

The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and the
Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELKE

VOL. XXXIV (No. 10)

OCTOBER, 1920

NO. 773

CONTENTS:

	PAGE
<i>Frontispiece.</i> Mikhail Bakunin.	
<i>The Great Psychosis and After.</i> T. SWANN HARDING	577
<i>Mikhail Bakunin.</i> M. JOURDAIN	591
<i>The Cosmic Parthenogenesis.</i> (Illustrated.) LAWRENCE PARMLY BROWN ..	600
<i>The Origin of the Church.</i> WM. WEBER	619
<i>The Ethics of Rationalism.</i> FRANK VINCENT WADDY	637
<i>Book Reviews</i>	640

The Open Court Publishing Company

122 S. Michigan Ave.

Chicago, Illinois

Per copy, 10 cents (sixpence). Yearly, \$1.00 (in the U.P.U., 5s. 6d.).

Entered as Second-Class Matter March 26, 1897, at the Post Office at Chicago, Ill., under Act of March 3, 1879
Copyright by The Open Court Publishing Company, 1920

MILTON SAID IT

"A good book is the precious life-blood of a master spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life."

THESE ARE GOOD BOOKS

The New Orthodoxy

By Edward S. Ames

\$1.25, postpaid \$1.35

This book is a statement of the Modern Point of View in Religion. It seeks to present in simple terms a view of religion consistent with the mental habits of those trained in the sciences, in the professions, and in the direction of practical affairs.

The Religions of the World

By George A. Barton (Revised Edition)

\$2.00, postpaid \$2.15

The Author has added two new chapters. All great religions considered. Combines the virtues of popular presentation and scholarly accuracy. Presents in an interesting way a large number of facts little known to the general reader.

The Millennial Hope

By Shirley Jackson Case

\$1.50, postpaid \$1.65

The author describes the various types of hope that have been held in the past and shows the different influences that have shaped belief in a millennium at various periods in history. This book clearly proves that ancient forms of millennial hope which look for a sudden reversal of present conditions are no longer tenable.

The Psychology of Religion

By George A. Coe

\$2.00 postpaid, \$2.15

It analyzes religious phenomena from the point of view of both the structural and functional methods. Religion is made to appear as a progressive realization of a society of personal selves.

The Story of the New Testament

By Edgar J. Goodspeed

\$1.25, postpaid \$1.35

"It's a great book." That is how one person characterized it after reading it carefully. If from a literary, historical, or religious point of view one wants to know why and when the books of the New Testament came into existence, this is just the book to read.

FOR EARLY PUBLICATION

The Graphic Arts

By Joseph Pennell

\$5.00, postpaid \$5.25

A new volume in the series of Scammon Lectures at the Art Institute of Chicago. This volume deals with the modern development of all the graphic arts and is richly illustrated.

