inhabited earth in a moment of time" (Luke 4:5) by a sort of spiritual cinematography. Whatever view we hold of the nature of this temptation, in some subtle and powerful way the spirit of evil presented to Jesus the appeal of world dominion. Great men before Jesus had been fascinated by the dream of world empire, men like Nebuchadrezzar, Xerxes, Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar. The lure of world empire has not ceased to draw men on. Attila the Hun, Napoleon, and now Kaiser Wilhelm the "Hun" has proclaimed that his "mailed fist" will accomplish what the other aspirants failed to achieve. But the forces of freedom have seen to it that he too shall fail to reach his vain ambition. The devil claimed lordship over the kingdoms of the world and Jesus did not deny that he was the prince of this world (John 16:11). The devil dangled before Jesus power (authority) and glory, precisely what bewilders the ambitious ruler to-day. And Jesus Himself claimed world authority while here it was offered Him for the asking. But the terms offered Jesus mean servitude as the devil's vassal king and disloyalty to the Father. The Master must have told the story of this crucial initial struggle, since there were no spectators to the combat. We have thus Christ's own estimate of the signifi-

cance of the conflict. The rejection of the devil's offer of co-partnership in world rule meant war to the finish between the Lion of the tribe of Judah (Rev. 5:5) and the lion of the jungle. Jesus enters upon His Messianic task as *Christus Militans* (B. W. Bacon, *Hibbert Journal*, July, 1918). He grappled the enemy of all that is good and true. At the very start Jesus is shown to have a program for world conquest just as He unfolded it at the end before He ascended to heaven (Matt. 28:18 ff.).

He was to win by the way of the Cross. Just before His death He said to the disciples: "In the world ye have tribulation: but be ye of good cheer; I have overcome the world" (John 16:33). In the Apocalypse of John the seventh angel sounds and great voices say: "The kingdom of the world is become the kingdom of our Lord, and of his Christ, and he shall reign forever and ever" (Rev. 11:15). The apostles soon came to see that the Risen Christ was and is Lord of the whole universe (John 1:3 f.; Col. 1:16 f.). His aim was to wrest the dominion of the world from the hand of Satan. Paul felt it to be his call from Christ to open the eyes of the Gentiles "that they may turn from darkness to light and from the power of Satan unto God" (Acts 26:18).

But if the devil had his grip on the kings of earth, how could Jesus win while He renounced a political kingdom? This problem puzzled the disciples who for long could not comprehend how Jesus could die and still be the Christ. Popular Pharisaic theology (John 12:34) looked for a Messiah who would abide in Jerusalem, not for a Son of man who would be lifted up (crucified). And Peter doubted the idea of a dying Christ so bluntly that Jesus had to brand him as "Satan" reappearing in the person of Peter with the old temptation to world power (Matt. 15:22f.). At the very moment of Christ's Ascension the disciples still looked for a political kingdom (Acts 1:6). And yet these men did come to see that the Kingdom of God is within the heart (Luke 17:20f.), the reign of Christ in the soul. But was Jesus a revolutionist? Did He submit to the rule of men who were not under the sway of the will of God?

3. Christ and Cæsar.

The enemies of Jesus perceive the dilemma in which He had placed Himself by His peculiar claim to Messiahship without political rule. The Pharisees seek to inveigle Jesus unto some kind of trouble with Herod Antipas, but He easily eludes both the Pharisees and "that fox" (Luke

13:31 ff.). On the last day of the temple ministry the Pharisees employ some of their disciples (students) and the Herodians to entrap Jesus about paying tribute to Cæsar. To advocate this tax was not popular and the Zealots openly opposed paying it and finally brought on the war with Rome. But yet to call it unjust or unlawful would run the risk of trial for high treason. The answer of Jesus cut through their cunning and laid down a principle for Christians through all the ages: "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's; and unto God the things that are God's" (Matt. 22:21). No wonder, "when they heard it they marvelled, and left him, and went away." They had no case against Christ and had been made ridiculous before the crowd. Jesus clearly recognizes the rights of the State and of religion and holds that they are separate. Perhaps no single teaching of Jesus has been more difficult to follow through the centuries than this logion about Cæsar and God. At that very time Cæsar claimed to be God. The emperor-cult was the chief religion of the empire.

What shall a man do when the State steps into the place of God and asserts power over the conscience? What if conscience and the State conflict? Then the conscience should see to it

that it is right. It may need fresh light. If, after all is said and done, the conscience stands its ground, that is each man's privilege. Only a man must be willing to pay the price for such a stand with his life if need be. This is what Jesus did. This is what Peter and John stood ready to do: "whether it is right in the sight of God to hearken unto you rather than unto God, judge ye: for we cannot but speak the things which we saw and heard" (Acts 4:19 ff.). And yet Peter will say: "Honour all men. Love the brotherhood. Fear God. Honour the king" (1 Pet. 2:17). At that very time Christians were suffering fiery persecutions from Nero for the crime of being Christians (1 Pet. 4:16). Paul was treated as an outlaw against Cæsar (Acts 17:7), charged with his co-workers with "saying that there is another king, one Jesus." Eventually the issue was drawn in the Roman Empire sharply between the "Lord Jesus" and "Lord Cæsar." It cost something then to say: "Jesus is Lord" (1 Cor. 12:3). Polycarp in the second century was given the alternative of life with the words "Lord Cæsar" or death with the words "Lord Jesus." He chose "Lord Jesus" and death, yes, and eternal life. Soon the Roman Empire was engaged in a death struggle between the kingdom of Cæsar and the kingdom of Christ. Nero,

Domitian, Trajan, Flavius, Decius threw the whole weight of the State against the pestiferous heresy to stamp it out. But it would not be stamped out.

In the end Constantine compromised the conflict. The Church conquered Cæsar and Cæsar conquered the Church. Papal Rome in a strange way represented the compromise offered Jesus by the devil in the union of Church and State. The result was official Christianity with the spirit and method of the Roman rule. It was the face of Christ with the heart of the beast. Medieval history in Europe is the story of the evil wrought upon the kingdom of Christ by the spirit of Cæsar. Scourges came from Huns, Saracens, Turks, and Teutons. The intellectual life dwindled with the dimming of the spiritual forces. The Greek genius was put beneath the heel of papal power. But the Renaissance came. Europe awoke with the Greek Testament in its hand and the spirit of man began to fight for freedom to think. The Reformation followed and men have slowly fought their way out to intellectual and spiritual liberty. They shook off the Church in order to find Christ. Men have tried to shut the Church out from the affairs of the State and to keep the hand of the State out of the affairs of the Church. Both results have

cost ages of conflict and much blood and agony. The antithesis between Cæsar and God was seen by many, but not by all.

The recent world struggle was a recrudescence in the mind of the Kaiser of this union between Church and State. He asserts the divine right of kings and traces his dynasty to heaven. He has claimed a special partnership with God and to be the agent of God in using the hammer of Thor against the nations of the earth. The naïveté of this conception would make it seem absurd to modern men were it not so tragical a reality. Already this insane ambition of the Kaiser to world rule has cost the world six million men slain in battle, not to mention the wounded, the demented, the women ruined or widowed, the children orphaned, the homes wrecked. But the end is not yet, though the defeat of the Kaiser has come. The Kaiser claims to be the author of the idea of German world dominion, but he has been supported by the masses of his people. The philosophy of Nietzsche that might is right came to be the orthodox doctrine of the German state. Nietzsche brutally stated that Jesus was the greatest calamity that had ever befallen the race because He taught mercy and spared the weak. He set up Thor in the place of Christ. Heine long ago foresaw

the havoc that would be wrought in Europe and all the world when Germany thrust off the thin veneer of Christianity and threw away the talisman of the Cross and grasped again the hammer of Thor. He warned a world that did not heed. At the very outbreak of the great war, men perceived that the real issue was Kaiser or Christ, Napoleon or Jesus, Corsica or Galilee. Each day of the war's progress has made that plainer and now it is written across the sky. What is the matter with the State? If we must have separation of Church and State, what has Christ to do with the State? That is precisely the point where the State has failed. We have a State without Christ.

4. Christ in the State.

In having a churchless State, as is right, we have secured a godless State which is all wrong. The State cannot do without God any more than the individual can. Not that God need be in the Constitution or on our coins, though there is no harm in that. What the State needs is not a statute god (Germany had that) nor a state god (the Roman Empire had that). What the State must do is to lay the foundation in righteousness. That alone exalts a nation. Nothing else will stand. It was precisely because the king-

doms of the world were carried on in accord with the principle of the devil that he could claim to be the prince of this world. The very name "diplomacy" means double dealing. The single-eyed diplomacy of John Hay in China was termed rude and uncouth by the Germans. Through the ages the governments of earth have been too prone to leave Christ out of account. They have acted on the principle of grab and greed. Love and good-will and uprightness of conduct have been treated as the worn-out vapourings of old women and preachers.

But God has not abdicated His throne. Machiavellian principles seem to triumph for a while. The cynicism of a Bismarck who changed a telegram in order to make war on France in 1870 seemed to succeed. But God bides His time. The Kaiser was ready in September, 1914, in resplendent uniform to enter Paris with the Crown Prince. But he did not enter. The miracle of the Marne came and the hosts of Germany were hurled back to the Aisne by the genius of Joffre and Foch. Again in July, 1918, the Kaiser and the Crown Prince were ready to enter Paris. But the American Marines at Chateau-Thierry disobeyed orders and fought instead of running and saved Paris again and the Huns ran back towards the Rhine. The Kaiser

had already constructed his palace on Mount Olivet from which he was to rule the world. But now, alas for him, the British occupy Jerusalem. The grand scheme of Mittel-Europa seemed a fact with Servia, Roumania, and Russia under the heel of the Hun. But now defeat has overtaken Germany and her allies. The nation that defies God has always gone down. No nation can live that ignores Christ.

This is the supreme lesson of the war to the United States. We must as a people face the fact of Christ, the present lordship and leadership of Christ in public and private life. It is evident enough that Christ is not yet King in the United States. All is not bad. We have in President Woodrow Wilson a man who seems anxious to solve public problems in the spirit of Jesus. He has become "The moral leader of the world to-day" (*The British Weekly*, Aug. 1, 1918) not merely because of his high office. He has taken Christ with him into his office and Jesus has put into his hand the hearts of a billion people who look to him for guidance in the world conflict. He has shown men how to crown Christ in the State. Prohibition is near at hand. Exposures of graft and greed are fearlessly made. But the wide-spread profiteering is enough to shame us. Men in high places have

taken advantage of the crisis of this country to rob the government and the masses. The American Republic needs Christ in the hearts of the voters, in the hearts of the lawmakers, in the hearts of all who rule and lead. This the nation is coming to see. We must make Christ King in the home, in the school, in the store, in the factory, on the railroad, on the ship, in the army, in the navy, in the city hall, in the state capitol, in the national capitol. That is to say, we must have men and women who own Jesus as Lord and Leader and who honestly try to follow His teaching. This is the new citizenship. This is what the world has never yet seen, a Commonwealth where Christ really reigns in the hearts of the people. Dr. P. T. Forsyth well says: "A nation is Christian not when a church is established by law, but when righteousness is established by conscience within its workers" ("The Roots of a World-Commonwealth," p. 12).

5. Citizens Worthy of Christ.

Paul caught the vision when he said "Only live as citizens in a manner worthy of the Gospel of Christ" (Phil. 1:27). The Christian cannot escape his duties as a citizen. He has no right to shirk them or to resign them to others, not

even to the city "boss" or to the party machine. Paul was proud of his Roman citizenship (Acts 22 : 28) and of his city Tarsus (Acts 21 : 39). We may be sure that he exercised his duties as a citizen conscientiously. The Philippians lived in a city that was a colony of Rome (Acts 16 : 12) and knew what a privilege Roman citizenship was at that time. Paul could appeal to them with force because both he and they were Roman citizens (cf. Robertson, "Paul's Joy in Christ," pp. 24, 219). The Christian can get no sympathy from Christ for leaving the affairs of state to selfish and evil men. This is exactly the place where the new view of citizenship steps in. Christians have been too often cowardly and careless. They have accepted the rottenness of city politics as a necessary evil. They have followed the lead of the party "boss" without regard to the ethical aspects of the issues at stake. We are at last coming to see that it is nothing but criminal cowardice for Christians to let grafters and pot-house politicians run city and state in the interest of the forces of evil. Courage has been needed in this conflict and persistence. Spasmodic reform movements spent their force because they were not sustained by convictions and consistent application of principle. The Christian must take Christ with him

to the polls in no Pharisaical sense, free from all cant, with the utmost courage and determination. Men must not forget that they are followers of Christ when they sit in the city council or in the legislative halls. The honest effort to act as citizens in a way worthy of Christ will eliminate bribery and other schemes. What Paul pleads for is the business use of Christianity all the time.

We do not need the union of Church and State, but we must have the union of Christ and the citizen. The same man is both Christian and citizen. He cannot separate himself without disloyalty to Christ. There is no need to cast pearls before swine or to drag the name of Christ into the market-place. The parade of the name of Christ in public may defeat the very object that is desired. But if Jesus is our Lord and leader, let us follow Him. We must approach all questions of statecraft from the standpoint of the Cross of Christ. All men will not do this. But all Christian citizens are required to do this. To do this one thing will settle many grave problems in our national life. Are American Christians willing to face their duties as citizens as Jesus would have them do? It is not always easy to know the will of Christ when new and complicated problems arise. Men will inevitably

differ in their opinions. But it will be going a long way if we start with the willingness for Jesus to rule in our life as citizens in the State.

Has the State the right to draft citizens for war? It certainly has. Jesus does not oppose defensive warfare, but aggressive war. The pacifist, as will be shown later (Chapter XI), has misunderstood Jesus in His teaching about non-resistance. Jesus Himself fought the devil and the Pharisees, separately and in combination. It is cowardly for one to wish to enjoy the blessing of freedom and not to be willing to preserve and defend liberty when attacked. The citizen owes it to the State that protects him to defend the State against aggression. The Christian can be a soldier and must be when the State calls for his services. He can take Christ with him into battle.

II

THE BROTHERHOOD OF THE RACE

“Our Father who art in heaven.”—*Matt. 6: 9.*

“And he made of one every nation of men to dwell on all the face of the earth.”—*Acts 17: 26.*

PLATITUDES and commonplaces have taken on new meanings in the din of battle. We have not taken the broad truths of Christianity quite seriously enough. The edge wears off the old phases until all of a sudden we are brought face to face with eternal reality. Modern writers have surely written enough about the brotherhood of man, but much of it has been cheap twaddle. The war has laid bare in all its hideous nakedness the hatreds, deep and bitter, that run criss-cross through the world. Many embarrassing questions confront us if we look honestly at Christ's teaching on the subject.

1. The Fatherhood of God.

The fatherhood of whom? Most nations had their own gods. The god of each nation was regarded as a national asset and was expected to do his best for that nation in any conflict that arose. In the great world conflict the Germans talked of “Our good German God.” They treat

the Lord God of all as their exclusive deity. They call themselves the chosen people and regard others as outside the pale of the divine interest. In the Old Testament Jehovah appears as the creator of the Universe and the God of all creation. The Jews are the chosen people for the bringing in of the Messianic kingdom, but the Gentiles are included in the promise to Abraham. The universal fatherhood of God was coming into view. Even to-day many Christians deny the universal fatherhood of God because they make it to mean universal salvation. That is slavery to a phrase. God is the Father of men in two senses. In one sense He is the Father of the race, while in the other special sense He is the Father of the redeemed. The two senses can and should be kept distinct. It is misleading to confuse them. All men are children of God, the author of their being, the Father of their spirits. Man was made in God's image (Gen. 1 : 26). But only the redeemed belong to the family of God in the special sense of the term.

