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LOOKING BEFORE

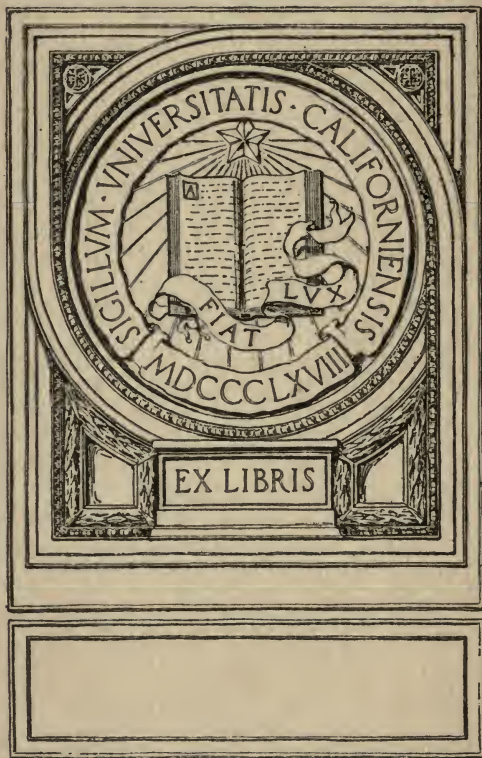
AND

AFTER

CLAY MacCAULEY

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LOOKING BEFORE AND AFTER:

SOME WAR - TIME ESSAYS

They err, who count it glorious to subdue
By conquest far and wide ; to overrun
Large countries ; and in field great battles win,
Great cities by assault : What do these worthies
But rob, and spoil, burn, slaughter, and enslave
Peaceable nations, neighboring or remote,
Made captive, yet deserving freedom more
Than those their conquerors, who leave behind
Nothing but ruin wheresoe'er they rove,
And all the flourishing works of peace destroy.

* * * * *

But if there be in glory aught of good,
It may by means far different be attained,
Without ambition, war, or violence ;
By deeds of peace, by wisdom eminent,
By patience, temperance.

From "Paradise Regained."

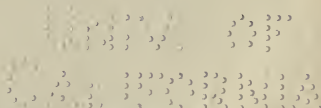
JOHN MILTON,

1671.

BY

CLAY MacCAULEY, A.M., D.D.

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TO WHOM
IT MAY COME

INTRODUCTION



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INTRODUCTION.

Five years ago, I was one in a large number of observers of current events and students of the historic development of mankind, who believed that they had much to justify their hope in a near realization of their cherished ideal of "Peace on Earth and Good Will among Men."

Prompted by seemingly clear signs of the times, I had published, three years previously, —1911—a booklet under the title, "Thought and Fact for To-day."

In the introduction to the book I declared that, "War is not a necessary, and therefore is not to be a perpetual, accompaniment of social, or national development. It has become a relic, or a survival of the life of savage and barbaric man, unworthy of toleration under the enlightenment fast spreading among the mankind of to-day. And even though, for the purpose of self-defense against the lust of gain and power of some nations, it may be necessary for the best of peoples to continue to bear arms, it is still one of the highest of national and international duties to advance continually the plea for a World-Peace, and to use all ways that open towards it."

One of the essays in my little speculative venture was an argument favored by the gradual development, in the course of the human ages, of Altruism as a directing and formative influence in man's social progress. Much of that essay bears repetition now.

THE THEORETIC SUPREMACY OF PHYSICAL
FORCE IN SOCIAL EVOLUTION.