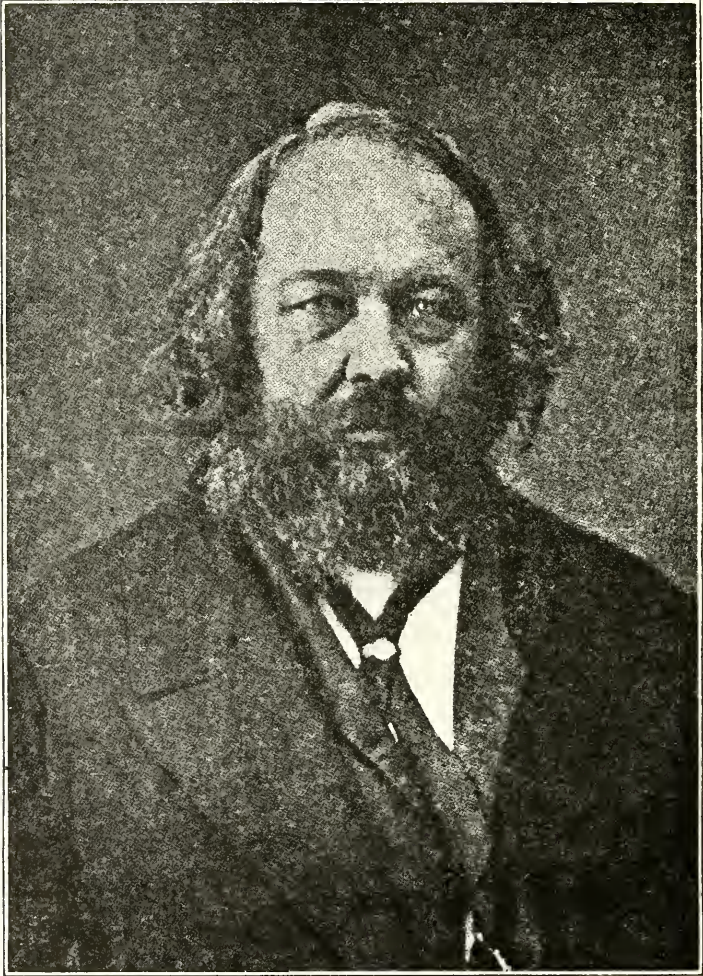
Modern Tendencies in Sculpture

By Lorado Taft

\$5.00, postpaid \$5.25

An important volume in the series of Scammon Lectures at the Art Institute of Chicago. This book, by the famous Chicago sculptor, discusses the work of Auguste Rodin and other European sculpture, and Augustus Saint-Gaudens and American sculpture. Profusely illustrated.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
5832 ELLIS AVE. CHICAGO, ILLINOIS



MIKHAIL BAKUNIN.

(From *Donahoe's Magazine*, July, 1908.)

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.

VOL. XXXIV (No. 10) OCTOBER, 1920

NO. 773

Copyright by The Open Court Publishing Company, 1920.

THE GREAT PSYCHOSIS AND AFTER.

BY T. SWANN HARDING.

PERHAPS nothing furnishes more incontrovertible evidence of the simple-mindedness of people *en masse*, and even of those whom we choose to call "intellectuals," than the eagerness with which they, in every instance, absorbed the story of the antecedents of the war precisely as propagated by their own government, as if this were the plenary inspiration of heaven. Scientists forgot the method of truth, philosophers forgot their calm, preachers forgot their ethics, politicians forgot their squabbles, statesmen forgot their preferences of yesterday, the masses cleared a single neuron path in their mind and labeled it "The War." Thereupon each and every one of them believed with profound conviction and bigotry just what his government desired him to believe—albeit propably in many instances in direct opposition to what people of countries allied with his own were taught to accept—and those who dared to think normally were held in ignominy.

The civilian war mind¹ that is thus created is the very factor which makes war futile by rendering conflict more important than its objects. Even the accomplishment of the aims of enlightened selfishness is hence impossible, not to mention the good and noble ends for which, officially, every war is nowadays waged. The condition is the direct heir of schoolboy boasting and smacks of Homer's bragging gods and heroes. "It consists in the unconscious and confident parade of our secret passions as authentic and disinterested standards of objective value." From the Freudian standpoint it is the discharge of repressed complexes, principal among which is the "natural tendency of a strong personal bias to usurp the throne of judgment and to pose as objective truth."

¹ Cf. an article by this title in the *London Nation*, reprinted in *The Living Age*, September 13, 1919, from which our quotations are taken.

As time goes on we learn to condone more and more of the things upon which we ordinarily look as heinous and autocratic. Thus America entered the war still deploring the immorality of conscription; but in a few months the very same minds which had pointed out this immorality, fabricated most awesome arguments to demonstrate the democracy of the hated institution. General Crowder took liberty after liberty with the conscription law, ignored the spirit and strained the letter, until even the President was compelled to give him tardy reproof. Nor is the War Department to be blamed; it did precisely what it had been instructed to do. The blame falls upon us—the common people of America—who, after recognizing the sins of autocracy in Germany, adopted these same methods in America and then insisted upon their democracy. It is too bold to say that the war could have been won without such measures; perhaps not. But they should have been adopted honestly and with moral reservations, not proven falsely to be part of the gospel of democracy. The impulse of the herd mind is seen in the effort to demonstrate these things to be the precise opposite of what they have normally been held to be; this mind is always illogical, always the hypocrite.