Jesus used this term in three senses. He taught His hearers to say "Our Father" (Matt. 6 : 9). He spoke of God as His own Father in a sense not true of other men (John 5 : 18). But He also conceived God as the Father of all men. The

picture of the prodigal son is that of the outcast from society, the publican and sinner (Luke 15:1), who yet can say "Father" (Luke 15:12, 18, 21). The Gentile stands in this same relation with the Jew, for God loved the whole world and sent His Son to save whoever will believe on Him (John 3:16). And yet Jesus pointedly said to the unbelieving Pharisees that God was not their Father, but the devil was (John 8:42-44). Here it is the spiritual relation, not the act of creation, that is in mind. These Pharisees cannot say "Abba, Father" (Rom. 8:15). They do not belong to God's spiritual family. They do not make God's will the law of their lives. Jesus held no merely sentimental view of God's fatherhood (H. C. King, "The Ethical Teaching of Jesus," p. 272). In our discussion at this point we use the fatherhood of God in its cosmic relation. Men by the very fact of likeness to God in the moral nature are the objects of God's love and care in a sense not true of other creatures. Jesus died to save sinful men, men of all races, nations, ages. He tasted death for every man (Heb. 2:9). He did not die for other created beings. God wishes to be received as spiritual Father. But that can only become true on the basis of repentance and forgiveness of sin (John 1:12). But all our

modern humanitarian interests grow out of the fundamental fact of the fatherhood of God.

2. The Unity of Mankind.

It cannot be said that modern science has proven the unity of the race which is assumed in the Scriptures. Science allows the possibility of parallel racial development from different ancestors. The discoveries concerning primitive man leaves the matter in more or less doubt. It is too soon to dogmatize about what is still obscure. But different as the various human types are with all their varying stages of development, there is still a common bond of fellowship that unites them and that marks them off from the lower animals, even from those that may have been their physical ancestors. There is a wide gulf between the highest ape and the lowest man. That gulf is the moral nature of man, the image of God. If God is the author of us all, it matters little what the process was. It was good, for it was His will. The point that is pertinent for our discussion is the kinship of all men. Paul the Jew and the Christian gave us a fine illustration of the power to grasp this great truth when he said on Mars' Hill in the presence of cultured Greeks: "For in him we live, and move, and have our being; as certain

even of your own poets have said, For we are also his offspring" (Acts 17:28). "Being then the offspring of God," he continued, meaning both Jews and Greeks. The point is made clearer by his previous words: "And he made of one every nation of men to dwell on all the face of the earth, having determined their appointed seasons, and the bounds of their habitation; that they should seek God, if haply they might feel after him and find him, though he is not far from each one of us" (Acts 17:26 f.). Here the fatherhood of God and the unity of the race are clearly stated in language that is still modern. This unity makes it possible for Paul to make his appeal to the Greeks to turn to God who is near to all if only they have eyes to see. If we follow the line of reasoning thus far, some other things must be accepted that are not so easy to apply to actual conditions to-day.

3. Race Prejudice.

Jesus found race prejudice rampant when He came to earth. It had long been so. The Jews had no dealings with the Samaritans (John 4:9). The woman at the well was astonished that Jesus should speak to her, a Samaritan woman (4:9). They had rival places of worship in Jerusalem and on Gerizim (4:20). And yet

Jesus pictured a Samaritan overcoming race prejudice and lending aid to a Jew whom a priest and a Levite had passed by (Luke 10:30-37). So particular had the Jews become that they wished "neighbour" given the narrowest meaning. The Jews applied the term "dogs" to Gentiles and Jesus used it in a playful way to the Canaanitish woman (Matt. 15:21-28). When the Greeks came to Philip to be introduced to Jesus, he was thrown into a panic and consulted Andrew and finally Jesus on the grave problem (John 12:20ff.). The soul of Jesus was greatly agitated at this spectacle of race hatred. Even after the vision on the house-top Peter apologized to Cornelius for having entered his house (Acts 10:28). The murderers of Jesus felt themselves too pious to enter the Prætorium of Pilate lest they be defiled (John 18:28).

The Gentiles returned this hatred with interest. *Credat Judæus* (Let a Jew believe that) was a proverb. They howled down Alexander the Jew for two hours merely because he tried to make a speech to the crowd at Ephesus (Acts 19:34). In a papyrus letter of A. D. 41 an uncouth writer says: "And thou, do thou beware of the Jews." From the Greek standpoint the Jews were barbarians like all other outsiders with a little extra touch of uncouthness. There

was a middle wall of partition erected between Jew and Gentile that defied any efforts to remove it. The Jews refused to believe that love for neighbour included the Gentiles. This is all easy enough to see. But look at the world to-day. Hatred of the Jew has lived on through the ages, reaching the acme in Russia, where Trotzsky the Jew is now having his turn of power. The Germans first justified the war as a defense against the "Slav hordes." The Kaiser had invented the phrase "Yellow Peril" when Russia was at war with Japan, but now it was the "Slav peril." We have not found it easy to be just in our own country, as the difficulties we have over various race problems show. Race prejudice is an inflammable subject and has contributed its share towards bringing on the great war. But we shall be freer from it because of the war. The mingling of races in the trenches in France will teach natural respect and love for men of other races.

4. National Jealousy.

Race lines and national boundaries do not always correspond. There have been few more bitter wars in history than those between the nations in ancient Greece. Athens and Sparta were rarely at peace. Geography played a large

part in this jealous hostility like the feuds in the mountains where one valley is set against another. The clans of Scotland illustrated the same tendency. And yet nationalism is a wholesome spirit. One of the issues in the recent war was the fate of little nations like Belgium, Servia, Roumania, Greece, and the present Czecho-Slovak nation. Where race and nation coincide the feeling of integrity and independence is greatly intensified. Poland and Armenia were no longer national units, but the national spirit has survived as in Bohemia. But it is all wrong for nation to rise against nation just because the two nations are different. The Jews were opposed by Semitic nations as much as by men of different race. The old way was to conquer or be conquered. So Carthage and Rome fought the Punic wars till Carthage was destroyed. Every nation was regarded as an enemy and legitimate prey. That was the spirit of Germany. The Kaiser prayed to the "good German God" and then preyed upon Belgium. The political writers of Germany have produced many volumes in which they have parceled out the rest of the world without any regard to the present situation. Most nations of Europe, Africa, Asia, Australia, South America, and North America were to become vassals of Germany as Russia was

for the time being. Germany had willed to rule the nations. This is the law of the jungle and Germany had to be conquered like another wild beast of the jungle. The conscience of mankind is treated as a negligible matter.

Like race prejudice national greed is directly contrary to the fact of the fatherhood of God and the unity of the race. Darwin's law of the survival of the fittest is appealed to in justification of this program. But that is nature red in tooth and claw quite apart from all moral restraint. Man, if man at all, has the touch of nature that makes the whole world kin. This duality of nature imposes upon him the obligation to subdue the lower instincts of the beast. The State should be the embodiment of man's higher nature, not of his lower. The law of love that applies to the family applies also to the life of nations with each other. Carnegie's Peace Palace still stands at the Hague and it will yet come to its own after the demon of hate has been cast out of Germany.

5. The Magnetism of the Cross.

But the nations will never lay aside the sword till they meet at the Cross of Christ. "Jesus delivered a frontal attack upon race prejudice and racial arrogance, which two things have been

the source of most of the wars of the world. He would conquer those insidious foes not only by verbal condemnation but by replacing them with the great conception of human brotherhood" (President Faunce, "Religion and War," p. 56). Principal Forsyth puts it well when he says: "The wave of brotherhood is really carried on the tide of righteousness, and comrade loyalty rests on loyalty to the King of nations whose throne is the conscience of a world" ("The Roots of a World-Commonwealth," p. 15). Religion has been the cause of many wars. But religion alone, real religion, can cast out the war spirit. Jesus met the inquiry of Philip and Andrew concerning the desire of the Greeks to meet Him with a profound statement of the philosophy of life and death. The vision of His own Cross was before His soul now greatly agitated: "Now is my soul troubled; and what shall I say?" He was troubled over the hate in the hearts of men for each other, hate caused by sin, hate that could be removed only by the Cross. "Father, save me from this hour," He cried as He shrank from the maelstrom of sin and hate. "But for this cause came I unto this hour. Father, glorify thy name" (John 12:27 f.). He would meet His hour, for thus alone was there hope of reconciling men with each other. "Now

is the judgment of this world: now shall the prince of this world be cast out." Then Jews and Greeks will love each other, then when Satan's power is overthrown. Verily, the German hymn of hate had a Satanic flavour as it was hurled now against Russia, now against France, now against England, now against Italy, now against America. But the prince of this world, the author of all this hellish hate, shall be cast out. "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto myself" (John 12:32). Thus alone can Jew and Greek meet on a common plane of friendship and fraternity.

Paul saw it clearly. "There can be neither Jew nor Greek, there can be neither bond nor free, there can be no male and female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus" (Gal. 3:28). Potentially in Christ race prejudice is done away with, class prejudice disappears, and sex prejudice vanishes. And yet the chief struggles of men have been to remove these three barriers. The spirit of Christ has hammered against each of these walls. Slowly they are going down. Each phase of the struggle is involved in the world war (race, class, sex). But Paul in a great passage (Eph. 2:11-22) expounds the view that the enmity between Jew and Gentile was slain on the Cross of Christ. The blood of

Christ first reconciled Jew and Gentile to God and then to each other. "For he is our peace, who made both one, and brake down the middle wall of partition," "that he might create in himself of the two one new man, so making peace, and might reconcile them both in one body through the cross, having slain the enmity thereby: and he came and preached peace to you that were far off, and peace to them that are nigh: for through him we both have our access in one spirit unto the Father." Thus, and thus alone, is it possible for different nations and races to overcome their jealousies and hatreds.

The great war does not prove that Christianity has failed. It proves that it has not yet been really tried. Man has fallen short of his high destiny. Jesus, the Son of man, alone has risen to the height of true manhood (Heb. 2:5-9). His Incarnation is the hope of mankind. The race cannot scale the heights above the angels except as it follows in the footsteps of their Guide who has blazed the path before. He led the way of love, sacrifice, suffering, service. He calls the nations to come after Him and thus subject all things under their feet.

6. Citizens of the World.

"Freedom, equality, brotherhood are the watch-

words of the new faith. . . . Brotherhood is on the whole the greatest of the Gospel watch-words" (Vedder, "The Gospel of Jesus and the Problems of Democracy," p. 17). Brotherhood is the spirit that has led America into the war (Ferrero, "Europe's Fateful Hour"). The true patriot, therefore, does not have to hate other nations save as they fly in the face of Christ. Germany had become the school-teacher of the world. Now Germany is considered the curse of the world. This rapid revolution in public opinion has come because Germany deliberately flew in the face of the conscience of the world. She set her own ambition above the welfare of men. She blotted out right as a scrap of paper and trampled upon Belgium as an outlaw for standing in her path. But a glory has come to Belgium that will never fade, the country that has lost all but her soul (Raemakers). Germany tried to seize the whole world and lost her soul. In the years to come Germany will repent in sackcloth and ashes and come back to Christ. Then alone she can be forgiven and loved again as was the old Germany of our childhood. But for long Germany will travel her *Via Dolorosa*.

In Christ Jesus, Gentiles are "fellow-citizens with the saints" (Eph. 2 : 19). A new camaraderie has come to the soldiers of the Entente

from the baptism of blood in France. Each loves his own country more than ever, but he has enlarged his heart to take in his fellow-soldiers who fight and fall by his side. If he had only known it, the true Christian has to feel himself a citizen of the whole world. Christ died for the whole world. Our mission efforts grow out of His love for all men as brothers. Some day the League to Enforce Peace will be a reality. We shall then be a step nearer to Tennyson's Federation of Mankind, the Parliament of the World. But all this is in the heart of Christ. We need not wait for the millennium to come to usher in that state. We can begin with our own hearts. We must hate wrong and smite it at every turn. In a letter to the author (August 15, 1918) Sir Alfred Pearce Gould, of London, who gave a gifted son to the cause of freedom in France, says: "What we want is summed up in this—'national and international Christianity'—not a merely formal acceptance of Christ, but a true discipleship." We have won the war for freedom as we should. But we did not win just for ourselves. America, like all her Allies, was in this war for the benefit of the whole world. This is the New Crusade for mankind. We are citizens of the world and all the more because we are loyal Americans.

III

DEMOCRACY'S DAY

"And ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."—*John 8:32.*

DR. VEDDER quotes Nietzsche as saying: "Christianity is the reality of all that creeps upon the ground against all that is elevated." Then Vedder replies: "Precisely: it is the revolt of democracy against aristocracy. Christianity, as Jesus taught it, the Gospel as He declared it, is just that and what the small-souled philosopher thought its disgrace is its glory" ("The Gospel of Jesus and the Problems of Democracy," p. 17). Certainly Paul has the same idea in 1 Corinthians 1:26-30, for God chose the foolish, the weak, the base things of the world, and the things that are not. Jesus laid hold upon the common people who heard Him gladly to the discomfiture of Pharisees and Sadducees. The leaven of the Gospel works upward.

1. The Call to Freedom.

Many crimes have been wrought in the name of liberty. The step from liberty to license is not

hard to take and it has often been taken. Russia stepped over the brink in less than one year from autocracy to democracy and on to anarchy, the prey of German autocrat and Russian demagogue. The road back to ordered freedom will be slow and steep, but it must and will be taken, for Russia has a great soul. China is moving more slowly towards a democracy. The fate of Poland stands before the eyes of Russia. An absolute democracy becomes a veritable tyranny upon occasion. *Vox populi* may be *vox dei* or *vox diaboli*. *Demos* may become the very breath of the Lord or a whiff of hell, a great people united for progress or a howling mob bereft of reason. The State faces the same spirit that confronts Christianity. "For freedom did Christ set us free: stand fast therefore, and be not entangled again in the yoke of bondage" (Gal. 5:1). These words of Paul have a modern ring and suit the needs of the present hour. He was struggling to keep the Gospel free from the yoke of the Judaizers who sought to clamp legalism upon the free spirit of the Gentile Christians. No bondage is more terrible than that of the spirit to ecclesiastical tyranny. "For ye, brethren, were called for freedom; only use not your freedom for an occasion to the flesh, but through love be servants one to another"

(5:13). Freedom is freedom. A man is not free unless he is free in body, mind, and soul. Ordered liberty, that is, not license, for no one lives to himself. Freedom is limited by our relations to God and to our neighbours. But ordered liberty applies to all the functions of life. The air is stuffy unless one has proper freedom of action. The eagle cannot fly in a cage. We may have tyranny of spirit or of intellect under the form of a democracy. We may have freedom of both or of all under the forms of autocracy. Let us not deceive ourselves by phrases. Russia under Lenine professes to be a democracy, but it is a tyrannical government. England is a nominal monarchy. Cromwell and George Washington completed the work of the barons at Runnymede and won real liberty for the Anglo-Saxon world. The autocrat has disappeared from Britain and America after centuries of conflict. The French Revolution drenched the land in blood, but freedom came and has made France glorious. Italy is carrying on the work of Garibaldi for freedom from Teuton and Pope. The idea of equal fellowship "is part of the humane movement which for a century has been spreading over those parts of Christendom which remain sensitive to spiritual ideas wider than national range or to moral sense,

which rises above racial egoism. It goes round the world with the sun, linking Russia with America, and it seems to miss only the Turk and the Teuton" (Forsyth, "The Roots of a World-Commonwealth," p. 13). Some day it will include Turk and Teuton, or else they will be swept aside as an anachronism by the onward movement of the race. This war of autocracy against democracy is the last gasp of feudalism in its effort to throttle freedom. This dragon must be slain. The world will be made safe for democracy as President Wilson said in his immortal address. Yes, and democracy will conquer the world, whether the rulers be termed President, King or Emperor. Japan does not yet understand the democratic movement, but it will yield to the resistless onward sweep of the people. It is no wonder that the Hapsburg and the Hohenzollern went down in the flood. President Faunce ("Religion and War," p. 119) quotes Gladstone as explaining his political inconsistencies by saying: "The reason is very simple; I was brought up to dislike and distrust liberty; I have learned to believe in it; that is the secret of all my changes." We may add this word from Kent: "Jesus lived in an age when despotism was regnant; and yet He was the most thoroughgoing democrat that has appeared in his-

tory" ("The Social Teachings of the Prophets and Jesus," p. 254).

2. Prayer for Kings.

Nowhere in the New Testament is a form of civil government prescribed. Jesus admitted the rights of Cæsar. Paul taught "subjection to the higher powers; for there is no power but of God, and the powers that be are ordained of God" (Rom. 13 : 1). This great passage (Rom. 13 : 1-7) is a clear and powerful presentation of the rights of government. Christianity is wholly on the side of law and order and against all anarchy, mob rule, lynching, and every form of lawlessness. Taxes are to be paid. Consequently military duty is to be performed when demanded by the State. Neither John the Baptist, nor Jesus, nor Paul denounced the calling of the soldier. Paul urged prayer "for kings and all that are in high place; that we may lead a tranquil and quiet life in all godliness and gravity" (1 Tim. 2 : 2). The purpose of government is to make possible the free exercise of all proper liberties by the citizens. The government that secures this is a good government.

