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THE VERDICT OF THE PEOPLE;

BY THE REV. DR. NEWELL DWIGHT HILLIS.

In Plymouth Church, the pastor, the Rev. Dr. Newell Dwight Hillis, preached on "The Verdict of the People,' the last sermon in the series on "The Nations at War." The text was in the words: "From whence come wars? Come they not from your own lusts? Dr. Hillis said:

Nearly five months have now passed by since the German army invaded Belgium and France. These 140 days have been packed with thrilling and momentous events. While from their safe vantage ground the American people have surveyed the scene,an old regime has literally crumbled under our very eyes. Europe is a looom on whose ea then framework demiurgic forces like Frederick the Great, Bismarck an Napoleon once wove the texture o European civilization. Now the demo of war has, with hot knife shorn awa the texture, and a modern czar an kaiser, king and president, with ge erals and admirals, are weaving th warp and wool of a new world. On hundred years ago the forces that bre wars were political forces; today, th collision between nations is born o economic interests. The Twentiet Century influences are chiefly th force of wealth and the force of pub ic opinion. These are the giant steeds though the reins of the horses may b in the hands of kings and kaisers. I Napoleon's day antagonism grew ou of the natural hatre dof autocracy, fo democracy, of German imperialism fo French radicalism. Today, Germany i not even interested in France's repub lican form of government,nor is Frenc concerned with Germany's imperia autocrat. But all Europe is intensel concerned with the question of econo mic supremacy or financial subordin ation.

England's Naval Supremacy

Ever since Oliver Cromwell's da England has been the mistress of th seas, and Germany is envious and be lieves that she has a right to supplan England in this naval leadership France has long been the banker o Europe, and Germany covets financia leadership. From whence comes wars Come they not from men's lusts? Nov that long time has passed it is quit certain that neither Napoleon no Bismarck nor Wiliam the Second un derstood the future. It is a prover that yesterday is a seed, today th stalk and tomorrow is the full cor in the ear. Napoleon was a practica man, but he could not see the shoo in the seed. When Napoleon said One hundred years from now Europ will be all republican or all Cossack"— Napoeon was quite wrong. Forty years ago Bismarck said that he ha reduced France to the level of a fourth-class nation, and that hence forth France did not count; while a for the Balkan States, "the whol Eastern question is not worth th bones of a Pomeranian grenadier"— Bismarck was quite wrong. The pres ent Kaiser has no imagination. A man of any prevision of the future might have foreseen, that any attac upon England would settle the Iris question; that any treaty with Turkey would force Italy, as Turkey's enem in the late Italian-Turkish war, t break with Germany; any man wit the least instinct for diplomacy migh have known that the twentieth cen tury man is so incensed by an enemy' trespass upon his property the Belgium would have resisted er croachment, and so cost German the best three weeks of the entir war. If the history of great war tells us anything, it tells u that the first qualification of th statesman and diplomat is an intuitiv knowledge of a future, that is the ce tain outcome of the present. There ha been no forsight on the part of th makers and advisers of this war. Year ago, when the TAustrian Emperor vis ited Innsbruck, the Burgomaster o dered foresters to go up on the moun tain sides and cut certain swarths o brush. At the moment the man wit his ax did not know what he was do ing, but when the night fell, and th torch was lifted on the boughs,the peo ple in the city below read these word written in letters of fire, "Welcome t our Emperor." Today the demon o war has been writing with blazin letters certain lessons upon the hill and valleys of Europe, and fortunat is that youth who can read the writin and interpret aright the lessons of th times.