We have attained the stage of culture where personal boasting is held in little esteem and is sternly repressed. For this reason the patriotic war mind is deflected into nationalistic braggadocio. To quote the London *Nation* again on this topic, "The essence of patriotism consists, indeed, in believing somehow, not pretending to believe, that the glorification of our country (with ourselves as the secret core) is consistent with a truthful and dispassionate assessment of evidence. . . . The genuineness of the conviction that your country is absolutely right, your enemy absolutely wrong, and that your judgment in this matter is absolutely reliable, being founded on a full and fair consideration of all the evidence, is essential to the process." The fallacy of this notion is well exposed by Norman Angell in *Patriotism Under Three Flags*, a book perhaps sufficiently old to be read with safety by rather a high voltage "patriot" who might become rigid with rage at more recent revelations.

The gist of the matter is the ability to see the same act as right if done by "our" side but as wrong if done by "their" side; this takes an instinct for self-justification and a benign disregard for psychological categories, but not reason. Disregard for neutral rights in Belgium, for instance, was right to a Prussian but wrong to an Allied partisan; a similar disregard for neutral rights in China or in Greece appeared to be held wrong only in the Teuton

camp. Shift the context and you have things as you desire them regardless of absolute values.

Thus England looked upon her two-power navy as a justifiable necessity; she looked upon Germany's two-power army as a luxury and a menace. To-day we find a certain amount of compulsory military training to be a reasonable precaution in America; similar steps on the part of Germany are interpreted as sinister. As Angell says,² "Because a given purpose happens to be the nation's purpose, that of itself tends to close all discussion as to its rightness or wrongness, utility or uselessness." The German gave his individual submission to the aims of the State and conscience ceased to be conscience. Quite so. But did not the *Hibbert Journal* publish many articles which argued conscience out of court and declared plainly for unqualified submission to the State and an end to silly religious quibbling? Could this submission be wrong in Germany and right in England? It is hard to believe so.

Autocracy displaces democracy in war; it has to in order that war may be made efficiently; free speech ends and the military is supreme. Moreover, any effort to dispute the morality of the process, even while admitting its probable necessity, is treason! To suggest that anything done by our State may be wrong is also treason. Yet when Roosevelt so thunderously declared for "My country, right or wrong" he subscribed to a philosophy which would have condemned any German vile enough to have protested against the invasion of Belgium, or the sinking of the *Lusitania*. Liebknecht could not be eternally right and Bertrand Russell eternally wrong at one and the same time. No nation is as virtuous as it believes itself to be nor are its enemies as wicked as it believes them to be.

The bitter denunciations of the German spy and propaganda systems which appeared in our press furnish a further example to the point; because every power on earth, including our own, maintained an elaborate spy system. In fact, as one may see by a signed letter in the *New York Nation* of December 20, 1919, we even bade scientists act as spies, a particularly pernicious form of this practice. Furthermore, the Allies had in our country at all times a propaganda far more insidious than that of the Germans because it was infinitely less crude and blundering than that of Berlin. The copy of the *Nation* just mentioned publishes in facsimile a letter sent by the British Military Mission to various American editors. It calls attention to an "official" story of the Persian affair which is soon to be released, and asks that it be featured, adding that a

² *Op. cit.*, p. 27.

little favorable editorial comment "would serve a useful purpose"! This letter was dated October 23, 1919. Again, we denounce no one. Attention is merely called to facts, and, if our moral code has more than a perfunctory value, right is right and wrong is wrong regardless of nationality. Shaw was right as well as witty in condemning those who were "pacifist when a bomb dropped in Fulham but jingo when it dropped in Freiburg."

The German intellectuals who wrote a fevered diatribe in support of the wrongs of their government were justly ridiculed; yet we failed to observe that our own intellectuals were active, not only in rightfully supporting their governments, but in prostituting their ethics and their ideals in instances where the advocacy of extreme measures was both immoral and dishonest. "The eager industry with which the intellectuals of both contending herds fed them with this war-truth furnishes a valuable commentary on the subjectivity of knowledge." Shades of the Vigilantes!

The herd mind in action is childish, ludicrous and untempered by judgment. Enemy individualists who protest for freedom are looked upon as martyrs in the cause of right; our own advocates of individualism become fiends incarnate. The educated Japanese has the greatest difficulty in trying to comprehend why we execrate the idea of "Asia for Asiatics" while holding our own Monroe Doctrine to be natural and salutary. To us our unnecessary wars with Spain and with Mexico seem entirely to differ from Austria's predatory pugnacity toward Serbia, and yet, to an unbiased judgment (or to a Spaniard!) the difference is small indeed. The *Temps* found the German invasion of Belgium most abominable; the British ruthlessness in Persia much to be questioned; but French aggression in Syria and the Saar appeared to it quite proper regardless of treaties. In each case prejudice rather than judgment ruled opinion.