Even Nero began well. The Romans looked back to the first five years of his reign as the golden *quinquennium*. But he made his closing

years a living hell for the Roman world. His very name has become a byword. One is strangely reminded of the Kaiser's plea that he was a lover of peace because for twenty-five years he kept the peace, but all the while he was with feverish haste preparing to engulf the world in a war that would make Nero green with envy when he thought of the burning of Rome and his fiddling on the housetop. What was a little conflagration like that compared to the desolation of Belgium, Servia, France, Roumania, Russia? And yet Paul taught prayer for Nero after he had begun to persecute Christians. Surely Nero needed prayer if ever a king did. And Peter said: "Honour the king" (1 Pet. 2 : 17) when Nero was putting Christians to the fiery trial (1 Pet. 1 : 7).

3. The Right of Revolution.

There is a limit to obedience. When civil government, meant to be the organ for order and freedom, becomes the agent for tyranny and oppression, the right of protest exists. Government is of God *per se*, but it may be exercised in the spirit of the devil. The people have had to wrest from their rulers the right to govern themselves. This is a God-given right, not the divine right of kings. The Bill of Rights rests

upon the very nature of man and of society. Every liberty enjoyed by Anglo-Saxon freedom has been won at a great price. Resistance to government can only be justified when it is a serious effort to establish another government that will bestow the liberty that has been taken from the people. A brave spirit must say like Luther: "I can do no other. So help me God." It was this spirit that made Peter and John defy the Sanhedrin: "for we cannot but speak the things which we saw and heard" (Acts 4:20). Hence they refused to obey the mandate of the Sanhedrin. The Puritans came to New England for conscience' sake. When George the Third curtailed that freedom, the tea was hurled into Boston Bay and America became the synonym for the freedom of the human spirit. Here the oppressed of all nations have found refuge. Our land has become a veritable crucible of the nations. "When free America joined this war she crowned the liberty that frees the slave with the loyalty that creates the servant. She rose from the hatred of coercion to the reverence for the moral authority of the world" (Forsyth, "The Roots of a World-Commonwealth," p. 23).

4. The Challenge of Democracy.

The Kaiser and the German Junkers have

challenged the right of free men to rule themselves. The Germans drank in their private feasts to *Der Tag*. They plotted for the day when they would feel themselves strong enough to strike a swift blow against the freedom of the world. It was all in their books before the blow fell, but it was such a Satanic idea that the nations did not take it seriously. A few far-seeing men like Lord Roberts of England tried to arouse the world to what was coming, but all in vain. The world was taken unawares, stunned by the swift blow of the burglars at night. Russia struck back quickly. Belgium stood in the path of the invader for two immortal weeks while Britain hurried over her "contemptible little army" that fought at Mons as if the angels of the Lord were with them. And then the French turned round and rolled back the Huns from the Marne to the Aisne. And the world had its chance to save itself, a chance that was taken. The day had come and heroism was not dead. "It is a war for democracy against dominion. It is our last conflict with expiring feudalism, with its robber barons and its helot crowds" (Forsyth, "The Roots of a World-Commonwealth," p. 22). It was impossible for the democratic peoples to do aught but resist if they valued their souls. America had to step into the

struggle or be a helot of Germany. America then would have been dead. The spirit of Lexington was at Chateau-Thierry.

5. A Worthy Democracy.

A democracy is not a good in itself unless the people make it worth while. It is right to make the world safe for democracy. But democracy must also be made safe for the world. This can only be done when conscience and intelligence rule. A people must be worthy to be free before they can remain free. Else they are "moving about in worlds not realized." We come back again to the leadership of Jesus: "And ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free" (John 8:32). There is no other way to remain free than by the possession of truth with all that this great word means. "If therefore the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed" (John 8:36). Jesus spoke of spiritual freedom beyond a doubt and that is what matters most. One may have political liberty and yet be in intellectual, moral and spiritual darkness and bondage. There are plenty of slaves still in the United States. Lincoln did not, and could not, set all the slaves free. We now talk about the white-slave traffic, the bondage of childhood in the factory, the oppressor of labour by capital.

Millions of men and women in America get little good out of the freedom that exists in our country because of their ignorance, their heredity, their environment, their vices. Lynch-law is still a reproach to America and, in particular, to the South. We shall not be what we should be till conscience reasserts itself in all the walks of life. "The supremacy of conscience is the strength at once of the soul, of the nation, of humanity ; and conscience is less an obedience to particular laws than that reverence for law as such which Germany has despised and defied. The supremacy of conscience is much more than its liberty ; and its supremacy is its submission to right" (Forsyth, "The Roots of a World-Commonwealth," p. 23). There can be no freedom while truth is forever on the scaffold and wrong forever on the throne. We must let mercy and truth meet together and then righteousness and peace will kiss each other. This must be done in public as well as in private life if our democracy is to live and to remain the beacon light for the world ; else the statue of liberty will be a mockery instead of a hope.

IV

MEN, NOT MONEY

“For what shall a man be profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and forfeit his life; or what shall a man give in exchange for his life?”—*Matt. 16 : 26.*

THE world has not always agreed with Jesus in His high estimate of human life. The world, as a whole, does not yet agree with Him. But in the new world order that is coming there will be a shifting of values. The State will come to see that men are worth more than cattle or chattel mortgages. “How much then is a man of more value than a sheep?” (*Matt. 12 : 12*).

1. The Price of a Slave.

It is only recently that the conscience of Christendom has revolted against the traffic in human life. It is only half a century since ministers of the Gospel in this country justified slavery as a divine institution. And it required the Civil War to break the power of slavery upon the life of the South whose wealth and civilization had

come to be grounded upon that system. At St. Augustine the old slave market still stands though the famous St. Louis Hotel in New Orleans with its stand for the sale of slaves has been torn down. It was the stress of war that gave Lincoln the courage to emancipate the slaves. Wilberforce had already led Britain to free her slaves. It is an ancient evil that had become part and parcel of man's government. It is sometimes objected that the New Testament does not attack slavery, but it does attack it. The attack is made by the inculcation of love for a man as a man. In returning the converted runaway slave, Onesimus, to his master Philemon, Paul urges that he be treated "no longer as a servant, but more than a servant, a brother beloved, specially to me, but how much rather to thee both in the flesh and in the Lord." It is not possible to surpass the delicacy of that sentence. "Receive him as myself," Paul adds, and also this: "knowing that thou wilt do even beyond what I say." Paul says, "I will repay" whatever he owes. This is the technical language found often in the papyri (Deissmann, "Light from the Ancient East," p. 335). Paul gives his note of hand for the debt of Onesimus to Philemon. It is this new love in Christ that has shaken the shackles from the hands of slaves.

Love of money gripped the minds of men for long so that even Christian men could not see that freedom belonged to all men. Paul saw that in Christ Jesus "there can be neither bond nor free" (Gal. 3:28). He saw it and dared to proclaim it, though the slave had to learn to be "the Lord's freedman" even if unable to throw off man's yoke and the freeman must not forget that he was "Christ's bondservant" (1 Cor. 7:22).

This was no time-serving policy, but the application of Christianity to hard conditions that could not be changed at once. "Ye were bought with a price; become not bondservants of man" (7:23). The freeman must not take on the yoke of servitude, for he was "bought with a price," the blood of Jesus. The very word "ransom" (*lutron*) was common in the papyri and inscriptions as the price of a slave. The Christian is "the Lord's freedman," manumitted from the bondage of sin, and set free to a life of goodness. The inscriptions give a vast number of examples of slaves purchased and set free. Many of them expressly forbid the enslavement of these freedmen again (cf. Deissmann, "Light from the Ancient East," pp. 328 ff.). For freedom did Christ set us free (Gal. 5:1). The language of Paul occurs repeatedly in these inscriptions.

The price paid to set the slave free was the "ransom," the very word that Jesus employed for the price that He paid to set men free from sin (Matt. 20 : 28 ; Mark 10 : 45). Jesus cancelled the bond against us and nailed it to the Cross (Col. 2 : 14), where it is on file.

How much is this slave worth? How much will you give? We shudder at that question. We even refuse to translate the Greek word for slave (*doulos*) in the New Testament literally, but use servant or bondservant. But Paul appealed to these slaves directly and called himself Christ's slave (Phil. 1 : 1). The new sense of human worth in Christ made some slaves know that they were worth more than their masters whom they were tempted to despise (1 Tim. 6 : 22). There were seven million slaves in the Roman Empire. We have overthrown legal slavery and nominal slavery in this country. But our jails and penitentiaries often make slaves of our prisoners. The convict system and peonage are often virtual slavery. The white-slave traffic is a terrible fact and we have done little to save American girls. We still allow factories and stores to make virtual slaves of young girls. Sweatshops still wear down the fingers and the souls of sewing women. We have not yet shaken loose the grip of gold on human life,

This juggernaut still grinds into powder the lives of millions while we charge it up to the necessities of industry and commerce. We commend the poor in tenement halls to the words of Jesus about the birds for whom God cares: "Are not ye of much more value than they?" (Matt. 6 : 26). But not yet have we made it clear that we really care more for human life than for stock dividends. "Behold the hire of the labourers who mowed your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth out: and the cries of them that reaped have entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth" (James 5:4). Clearly James was not afraid to speak plainly to rich men who ground down their employees.

2. The Price of a Soul.

The worth of a man is not in his cattle or in his bonds. The price of a man is his own soul. The miser sells his soul for gold. A Chicago miser is reported to have willed his soul to the devil. It was a needless formality. The devil already owned him (Rom. 6:16). Jesus has drawn the immortal picture of the rich fool who fed his soul on grain and goods: "And I will say to my soul, Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years; take thine ease, eat, drink; be merry" (Luke 12:19). Here is a picture to

the life of the war-profiteer who has made himself rich at the expense of his country's life, who has raised the price of coal or eggs, or corn, or wheat, or beef, just because he could get a corner on this or that commodity, regardless of the famine of the poor or the pinch of the cold. In the new day that is coming there will be no room for such traitors. God has no room for them now. "But God said unto him, Thou foolish one, this night is thy soul required of thee; and the things which thou hast prepared, whose shall they be? So is he that layeth up treasures for himself, and is not rich towards God" (12:20 f.). The parallel is complete. Selfishness destroys one's sense of the worth of the souls of others. In the ledger of life one loses who makes gold the goal of his life. In so doing he loses his real life even if he gains the whole world (Matt. 16:26). What is a billion dollars beside the man's real self? "For man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth" (Luke 12:15). And "life" is more than the fleeting span here on earth. The man who tries to save this life may lose eternal life (Matt. 16:25). It is a coward who hesitates to offer his life for country and for God.

The true philosophy of life is sacrifice as Jesus taught and proved for us all (John 12:24-26).

We have Christ's estimate of the worth of the soul which is the higher life of man. He died upon the Cross to save our lives. He gave His life as a ransom for our lives (Matt. 20:28). The soul of a man is worth the blood of Christ, for He paid that price to set us free (Matt. 26:28). And yet the Gospels picture a rich young ruler who came to Jesus desiring to serve Him and to win eternal life. But so great was the unconscious grip of money on his soul that he was not willing to part with his gold at the call of Christ. He fell back with a sad countenance into the clutches of mammon his master (Mark 10:17-22). Such a man, when the test comes, will sell his country for gold as Bolo Pasha tried to betray France for German gold. Patriots cannot be made out of those who worship the money devil. A new dignity has come to humanity by the Incarnation of Christ and by His death for sinners. The atonement is made plainer in the light of the trenches in France. Never was human blood shed so freely and never was manhood so highly valued as now. The real man-power of the country must be trained for the country, to live for it or to die for it as comes the call.

3. The Worth of a Nation.

What is the value of the United States? 'The

monetary value is put at two hundred and fifty billion dollars, a staggering total beyond that of any nation in history. And yet the Germans despised us as worshippers of the "Almighty Dollar." They did not believe that we would spend our money and our blood to keep the world free so long as we could make money. It is humiliating to admit that there was some ground for this slander because of the greed for gold shown by some of our citizens. But the heart of America is sound and has rallied nobly to the altruistic appeal of Belgium, Britain, France, Italy, Roumania, Russia and Serbia. We are not a nation of shopkeepers simply. We are not the slaves of gold. What is the worth of America? Let the war answer that. We are not trying to serve God and mammon. We are worth to the world what we are willing to do for the world. We are worth what the sum total of our citizens comes to. This result is not a financial calculation, but a moral and spiritual appraisalment. Little Greece at Marathon, Salamis, and Thermopylæ was worth more than the hordes of Persia. Athens under Pericles outweighs the splendour of Babylon. Palestine has been worth more to the race than all of China and India. Manhood is the true standard of value for a nation. The war has not changed

the value of life. It has simply helped us to see more clearly what is our real wealth.

In the new citizenship there will be no taking advantage of each other just because we can. Jesus has shown the character of the servant who laid hold of another servant "and took him by the throat, saying, Pay what thou owest" (Matt. 18:28). That spirit must be ostracized if we are to be a nation of freemen, of brothers, of co-workers, striving to make a commonwealth that is rich in manhood and so rich towards God. Burns sang the song of Christ when he urged that "A man's a man for a' that." The beggar, licked by the dogs and fed by the crumbs from the rich man's table, may be of more moral worth than the rich man who grinds down the poor by legal or illegal processes (Luke 16: 19-31). If the love of money is a root from which all kinds of evil spring for the individual (1 Tim. 6: 10), it is no less so for the State. If it is filthy lucre for the deacon (1 Tim. 3: 8) and the preacher (Tit. 1: 7), it is equally so for the politician. There is no difference between private and public morals. The State is itself subject to the same code that it applies to the citizen. The men of worth are not necessarily the men of millions. The land of worth is not the land of billions of money or millions of men.

The land worth while is the land that grows men who are godlike in character. These are the "happy warriors." This is the country that will rule the world by weight of character and wealth of love. Without it we shall go the way of all the nations that forget God.

The war tested every nation. Germany tried to frighten Belgium and to buy Britain, but both nations rose to heights of grandeur and stood by glorious France in her hour of peril. The Czars and Kaisers have gone, but King Albert and King George have won the admiration of the world. In all of Britain's long and great history she never shone with so steady a light as now in the hour of supreme victory. That man of the people, Lloyd-George, carried the war to victory and has taken his place beside Cromwell and Chatham, as Clemenceau and Foch embody the new greatness of France. Italy found her soul in this struggle.