America Now Realizes the Real Meaning of Imperialism and Militarism

I The people of the republic now realize for the first time what are the inevitable fruits of imperialism and militarism. One of the perils of America's distance from the scenes of autocracy is that our people have come to think that the forms of government are of little importance. We hear it said that climate determines Government, and that one nation likes autocracy and another limited monarchy that we like democracy self-government and that the people are about as happy under one form of control as another. This misconception is based upon a failure to understand foreign imperialism. Superficially, the fruits of autocracy are efficiency, industrial wealth and military power. But now after nearly five months, of constant discussion, our people understand thoroughly the other side of imperialism The 6,000,000 of German-Americans living in this country, with their high type of character millions who have left their native land to escape service in the army, the burdens of taxation involved in militarism, and the law of less majeste, should have opened our eyes long ago. During the past five years, I have lectured in more than one hundred cities on the New Germany, and the lessons derived from her industrial efficiency, with the application of science to the production of wealth, but I did not appreciate fully the far off harvest of militarism And lest an American over-state the meaning of militarism let me condense Treitschke's view. He holds that the nation should be looked upon as a vast military engine; that its ruler should be the commander of the army; that his cabinet should be under generals; that the whole nation should march with the force of an armed regiment; that the real "sin against the Holy Ghost" was the sin of military impotence; that such an army should take all it wants and the territory it needs and explain afterward." Manufacturers are essentially inventors of cannons and guns and dreadnoughts incidentially self-supporting men. Bankers are here to finance the army and incidentially to make money. Physicians are here to heal the wounded soldiers. Gymnasiums are founded to train soldiers Women are here to breed soldiers, and militarism is the path that will bring Germany to her place in the sun. The youth is first of all to be a soldier, and, incidentially to be a man. No one has indicted Germany's militarism in stronger language than he distinguished German-American Carl Schurz. In words that burn the great statesman expressed his hatred of the imperialism and militarism against which he helped to organize a revolution, that led to his flight to his country. Of late, Americans have been asking themselves certain questions.

The American Ideal Versus the German

What will be the result if Germany is allowed to seize any smaller state whose territory and property she covets? Is al Eurape to become an armed camp?? What is the meaning of this German professor's article in the North American Review, written two or three years ago, in which he says that once she is victorious the Monroe Doctrine will go and the United States will receive the "thrashing she so richly deserves?" Must we then go over to the military ideal? If Germany supports 8,000,000 soldiers out of 66,000,000, must we withdraw from productive industry 12,000,000 men for at least two or three of the best years of their young life? Must we start on a programme of ten dreadnoughts a year instead of building ten colleges and universities for the same sum of money? Of late Americans who love their country have beeu searching their own hearts. Merchants hitherto busied with commerce are asking themselves whither this country is drifting. Is Germany to compel us to become a vast military machine? This military question is a subject of discussion on the street cars and in the stores, at the dining room table. No articles in paper and magazine are so eagerly read and analyzed. The American ideal is not a military machine, but a high quality of manhood. To make men free, with the gift of self-expression; to make men wise through the public school and the press; to make men self-sufficing and happy in their homes, through freedom of industrial contracts; to make men sound in their manhood through religious liberty for Jew and Gentile, and Catholic and Protestant—these are our national ideals. America stands at the other pole of the universe from imperialism and militarism. So far from being willing to desert the political faith of the fathers, this war has confirmed our confidence in self-government. Liberty to grow, freedom to climb as high as industry and ability will permit, liberty to analyze and discuss the views of President, Congress, Governor—these are our rights. In a military autocracy there can be no liberty of the printing press. If a man criticises the Kaiser, he goes to jail; in this republic, if Horace Greeley criticises Abraham Lincoln, Abraham Lincoln does not send the great editor to jail, but writes the latter, "My paramount object is to save the Union," and vindicates himself at the bar of the nation. An American editor or citizen would choke to death in Germany. He could not breathe because of the mephitic gases of imperialism and militarism. For a long time some of us did not realize what was involved but now we do realize the difference between the fruits of democratic self-government and the fruits of military imperialism.

THE RIGHTS OF SMALL STATES AND THE SIN OF TRESPASS.