Germany has been castigated for being unfavorable to arbitration at the Hague; England was notable for favoring the peaceful solution of differences. But Norman Angell pertinently asks, who had least to lose and most to gain from arbitration, the power which hungered for territory or the power which was already satiated and found excellence in the status quo? At the Hague it was always England who blocked any measure tending toward less ruthless naval warfare; but to mention this fact during the war was to be, to the herd mind, "pro-German."

The New York *Nation* has frequently been taxed with being anti-British, although its one aim has been to stand with the right

against imperialism and militarism regardless of national boundaries. The civilian war mind hates those who can see things more largely than it can, those who would rather be right than be Britains or Americans. It refuses to test evidence disinterestedly; it loathes thinkers with virulence; and it is even found among the educated. Here it is most amusing, for the average sensual man does little real thinking, and his emotions are upon so primitive a level that irrationality involves no great sacrifice.

"The abject and unconscious surrender of so many 'educated' persons to the ravages of the herd mind in the years of the war has been a disconcerting exhibition of the instability of the higher qualities of personality"; we see in them all the naive vainglory of the primitive fighting man with his "antics of self-praise and vituperation of the enemy." No sooner did war patriotism seize us than "the howling dervishes of the press proclaimed 'the holy war,' and all our intellectual and spiritual leaders ranged themselves in bands to testify, each in its proper manner, to the truth and justice of our herd's cause and the utter falsehood of all opposing pleas. Truth . . . became at once transparent; moral responsibility . . . became for this occasion simplicity itself. Our clergy were genuinely shocked at the blasphemy of the enemy in claiming that 'the holy war' was theirs, while all the time the hypocrites knew it was ours. Our philosophers were quick to trace the poison of materialism and absolutism lurking even in the text of Kant; our men of letters found even in Goethe the 'wicked will to power'; our scientists had long detected the essential barrenness of Germany for big creative ideas, finding her a nest of pilfering adapters; our historians with quick pen redrew the modern world history in black and white."

With these facts in mind it is delicious to contemplate Admiral Sims's testimony in early 1920 to the effect that we were, with commendable impartiality, ready to fight England quite as quickly as Germany! It is further interesting to find in the *Nation* of January 17, 1920, that in the rigid inquiry into the causes of the war carried on in Berlin, not only was the Kaiser shown to be wax in the hands of the blockheaded militarists of the Ludendorff type, but Bernstorff was found to have been held two weeks at Halifax *en route* home in order that he might the less effectually protest against unrestricted submarine warfare—for America was still at peace. Such was the morality of nations. Of course, it is now generally known that the Count, far from being the devil he was pictured, was a very much distracted man between the moderateness of the German Foreign

Office and the insanity of the ruthless, dishonest and vastly intriguing militarists; cf. his memoirs recently published and press reviews.

The vagaries of our press knew no bounds. It painted Japan as a democracy (a delicious morsel apparently original with the *Baltimore American*); it insisted that we must go into the war to vindicate the rights of the individual, and when we were in declared that the State had an inalienable right over the individual and admonished us to adopt the Prussian remedy for draft-resisters—acute lead poisoning, while consistently denouncing Germany for this in the next column but one. The *Nation* of November 1, 1919, records the press lies of the last ten days in regard to the war against Bolshevism, and continues, "If there remained in the world one person who still cherished the belief that the day's news bore any relation to the day's facts, he must have been disillusioned by the most recent occurrences." The *New Republic's* résumé of the *New York Times's* Russian news (issue of August 4, 1920) proves the same contention. Garet Garet of the *New York Tribune* honestly insisted that the war could not be treated upon an intellectual plane, that it was the herd's business and must be fought out, not reasoned about. Many more liberal journals underwent a curious metamorphosis, first toward conservatism impelled by the exigencies of the herd mind, and then, after the war, slowly back toward liberalism.

Many newspapers are liberal upon matters of no moment. The *Detroit News* even desired so strongly to protest against the dangerous suppression of so-called "radicals" that it did so, protecting itself by claiming them to be insane. The *Detroit Free Press* is liberal upon matters about which it can do it no possible harm to be liberal, and the *Baltimore American*, though believed to be controlled by Roman Catholics, is very broad-minded religiously—and generally—in so far as liberalism may be made to comport well with herd desires and mass indifference.