V

WOMAN THE NEW CITIZEN

"There can be no male and female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus."—*Gal. 3: 28.*

1. The Prejudice against Woman.

IT may be that once in the history of the race woman was stronger than man, that she was the provider and the protector, and that man only gradually won supremacy in the struggle with the sex that he now calls the weaker sex. We are not in a position to discuss scientifically that problem though Kipling makes out a plausible plea for the greater ferocity of the female of the species among the lower animals. But as a rule among men, the woman is treated as inferior to man in physical and intellectual power, that is on the average. The ancients reveal a curious sex prejudice against woman that survives to-day among the Moham-medans in the Orient and in India and China. Among the Greeks woman led a secluded life. In Macedonia woman had unwonted freedom. The Roman woman had a trifle more liberty. But Ferrero shows in his "Women of the

Cæsars" that the self-indulgent life of women of wealth led to the downfall of the Roman Empire. The *hetairæ* in Greece were like the geisha girls of Japan. The Jews showed more regard for women than other orientals. But we see this prejudice against woman in the New Testament times. The Samaritan woman was surprised that Jesus, a Jew, would speak to her a Samaritan and a woman besides (John 4:5). Jesus rose above both race prejudice and sex prejudice. The disciples reveal the Jewish feeling when "they marvelled that he was speaking with a woman" (4:27). They hesitated to reproach Jesus because of His conduct in thus publicly speaking with a woman, conduct regarded as unbecoming a Jewish teacher. We thus catch a glimpse of the chasm that existed in popular Jewish and Samaritan opinion between man and woman. One of the prayers of the Pharisees preserved in the Talmud was gratitude to God "who hath not made me a Gentile, a slave, a woman" (Taylor, "Sayings of the Jewish Fathers," pp. 137-140). Paul in Galatians 3:28 directly challenges this Jewish prejudice of race, class, and sex. Christ came to set women free as truly as to break the fetters of race and class (John 8:32, 36). Only where the message of Jesus has gone has freedom come to woman and

slowly even then as the truth has made its way. A strict Jew "might not talk with a woman on the street, even if she were his wife or daughter or sister" (Smith, "In the Days of His Flesh," p. 77. Cf. Lightfoot and Wetstein on John 4:27). The Bleeding Pharisee closed his eyes as he walked lest he should see a woman and so knocked his head against the wall until the blood came (cf. Lightfoot on Matt. 3:7). But strangest of all is this: "Whoso instructs his daughter in the law, teaches her evil ways" (*Sot.* 21:2). Fortunately not all Jews were so narrow, for Timothy was taught from a child the Scriptures by his mother Eunice and his grandmother Lois (2 Tim. 1:5; 3:14f.). Great women have distinguished themselves in Jewish history. The Mother of Jesus is conspicuous for her nobility and spiritual elevation. But we must never forget that Jesus is the great liberator of woman. It is small wonder that a band of grateful women who had been healed of various diseases organized themselves to contribute to the support of Christ's work (Luke 8:1f.). Women have always been active in the support of Christianity. Women have instinctively felt that Jesus understood them and wished for them the fullest development commensurate with the facts of nature,

2. Woman's Peculiar Sphere.

Woman is different from man whether weaker or stronger. She is certainly superior to man in the moral and spiritual realm. Perhaps keen knowledge of this fact explains part of man's jealousy of her encroachment upon his peculiar sphere of activity. The Kaiser has brusquely said that woman should confine her activities to *Kinder, Küche, and Kirche* (Children, Kitchen, and Church). Most women at present are not taking orders from the Kaiser, who can no more stop the onward march of true femininity than Mrs. Partington could sweep back the Atlantic Ocean. Not all women marry; they feel entitled to the privilege of living their own lives according to the bent of their real personality. And yet it remains true that marriage is the chief vocation of woman. There is no calling comparable to that of wife and mother. No new conditions can ever change this fundamental social fact. The woman who does well her part in making a home is contributing most to building the State and also the Kingdom of God. "To bear and rear healthy children is the most important of race functions" (Vedder, "The Gospel of Jesus and the Problems of Democracy," p. 93). Jesus set His seal upon marriage and demanded loyalty and purity on the part of

husband and wife (Matt. 19 : 4-6). The New Testament exalts marriage and seeks to protect it. Paul likens the marriage relation to the love of Christ and His Church (Eph. 5 : 22-33).

Much of the reluctance to admit women to political and economic privileges has been due to a vague fear that somehow the sanctity of the family relation would be marred. Men have imagined that the bloom and charm of innocence will be brushed away from the young woman who steps out as the competitor of man in public life. Some wish on principle to keep woman dependent on man. Others are honestly convinced that woman cannot leave the seclusion of home life without irreparable loss. It is argued that by ruling the home women in reality do rule the nation. There is no doubt of woman's power. The husband is the technical head of the house, but the wife is the real power in the home. She manages her husband and trains her children for God and the country and the world. But the leaders of feminism have not been satisfied with the home as the only sphere of activity for woman. A writer in *The Century* (April, 1914) puts their purpose thus, "To meet life untainted ; to labour, to succeed or fail, as human individuals only ; to feel handicapped by nature only, not by men ; to seek their own success in

self-chosen appropriate paths unhampered by laws or conventions from which men are exempt."

3. Women Winning Freedom.

Slowly they have won it, slowly till the great war came. Now they are winning with the rush of the flood. Jesus started them upon the upward path. Paul saw the essential justice of their cause in spite of limitations that he defined, due partly to nature and partly to environment. Paul did not mean to open the door to women in everything any more than he meant to close it everywhere. It is a complex problem, the progress of woman, complicated by heredity, environment, custom, and education. We have seen that some of the stricter Jews thought it was impiety to teach a woman anything. But Philip's daughters prophesied (Acts 21 : 9). Priscilla (and Aquila) taught the gifted Apollos the way of the Lord more accurately (Acts 18 : 26). Women were active in the work of early Christianity and Phœbe was a deaconess of the church at Cenchreæ (Rom. 16 : 1). Paul had women helpers who laboured with him in the gospel (Phil. 4 : 3).

Why have women of recent years become so insistent for wider opportunities? Why have we

heard so much about woman's rights and woman's wrongs? At bottom the chief reason is the greater education of women. The rise of women's colleges of the same grade as those for men has created the New Woman. The larger universities and colleges have opened their doors to women. The women have not only held their own, but have surpassed men in many of their studies. Women have now almost a monopoly of teaching in the public school system of the country.

In 1900 one-fifth of the women of the country were engaged in industrial life. The proportion is far greater now since the war has taken so many men to the front. Doors have sprung open to women in Britain, France, and the United States that were never opened before. And the women have been ready to meet the crisis. Their education is not all theory. Not simply by their incomparable service in the Red Cross work have they distinguished themselves. Britain could not have met the demand for munitions if her women had not gone to the factory and to the field. Much of this is abnormal, it is true. But it will never be possible to say about these great spheres of activity that women cannot function here. It has been done.

The fight for the right to study and practice

medicine was long and bitter. The recent life of Dr. Sophia Jex-Blake by Dr. Margaret Todd shows the fierceness of the struggle and how at last victory came. She belonged to a proud English family and fought her way first into the teaching profession and received a salary and then into the medical profession and opened the doors of British prejudice for other women. Her mother stood out against her as long as she dared, but loved her even when she did not understand. The tragedy of the New Woman's triumph is in this book.

Methods of the suffragettes in England well-nigh ruined the struggle for the ballot. But the war gave British women their chance and they used it nobly. Britain responded handsomely and women now have the ballot there. It is coming to them rapidly in the United States in spite of foolish efforts like those of the White House picketers. The people will send senators who will vote for woman's suffrage. The women will get it because they are entitled to it. They are worthy of equal rights before the law and they will make good citizens. They pay taxes and they have as much at stake as men in the laws that are made. Indeed, it is the forces of evil that have made the chief fight against votes for women. The liquor interests have opposed

women everywhere. They felt that the masses of the women would favour prohibition, that the women cared more for their men and their boys than for money. The whiskey men have not forgotten the figure of Frances Willard who put temperance Sunday in the Sunday School lessons and placed the teaching about alcohol in the public schools. Prohibition is her victory and her monument. Those who have exploited women have opposed votes for women for they fear the resentment of women against them. "The New York clothing trade has made a few millionaires and thousands of consumptives" (Vedder, "The Gospel of Jesus and the Problems of Democracy," p. 93).

The double standard of morals exists not simply in the vice problem but in the wages paid women and girls merely because they are not men. It is impossible for Christian citizens to remain indifferent to the wrongs that exist in our land against women. "Even Russia has more humane laws for the protection of women than some of our American states. Pennsylvania, second among our commonwealths in population, wealth, and industries, ranks twenty-sixth in her labour legislation for women and children. Ponder it well, men of America. We are the most backward country on earth that pretends

to the possession of a Christian civilization, in the protection of womanhood " (*ibid.*, p. 92). At last we shall make a beginning. We must go further and give women all protection and opportunity. If discrimination is to be made, chivalry would require that it be made in woman's favour, not against her.

To be sure, the new opportunity for woman will bring her a corresponding responsibility. The new woman will have her freedom to be her real self in service for the race. She should not lose the grace and charm of the old life. Her problem is how to remain man's queen while she competes with him, to charm him while she outruns him in the race. The millennium will not be ushered in by giving women the ballot. But it will make possible a good deal of political house cleaning that is very badly needed. It will put out of business a good many pot-house politicians who have settled affairs of state in back-stairs conference. It will confirm the new drift towards insisting on righteousness in all state affairs. It is an old word, this word righteousness, but it is coming into fashion again. The women will help to make it fashionable in our legislative halls and in our city councils. It appears now much more in the daily press. It still halts on the lips of some politicians, but they

are learning how to spell it. The Kaiser has done his share unwittingly to bring it back. "The Emperor, the head of the German Church, wages a war which he admits to have no relation to righteousness, but only to necessity. That is the bully's plea. And it seems to me Satanic" (Forsyth, "The Roots of a World-Commonwealth," p. 11). And yet one recalls the fact that women who were given the ballot have not voted as freely as one could have expected. And many women have opposed the granting of suffrage to women. But the new day has come. May it bring only blessings.

VI

CHILDREN THE TRUE NATIONAL WEALTH

“And he took a little child, and set him by his side in the midst of them.”—*Mark 9 : 36 ; Luke 9 : 47.*

THE world has been slow to learn the worth of children both in themselves and their relation to the progress of the race. The place of the child has been unstable through the centuries. The cause of the child has a better hearing now where the spirit of Jesus prevails.

1. The Discovery of the Child.

For it is Jesus who has given the child his true place in the affection of the world. He has made the child's world which is now so rich and glorious. “In pre-Christian times the child was thought of more as an asset, and was little valued for its intrinsic personal worth” (Gardner, “The Ethics of Jesus and the Social Progress,” p. 331). It is true that the orientals, that is those in the near east, look upon children as the gift of God. Rachel cried : “Give me children or else I die”

(Gen. 30:1). The Psalmist (127:3) calls them the heritage of the Lord. In particular, was a male child a cause for rejoicing (Ps. 128:3). The Messianic hope gave special value to the son who might be the child of promise. The first-born son belonged to God (Num. 3:44 ff.) in gratitude for the sparing of the first-born in Israel when the avenging angel passed over Egypt. And the ancients had the custom of offering the first-born in actual sacrifice to their gods, a custom condemned in Israel and yet reflected in the ceremony of redeeming the first-born in memory of the passover in Egypt. We see it in the experience of Abraham with Isaac on Mount Moriah. The bones of little children have been found in jars placed in the corner of the new house as a sacrifice to the gods of Palestine. But the high value placed upon children by Jesus contrasted sharply with the brutality of their neighbours who threw their children into the fire to Moloch.

Infanticide was so common in the Roman Empire that nothing was thought of it at all. Even Plato and Aristotle reflected the indifference of the Greeks as to the life of the unborn. Gibbon says that the "exposing of children was the prevailing and stubborn vice of antiquity." Houston in his "Anno Domini" asserts that the

Empire of Augustus was crimsoned with the blood of infants. Herod's cruelty to the babes in Bethlehem was only one small item in the vast debauch of crime. In B. C. 1 Hilarion writes to his wife Alis concerning their expected child : " If it is a male, let it live ; if it is a female, expose it " (" Papyrus Oxyrhynchus," 744). His brutal language is a true index to the ancient heathen view of childhood, and, alas, to the present heathen view in India and in China. Pillars exist in China where babes are exposed to be picked up by the passer-by if he wills or to perish if left alone. One wishes that he could truthfully say that children are always welcome in Christian homes and that in our own land abortion and infanticide were never practiced. Something can be said for a proper birth-control that does not tend towards race-suicide. But homes of wealth and culture show fewer children while the ignorant, the poor, the diseased, and even the criminal multiply. This bodes no good for society. But not all the Jews rightly estimated the worth of the child. In Sirach we read : " Treat tenderly a child, and he shall make thee afraid ; play with him and he will bring thee to heaviness. Laugh not with him, lest thou have sorrow with him, and lest thou gnash thy teeth in the end " (Sirach 30:9f.).

Once more note this sentiment: "Hast thou daughters? Have a care for their body, and carry not a cheerful face towards them" (Sirach 7:24).

Surely this spirit is at utter variance with that of Jesus. Even His disciples rebuked the mothers who brought their children to Jesus that He might lay His hands upon them (Matt. 19:13). Preachers, alas, have sometimes felt children to be in the way at church. But Jesus was indignant at the interference of the disciples and sternly rebuked them and bade them let the children come to Him. He took them in His arms and blessed them and made their spirit the symbol of that required for all who enter the kingdom of heaven (Matt. 10:13-16). Christ loved children and understood children. It is impossible to overestimate the value to childhood of the conduct and words of Jesus in working a revolution in the hearts of men and women. On another occasion Jesus rebuked the ambition of the disciples by placing a little child, perhaps Peter's child, in the midst of them right by His own side (Mark 9:36; Luke 9:47). The child is always at home by the side of Jesus or in His arms. Jesus wrought various miracles on children and used the word child as a term of endearment for His disciples. It can be truth-

fully said that Jesus is the discoverer of the child's true worth. Pestalozzi and Froebel were simply walking in the footsteps of Christ when they studied child psychology so as to learn how to reach the child and to teach the child (cf. Matthews, "The Social Teaching of Jesus," pp. 161 ff.). Paul realized the value of childhood (Eph. 3:15). We have come to see that we must go to school to the child if we are to help him and if we are to be ourselves what we ought to be. We see now that Jesus was right in making the child not only the measure of greatness in man, but also the type for the Kingdom of God.

2. The Conservation of the Child.

The waste in childhood, the nation's true wealth, has been so colossal as to be staggering. For long it was simply taken for granted that the great mass of children would die as they do in China and India now. Child mortality has even been defended as the law of nature, as nature's way of weeding out the weak and securing the survival of the fittest in the development of the race. But that cynical view will not satisfy the modern Christian spirit. Jesus pronounced a woe upon those who caused "one of these little ones that believe on me to stumble" (Mark

9:42). Even if He is speaking in a figurative way, His language holds true of children of whom He had just been speaking (cf. Matt. 18:10 f.). Children are precious in God's sight. Science has conquered many children's diseases. Children's specialists are often men of great gifts who devote themselves to the life of the young. All sorts of efforts are now put forth to save and to improve the lives of children. Tenement districts are inspected and broken up if necessary. Holidays to the country are provided for city children. Milk funds are raised to serve the children in summer. Clinics for well children are coming into vogue so as to keep the children well. Orphanages are common for those bereft of parents. Children in the city streets are watched as never before. Schools of reform are provided. Juvenile courts have come into existence. Child criminals are no longer herded with hardened criminals to confirm them in a life of sin. Free kindergartens are open to the poor. Playgrounds exist in all our cities. Special schools for backward children may now be found, and special training for precocious children. Laws against child labour have been passed in many states, though even yet children are exploited as slaves in factories and stores.

• The cry of the child has at last reached the

ear of the national government which has created the Children's Bureau for the purpose of directing wisely the efforts of the country for the conservation of childhood. This Bureau was late in coming into existence but it testifies to the new conception of childhood that has come at last. The government has made April 6, 1918, to April 6, 1919, the children's year, when all over the country more attention is given to the saving of the lives of children from fire, from disease, from starvation, from crime. Juvenile crime has greatly increased since the war came and since moving pictures gained such a vogue. A stricter censorship of these pictures is a great need of the times. Some of the states still have not raised the age of consent above twelve or fourteen years. Boys and girls are spirited away to lives of evil with too much ease. The confirmed criminals must not be allowed to marry and have children. We have done wonderful things for the children of Belgium and France, the victims of the vengeance of the Huns who have cut off their hands or put out their eyes or mutilated them in other horrid ways.

The picture of Belgian and French babes on the spears of German soldiers will never be forgotten by this generation. But we must also do more for our own children. One can still hear

the cry of the children in home and school that echoes the suffering pictured by Charlotte Brontë in *Jane Eyre* and by Dickens in *Nicholas Nickleby*. One rejoices that most of that horror is in the past and yet many children still suffer for lack of being understood. Who can tell what Dickens' *Christmas Carol* has done for the children of the world? Lewis Carroll long ago made children happy by his "*Alice in Wonderland*" and a whole rich literature for children has since come into existence like Kipling's *Jungle Books*. The modern Sunday School has done much for childhood. The child to-day has a better chance to live and to be happy and useful than ever before. "Mrs. Browning, when she wrote '*The Cry of the Children*,' did more for English childhood than if she had opened many orphan asylums" (Faunce, "*Religion and War*," p. 54).

3. Making a Citizen out of the Child.

At last the State is coming to see the worth of the child. The establishment of the Children's Bureau, already mentioned, is only one proof of this new interest. The great war has shown that, to be efficient, we must not only have a large population, but one that is sound in body and clean in morale and trained in mind. But

for the one hundred and sixty thousand students in our colleges the government could not have provided officers for the great armies in France. The new draft bill took in boys from eighteen to twenty, but the government decided to keep them in college till they are needed and give them military training along with their education.