“There is a form of philosophy” I said “whose fundamental assumption is that human life is subjected to a struggle for existence, in an arena essentially material, under the sole determination of material forces, The upholder of this theory allows no place in his speculations for what may be called Altruism, or practical unselfishness, as a dominating or regulative power; much less does he allow any decisive influence to such social factors as Good Will and Justice. To him no equitable and happy solution of the great Social Problem is possible. Nor can there be to him any growing dominion among nations of such reciprocal amity as will conduce at length to a World-Peace. In the creed of the empirical necessitarian, man's physical struggle for existence, outwardly against Nature, and inwardly as a Society, is contemporaneous with his existence. Any attempt to emancipate himself from this struggle, or to enter a serener domain is a delusive mockery; an effort ‘to create out of the nebosity of sick brains elements unknown to nature;’ ‘to invent out of airy nothings

that which the laws and forces governing the world deny.' ”

I said further,—“ It is not at all beyond question, that ‘ the beginnings of Social Order and its intervals of peace,’ were established when primitive mankind, who were living ‘ in continuous individual strife,’ happened to produce ‘ one brawny fighter’ who ‘ killed or subdued all those who fought and roamed in his immediate thickets.’ Also, it is far from being an established fact, that, when ‘ the last blow ’ of the primeval savage’s ‘ crude axe had fallen, and he saw about him the dead and submissive, he beheld the first Nation ;’ or, that, ‘ in his stone axe there was the first law, and, by means of it, the primitive process began by which through all succeeding ages nations were to be created or destroyed ;’ or, that, since the beginnings of social life took place ‘ there has been no cessation nor deviation from this inexorable law.’ ”

BUT PRUDENCE, ALSO, IS A REGULATIVE
SOCIAL AGENT.

“ As a matter of course, no one of human kind knows, or can know, anything about the actual beginnings of Human Society. But, so far as the facts preserved by authentic history may be used to justify a guess, these facts make it probable that primitive humanity learned that the instinct for self-preservation can often be fully as well served through some form of Mutual Concession and Agreement as by perpetual battle. Beyond the range of the immediate family, we do not find that mon-

archy is the typical method of government among even the lowest of the groups of mankind now existing, Gentes, clans and tribes are to be found everywhere, as fundamental forms of Social Order, among the most savage and undeveloped of the mankind now on the earth. It is rather highly probable, indeed, that human beings, from the very beginnings of their associated life, were impelled to regulate that life much as we now see animals of all kinds managing their living together. They have learned through experience not only ways of safety and gain by conflict and victory in mortal combat, but also, and even more effectively, by a practical acknowledgment of some such principle as, 'Yours is yours and mine is mine.' It has required no very extended experience, probably, in any association of animals to lead them to a recognition of the fact that it is far more conducive to their own safety and welfare, generally, to leave certain burrows, dens, caves and ranges, in field and forest, in the possession of their occupants, than to be constantly seeking battle over them; also, to let others associate with certain mates and their offspring undisturbed. 'Mine is mine and thine is thine,' is fully as effective a regulative and formative social principle, no matter what its originating causes, as 'Mine is mine and thine is mine, too,' and 'I will have thine even though I lose mine, or die for it.' "

CO-OPERATION, TOO, IS A SOCIAL FACTOR.

"More than this. Even the beasts of the

forests seem to have learned that at times they can further and strengthen self-preservation much better by forming themselves into groups, and pursuing certain common ends together, than by acting alone. Surely, it would need no very long course of experience for a reasoning being, which, eminently, man is, to learn that his instinct for self-preservation could often be served full as well through a prudent suppression of the combative impulse; through effort at mutual concession; through conciliatory and reciprocal agreement, as by reckless assault and implacable, murderous battle. In fact, self-preservation can, as a rule, be far more easily served and assured by mutual allowance and forbearance than by persistent conflict. Battle means death to one or both; or conquest for one and subjugation for the other. Conquest is followed by slavery tyranny, or spoliation. All these ends violate, for one or for all the combatants, the law imperative over all living creatures,—‘Protect thyself.’ ‘Self-preservation is the first law of Nature.’ ”

MANY FACTORS ARE BACK OF SOCIAL ORDER.

“In all likelihood, therefore, at the beginnings of Social Order, not only was Aggressive Greed, through ‘the stone axe’ of the ‘brawny fighter,’ active in creating the first State, and continued as the embodiment of the first social law: with it, too, as a condition necessary to any persistence, or betterment of the supposed Society, there must have been some other

factors, such as a Prudent Refuge in those modes of living which became a recognition of personal rights and duties ; also, some Leagu-ing Together, of those who were immediately concerned, for the purpose of mutual protection and for furthering certain ends which they must have had in common."