But all papers ruthlessly shut off debate well before war begins. Before the Boer War the *Daily Telegraph* urged the suppression of all reasonable discussion and advised brickbats; the *Standard* lampooned those who desired a peaceful settlement; *The Nineteenth Century* of January, 1902, declared that free speech was dead; the *Times* refused the truthful and moderate articles of Francis Dormer and published the fierce vituperation of a Mr. Monypenny who had been in South Africa just twenty-four hours; the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the *National Review* took up the refrain of death to rationalists. It was ever thus.

The *Baltimore American* long pleaded with us to go to war because we were menaced by Germany's navy: on November 10, 1917, under the caption "American Security," it published an editorial showing that a successful invasion of this country by Germany was and had always been impossible! In fact, Admiral Fletcher³ declared that it was quite impossible that England herself could defeat us on the sea, while he was sure that Germany could not. Yet the strength of the German navy formed a perfectly good pro-war argument for the press, due to the mental lethargy of the people.

The press always leads in fanning the flames of hate and in repressing reason. In the press of France and of the British Empire we stood second only to Germany in the matter of being abused—until we entered the war. No insult was sufficiently gross; we were greedy for gold, pro-German, vacillant, immoral, effete and impotent. We declared war. At once we became miraculously endowed of all the virtues and good qualities known to the herd mind. We were lovers of truth and justice, stern, relentless, powerful, virile and noble. Our President was no longer a weak and ridiculous appendage of a decrepit typewriter, but a glorified being of blood and iron. We were even discovered to be using the English language correctly!

Hate, as a product of the civilian war mind, was far from a German monopoly. Discussing "Unconscious Primitive Traits in Present-Day Thought," Bradby analyzes the primitive symbolism which is back of the emotion of hatred.⁴ It is the same old herd mind again active which kept the griffin in the animal catalog until 1675 and which made the Kaiser a symbol of all the unconscious capacities for evil of many thousands. It was the old, savage belief that things once associated still influence each other that guided those childish beings who struck German words out of books, who hung the enemy in effigy, who banned German opera, who smashed German-made crockery, who scorned Wagner and Meyerbeer and Strauss and Wundt and Eucken and Harnack and Ostwald as mere imbeciles. Unable to tear a German limb from limb they must revert to primitive symbolism; thus they beat and plundered shopkeepers with German names in reprisal for the barbarity of the German military, making responsibility for evil collective in a fashion typically Prussian. The anti-German alliance might have

³ Hearings before the Committee of Naval Affairs of the House of Representatives on estimates submitted by the Secretary of the Navy in 1914.

⁴ M. K. Bradby, *Psycho-Analysis and Its Place in Life*.

been called an alliance of common hatred; even to-day many individuals refuse to belong to an international correspondence club which admits German members. Would they bathe in the same ocean with a Teuton?

There was the hate which blazed out when Germany killed our first soldiers, quite regardless of the fact that at the same time we were shedding German blood, all of which could scarcely be avoided under the circumstances. There was (and is) the misguided truculence of the *American Journal of Industrial and Engineering Chemistry* which preached no trade with Germany until our desire for dollars got the better of our antipathy, and now rattles along militaristically for the Prussian type of preparedness. It was the bigoted and insulting character of Allied diplomatic communications which so firmly cemented the Germans as greatly to prolong the war at immense cost in money and in blood; for we paid dearly for childish hate. Even at Versailles this bitterness continued and the German responses to Allied demands were alone couched in respectable language.

So universal was hate that evidences of charity toward enemies are pleasing indeed. There might be mentioned the Berlin theater audience which softly chanted "*Nicht zu laut! Nicht zu laut!*" on the night of the capture of Antwerp, and the book by Abbé Félix Klein entitled *La guerre vue d'une ambulance*. And after all, as the aviator in *Le feu* observed, both sides apparently petitioned the same God for the "victory of right" in the same war; and President Wilson's peace appeals assumed perfect neutrality to the extent of bringing from both sides cries of "We are not as that publican there!"