Josephus first mentions schools in his "Antiquities," XV, x, 5. The Talmud states that the first Jewish school belongs to 100 B. C. The home and the synagogue had till then done most of the instruction. Greece had done better by her citizens than this. There will be occasion to say more about the problem of education later. Just now it is important to note that the State must undertake the task of teaching patriotism to the children. The question of patriotism is too important to be left to haphazard efforts or to private initiative. In some of the American schools real treason has been taught. The *New York Times* says: "We see teachers practicing or fomenting disloyalty, who don't believe in Liberty Bonds. We see the Board of Education transferring instead of dismissing some of these disloyal teachers, giving them new subjects to infect." The school, like the home and the church, must be a hotbed of loyalty, not a nursery for treason. The best citizen is the

one who is developed in his whole self to the highest point of efficiency. Patriotic readers are now to be had. Boy Scouts, Children's Civic Leagues and Patriotic Leagues are the fashion. The future of our country rests with the boys and girls who are now happy in their play. Mr. Hagedorn makes a passionate plea to American boys and girls to wake up in his book "You are the Hope of the World." One of the bulletins of the Children's Bureau has this hopeful passage: "Millions of mothers have been set to thinking about the needs of the Nation's young citizens and seriously considering how to make conditions more favourable to their health, happiness and welfare. Thousands of parents have been stirred to take note of things that never entered their consciousness before."

VII

THE ENLIGHTENMENT OF THE MASSES

“And the common people heard him gladly.”—*Mark*
12:37.

“But ~~this~~ multitude that knoweth not the law are
accursed.”—*John 7:49.*

1. The Struggle of the People for Light.

EARLY education was religious and was gradually extended to the more purely cultural phases. This is seen in the development of the wisdom teaching of the Jews. The extent of popular education varied greatly in different ages and in different lands. In the age of Pericles the degree of popular intelligence in Athens was very great. In the first century A. D. the masses in some parts of the Roman Empire were far above the level of later times as is shown by Paul's Epistles (cf. that to the Romans) which call for a considerable amount of intellectual vigour to understand them. Jesus was much more than a teacher, but He was first of all a popular teacher with original methods and tremendous power over the masses. The scribes, the authorized Jewish teachers of the

time, distrusted the masses and scorned them as unclean and ignorant. The sneer, flung at the Roman officers when they failed to arrest Jesus, reveals this attitude: "Hath any of the rulers believed on him or of the Pharisees? But this multitude which knoweth not the law are accursed" (John 7:48 f.). The knowledge of the law was regarded as a secret into which only the intellectual aristocrats were initiated. In Sirach we see the same contempt for the common labourer as compared with the scribes; "The wisdom of the scribe cometh by opportunity of leisure; and he that hath little business shall become wise. How can he get wisdom that holdeth the plough, that glorieth in the goad, that driveth oxen, and is occupied in their labours, and whose talk is of bullocks?" (38:24 f.).

Jesus offended the intellectual aristocrats of His time by the popular appeal of His message. "The multitudes were astonished at his teaching: for he taught them as one having authority, and not as their scribes" (Matt. 7:28 f.). Jesus made His appeal directly to the common people who heard Him gladly. Through the ages a constant struggle has gone on between the masses and the classes. "In the twelfth century the only schools in existence were those which educated the sons of the aristocracy. The

schools of that day were for those who were to make and enforce the laws of the State and of the Church. The common man did not read or write or possess any of the intellectual refinements. There was no school for the boys and girls of the common people. Only the princes and the nobility were trained. The education of that period had in it no motives of equalizing social privileges. Indeed it was the deliberate purpose of the rulers of that day to retain their superiority over the masses and to hand down that superiority unjeopardized through exclusive bestowal on their own class of all the secrets of wisdom" (Charles H. Judd, "Democracy and American Schools," p. 6). These words succinctly state the condition of the world when modern democracy began its struggle for freedom and progress. The conflict is still on and has been made acute by the present war.

2. The Grip of German Autocracy.

Germany had become the leader in the educational realm before the attack upon the world's freedom and life in 1914 when that leadership was thrown away for the chance of political lordship. Germany had universal education and illiteracy was practically abolished. The German efficiency was held up to the world in striking

contrast to the illiterate mass of Russia where only fifteen per cent. of the people can read and write. The *débacle* of Russia has tremendously accentuated the superiority of German intelligence. And yet we must see things as they are in Germany. The *Volksschule* (Common School) in Germany is for boys and girls of the common people from six to fourteen. In the cities separate schools are provided for the sexes. Here the child is taught to read and write, arithmetic, geography, some history (German History), religion, a little science, some music, and some physical training. But this is all. The door is not open for the common boy and girl to the higher schools. He is then turned over to the vocational (trade) school or to a trade. He cannot become a professional man, though he may become a common school teacher. But the son of an aristocratic family is sent to the gymnasium which opens the doors to the university and to the professions. Graduates of the aristocratic system of schools become officers in the army. The higher education of girls in the aristocratic circles is very limited, some going to the universities, and a few special schools are provided for them. "The schools of Germany are social devices for dividing the people into distinctly marked classes. The common people are given a kind of educa-

tion suited to their humble lot. The courses of study in the *Volksschule* are rudimentary and meager. The official regulations constantly call attention to the fact that the common people are to be educated to obedience; they are to serve the state and their rulers; they are to be kept contented with the trades followed by their parents. The aristocracy, on the other hand, is to be brought to as high a level of superiority in power and position as is possible through knowledge and science" (Judd, "Democracy and American Schools," p. 5).

We see the results of this system in the conduct of Germany in response to the leadership of the Kaiser in his military program. The schools of Germany have been deliberately used to make the nation a pliable and powerful tool in the hands of the Junkers. The State has used the educational system to indoctrinate the people with the vision of world conquest. "The rulers and the educational leaders have understood longer than the rulers of any other country the possibility of a complete control of social institutions through education. The schools have been a part of the political life of Germany. They have been charged with the duty of making a disciplined nation. Germany is what she is to-day because of her conscious self-control through

her schools" (*ibid.*, p. 9). No one can dispute the success of the German method. And yet America can make no graver blunder than to adopt it. If the result here should be what it is in Germany the calamity would be unspeakably sad. The world's great experiment in freedom must not be frustrated. The perils of ignorance to a republic are very great, but the dangers of autocratic education are even greater. A republic must constantly fight the demagogue lest he in turn become the tyrant. The ignorant are the victims equally of demagogue and autocrat, of Lenine or Czar.

3. The Ray of Hope in England.

England is slow and conservative always, but her people are democratic at heart. Democracy and aristocracy exist side by side in England as the result of centuries of conflict. England began her schools, just as Germany did, for the upper classes. But the schools were established by religious bodies rather than by the State. They were for the upper classes and for the professions. There were other schools for the poorer classes. But as democracy won its way in political affairs it was bound to make itself felt in the schools. "There is to-day in the English system a liberal possibility of transfer of

the common boy or girl from the people's school into the aristocratic school. This transfer is on the basis of examination. The pupil who passes the examination well is also in many cases given a scholarship, which makes the upper school free for him. But the aristocratic school is not a free institution and it does not welcome all comers. It is still in some measure the school of the selected class in society" (Judd, *ibid.*, pp. 6 f.). England has not been able to develop a system of universal education because of this compromise. The masses are freer than those of Germany, but less informed. And Germany has better technical (trade) schools. England was grappling with this great problem of popular education when the war came. It is one of the first things to be faced again since peace has come, as Lloyd-George has announced after his victorious election.

4. The Science of Education in America.

American schools began on the religious basis, like the rest, but they were for all. The higher schools were chiefly for the training of ministers. The common school was for the religious instruction of the common people. But the democratic spirit enlarged the scope of the common school both as to subjects taught and pupils

studying. All classes of the population may attend our common schools and the common school leads to the high school and the high school to the college or university. This in the abstract is a better system than that of Germany or of England. In the concrete it breaks down in many ways. Local control of the common school holds back the individual school because of unwillingness to be taxed. Compulsory education of children in the common schools is by no means universal as yet. The high school is still less frequently made compulsory and is just now getting to be general in rural communities. Child labour keeps millions of boys and girls out of the high school. But conditions are improving. In 1915 there were 1,300,000 students in the American high schools. Necessity makes it impossible for all children to go on to the high school. Vocational schools are getting a start. The colleges and universities are private, denominational and state.

This variety is a blessing to the community for it prevents uniformity of teaching with the peril that we see in Germany. Private and denominational colleges in Germany would have made this war well-nigh impossible. But the number of students in the colleges are far too small. The professional schools are suffering

most, for the new avenues for educated men have a powerful appeal for young men. The remedy lies in a far larger number of college students. Some way must be found by which more boys will go on from the high school to the college. In the education of women America leads the world. This fact of itself makes it necessary for men to go on to the higher schools to be worthy mates for these women and to be leaders of the nation. The graduate school must be carried to a higher stage of efficiency, for our men and women will not for a long time go again to Germany. America must teach not only her own specialists, but must be ready to teach others who may seek our schools. It is quite possible for America to become the school-teacher of the world.

We must not make the mistake of adopting merely a narrow industrial education. Director Judd speaks wisely on this point : " Evidence has not been lacking in recent years that certain short-sighted advocates of a narrow industrial education are willing to throw aside all the ideals of a broad popular education which has been evolved in the course of American History in order to set up a thoroughly undemocratic system of narrow trade training " (" Democracy and American Schools," p. 14). These are wise

words and they are true. Such a narrow trade education is only possible where class distinctions exist. Industrial leaders themselves in this country demand a broad cultural training, as is well shown by Dean West in "The Value of the Classics." *Current Opinion* for January, 1919, p. 18 has this interesting sentence: "President Wilson once told a member of the diplomatic corps in Washington who repeated it later in Paris, that if he were going to college all over again he would pay more attention to the Greek language and literature, which American universities on the whole neglect."

It is certainly true that a great deal of serious attention is now given to the study of educational methods in this country as one may see who consults the articles in Munroe's Cyclopædia of Education or reads any of the numerous histories of education. Judd, indeed, claims "that the science of education has flourished only in this, the youngest of the great civilizations. Germany has no science of education. All her schools are official and assumed to be right in organization and satisfactory in results. Other European nations are somewhat of the same mind about their educational systems. It has remained for America to commit all the sins in the educational calendar and to develop also

the beginning of impersonal scientific methods of exposing and finally correcting their shortcomings" ("Democracy and American Schools," p. 15). Thomas Jefferson early saw that the future of this country turned largely upon the development of a satisfactory public school system. It has not yet been done. The Civil War both helped and hindered the process. But it must be done. Indeed, the ignorance of the soldiers in the cantonments was one of the acute problems to be solved. It is only just to mention the name of Robert C. Ogden, who did so much to quicken interest in the education of the masses in the South. His labour was not in vain. We are working out a theory but we have not yet applied it as it should be. "Among our social reforms, reform of education is one of the most pressing" (Vedder, "The Gospel of Jesus and the Problems of Democracy," p. 120). The national government had found it wise to place the young men from eighteen to twenty in the colleges of the country with military supervision and with the pay of a private. This system made it possible for the poorest boy to go to college. It also enabled the small college to do work on a par with the larger universities because of the larger income. It is but sober truth, as *The Independent* says, that if this policy

could be continued indefinitely after the war, it would make America the most amazing nation in the world for leadership and worthy manhood. But it is now a thing of the past.

VIII

COÖPERATION IN THE COMMON-WEALTH

“For he that is not against us is for us.”—*Mark 9 : 40.*

“That ye stand fast in one spirit with one soul striving for the faith of the gospel ; and in nothing affrighted by the adversaries.”—*Phil. 1 : 27f.*

1. Coöperation, not Uniformity.

THESE words concerning coöperation in the work of the Kingdom of Jesus apply with like force to the task of democracy.

The forces of disintegration are always at work, as one may see in the history of Athens. The fate of Poland is a tragic instance of a free people unable to function against the aggressive autocracies of Austria, Germany, and Russia by which Poland was surrounded. The power of an individual was carried to the absurd limit in Poland. One vote could veto the will of the people. There is no stability for a democracy save in coöperation. Paul uses the figure of the athletic games, “striving together” (*sunathlountes*). Only by team-work can victory be won. There is a wide difference between coöperation and uniformity. Forcible uniformity in Church and State has always reacted towards disintegration. In

democracy there must be liberty for self-expression and for varied development. The Greek states preserved their peculiarities of dialect and custom to the last. They were irresistible when united. They fell to pieces when they leaped at each other's throats.

2. Federation Under Washington.

Our own country has had such a precarious history that many have predicted that we, too, would go the way of the republics of the past. Ferrero, author of the "Greatness and Decline of Rome," has not hesitated to say that America was headed for the very rocks that wrecked the Roman Republic (wealth, social unrest, ambition of selfish leaders). In the beginning the American Republic was a loose confederation of independent commonwealths. It was with great difficulty, after independence was won, that the thirteen colonies were persuaded to link their fortunes and their destinies together. Each colony under British rule had already taken a local colour that it wished to preserve. Each was suspicious of the other. They were finally brought together by compromise. The powers granted to the federal government were more or less limited and much was left undecided. There was plenty of room for friction in the future.

The seeds of possible disintegration were present in the Constitution. The Father of his country had won freedom for the colonies by consummate skill and unmeasured patience and perseverance. Washington felt that the result was a miracle of courage on the part of the army. But after Yorktown the parleying of the Continental Congress in rewarding the army came near undoing the work of the Revolution.

In his wonderful Farewell Address, after eight years in the Presidency he foretold the greatness of the country, provided the people were loyal and united. He saw pitfalls ahead. It is an unspeakable blessing to America that a man like Washington was allowed to guide these early years of the young democracy. "It will," he said, "be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel experiment of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence." Washington prayed that God would "incline the hearts of the citizens to cultivate the spirit of subordination and obedience to government, and to entertain brotherly affection and love for one another, and for their fellow-citizens of the United States at large." It may be truthfully said that the strongest tie between the colonies for many years

was Washington himself (cf. Woodrow Wilson's "George Washington"). "America has furnished to the world the character of Washington and if our American institutions had done nothing else, that alone would entitle them to the respect of mankind" (Webster).

One of Washington's sayings, called the "Washington Precept," discouraged "entangling alliances." This precept has been used to keep the United States from any coöperation with other nations in world affairs. But John Bigelow has proven that Washington did not mean to lay the dead hand upon his country and that various qualifications explain the special nature of his advice ("American Policy, the Western Hemisphere in Its Relation to the East-ern," p. 34). At that time the United States had first to learn to work together before taking part in world affairs. The later Monroe Doctrine was a contribution towards the same end, freedom from European interference and the privilege for all the American republics to develop in their own way. But there were breakers ahead for the loosely constructed Federation of States.

3. Union Under Lincoln.

Undoubtedly the separate states understood that they possessed the right of secession after

the Federation. But for that right some of the colonies would not have come in. But it is easy to see that such an aggregation of independent commonwealths lacked cohesion and strength. The bond was liable to break at various points. Indeed, secession was threatened by the Hartford Convention and by the Nullification Act of South Carolina before the Civil War came. The doctrine of states' rights was constitutional, but it weakened the cohesive strength of the national government. Jealousy between the colonies (states) changed to jealousy between the great sections of the North and the South. The growth of the institution of slavery in the South because of the invention of the cotton gin made the issue acute. The North rankled under the long leadership of the South with the prospect of the growing power of the slave states. Two civilizations had developed side by side in the one Republic. Henry Clay tried to compromise the issue, but in the end he failed. In Missouri to-day the equivocal position caused by the Missouri Compromise is still felt in the life of the people.

But God raised up Lincoln as He had raised up Washington, to meet the new crisis. Lincoln saw that the country could not continue half slave and half free. This rugged child of the

South, with the stamp of pioneer life in Illinois upon him, cut his way to the front and grasped the standard, set a race free, and saved the Union of the States. In winning the Civil War Lincoln destroyed the doctrine of states' rights and created a real Union. Secession could happen no more. He wrought this revolution against the brilliant leadership of Lee and against the suspicion and distrust of many in the North. But the heroic statue of Lincoln stood unmoved through the storm. Lincoln at Gettysburg in a two minute speech expounded his purpose in the war and his conception of the destiny of the American people. That classic is immortal and cannot be pondered too often by those who love the American Republic. Unlike Washington, Lincoln was not allowed to carry the destiny of the Union through the Reconstructive Period. Lincoln loved the South and the wounds of the nation would have healed more quickly under his skilled hand. But the work of Lincoln has lasted. To-day he is the hero of the whole country. As Washington is the dominating figure of the eighteenth century so Lincoln is of the nineteenth.