II. The last five months have brought a new realization to American citizens as to the rights and liberties of small States. In the Republic, the sin of trespass is one of the blackest of sins. Here we hold to the sanctity of property. A man's home is his castle, a citadel that cannot be invaded even by the power of the State. So deep is the American hatred of trespass against property rights that imperialism finds it impossible to understand this. Here the individual is a king of kings in his native right, and takes out an injunction against the city that wishes to trespass upon his property. This antagonism manifests itself in the laws that safeguard the small shopkeeper against the big firm, and the small manufacturer against any company with its billion doliars of capital. This antagonism to the sin of trespass has lent a peculiar sanctity to treaties between Canada and the United States. We have one hundred millions of people, and Canada five millions. We need many things that Canada has, but it is intellectually unthinkable that "we should take what we want and explain afterward," or that we should violate our treaty guaranteeing neutrality to Canada. Our frontier line is three thousand miles long. There is not a fort from Maine to Victoria. If we adopted Germany's position we would have to build one thousand forts, withdraw two million young men from the farm, factory, store and bank, and load the working people with taxes to support them. In a free land, and in God's world, there should be a place for the poor man and for the small nation. In the olden time there was a king who had herds and flocks, and a poor man who had one pet lamb. It came to pass that a stranger claimed the right of hospitality at the rich man's palace, and the king sent out and took the poor man's one lamb and gave it for food to the stranger. And, soon or late, the time will come when history will tell the story of Germany taking little Belgium, and conscience, like a prophet, will indict the militarism that seized the one lamb that belonged to the poor man. This episode is not closed. The German representative who says that Belgium is a part of Germany may be right in terms of future government and war, but the incident has just begun in the memory of the soldiers who never can forget that they first broke their sacred treaty, and then, when the Belgian defended his home as his castle, butchered the man, who died with a sacred treaty in his hand. Why, all over the land, teachers, fathers, editors, authors have found it necessary to say to the young men and women of the Republic: "Do not sign your name to an obligation unless you intend to keep it." Keep your faith. Remember that your word given should be as good as your bond. "Swear to your own hurt, and change not." All this is inevitable, as the result of Germany's trespass upon the property and the homes of Belgium. In some European lands, the State is everything and the individual nothing. In this Republbic the individual is first and the State is here to safeguard his rights, and to see to it that no one trespasses upon his property. The time will come when the nation that breaks its treaties and sows to the wind, shall of that wind reap the whirlwind. It is an awful thing for a nation to make it enevitable that hereafter when other people sign a treaty with that country that our representatives shall say: "Before we sign this treaty with you, we wish to ask one question. Later, if it is to your interest to break this treaty is this document to be sneered at as a scrap of paper? Or does this treaty mean the faith of a nation that will die rather than break its word, given before the tribunal of civilized States?"

THE DEATH OF THE TRIBAL GOD IDEA.

III. This great war and one or two of the leaders thereof have killed the old tribal idea of God. In the Twentieth Century it seems almost ludicrous to find that the conception of the ancient Hebrews is still held by some rulers. Be the reasons what they may, of late there has been a strange recrudescence of the tribal God idea. This is the Twentieth Century, not the Tenth! Think of a man sending his soldiers into Belgium, saying: "Make yourselves as terrible as the Huns of Atilla, and the Lord our God will give you victory." Just as if God were not the God of the whole earth, a disinterested God, a God who makes His sun to shine and His rain to fall upon all His children, without regard to race or clime or color. Why, it is as artless as the way the old Hebrew peasant called on God to blast his enemy's field, and drown his children with floods, and smite his herds with the plague. The tribal idea of God belongs with the ox cart, the medicine man and cave dweller. This is an era of science. Whatever is true is universal, not racial. If the heart beats and the blood circulates in a German soldier's veins, the blow flows in the veins of the people of England and France. If the earth goes around the sun in Berlin, the earth goes around the sun in Petrograd and Edinburgh. If there are seven rays in the sunbeam, why, the discussion is closed, and it is a universal fact. And if Jesus was right when He said, "God is our Father, and all the races are our brothers, and the world has been fitted up by God as an Eden garden for His children," then no man or ruler should ever adopt the view of the peasant and the cave man, and try to make the Eternal God a tribal God. The unconscious humor to the statements of one or two men as to their tribal God idea has added to the gayety of nations. But when any view is laughed at, it is doomed. From the very moment that the doctrine of election, that made God love a few aristocrats and pass the non-elect by, became a matter of joke in the comic papers, that theory was dead. Not otherwise is it with this idea of a tribal God. When Barry Paine begins to say,