In America the gentleman is the inconspicuous man who conforms; it was this instinct to conform, rather than reason, which led the American Legion to modify its ferocity when ferocity appeared to menace popularity. The war mind is most intolerant of heterodoxy and values conformity more than principle. Those crass individuals who persisted in the obstinate course of obedience to conscience were persecuted indeed—Jordan, Bryan, Holmes, Berger, Ponsonby, Russell, Morel, MacDonald, Liebknecht—men far from perfect or even absolutely right, yet every one was intellectually sincere and sought nothing save the ability to think and to speak freely. It was Lincoln and Grant who protested the Mexican War; Cobden and Bright the Crimean War; Burke and Chatham the War of Independence; Morley and Bryce and Lloyd George the Boer War. Did history vindicate the intellectual or the

herd mind? To some minds Roosevelt was pro-German;⁵ Samuel Gompers was tremendously pro-Ally in America at a time when more reflective British Labor saw his shallow platitudes as a menace to victory and a very real force insuring German solidarity. Lansdowne's Tory letter caused the "patriots" to gnash their teeth, yet it advocated few things which were not later found to be necessary. At one time it was treasonable to ask for a restatement of war aims; a little later it became heretical not to do so. In each case the herd mind became exultant in contending that "this"—whatever it was—was just what was needed.

For the war mind is not an impartial investigator of the truth: it will "jump to conclusions arbitrarily, and we are egoistic enough to think that, because we have jumped to them, the conclusions must be right. . . . our evidence may not be good evidence, but the average sense of evidence is so light that this does not matter."⁶ The herd mind "is a swivel-mind, easily adjustable to any point of view that is convenient. It has its sophists who reconcile collective responsibility with autocracy by telling you that servility involves consent." but it advises us to do likewise. It can readily believe two opposing things at once. When, subsequent to our entering the war, the Pope made his peace appeal, many orthodox Christians admitted that it was wrong to continue murder in a religious context but quite right in a political context. We found German colonists insidious in Brazil; much more numerous and much more impudent Italian colonists were guileless. President Irigoyen of Argentine was a "German-bought" dissimulator for endeavoring to keep his country out of the war, the policy for which we first praised and later execrated President Wilson.

The very same people who assured us of the inevitability of the Great War added that it would never have happened had it been known beforehand that England would defend Belgium, or had England had conscription—etc. *ad infinitum*. In *Pages choisies* we find Emile Boutroux saying, "Enfin la guerre est évidemment une éducation morale. . . . elle apprend, tout d'abord, à pratiquer cordialement ce devoir de tolérance en matière d'opinions." The former statement voices the attitude so abominated in Prussian militaristic

⁵ It is interesting to remember that Roosevelt in a letter to Von Mach, November 7, 1914, said that he admired the Germans more than any other people, and that he would view the dismemberment of Germany as a calamity. Cf. Ed. von Mach, *Germany's Point of View*, p. 48.

⁶ *The New Statesman*, "What Is Evidence"; reprinted in *The Living Age*, September 13, 1919.

philosophy; the latter is so manifest an absurdity that even a French patriot must have laughed when he penned it.

Such are the vagaries of the civilian war mind. The Germany before whom we bowed as the arbiter of fate in matters of science became a quack and a cheat. Our former deference of ignorance was pitiable enough, for it ignored the triumphs of American industry as well as the fact that scientific pioneers were not Germans—Priestley, Cavendish, Scheele, Dalton, Gay Lussac, Lavoisier; our denunciations were quite as ignorant, for the Germans were learned and intelligent. Yet these things are as nothing to other exaggerated dreams born of the opiate of hatred.

And all the time we denounced the enemy as a creature unfit for human association—i. e., association with English, Americans, French, Belgians, Serbians, Japanese, Russians and African Colonials; yet throughout the war German and Allied diplomats met regularly around a table in Holland and discussed the exchange of prisoners. The *Nation* for May 8, 1920, under "Trafficking With the Enemy in 1917," exposes the abortive Prince Sixtus effort for peace and discloses the Allies plotting merrily with the Germans. Asquith appealed to the war mind by declaring that there could be no negotiations with Germany until her crimes were avenged: but when prisoners are to be exchanged or dollars to be earned, hate evaporates and disappears, and the civilian war mind is disclosed in all its deceitful artificiality.⁷

We find ourselves at the close of an exhausting and a demoralizing war with a peace that is no peace. We have seen that war everywhere has its defenders, that men will fight over trivialities, that the civilian war mind is intolerant and repressive, that international law is disregarded and harsh warfare is the rule, that each nation has a naive conceit that it is God's chosen people, and that the Great War was quite like all other wars save only in immensity. What have we to show for our denial of the highest idealism in the effort to achieve intangibles by force?