“He was the North, the South,
The East, the West,
The thrall, the Master, all of us in one.”
—*Maurice Thompson.*

It is interesting to find these words from Woodrow Wilson about Lincoln: "The whole country was summed up in him. The rude western strength tempered with shrewdness and human wit, the eastern conservatism, regardful of law and devoted to fixed standards of duty. To eastern politicians he seemed like an accident; but to history he must have been like a providence."

4. Unity Under Wilson.

But the Union of Lincoln lacked that unity of spirit that was necessary for the highest efficiency. Sectionalism was not dead. Robert E. Lee exerted his influence to promote patriotism in the Southland, to restore harmony and good feeling, as did many other leaders in both sections. The South was no longer dominant, but the East ruled in its place. Then came the sway of the Middle West, while the real West grew jealous of the effete East. Class jealousy increased with the rapid growth of wealth. The strife between labour and capital at times bordered on civil war. The growth of trusts was met by the growth of labour unions. The rapid increase of immigration created centers of disturbances where large sections of the population were unassimilated by the American spirit. This Land

of Promise for the oppressed of all lands had become the melting pot of the nations, but not all had been really melted into pure Americanism. "We Americans are the children of the crucible. It has been our boast that out of the crucible—the melting pot of life in this free land—all the men and women of all the nations who come hither emerge as Americans and as nothing else" (Theodore Roosevelt). Unfortunately this war has shown that this boast is not quite true. Pro-Germanism, slackers, pacifists, spies, traitors have been all too frequent. The Pro-German propaganda that was carried on by Bernstorff, the German Ambassador in Washington, found a response in strange places. Only recently a hundred of the leaders of the Industrial Workers of the World have been convicted and sentenced to the penitentiary for treasonable utterances and acts.

And yet the heart of the nation is sound and responded gloriously to the leadership of President Wilson in the defense of the nation against the tyranny of the Huns. Emil Reich ("Success Among the Nations") says that "the chief God of America" is "the unlimited belief in the future of America." Mr. H. G. Wells in "The Future of America" says that "Americans believe in their destiny, but are hazy about their purpose." They probably were before the

Kaiser waked them up. It was a German, George the Third of England, whose autocratic spirit brought on the independence of the colonies. It is another German, Kaiser Wilhelm the Second, whose insane ambition to rule the world has unified the American people and has made a nation out of the varied peoples here assembled. The promise was there before. The work of Washington and of Lincoln had prepared the way. Croly holds that "the transformation of the old sense of a glorious national destiny into the sense of a serious national purpose will inevitably tend to make the realization of the promise of American life both more explicit and more serious" ("The Promise of American Life," p. 21). This was published in 1909 and it reads like a prophecy of what was to come.

Under the wise leadership of President Wilson the American people have found the great moral purpose that has unified them and energized them. They are now a mighty nation harnessed for their world mission. He waited longer than some wished. The Germans ridiculed him as a mere letter writer. But now they fear him as much as they hate him. They no longer make light of American soldiers who have routed the famous Prussian Guards. The German people are beginning to see the prowess of America.

Our President has become the spokesman of those who fight for freedom in the effort to make the world safe for democracy. He speaks at the right time and utters the needed word. "A new light shines about us. The greatest duties of a new day awaken a new and greater national spirit in us." Thus he spoke in his Thanksgiving message November 19, 1917. *The Independent* for January 19, 1918, said: "No wonder autocracy and privilege curse him. No wonder the common people rally to his banner. Were the career of Woodrow Wilson to end to-day his fame is imperishable. Our President will rank in the hearts of his fellow-countrymen with Washington, and Lincoln." Washington united the colonies into a federation of free commonwealths and made them safe for democracy. Lincoln welded this federation into a union of free men. Wilson has unified the American nation, and will make the world safe for democracy. One freed the colonies, the second a race, and the last will, under God, free the world. As these words are written the Germans are in the throes of a revolution following their defeat. Americans occupy Coblenz, the British Cologne, and France has recovered Alsace-Lorraine. Wilson is in Europe to help in arranging the terms of a just and lasting peace.

IX

JUSTICE VS. PRIVILEGE

“Render to all their dues: tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honour to whom honour.”—*Rom. 13: 7.*

1. The Cry of the Proletariat.

PERHAPS Victor Hugo has made Jean Valjean the most daring protest against modern injustice (religious, political, economic). The struggle of the common man for mere justice is summed up in this story that haunts one like a nightmare, once he has read it. The French Revolution was an echo of the American Revolution, but under a far more hopeless environment. Privilege under George III scouted and flouted the American Colonists as hirelings. Privilege under Louis XVI trampled the Parisian masses as cattle or swine. The Reign of Terror was the wild fury of the mob at their old masters and then they flew at each other's throats. But the people had suffered through the long centuries. Liberty, Equality, Fraternity were golden words. They were put to the test in an irresponsible way. Liberty became license, equality turned to tyranny, and

fraternity to hate. But the people were determined to be heard. The ruling classes had dominated them as long as they could endure it. The cry of the masses is not always just, but it has to be heard. At Lystra the crowd first hailed Paul as the god Mercury and then at the instigation of the Jews from Antioch and Iconium they stoned him and left him for dead (Acts 14:12). Some of the multitude that hailed Jesus as the Son of David on Sunday morning cried, "Crucify Him" on Friday morning (Matt. 21:9; Mark 15:13 f.). In each case the crowd was led astray by demagogues and struck out blindly against imagined injustice. In Germany before the war socialism had become very powerful and its growth had angered the Kaiser greatly, though it has been a pliable tool in his hands since the war began and was used to betray Russia. Social war was threatened all over the world and privilege trembled in every land. The outcome of the war will inevitably strengthen the plea of the masses against the classes for common justice, since the Allies have won so gloriously. Not all that the people demand may be just, but some of their pleas are right and must be granted. The methods of the I. W. W.'s with their sabotage and their treason must not blind men to the righteous contention

of great masses of men for the common decencies of life. The mad fury of Bolshevism against all who prosper must be caged like a wild beast.

2. Equality in Religious Privilege.

Christian men place this first in their program. It has been hardest to win and to hold. Even in democratic England the Established Church still assumes superiority over the schismatics called Nonconformists who represent probably a majority of the population. England has now religious toleration, not religious liberty. Even this religious toleration has been won by centuries of struggle. The educational system of England reflects a species of intolerance towards the children of Nonconformists that compels them to pay taxes to have their own children taught Romish doctrines. Rome is still on the rates in England and John Clifford, Britain's great Commoner, led a passive resistance movement in protest against this injustice. Over forty times he has been before the magistrate to have his property sold because of his refusal to pay this iniquitous tax. The war ought to make it easy, since peace has come, to remove this religious discrimination. And yet England is at heart Protestant. It must not be forgotten that a great Baptist layman, David Lloyd-George,

is Prime Minister of Britain. There is hope of religious liberty in England, though it will not come without further conflict.

The Pilgrim Fathers, fugitives from British religious intolerance, found refuge in Holland and then in the wilderness of New England in 1620. Here they carved a home for themselves and in turn practiced intolerance upon the Baptists as the Church of England did in Virginia. But the Pilgrim Fathers were pioneers in freedom as in the forests they fought the Indians and cold and want. Dr. J. Rendel Harris, of Birmingham, England, has proposed that Britain and America found in 1920 an Anglo-American University at Plymouth, England, to commemorate the tercentenary of this great event. It would in a beautiful way emphasize the reunion of the Anglo-Saxon world which the war has brought to pass. Roger Williams first set up the standard of religious liberty for all in his new state of Rhode Island. The Roman Catholics offered toleration in Maryland, but the Baptists in Rhode Island first championed complete religious liberty for all. The first amendment to the American Constitution embodied this great principle, the chief American contribution to the science of government. The stability and progress of the United States, now the most powerful country on

earth, is primarily due to the establishment of religious liberty on these shores.

But the priceless boon, unknown through the long night of Roman Catholic sway, has not been easy to maintain. In New York City the late Mayor Mitchel, himself a Catholic, made open war upon the priests of the city for ecclesiastical influence on the public schools and the use of public funds for church institutions. For long grants were made by the government to the Indian schools of the Roman Catholics. The Roman Catholic vote has been a factor in politics, especially in city politics. Even to-day a controversy has arisen because of language employed by the Third Assistant Secretary of War, F. G. Keppel, in a recent letter to Dr. J. F. Love, Secretary of Missions of the Southern Baptist Convention, Richmond, Virginia, in which he says: "For one thing, it would be impossible to get the soldiers together by denominations and, for another, the whole trend and the whole design of the Department is in the interest of breaking down rather than emphasizing denominational distinctions." American Baptists, who have suffered political proscription in the past have vigorously protested against this language by an official of the national government, even though it represents, as it clearly

does, merely his own private opinion. Secretary Keppel explains in a letter to Senator Simmons of North Carolina what he meant : " I had no intention of seeming to say that the government is aiming to control the organization of our churches. I meant, rather, that within the army we must not think in terms of denominational distinctions and differences." This explanation closed the incident, but it goes to show how sensitive the American public is concerning religious liberty even in a time of war.

The new citizenship, therefore, is strong for the retention of religious freedom. The multiplicity of denominations may be an evil or a blessing. That is a proper subject for discussion. But the national government is by statute debarred from taking any part in the matter. It is only when a sect makes a tenet out of a crime like polygamy by the Mormons that it falls under the restraint of the government. The very genius of democracy makes denominationalism flourish as in England and America. That development is inevitable when the freedom of the human spirit exists. And the ills of denominationalism are not comparable to those of compulsory conformity. The very harmony of the Republic rests upon the absolute and sincere guarantee of real religious liberty.

3. Equality in Political Preferment.

The "governing classes" even in democratic countries have been able to maintain a general control of political affairs. This has been done by control of the political parties by leaders who organize a more or less effective machine. Aristocratic families in Britain have been able to maintain political leadership by merit and sometimes largely because of birth. In America money has often been employed to secure nominations and elections, either openly or secretly. The captain of industry has often been able to control elections. It was once openly charged that the seat of government in the United States was Wall Street, not Washington. That is no longer possible under the new regional bank system. The captains of industry have discovered that the capital of the country is located in Washington. But the city "boss" has greatly limited political liberty in this country. "The appearance of the Captain of Industry was almost coincident with the appearance of the 'Boss'" (Croly, "The Promise of American Life," p. 118), and Croly adds: "The two processes are the parallel effects of the same condition and ideas working in different fields" (*ibid.*). But, if the national government has brought the captains of industry within the law, the people

periodically put the party boss out of business. They rise up and take things into their own hands. In theory we say that in this country all men are born free and equal. They cannot, of course, be born equal in endowment and in environment. They should have equal political privileges at the ballot and in possibility of office, provided, of course, they meet the conditions of service. At last it is true that all men are born free in our land, but it is not true that they remain free. Peonage and other forms of practical slavery still exist. Men who employ groups of workmen still crack the political whip over the heads of employees.

But, when all is said, it is possible, though difficult, for a man to come to the summit of political power without the help of money, prestige, or a machine. A real man of native parts and sufficient education can work a revolution. The typical case is that of Lincoln. But in South Carolina Senator Tillman recently died. He sprang right up from the people and smashed the power of the aristocratic leaders of the state and held his power till his death. He democratized political conditions in South Carolina. The state fell a victim to the sway of Bleasdale who has finally been overthrown. Political equality in a republic is perilous without the education of

the masses. The voters can be herded like sheep by political tricksters unless they have sufficient intelligence to be independent of the demagogue and of all bosses.

The most hopeful signs in American political life to-day is the growth of the independent vote. This development is due largely to Grover Cleveland, Theodore Roosevelt, and Woodrow Wilson, whose careers have challenged the voters to think for themselves and to act for the welfare of the country. The outcome of this tendency is better laws and better interpretation of the law. The country is looked upon less as the private asset of the few who exploit it for themselves. "Public office is a public trust," Grover Cleveland taught us. Political preferment is no longer a reward, but an opportunity for service. The new citizen is not on the lookout for a job for himself or for his constituents. He seeks rather to serve the whole country and to enact laws that are just to all classes of citizens who have an equal right to be heard whether they maintain a lobby or merely stay at home and attend to their own business.

4. Equality in Economic Opportunity.

Capital has undoubted rights and deserves protection by the law. But when all is said,

men are worth more than money. Capital has sometimes dodged taxation and has at times been heartless in its treatment of labour. The rights of labour are unquestioned and the labouring man must have the opportunity of improving his condition and of educating his children. The solution of the trouble between labour and capital has not yet been found. It will only be found when laws are made that look at all sides of the problem and are perfectly just all round. The country is not yet in the temper to adopt a national policy, but one may come as the result of the war. Some labourers in the country's crisis and some capitalists have been guilty of profiteering as shown by the government. The small competitor has the right to live without being ground to the earth by a trust. Croly ("Promise of American Life," p. 391) proposes "collective bargaining" as the panacea for industrial ills. The problem is a vast one and will tax to the utmost the wisdom of our statesmen. Regulation is the latest cure for the trust-evil. Time will tell whether it will be a cure. At any rate it is true that the government is running the railroads and is not run by them. It must be admitted that the American theory of freedom for all in the economic life is not borne out by the way private greed has grasped

so many of the public utilities. Almost too late the people woke up to the need of conserving the water power against a private monopoly. At present the people are alert, but at sea as to how to preserve their economic freedom from the octopus of big business. It will help nothing to destroy big business, but it will ruin everything for big business to own all the national resources of the country. We have so far maintained our religious and political freedom. Our economic liberty is still at stake. But we must have the square deal in business life if real liberty is to last. Titular slavery has been overthrown. Economic servitude must not continue. "Justice is a great word, but it is here too poor. . . . We need the greatest word in our moral language. We should rise to the word on which history and Bible crystallize—the word righteousness" (Forsyth, "The Roots of a World-Commonwealth," p. 9).

X

ORDER VS. LAWLESSNESS

“For kings and all that are in high place; that we may lead a tranquil and quiet life in all godliness and gravity.”—*1 Tim. 2:2*.

1. The Business of Citizenship.

A NATION is a collection of individuals grouped together under one government. The whole cannot be better than the sum total of its parts. The character of a nation is determined at bottom by the acts of the individuals acting separately or in concert. The State is not an abstract entity that exists apart from the people. The State is simply the people functioning in government. The purpose of government is well stated by Paul to Timothy. The best government is one that makes it possible for the people to “lead a quiet and tranquil life in all godliness and gravity.” The best governed nation is the one least governed, provided the people are capable of self-government and exercise their privilege. An ignorant people do not know how to govern themselves. A wicked people will not control their actions. Intelligence and righteousness are essential to the

welfare and progress of any nation and, in particular, of a democratic people. The trouble is that most persons have regarded citizenship as more or less of a bother. Elections interfere with the routine of business. Politics is a nasty affair at best and Christians, especially ministers, had best keep hands off. There are plenty of professional politicians who are willing to attend to affairs of state. The result of such an attitude has been in the United States that, outside of times of great excitement, the masses take little interest in the progress of statecraft. Our cities have been run by rings who enrich themselves by graft. Even the school system till recently has been in the grip of wardheelers.

The doctrine of *laissez-faire* has played a great part in our life. The country is rich and can stand a deal of stealing and mismanagement. Partisanship has been relied upon to cover up the shortcomings of party leaders. We have not taken the business of citizenship seriously until rude revelations have shocked us into shame. Even then we usually take it out in blaming the politicians for winking at wickedness in high places instead of condemning ourselves for condoning the politicians and letting them run things their own way. When a man like Charles E. Hughes tears the veil off an insurance com-

pany, we make him a hero, but do not expect the average statesman to have so much conscience. "Citizenship is one of the world's great sciences" (Prof. Ellsworth Huntington, in "The Yale Review"), but it is one that the American people have not yet studied with sufficient care. The country hopes much from the citizenship of women as a stimulus to the moral element in the nation. But even women cannot overcome the dead weight of indifference on the part of the male electorate that has been in the habit of allowing the criminal classes to have their way with the exception of spasmodic outbursts of moral indignation if press or pulpit goad them to it. The trouble is that Christians have not carried their religious convictions and conscience into their political parties. The new citizenship demands conscience in the political sphere.