Led by William, as you tell,
God has done extremely well,

the tribal idea has been relegated to the theological scrap heap. The peasant's view must go. In this age men must be citizens of all countries and of the universe. God is a sun who shines for the poor man's but as truly as for the rich man's palace. The Judge of all the earth is also the Father of all the races, and He will do men good and not evil.

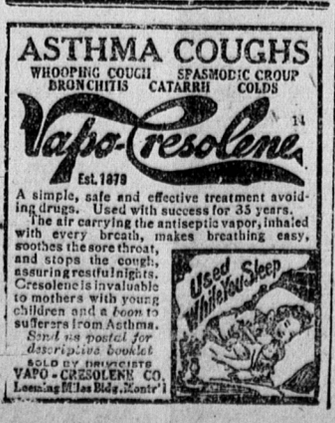
THE FUTILITY OF WAR AS A MEANS OF SETTLING NATIONAL DISPUTES.

IV. In view of the events of the last few months all Americans now realize as never before the futility of war as a means of settling disputes. Indeed, it may be doubted whether any war has ever settled any question. Defeat did not convince the South that they were wrong in their idea of States rights or slavery. If the South has given up both ideas today it is because time, events and social progress have changed their view, not because the sword convinced them. Bismarck's victory at Versailles and Von Moltke's at Sedan did not settle the dispute with France. To keep one billion dollars of indemnity, Germany must have spent five billions on forts and armies in the government of Alsace and Lorraine. Germany's apparent victory simply put Germany's trouble with France out with compound interest, and left the next generation of Germans to pay several billions of dollars of accrued debt through hatred. Plainly it is folly not to reconstitute the map of Europe. The frontier lines of the geographer should exactly coincide with the racial lines. The Ger man race with their peculiar ideals ought not to try to govern the French race. It is an expensive experiment. It is an impossible experiment. The plan is doomed to failure in advance. And when the day of payment comes, it is quite certain that the questions at issue will not have been settled by regiments of soldiers. They must finally be settled by an appeal to some court of arbitration that will do justice and love mercy; that will insist upon the rights of the smaller States, and make it impossible for the great ones of the earth to trespass upon the property and liberties of brave little peoples.

IMPERIALISM AND AUTOCRACY SEEM TO CONFUSE MEN'S JUDGMENTS.

V. Out of the smoke of battle another lesson is written for all who have eyes to read. In view of the mistakes made by men who have absolute power, it is now certain that exemption from criticism is a bad thing for any man and that endless adoration destroys the ruler's power to think in straight lines. There never lived a man who was not injured by perpetual compliments. Strong men are willing to pay cash for criticism. Flattery will conceal the weakness, and they know that pitiless criticism will expose the danger and perhaps save them. No man is so unfortunate as the man who is put on a throne lifted up beyond the reach of plain truth telling. It is doubtful is so many blunders were ever made by statesmen and diplomats as were made at the beginning of this war. Just think of one government being wrong in all these particulars at the same time! Lincoln said, "You can't fool all of the people all of the time." Yes, that may be true in a republic, but you certainly can fool all the diplomats and generals and do it all the time—during July and August, at any event. Call the roll of the diplomatic blunders, and the list is long. First, England will be neutral and Ireland will keep her from going to war. Second, Italy will be our ally. Third, Belgium will be neu-

(Continued on page twelve)



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