Following the world's unethical, un-Christian and unnecessary debauch we have a peace of bitterness and malediction which extracts the last pound from a prostrate people and starves them to boot, while refusing altogether to confront and solve the problems that so seriously need solution. We have brought into being no New World; we have merely remapped the old and established a new balance of power. We deliberately made the winning of the war more important than its object; we refused to discuss peace

⁷ Cf. *Stead's Review*, June, 1917.

except when we discussed the impossibility of making peace; we sowed the wind and have reaped the whirlwind.

Norman Angell warned us long ago that "if we cannot, during the war, manage by discussions between ourselves to give the enemy some idea of how we propose, having destroyed his militarism, to secure his national defense, and having cut off his road to the outer world, to secure his opportunity for economic development, he will to the last gasp fight as any people...for what they regard as their national existence." The enemy did fight just so until the Fourteen Points, reaffirmed in Woodrow Wilson's speech of September 27, 1918, appeared to give just these guaranties. He then surrendered. Thereupon we made a peace which utterly ignored these points (Mr. Lansing says they were not even so much as mentioned at Versailles), a peace of hate, predatory and brutal, which disarmed our enemy but not ourselves, which sowed the seeds of future wars and which was bent upon revenge alone.

On November 1, 1919, the *Nation* declared that the ratification of this peace would put us upon a moral level with the Germans who entered Belgium. Fortunately, the Senate refused to ratify, though—so great was its indifference to ethics and morality—the reasons were almost altogether political. We who declared that the Germans were without honor and that they did not keep their promises, acted just as they have in the past and visited the sins of autocracy upon democracy by trying to act as we thought a Prussian would when making peace!

If the Supreme Council "did not deliberately intend to strengthen the forces of reaction and check the growth of democratic government and institutions, it nevertheless pursued a policy which could have had no other result." A glimmer of hope is to be found in the fact that the old gentlemen who contrived this infamous pact have, one by one, been discredited. At Versailles it was assumed that the wickedness of the enemy was so great that any sort or size of injuries inflicted upon him and his posterity fell short of his deserts, and that justice consists in doing to others what you choose to think they would have done to you. Thus we emulated the ethics we claimed to have fought.

Austin Harrison superbly denounced this uneconomic peace "based on starvation" and praised America for refusing to pledge herself to fight for the "racial, linguistic, sectarian and imperial animosities, jealousies, greeds and rapacities of old Europe." He

⁸ *English Review*, December, 1919; *Living Age*, January, 1920.

declared that we were forcing Germany back to militarism and were aiding the spread of Bolshevism by enacting this unenforceable treaty.⁸ And then the complacently ignorant editors of America supinely say "Ah, a little harsh, 'tis true; but quite well deserved and quite capable of enforcement."

This Treaty is one of the varied discharges of our repressed war impulse; having been psychologically keyed up to do murder for a long time yet, sudden peace, without the neurotic preparation for peace that was required, compelled us to work the ire out of our systems in other directions than war. Although war still continues in many places. British battleships steam hither and yon, various nations exercise themselves martially in heterogeneous enterprises and others try to foment conflict. For a while we Allies and our late loathed Teutonic enemy stood side by side to kill Russians! Victory by arms alone, without the victory of reason and ideals, can bring about a settlement no more permanent than those previously brought about by violence.

Our ministers in some instances still preach a gospel of hate; thousands of people still wish to see the German race annihilated; thousands still imagine that all of the evil on earth was in Germany; political prisoners are still held in America; the Bolsheviki are looked upon as a reincarnation of all the evils of Kaiserdom—an interesting psychological phenomenon; France in the Saar suppresses the German nationality just as Germany oppressed the French in Alsace-Lorraine; Kreisler plays in Detroit under police protection; the American Legion defies city officials to the extent that even Mr. Taft felt called upon to warn them (although the World War Veterans are more law-abiding by far); books are still suppressed and periodicals barred from the mails. An intelligent British visitor was recently amazed at reactionary America and at our simple ignorance of the various theories of radical trend which have been well understood in Europe for decades. Our Palmers and Stevensons and Lusks lump together the lukewarm liberal, the mild socialist, the philosophical anarchist, the communist, the sovietist, the laborite and the apostle of violence, swing their clubs, call them "Reds" and go their merry, monstrous way.⁹