2. The Criminal.

"Crime is one of the costliest luxuries that society permits itself to enjoy" (Vedder, "The Gospel of Jesus and the Problems of Democracy," p. 216). Does society let crime alone? No, but it has not gone at its suppression in a scientific and Christian way. It has gone from one extreme to the other. Capital punishment used to

be the penalty for almost every offense. England has for long punished crimes against property more harshly than crimes against persons (Vedder, *ibid.*, p. 332). Human life was held very cheap. Human life is still sold for a song in many communities. Louisville recently lost a great criminal lawyer whose boast was that for thirty years he had never lost a case. One of the daily papers made editorial mention of this distinction. He always defended the criminal. No murderer who committed his case to this lawyer was ever punished. The life of the criminal in Louisville was thus far safer than the citizen who might be his victim. Louisville has not stood alone in this unenviable reputation for immunity for criminals. The revelations in New York startled the whole country. The police were proven to be in league with professional thugs and murderers. Honourable A. D. White asserts that "we lead the world with the exception, perhaps, of lower Italy and Sicily, in murders, and especially in unpunished murderers." This is a severe indictment of our civilization. "A high ratio of crime is an indictment of a people's civilization" (Vedder, "The Gospel of Jesus and the Problems of Democracy," p. 216). Homicides in our country are about eight times as frequent in proportion to population as

in England. More people were murdered in our large cities before the war than in all of Russia. Bad as the mountain feuds used to be, life is safer in the mountains than in our large cities. With some twenty-five hundred homicides a year we have about a hundred executions.

We are seeing that the criminal instinct is found in the higher classes as well as in the lower. Some criminals need to be separated from society. Some are made criminals by alcohol or by other drugs. The prohibition communities show a remarkable decrease in the amount of crime. The fight against crime includes prohibition of all dangerous narcotics, the prevention of marriage of degenerates, and sanitary prisons for condemned criminals with humane treatment of the inmates. The story of American county jails is still too terrible to tell. Many who may be innocent or at least not confirmed in crime are driven to desperation by the filthy environment and vile companionship. The same thing is true of most of the penitentiaries. T. M. Osborne, late warden at Sing Sing, began a reform for intelligent treatment of prisoners that ought to bear fruit all over the country. But he has had a hard fight against the politicians. The old system has ruined the man who enters prison. Crime must be punished, but not

as a measure of vengeance so much as a protection to society. Laxity in conviction and cruelty to the prisoner have characterized our conduct towards the individual criminal. The result has been a wider diffusion of crime and the development of a professional criminal class known as the underworld which with a powerful undertow sucks in a large section of the population.

3. Criminal Combinations.

Enormous sums of money are spent each year in efforts to suppress crime, but without success. Burglars have their guilds. Thieves work in groups and under leaders. The various dens of iniquity have organization and system and manage to elude the police or are connived at by them. The revelations of such groups of criminals in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, San Francisco, and New Orleans have staggered belief. And yet every effort to shake the power of these criminals has met opposition from men in official positions who boast of having a wide open city where everything goes. The saloons, the gambling houses, the brothels and houses of assignation have all worked together and the police have not escaped the charge of connivance at lawlessness for the graft that they received. The criminal combinations have open champions

in those who argue that regulation is better than absolute removal of the elements that will scatter all over the city.

But the civic conscience is making itself felt wherever a determined body of citizens band themselves together to clean up the city and to keep it clean. The public conscience is sound whenever it is waked up. It has been asleep so long that it will not keep awake of itself. The daily press is more and more taking the side of law enforcement and good results are apparent in many of our cities. New laws against organized vice and crime show the vigour of the public when once aroused. No city has a right to allow slums to breed vice and disease. The war has taken the men out of East London and has sent the women to work. It is even claimed that London will have no slum district now that peace has come. The war has cleaned up the city as the great fire once stopped the plague. Surely no city in the world stood in greater need of a moral fire than London.

The modern city is a supreme test of civilization and of religion. The churches have run away from the down-town sections and left the people there to the devil save for an occasional rescue mission. Where the most people congregate there are the fewest churches and the most

dens of iniquity. The moving-picture shows, may be censored in a fashion, but they are allowed to be breeding places of vice and crime. The criminal is made a hero in the "movie," and it has taken the place of the dime-novel as a maker of criminals among boys and girls. Boy bandits have held up trains near Atlanta and Chattanooga under the instigation of the moving picture. The hero in crime still has a following. The fascination of the outlaw has not lost its power over the youthful imagination. We are still engaged in the luxury of making criminals out of children by pictures and by magazines. The war itself has greatly stimulated juvenile crime. There is no way of estimating the cost that a single criminal family may be to a community or state. We spend pennies to prevent crime and pounds to suppress it.

4. Community Crimes.

Can a community commit crime? If the whole body of the people, or a large section of it, do an act is it a crime? We employ the term "lawlessness" rather than crime in such cases. But we deceive ourselves with the euphemism. No free people can be expected to endure intolerable tyranny without an effort to secure justice. Injustice can be placed upon the statute book and

become law, when it is all the more unjust. Law and order may mean the demand on the part of masters that their slaves obey them and stand the injustice. The courts have sometimes been on the side of injustice, not on that of righteousness. Judges sometimes set aside good laws in the interest of intolerant groups of citizens. Corporation lawyers are sometimes expected to break laws for the suppression of wrong practices by the corporation. Labour unions must be granted the right to strike against real wrong provided the rights of the community are respected and the strikers do not make criminals of themselves. The "walking delegate" makes it his business to stir up discontent as the I. W. W.'s plot treason against the government. There was real civil war in the Colorado conflict and the Federal troops put a stop to it while the country was horrified at the situation. All this is true though the problem of law and order is thereby greatly complicated. There is no solution except plain righteousness all round.

But there are other cases that are plain enough. When a community gives itself over to riot and pillage, the act is wholly criminal. Usually the origin lies in some deep passion that has been suddenly inflamed like class interests or race prejudice. When both combine as in the riots

in East St. Louis, the result is lamentable beyond words. But a riot is liable to occur in most of our cities where there is not too much respect for law at bottom. The beast can be aroused more easily than he can be controlled. Cincinnati is not the only city that has horrible memories of a Black Friday or of some other black day in its history. At such times people lose self-control and are momentarily insane, one must say.

There are still apologists for lynching, at least in cases of the white women violated by negro men. But most of the lynchings are not for this cause. Most of them are blind race hatred stirred by this or that act of violence. The provocation is often great and the courts are often slow and conviction is not always certain. There is beside the shame to the woman who has to testify in court. It is argued that the negro must be terrified and so he is sometimes burned alive to create fright and so prevent the repetition of the crime. But crime on the part of the community does not stop crime on the part of the individual. The South still leads the country in the number of lynchings each year though it is gratifying to note that the number is decreasing. Public opinion is asserting itself more decidedly against the crime and the criminal element among the negroes is decreasing. It must

be admitted that lynching of negroes has not been confined to the South, but has occurred in various Northern States like Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, where negroes have aroused race prejudice. But lawlessness breeds lawlessness, crime breeds crime. Lynch law is no law at all, but a community crime. In some instances the leaders of the mob have been brought to punishment. It is no less a crime because a body of citizens join in it. This stain must be wiped off before we can claim to be censors of the sins of others. The least that we can do is to see that the law against all criminals is enforced.

5. National Crimes.

There are those who say that the State can do no wrong. This is the creed of the German Junkers who have plunged the world into ruin. They boldly assert that the State is a law unto itself and is above all morality and all law. This horrible doctrine is responsible for the inhuman war that has engulfed the world. Belgium stood in the lion's path. The law of the Jungle was invoked and Belgium was seized for being in the way of the lion in his effort to get at France. Even as these words are written the Belgians are back in their own cities and the Germans

are ruled by Socialists. It was a great day when heroic Albert and his Queen reëntered their capital. The "scrap of paper" will forever indict Germany for her broken faith and crimes against civilization. Germany, by the confession of her leaders, stands convicted of murder and rape and lying and plunder and violation of treaties and stealing other lands by the mere power of might. The Kaiser has branded himself as the world's arch-criminal. Germany must bear forever the stigma that he has put upon his own land.

A nation can commit crime. There is such a thing as national righteousness and that exalts a nation. On the other hand crime degrades a nation. Other things are unfortunate, but deliberate and premeditated crime on the part of a robber nation is crime of the deepest dye. Wars of conquest cannot be justified before the modern conscience. Germany knew this at the start and persuaded her own people that she was waging a war of self-defense. But that subterfuge will not stand after the rape of Russia. So Germany stands in her nakedness and shame as a criminal nation on the rampage for plunder and loot. *The Outlook* rightly insists (Sept. 4, 1918) that no one can "protect Germany from the sting, the humiliation, the disgrace, which

by her crime she has brought upon herself." To-day we champion national righteousness and crave only the privilege of doing good and of being free.

The United States District Court of the Southern District of New York in a formal trial has decided that Germany is legally responsible for the six million dollars of damage suits resulting from the sinking of the *Lusitania*, "the most monstrous crime committed on the high seas in the history of the world." Judge Mayer decided that the proof was absolute, that the *Lusitania* was not armed and did not carry explosives. The *New York Evening Post* says that though Germany may "wipe off the money debt she can never wipe off the stain on her name" for this crime. And yet Germany was so proud of this crime that medals to commemorate it were struck off before it was committed. Germany has the greed of conquest in her blood. Her goal is gain, not good-will. Dr. J. A. MacDonald, of Toronto, shows in his Cole Lectures, "The American Idea," with great power that no nation can achieve a high destiny to-day save as good-will for other nations actuates her conduct. "Love your neighbour as yourself" applies to nations as to individuals. The Golden Rule is the only rule that will guarantee stability to a

nation. All the nations that set God to one side have disappeared. All nations that put selfish aggrandizement above good-will have themselves become the victims of the antagonisms that were aroused. To-day Germany laments defeat most of all because she has no friends on the earth. She is hated by all and loved by none. She dreads the years that are to come when she must reap the harvest from her national crimes.

"Better war, we say from our hearts, than the tame acquiescence in the claim of the German militarism to dominate the world. . . . But we shall be more than conquerors if we can exorcise the demon of militarism from the German mind and soul, for Germany in her humiliation will learn to take her true place among the fellowship of the nations" (Sir W. Robertson Nicoll, "Prayer in War Time," pp. 35, 38). A defeated Germany that stands at bay with drawn sword will find that the rest of the world will treat her as a pariah, as a political Ishmaelite. If Germany lifts her hand still against every man who will not own her as lord, she will find the hand of every man lifted against her. The nations will then go on building the walls of civilization like Nehemiah and his men with sword in one hand and trowel in the other. But the walls will be built.

XI

PATRIOTISM *VS.* PACIFISM

"Honour all men. Love the brotherhood. Fear God.
Honour the King."—*1 Pet. 2 : 17.*

1. The Pacifist.

WORDS stick like burrs. The dictionaries do not yet give the word pacifist, but they will have it. The word is innocent enough in origin and essential meaning. It describes one who loves peace as opposed to the militarist. It includes philosophical rationalists like Buckle, Comte, Mozley, Rousseau, Bertrand Russell, Spencer; Jewish leaders like Felix Adler, Jean de Bloch, and Jacob Schiff; Christians like William Jennings Bryan, William Ellery Channing, George Fox, Tolstoi, and Wicliff. But the word has been used as a cloak to hide slackers, pro-Germans, even spies and traitors in world war, till it has lost its etymological sense and is lost beyond redemption. No man in the United States can to-day, even now that peace has come, affirm that he is a pacifist without explanation, unless he is willing to be

considered disloyal to his country. One can respect the Quakers who have long had religious scruples about war who are yet willing to help the government in other ways to win the war if not compelled to bear arms. But those who suddenly became professional pacifists were open to the suspicious charge of trying to escape the perils of war to save their own precious lives like the cowards that they are or of seeking to hinder the government in its war work like the traitors that they are at heart. It is curious how many men all at once became conscientious objectors to war, or wished to get married with the hope of hiding behind a woman's skirt. "It is but brazen effrontery for a little group in such a nation as this to claim the monopoly of conscience and when the claim is expressed it is folly upon the part of the majority to recognize or yield to it" (Bishop Wilson, "America—Here and Over There," p. 63). The government rounded up seventy thousand slackers who escaped the draft for men from twenty-one to thirty-one. During the Revolutionary War it is estimated that one-third of the Colonists were Tories, one-third were indifferent slackers and one-third Loyalists who won independence for all. Under Woodrow Wilson's leadership the number of slackers and pacifists was really small

in comparison with the great body of the people. There were cowards during the Civil War. A Southern woman told her pastor that her husband stained his tongue with a weed to make himself look sick so as to escape conscription. She found herself married to a coward.

There were slackers in Nehemiah's day : " And next unto them the Tekoites repaired ; but their nobles put not their necks to the work of their Lord " (Neh. 3 : 5). Patriotism is like piety. " When thou shalt vow a vow unto the Lord thy God, thou shalt not slack to pay it " (Deut. 23 : 21). Some are slackers with their money and try to dodge the war taxes or are guilty of war-profiteering. " Pikerism " is the name given to dollar slacking and it will stick.

In Jeremiah's day the professional pacifist flourished : " They have healed also the heart of my people slightly, saying, Peace, peace ; when there is no peace " (Jer. 6 : 14). The professional pacifist is the modern false prophet who seeks to dodge his duty behind a fog bank of pious phrases. The national government had to take seriously the loud-mouthed pacifists who have really carried on a pro-German propaganda for the purpose of destroying the morale of our armies by cutting the nerve of conviction and courage in the soldier,

" 'Tis man's perdition to be safe
When for the truth he ought to die."

Theodore Roosevelt demanded that certain pro-German pacifists be expelled from Congress. The voters at any rate gave them leave to stay at home. An occasional preacher has proven himself a misguided leader of disloyalty. "Since the witchcraft delusion over two centuries ago there has been no obsession like pacifism. This, too, like the belief in witches renders its victims insensible to moral consideration and impervious to the affections which govern normal men. The majority of pacifists, less sincere than these fanatics, make pacifism a screen for their cowardice, their indifference and for their greed" (W. R. Thayer, *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, June, 1917).

2. The Peacemaker.

And yet Jesus is the champion of the peacemaker, not of the peace-breaker. "Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the sons of God" (Matt. 5 : 9). War as an institution, offensive war for conquest and plunder, is wholly evil and is of hell. So Jesus said: "They that take the sword shall perish with the sword" (Matt. 26 : 52). This lesson Germany is learning to her sorrow. The paradox of Jesus about non-

resistance to evil (Matt. 5 : 39) may have been a protest against the wild rage of the Zealots. At any rate it must be interpreted in the light of Christ's conduct and further teaching. He Himself did not turn the other cheek when struck in the presence of Annas, but made dignified protest and demanded a fair trial (John 18 : 23). And Christ did fight evil, the devil, the rabbis, whoever opposed the will of God. "Think not that I came to send peace on the earth : I came not to send peace but a sword" (Matt. 10 : 35). The pacifistic literalism of Tolstoi ignored the fundamental conflict between light and darkness, good and evil, right and wrong. By its every nature Christianity has to resist the powers of darkness or be overcome. Only it must be done in the spirit of Christ. Jesus and Paul nowhere pronounced the life of the soldier sinful *per se*. Paul did say : "Be at peace with all men, if possible, so far as that depends on you" (Moffatt's translation of Romans 12 : 18). That saying does forbid beginning aggressive warfare, but not defensive war.

"First pure, then peaceable" (James 3 : 17). Peace is a great boon, but not the greatest. Purity comes first. Righteousness precedes peace. So the Christian, under the leadership of Jesus, does not agree with Nietzsche, Treitschke,

Bernhardi, *et id omne genus*, that war is good, glorious, and great in itself. That doctrine is repulsive to the Christian. But neither can he side with the pacifist who says that all war is wrong and that it is a sin for a Christian patriot to defend his country against attack or his home against a burglar or his wife against a rapist. It is folly to be blind like Jerusalem over whose fate Jesus wept. "If thou hadst known, even thou, the things that belong unto peace" (Luke 19:42). Jesus was a patriot and did not forget Jerusalem.

The true Christian wants world-peace, but is willing to fight the world, the flesh, and the devil to get it. The deepest purpose of the Allies in this war was to end all war by a League of Peace of the Nations. But this League, as some one has said, had to "put the 'fist' into pacifist." The rationalist is the victim of philosophical inertia. "We see now the immense distance which separates the pacifism of the rationalists from the pacifism of Christianity. Both modes of thought seek after world-peace. The rationalist and the Christian together oppose war as one of the greatest earthly evils. They are both pledged to its ultimate abolition. But the one opposes war as irrational, as a mistaken move in the game; the other opposes it as cruel and hid-

eous, an outrage on humanity, an affront to God" (Faunce, "Religion and War," p. 97). But the Christian will not fold his hands till the devil goes out of business. "The right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things we have always carried nearest our hearts" (Woodrow Wilson).