" In the most elemental form of Human Society, the Family, for instance, no matter how it was that the mates became associated with one another, there could not be a possible continuance of the association without some kind of Reciprocal Concession. Then, families must have become permanent, and have been expanded into successive generations, far more through Mutual Protection of person and of property rights, than by constant effort within each group of kindred to rob one another, or by alien groups to despoil one another, of the things they had come to possess. No sane rational beings could fail to learn that an interval of peace, which meant personal safety and welfare generally, could be far better preserved, among those who dwelt near one another, by a Comprehensive Agreement to let each keep and enjoy what each had, than by an insistent battling for one another's possessions."

" If we could by any magic discover the facts of the initial formation of Human Society, we should, in all probability, see families becoming gentes, clans and tribes, and tribes expanding into rudimentary nations, full as much by the making of Agreements, and by the formation of Leagues in which all concerned consented to refrain from interfering with one another's

persons and properties, as by their persisting in all sided aggressions and in carrying on mutually destructive wars. In no degree do we deny the enormous part that War has had in the career of mankind as a factor in the development of Social Order and Progress. But we claim that even a mightier and far more helpful force in the directing of Social Evolution must have been, from the beginning, the imperative law,—made inevitable as a result of man's experience;—'Live and let live.' Certainly, in the ages which are historic, truces accepted in the midst of conflicts; treaties and alliances made independently of wars; more or less extended co-operation in reaching common aims, have been full as effective as, and even more effective than, continued struggles, conquests, enslavements and despotisms, for the purpose of maturing man's Social Order and his gaining Prosperity."

ALTRUISM NOT LESS THAN SELFISHNESS
IS IN HUMAN EVOLUTION.

"It is, consequently, wholly in accord with probability, and with fact, to claim that at least two forces have been at work, from the beginning, in shaping the course of Human Evolution; or, let us say, two well differentiated forms of the one essential force,—man's impulse towards self-preservation,—namely, Altruism and Self-service. In obeying his nature, man is by no means, more than all else, a fighting animal; he is a prudent schemer as well. Always self-preservative he must be; but he does not, nor can he, always best gain

his aims, or find self-preservation, through physical conflict with his fellow beings who are actuated by like desires with his own. As it is with individual men, so is it through all forms of associated mankind, even in the multitudes united as the greatest nations. War has not been always first, or even most powerful, among the forces contributing to national growth, — certainly, not to national continuance.”

“An adequate study of the historic developments of kingdoms, empires and democracies demonstrates that, not only must human Pugnacity be taken into the consideration, but man’s Prudence, or Cunning, also; not only his battles and victories, but his truces and alliances, too; not his aggressions merely, but his conciliations, as well; not always ‘the resounding clash of arms’ as the culminating act of his ambitions, but, even more, the reciprocal concessions of wise councillors, who, thereby, keep the peace, and open ways to a more abundant prosperity for rival peoples.”

“Both these factors are, and have been, mighty sources of influence in the Evolution of Social Order and of National Aggrandizement. Which of them is to become supreme over the human future the dogmatist may not determine. But we, who hope for the cessation at some time of War and the reign of Peace in the world, believe that we have at least as much reason for finding in the course of human events favoring signs for our hope, as any champion of physical valor has for saying that such hope is an ‘erratic phantasm,’ and that the result of

'the majestic grandeur of unchangeable law,'
to the end of time, is War."

* * * * *

THE GROWING PROMISE OF A WORLD
PEACE.

"The advocates of the plea for a World Peace are far from denying that there is a natural impulse in man whose result has been, and will yet be, War. But they affirm, too, that there is also in man an equally natural contrary impulse, which, evident in Social Evolution, is now rapidly increasing in force. And they believe the time has come when they can declare with confidence that War shall be brought to an end, and that the differences among mankind, hitherto submitted to the horrible arbitrament of battle, shall be disposed of by the judgment of a Federated International Judiciary enforced, if need be among lawless peoples, by the authority and resources of the federated Nations."