Arthur Clutton-Brock strikes the note of sanity when he says: "But, so long as we all preach at the Germans, they will never confess; so long as we say they are a people unique in wickedness, they will repeat to themselves that they are unique in virtue and oppressed

⁹ *The Nation*, November, 1919. Cf. also Maynard Keynes, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*.

by the envy of mankind. . . . We are not gods, with the right or power of damnation, but men, with the common promise of a humanity to which none of us yet has attained or can attain, without the help of us all."¹⁰ We have, indeed, shamelessly let slip a great opportunity to remake the world; perhaps the disaster may yet be partially retrieved, but to retrieve it we must enter into the spirit of Clutton-Brock.

First of all, then, we must have a League of All Nations, and not simply a Federation of the Victors for Common Gain. And everywhere and at all times we need less emotion and more reason. National hatreds have been intensified, the most cherished ideals of humanity have been derided, man's claim to be a reasoning animal has been seriously impaired by his reaction to impulse, and a new balance of power exists. As in previous wars every contestant entered the conflict in a high burst of idealism, fighting a just, an unprovoked and a defensive war; as time progressed war inevitably brutalized, ethics were forgotten, lofty aims became shallow catch-words to pacify the masses and hatred and instinct ruled supreme. Then peace came suddenly to the world. And while fighting had developed into a science of high efficiency, no one had learned how to make a proper peace. We had so long been trained to murder and destroy and to deceive, we had so thoroughly obeyed our masters, that we did not definitely know what we were fighting for.

Thus it was that two cunning and reactionary old gentlemen of Latin blood met a pliable Welshman and an impractical American at Versailles to build a New World which was to have repaid the sorrowing peoples for their dire misfortunes. The two reactionaries desired nothing but the things wicked and unscrupulous diplomats have always desired—to grasp and to hold power and to have dominion for themselves and their party; the Welshman desired but to please everybody and generally to ingratiate himself; the American desired many good and pure and noble things but was innocent of the slightest practical knowledge of how to go about getting them; and the remaining delegates to Versailles were to all intents and purposes non-existent.

And there came from this unpropitious group of old gentlemen a peace which is no peace; a patchwork beside which the work of the Congress of Vienna appeared excellent, a cruel and barbarously primitive peace which crushed and starved the enemy with complacent savagery; a predatory peace which took as much as could be taken without disrupting the solidarity of the victors; a lying

¹⁰ "The Pursuit of Happiness," *Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1919, p. 1.

peace which broke our solemn promises, which equivocated and deceived and utterly refused intelligently to face any of the great problems which so gravely demanded attention.

There have come down to us through the ages, in spite of the efforts to drown them out with the thunder of cannon and the mercilessness of derision, some words descriptive of a man who was unjustly condemned to death, who was crucified by an unctuously religious community whose self-righteousness he condemned. It was said of him that "when he was reviled, he reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened not." Strange sentiments these to us now! How remote they seem to modern "Christians"!

When at length this man hung tortured upon a cross, he looked down with infinite pity upon the immeasurably petty creatures who threw dice for his raiment and who went their little path to oblivion in joyous pride, and he recognized in them people who somehow did not understand. They felt themselves duty-bound to go though with certain forms and ceremonies; to believe in certain ways and to act in a definitely prescribed manner; to smile upon those who thought as they did and to cut down without pity and without remorse those who thought and felt more than they did; and in so doing they missed all of life's higher values and lived to no true purpose. The great heart of the man on the cross comprehended all this; his profound mind looked beyond the unreflective actions of little, hysterical men, and he lifted his eyes to the great blue sky and cried "Father, forgive them for they know not what they do!"

What a beautiful story of a truly noble mind! And it is full of meaning for us to-day and every day. Those Germans who so monstrously erred, those frantic "patriots" of all nations who refused to reason, those old gentlemen at Paris who made a medieval peace while civilization tottered—did not understand. We must forgive them for their lack of understanding. But we must help to speed the day when men shall choose to reason and shall cease to be mere creatures of unbridled impulse.