3. The Partisan.

In a democracy, party government is a necessity, but partisanship is a curse. The partisan is for his party right or wrong, for his country right or wrong, for his denomination right or wrong. The partisan refuses to think and follows blindly the leader who does his thinking for him. Now in war obedience is absolutely essential. The private cannot give orders to the captain. But the private who knows why he is in the trenches can defeat the private who is driven like cattle. It is just this difference that made the German battalions melt like wax before the intelligent following of the Americans in France. The new citizen after the war must be a loyalist, but not much of a partisan. He will look upon political parties as instruments of service, not as masters to crack the whip over his head. He must use one party as a corrective for the other. Each may have to

be employed to turn the rascals out when those in power prove their rascality or fail to come up to their promises. In a word, the American citizen proposes to put his conscience into his politics. That determination bodes no good to the mere party leader whether sincere or hypocritical. So in this war President Wilson held the country back till Germany had laid bare before all her wicked designs upon our country and the liberty of the whole world. He did not wait too long, but long enough to unite the sentiment of the country. The leadership that our country will follow must be intelligent and lofty, but it must also be moral and spiritual. Wilson, like Lincoln, is a man of prayer and is not ashamed to appeal to the help of the Almighty God for the cause of righteousness and freedom.

4. The Patriot.

Not all men are patriots, but all ought to be "stirred up with the high hopes of living to be brave men and worthy patriots, dear to God and famous to all ages" (Milton). Dr. Johnson thought patriotism the last refuge of a scoundrel. Certainly some men have used the profession of the name to carry on their own selfish purposes. But there is a dignity in the man who offers his

life upon the altar of his country. The instinct of men to revere that man is a true one. Loyalty is one of the great words. Professor Josiah Royce calls it the greatest of all words. Dr. John A. Hutton, of Glasgow, calls "Loyalty the Approach to Faith." Certainly it is a fundamental element in character. The man who is loyal can be depended upon at home or in the trenches. If he is not loyal, he may prove a deserter or a traitor to God and country. "Faith, trust, confidence, loyalty—these are the foundations of the stable social order; they always have been and they always will be. Distrust is the breeder of disloyalty" (Washington Gladden, "The Interpreter," p. 92). There is something greater than patriotism, but not in conflict with it. It is love of truth and righteousness. "There is a power which surmounts mere nationalism, mere patriotism, mere empire" (Forsyth, "The Roots of a World-Commonwealth," p. 20). The true patriot is all the more a citizen of the world when he recognizes his obligations to mankind. Love for the world does not contravene duty to one's own country when that country follows the leadership of Jesus. There is nothing to add to the sublime words of General Pershing as he stood by the grave of Lafayette and simply said: "Lafayette, we are here." America had at last

come to repay her debt to beautiful France that had made our liberty possible.

Now that the war is over we must not become spineless and flabby in our patriotism. It is no time for the professional pacifist to preach his heresies. Let poor Russia testify to the peril of Tolstoi's vagaries, even though he was called the "conscience of the world." It was an unregulated conscience that he had. He thought that he was following the leadership of Jesus. He was not able with all his enlightenment and love for God and man to make a clear path for the peasants of Russia whom he dearly loved and longed to help. At the last in grotesque literalness, like the mendicant monks of medieval Europe, he left his palace Yasnaya Polyana to wander forth to serve. He met death in the way. Tolstoi failed in leadership while trying to walk in the way of righteousness. The chief need of our time is enlightened and courageous leadership in civil life. The few who have seen the vision must bear the torch for the rest. Democracy is on trial in the hour of triumph. Patriotism calls for patient and persevering work for the progress of the nation and of the world. Public service was a necessity during the war. We all responded, save the disloyal, to the call of country. We did our bit with a will. The

call is just as loud now for public service. We must not leave the public welfare to the care of professional politicians who have fattened on the public purse. We must "carry on" now and "go over the top" to-day. The Huns at home must be driven to cover and the path cleared for progress towards righteousness.

The investigations by the United States Senate showed a curious partnership between the brewers and the German propaganda. Both were law-breakers. Practically all the leading brewers were in the pro-German conspiracy. Some names well known in American life have been besmirched by this investigation. Bribery, like a tortuous serpent, wound its coils around men in high position who were ready to do the Kaiser's bidding.

XII

THE NEW SOCIAL ORDER

*"We are a Colony of Heaven."—Moffatt's Translation
of Philippians 3 : 20.*

THERE will be a new social order and this war will be used of God to help it come nearer to reality. That is God's way to make the wrath of man praise Him. The new world will not be the Kaiser's world with his palace on the Mount of Olives, but Christ's world with His throne in the hearts of men. The Kingdom of God has never been rightly understood by men. Probably it cannot be because of the complexity of the conception. Some take it to be wholly otherworldly with no reference to earth at all. Others take it to be purely political with no spiritual content. Some make it wholly personal, while others consider it entirely social. Some treat it as wholly future, while others find it partly present. Some find it realized only in a national church organization, while others deny that it has any reference to organization of any kind. The truth is that something can be

said for most of these ideas. No one of them exhausts the uses of the phrase in the New Testament.

1. Personal Righteousness.

This is the first result, the *sine qua non* of human progress. "But seek ye first his kingdom and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you" (Matt. 6 : 33). The first thing in the program of the individual life must be the reign of God in the heart. This makes possible personal goodness after the pattern of God's own standard. This is the *summum bonum*, the highest good possible to mortal man, the pearl of great price, the hid treasure that gives unutterable joy. Jesus held forth the absolute standard, "Ye therefore shall be perfect, as your Heavenly Father is perfect" (Mark 5 : 48). This personal relation with God in Christ is the secret of human goodness. Christ becomes the dynamo that energizes the dormant will and draws the man on and up to God. It will never do for the prophets of the new age who dream of a new order to overlook the fundamental fact of personal righteousness. No glorious State can be built out of wicked citizens. It is here that Christianity does most for the State in the work of the regeneration of the

citizens. One may well listen to the prophets of old who called Israel to repentance and to righteousness. Let each man build the wall over against his own house.

Washington Gladden's last message is in "The Interpreter," and on page 145 he says: "I have never doubted that the Kingdom I have always prayed for is coming; that the Gospel I have always preached is true. I believe that the democracy is getting a new heart, and a new spirit, that the nation is being saved. It is not yet saved and its salvation depends on you and me, but it is being saved. There are signs that a *New Way of thinking, a new social consciousness*, are taking possession of the nation." He is undoubtedly correct and the chief ground for this hope lies in the demand for righteousness in citizens and in rulers. The days of looseness are gone. It does make a difference whether a soldier is clean or not. Uncle Sam has found that out. Hence the saloon must go, gambling must stop, the brothel and the street-walker must disappear. The American soldier must be fit to fight. The American citizen must be fit to live. Mr. Croly in the "Promise of American Life" (p. 454) writes like a prophet for the new age. "For better or worse, democracy cannot be disentangled from an aspiration towards human

perfectibility, and hence from the adoption of measures looking in the direction of realizing such an aspiration." This perfectibility must find expression in individuals who will be heroes and models for the masses. "If a noble and civilized democracy is to subsist, the common citizen must be something of a saint and something of a hero" (George Santayana, "Reason in Society"). But we must begin with the young if that ideal is to be reached. "The youth of a nation is at once its present power and its future hope. The ideals of the student to-day are the activities of humanity to-morrow" (Thwing, "The Training of Young Men," p. 88). The family, the church, the school must function properly if the right sort of leadership is to appear in the democracy.

2. National Righteousness.

Jesus Himself likened the Kingdom of Heaven to a grain of mustard seed that grew into a great tree and to a little leaven that spread through all the meal. The pervasive power of the Kingdom of God is not less true than its secret and mysterious growth in the individual life. The Kingdom of God in the heart and life is the organism of spiritual life that transforms character and destiny. In the community it changes the at-

mosphere and blesses all who come within its sway like sunshine that drives away darkness and disease. The tares will not all be rooted out till the consummation of the age, for the devil is busy sowing seed in the world, but the wheat will grow in spite of the tares. The eternal conflict between light and darkness, truth and righteousness will go on. The nation cannot remain indifferent, for its very existence depends on living up with the forces that make for righteousness. The spirit of human brotherhood must become a national possession before great progress will be made. Dr. Walter Rauschenbusch was a brave spirit and did much to make men in this country see that Christianity had a great part to play in the task of national regeneration that was bound to come. So he wrote on "Christianity and the Social Crisis," "The Social Principles of Jesus," "Christianizing the Social Order," and similar topics with great passion and power. At times one suspects that he almost merged Christianity into the "New Social Order" at the expense of personal experience of grace. But his face was set towards the sunrise which he thought he could see coming behind the hills. "The fundamental step towards Christianizing the Social Order, therefore, is the establishment of social justice by the abolition of

unjust privilege. Logically this should be the first step. Ethically it is the most important step, practically it is usually the last and hardest" ("Christianizing the Social Order," p. 337). Paul caught the vision of the power of Christ in the community. "For our citizenship is in heaven" (Phil. 3:20), he said. "We are a colony of heaven," Moffatt has felicitously rendered it. We, as Philippi is a sample of Rome, are a specimen of heaven here on earth. Our task is to make earth like heaven and to do it now. "Thy Kingdom come. Thy will be done as in heaven, so on earth." This prayer of Jesus is the program of the new citizenship. It is not an idle dream. Socialism cannot reproduce it, not that of Karl Marx in Germany, or of the Bolsheviki in Russia, or of the I. W. W.'s in America. Science cannot make earth a new heaven. It has taught Germany how to make Europe a hell that puts to shame Dante's Inferno. If a new earth is to be wherein dwelleth righteousness, it must come after the pattern in the Mount. The American people must be willing to follow the leadership of Jesus and to try His type of public and private life. John Spargo ("The Spiritual Significance of Modern Socialism," *Books and Reading*, October, 1918, p. 113) says: "Socialists and other agitators hurl

thunderbolts of superbly passionate invective against *Churchianity*, against what they feel to be an organized masquerade, but there is ever reverence and love for Jesus." The process may be slow, but it is the only way. "The laborious work of individual and social fulfillment may eventually be transfigured by an outburst of enthusiasm—one which is not the expression of a mood, but which is substantially the finer flower of an achieved experience and a living tradition. If such a moment ever arrives, it will be partly the creation of some democratic evangelist—some imitator of Jesus will reveal to men the path whereby they may enter into spiritual possession of their own individual and social achievements, and immeasurably increase them by vistas of personal regeneration" (Croly, "The Promise of American Life," pp. 453-454). Dr. Washington Gladden ("The Interpreter," p. 144) calls this great book "the most profound treatise on Democracy that this nation has yet produced," worthy to be read by the side of the classic treatises of De Tocqueville and James Bryce. He speaks not as a doctor of divinity, but "it is the verdict of a master of political science" ("The Interpreter," p. 145). And Herbert Croly places Jesus as the acme of modern political science. "It is very easy and in a

sense perfectly true to declare that democracy needs for its fulfillment a peculiarly high standard of moral behaviour; and it is even more true to declare that a democratic scheme of moral values reaches its consummate expression in the religion of human brotherhood" (Croly, *ibid.*, pp. 452 f.). The world though knowing God, glorified Him not as God, neither gave thanks and their foolish heart was darkened (Rom. 1 : 21). "Puritan theology may be out of date, but the Puritan majesty of righteousness cannot die" (Forsyth, "The Roots of a World-Commonwealth," p. 7). In the new social order we shall have a nation whose character is grounded on love, knowledge, industry, and service. The new citizen will be proud to be of service to all in the State. He will scorn to take advantage of the State for his own private interest. He will seek not to rob his neighbour and so to enrich himself, but will grow along with the rest in the full enjoyment of God's good world that is meant for all.

Germany is reaping what she sowed. The nation that threw national righteousness to the scrap-heap is now gathering a harvest of individual corruption. Recently the Lutheran Synod of Berlin met to deal with the dissolute habits of the "thousands of young munition workers, male

and female, who habitually squander their high wages in riotous living and immorality." *The Public* (A Journal of Democracy) in its issue of August 31, 1918, wonders that these Lutheran preachers have the face to rebuke these young people when they kept quiet about the crimes of the State. The youth of Germany are patterning after the State. "For his military defeat, great as it is and must be, is as nothing compared with his moral prostitution." In the diary of Dr. Muehlon, the now famous ex-Krupp director, he says that if Germany should win this wicked war, "outside the new Germanic Empire no German will be able to show his face . . . disdain and abhorrence will make every one insist upon being spared the sight of a German."

3. World-Righteousness.

This is the goal of humanity. It is the goal of this war. "It is the power of the world-righteousness, which I keep saying is the real issue in this war" (Forsyth, "The Roots of a World-Commonwealth," p. 20). It is not a mere dream. "The ideal world must appear in clear outlines before the actual material world can be reshaped. Vision must come before reformation. Frederic Harrison says that mankind will not 'listen to a religion that is up in the sky.' The

fact is mankind will never listen permanently to anything else" (Faunce, "Religion and War," p. 162). This is the reason that men are looking up to God as never before. The welfare of the world demands that the nations shall practice righteousness with each other. The days of secret diplomacy are over. The nations must deal squarely with each other in order to live at all. Bishop Gore affirms that God "lays it upon each nation alike to make the most of itself and its resources in order that it may better minister to the needs of all mankind, and maintain the universal and impartial interests of justice and freedom and peace" ("The League of Nations, The Opportunity of the Church," p. 12). God is still at work in the world. "My Father worketh even until now and I work" (John 5:17). Jesus has not drawn back from the task to which He put His hand. He will regenerate this world. He will make the Kingdom of God triumph over the kingdom of the prince of this world. The Master did not underestimate His undertaking. He saw the difficulties, but did not shrink back. He still sees and moves ahead of the race to inspire and lead us as the Captain of our salvation. They see Him in the trenches as the White Comrade. He is everywhere our hope and our God. He is transforming the

world by planting love in our hearts. He is still at work in humanity. "The progress of the work must wait upon the will of man. It cannot be carried forward without our aid" (Washington Gladden, "The Interpreter," p. 38).

In due time peace has come, a righteous peace, for no other will last. "Out of the agony of this world, let us see to it no deformity is born—no militarism, no mammonism; no, nor anarchy either" (David Lloyd-George). John saw in the new earth the tree of life: "and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations" (Rev. 22:2). That is probably the picture of heaven, but we are entitled to believe that earth will see a foretaste of heaven. At least we can all do our part as citizens of the colony of heaven to make our commonwealth and our world as nearly like heaven as is possible. This is the new crusade of the new citizenship and it is worth the best that is in the statesman and social reformer. And more, it has the promise of the blessing of the King of the Kingdom of God. Palestine is now free from the rule of the Turk. May liberty come to the whole world. The world cannot remain half slave and half free.

All the nations are facing social reconstruction. The "working equilibrium of the social classes" must be readjusted in the interest of the men of

brain and brawn who have contributed so much to win the war for democracy. Great Britain is already planning for the day when the wage-earners shall receive the justice that they deserve. "The United States cannot hope to avert the reconstruction issue and it must not again be caught in the perils of an imaginary security and unpreparedness. We shall no more escape this social revolution than we escaped the world war" (*The Independent*, Sept. 7, 1918). The giving of tardy justice to the toilers of the world will not usher in the millennium, but it will go a long way towards winning a hearing for the Prince of Peace who was a carpenter in Nazareth and who alone can bring in the new day that is coming. Dr. James Stalker wrote in 1909 words that have received a strange fulfillment: "But the relations of states to states are still on the basis of barbarism, the European Nations confronting one another armed to the teeth. It is for statesmanship to devise a remedy for this condition of things; and it is a shame that it has not been found long ago" ("The Ethics of Jesus," p. 366). If it is not found, as the great war has shown, modern civilization will crumble to dust. The tiger that has leaped upon the world has been subdued. He must never be allowed to leap again upon helpless men, women, and chil-

dren who have the right to live at peace in the world. The wolves at home must be driven to the desert, for our country is still the hope of the oppressed.

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