* * * * *

PEACE IS A GOAL IN HISTORIC EVOLUTION.

"The advocates of Peace are, consequently, working in the ways of Historic Evolution. They see in human progress, not only War as a natural and mighty factor there, but this other force, fully as natural, making itself felt with increasing energy along the ages. And they are fully persuaded that, in their seeking now to give Peace the dominant place in directing social and national development hereafter, they have chosen the wiser and altogether the better part. They are going the way, wherein,

if by any path, Humanity will enter its Golden Age.”

* * * * *

“There is, evidently, in Humanity an ideal of happiness and prosperity, which, the experience of the ages constantly makes clearer, can be realized only by reciprocal conciliation and service. With each advance in such inter-relationship this Ideal brightens and becomes more desirable. To many a clear-seeing spirit its victorious realization is one of the surest of the gains that await mankind;—the age of a maturing happiness and prosperity for each, and of justice and peace for all, under—

‘ One God, one law, one element,
And one far off divine event
To which the whole creation moves.’ ”

In my little book I also gave judgment concerning present “Signs of Peace for the World.” This judgment, I am prompted now to repeat in large part. I passed beyond consideration of the possible stages of ancient social evolution and recalled some notable changes seen in recent times. I said,—

“There is no source of expectation, or of prophecy, so reliable as the facts of the past.”

PROGRESSIVE CESSATION OF LEGAL MORTAL COMBAT.

1. *The Duel.*—“How much meaning consequently, lies in the fact, now universal among civilized peoples,—a fact without which no

Social Order had ever been possible,—that individual men and women are forbidden, under severe penalties, to engage in mortal combat with one another for the purpose of settling personal disputes. Self-defence against assault is the only legal justification at present for the individual's use of physical force, or deadly weapons, against his fellow man. But, only in the recent past, the duel was almost everywhere legally endorsed, and honored as a social custom. In medieval Europe, for instance, the knights-errant were lauded subjects of the State, and accepted communicants of the Church. Within the generation just passed, in so advanced a community as that of the United States of America, a code of honor prevailed under which individual citizens were often compelled to meet in encounters which usually meant death. And even to-day it is the fact in some of the countries of Continental Europe, that the deadly duel is still a part of custom, particularly among military men. Yet, in all civilized lands, it has come to pass that the duel is under ban of the law, and, excepting in the last mentioned group, it has been everywhere excluded from social favor. Civilized Society has to this extent progressed towards universal peace. So much at least does the record of Social Evolution show."

2. *The Vendetta*.—"But further, this is true. It is no longer allowable among enlightened peoples that groups of the members of a State, as, for example, families, villages, towns and cities, may array themselves against one another in armed conflict. The vendetta,

family feuds, armed struggles of industrial workers and their like, once were commonplace among the most civilized communities. But now the universal verdict of legislatures and the courts is, that these things are intolerable relics of barbarism ; that they are to be suppressed and their participants punished. Not very long ago, however, the vendetta was an acknowledged social arbiter ; and the forays of barons, counts and local lords were accepted political methods, even within the domains of kings and emperors."

3. *War among Subordinate States.*—" Also it is true, that within the past century it was a debated question whether or not the separate States of the American Union were sovereign entities, or subordinated parts of a great federation. Now, the question is no longer under debate. The American States are, by universal legal obligation, subordinate to their Union and are interdependent. Independent action taken by any one of them against the common welfare is treasonable and rebellious. Armed conflict with one another, or against the federal whole, is no longer legally or morally allowable. All persistent differences among them must be adjudicated by their Supreme Court. The forty-eight States of the American Union are under compulsion to keep the peace, each with all the others."

" And not in America, only, has this marvellous advance towards peace on earth been made out of an age of almost universal war, but also in all lands where civilized peoples dwell. The world's dominant Powers at last

have come to hold every individual, all families, all guilds, all towns, all cities, all the provinces, and all their subordinated states and realms, under bonds to keep the peace with one another. So much, further, does the record of Social Evolution show."

"There are parts of the world, we admit, where factional wars, rebellions, revolutions still find place; but the magnificent fact abides, nevertheless, and grows mightier every year as distinctive of advancing Civilization, that the mortal strife once common among the subjects and citizens of the Nations, either as individuals, or as parts of the general body politic, are lawless and are to be prevented, or suppressed, by the federated power. Evidently, then, one of the greatest modern movements made in the development of mankind, has been Society's progress away from a condition of frequent inter-social and armed strife towards one of a more comprehensive State control, under the peaceful methods of law."

4. *Only Sovereign States may make war now.*—"Speaking of Civilized Humanity in this Twentieth Century, we can say with truth that the only legally recognized and honored parties which may now engage in mutual mortal conflict are the Nations considered as units. The Sovereign States as wholes:—the empires, kingdoms, and republics,—the recognized, independent political wholes,—these are the only human entities which, under a universally accepted code of honor and law, may now array themselves against one another in deadly warfare."

“What a marvellous change this is in the relations of men with men! Lawful battle to the death; the lawful killing of man by man for the purpose of settling questions of privilege and right; the act of mortal conflict, which only in a not remote past was the honored privilege of even individual men and women; of families, too; of small groups within the domains of kings and even of popes;—this terrible privilege has at length been confined, under law and by popular consent, to such few aggregations of mankind as the world’s Nations.”

“This fact, terrible and horrible though it be, is it not a magnificent forward move towards Peace for the World? The human race has already come so far in its evolution, that under its Civilized Leadership it has actually forbidden to all of its individual members, or to groups subordinate to the independent Nations, any appeal to mortal combat for the settlement of questions in dispute.”

“Moreover, it is not in the way of the ages, that an end may come to the meliorating forces at work in the world.

“Through the ages an increasing purpose runs.”

WORLD DECREE AGAINST WAR IS A
PRESENT HOPE.

“Having come so far towards Peace, Humanity is not likely to fix for its future the awful fact that even the Sovereign States may perpetuate War.”

“There is no valid reason why the fur-

ther step shall not be taken, whereby the Nations themselves shall agree that over all human relations the Arbitrament of Law shall be made supreme. The time has come when multitudes are convinced, that the world's dominant Powers shall prepare for a world-inclusive submission to a Code of International Law administered by a Court having international jurisdiction, whose decisions shall be made binding among all empires, kingdoms, republics, tribes and clans, just as now within the separate Nations, imperative Law has been made operative throughout. This move forward towards the ideal Social Order is only the natural and legitimate next step in human progress."

"Are there any signs that the World-Powers are becoming willing to make this move? At least this much by way of an affirmative answer be given. It has come to pass that the possible sources of conflict between Nations have so lessened in number that there remains now, speaking generally, but one."

"In fact, about the only really forceful cause that can be put forward in this century for carrying on war between separated Nations, and which can be regarded as having a legitimate standing, in the judgment of mankind, arises from the hazards of International Commerce."

"And, strangely, this chief possible source of war is, potentially, one of the greatest benefactors mankind have ever known; and one of the mightiest of the active agencies that are guiding mankind into the realm of universal

peace. International communication, including international trade, international language, art and literature, interpolitical influence and example, all demand that permanent peace be gained and maintained throughout the earth. In the channels of International Commerce the best achievements of every part of mankind are becoming world possessions:—the means of transportation, for instance, steamships and railways, motor cars and airships; the improved agencies of intelligence, the printing press and telegraph, telephone and ethergraph; the arts and sciences, mechanical and aesthetic; the most productive means of agriculture, mining and manufacture. And then there is the constantly increasing travel of tourists and of students; the general migration and interchange of residence among peoples of all lands. All these and many more kindred factors, operating in the world's Modern Internationalism, have brought new forces and effects into Human Evolution."

THE NEW INTERNATIONALISM.

"The most wholesome and the permanent result of the working of these forces includes in it a co-operation and a prosperous progress, which depends upon freedom for all, and opportunity among all, 'to live and to let live.' The New Internationalism, we must admit, has often been the occasion for critical misunderstandings and lamentable consequent abuses. It has given rise to tragic racial antipathies and antagonisms; it has led to encroachments by the strong nations over weak and back-

ward peoples, and at times to disastrous strife and oppression. But by far the larger and better, and the permanent, results of this world-including Internationalism has been a growing mutual acquaintanceship and helpfulness among peoples hitherto isolated ; an increasingly fairer exchange of properties and products ; an improving adjustment of aims and needs ; and, above all, a growing acknowledgment of common interests which are to be honestly respected and protected. In fact, under present conditions there is rapidly culminating in the world, and among the most diverse peoples, an equalizing of knowledge, a co-ordinative regulation of desires and duties, of abilities and achievements. The world's peoples are all advancing under Modern Internationalism to a common arena, where, in Science, Art, Commerce, Ethics, Religion and ways of Government, they will sooner or later be made ready to agree to act as co-operative members in a real Federation of Mankind. The mightiest sign of approach towards universal peace for the world is just the all comprehensive Internationalism that has become distinctive of the present century."

THE AGGRESSIVE OUTBREAK OF GERMAN IMPERIALISM IN 1914.

The essays, just quoted from, were given to the public as I have said, eight years ago ; and five years ago I repeated the judgments I have recorded, in a lecture to some sympathetic

hearers. But my faith was, seemingly, all in vain.

In the year immediately following,—1914—a most calamitous armed struggle among many Nations was precipitated by a deliberate resolve made by the military Autocracy of the German Empire.

In the year 1917, however, still supported by my conviction that the evolution of mankind is onward towards the goal I had for many years believed is sometime, in spite of all alienating strife, to be gained, I frankly faced the untoward world situation saying :—

“This conflict is to-day raging with full violence; and all the progress for mankind that I saw only four years ago, now seems to have come to stop. In fact, a reversal to man’s ancient savagery seemingly has been made.”

“But I am convinced that it would be lamentably short-sighted for us to let the past cherished hope and its signs of promise for the establishment of Right and the coming of Peace to mankind fail us even to-day, when the most deadly of wars has been roused and the worst of passions appear to have mastered much of mankind.”

“I am more than ever persuaded, as I remember the course of events in past ages, that there was in it a persistent and mighty movement of Humanity towards the goal of Human Right and to a consequent Peace for the World. That movement will ere long, I believe, again be-

come manifest, and will go far to convince mankind that their approach to a World Peace is not to be seen only in the visions of mere dreamers. And I repeat now, this, my conviction of years ago :—

‘The day is not far from its dawn when it will be decided by Mankind that wars must stop, or that the Peoples who engage in them will be branded as transgressors of Law, under penalties which a fully authorized International Supreme Court will have power to impose.’

‘The demand is fast becoming not only urgent, but imperative, that an International League shall be formed, in which there shall be an empowered Tribunal for the adjudication of controversies between Nations that shall be recognized and accepted as final.’

“It is with a reasonable, with even an assured hope, then, that I look upon the movements now abroad for the promotion of Peace throughout the World. To-day, more than in any other era of human history, the promise has become sure, that the dominion of Justice among men and of Peace on the earth is to prevail every where.”

I concluded my plea by repeating the consoling faith which I had so strongly professed before the dreadful cataclysm brought upon the world by the reigning dynasty of Germany had been begun, that

“Even should this promise fail for the near future, and the present turgid militarism of the Nations, by some evil move in politics, be forced again into active hostilities, its very

violence, I dare believe, and the devastation wrought by it in the midst of the splendid achievements of Humanity's New Internationalism, would in that day, and only the more speedily, 'bring deliverance withal.' ”

The awful conflict has now run its course, and the world is moving,—whither? I do not know; but while I lived through the years of the war I followed their movement with intense inquiry. With what result?

My long held faith, however tried at times, never failed. But from the first, I sought earnestly to get possession of a clear understanding of the direct cause of the conflict and to see therein why the “Signs of Peace for the World” that had long encouraged me had been so darkly overshadowed.

I name here some of the gains of my search.

1.—The Hohenzollern Dynasty.

The beginnings of the struggle were clearly evident as the attack made by the German Empire upon neighboring Nations. But why this attack? Then rapidly matured for me an answer to this question, which in 1916 took shape as a historic study of the reigning dynasty of Germany. I published the study then. It had a wide reading and received much comment.

2.—Who is Germany's Real Enemy?

Later, in the same year, I found in an old German magazine a startling judgment and prophecy concerning the House of Hohenzollen, appearing in 1868, so confirmatory of the study I had made that I gave a summary of that to the public.

3.—The Measure of the True American.

Also in the year 1916, when I was invited to deliver the address on "Memorial Day" at Yokohama, Japan, I felt so strongly the portentous meaning for America of the great strife among the nations of Europe that I chose for my theme a review of the events in which the American Nation had had its birth and its growth; and, therein, the ideals to which Americans are dedicated, and which now measure their patriotism.

4.—The American Peace Society of Japan and the War.

In the mid-winter of 1917-18, as president of the American Peace Society of Japan, I wrote for the Society a "Declaration," and I delivered the "Address," at its annual meeting. These expressions voiced for the Society "the conviction that the way to the goal we long for,—a real Peace for the World,—is directly through

the present armed struggle to a positive victory over the Hohenzollern Autocracy.”

5.—Krause's League for Human Right and Thereby World Peace.

But in the course of the year 1917, believing more and more strongly that the Allied Nations would be, ere long, victoriously successful in the defence of their liberties against the assault of the aggressive Central Europe Autocracy, I became profoundly interested in the plea,—then widely extending among the Allies,—for the creation of a League of Nations through which, in the new future of International Relationships, peace might be secured and maintained. There came into memory, then, as peculiarly pertinent to the discussion of this momentous plea, a “Proposal,” of which I had learned in my youth, made a century ago, by a German philosopher, Karl Christian Friedrich Krause. A repetition of this proposal to-day, I thought, would be especially timely; and it might become, I hoped, a helpful contribution to the efforts of those who are seeking to lead the Nations into a beneficent Alliance against War and its horrible disasters. For this reason I published at that time “Krause's League for Human Right and thereby World Peace.”

6.—*A German Philosopher of a Hundred Years Ago.*

In the following year,—1918—in answer to many inquiries, I told in print somewhat of Krause's unfortunate and tragic life, quoting some of his sayings that bear upon national ethics and polity.

7.—“*The Downfall of Russia.*”

As the year 1917 passed, an anti-dynastic revolution occurred in Russia. That revolt was soon marked by such an anarchic destruction of property and life, that I recalled a little noticed, but wonderfully prophetic book published twelve years before. Thinking that definite knowledge of the writer's prescience would be useful, I prepared a brief synopsis of the book under the heading “The Downfall of Russia.”

8.—*The Pending World Crisis.*

Then came in the autumn of 1918, the end of the World War with victory crowning the defence made by a score of Nations on behalf of national freedom and independence. With the coming of victory, however, I saw, too, dangers of a new kind appearing to beset the way of the triumph that had been achieved. The victorious Peoples were summoned to Con-

ference over the use of their victory, and to me the perils of the time were such that I was prompted to write of "The Pending World Crisis."

Since that time I have been a continuously optimistic observer of the course of events at Versailles; and on May 21, 1919, I delivered an address at Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan, on

9.—America's Contribution to the World's Civilization.

* * * * *

I have been asked recently by several friends to give a more permanent form than that of pamphlets and the columns of a newspaper to some of the judgments that I have made public during the years of the war.

Willingly I meet this request. I have gathered into the following pages the several writings I have just named together with a few others not hitherto published, and I dedicate the essays to these friends and to all who believe in the essential Solidarity of Mankind, and who hope that this innate fellowship will at some time find expression in a fully conscious Brotherhood of Good Will and an Abiding Peace on Earth.

Tokyo, Japan,

May, 1919.

I.

IN THE YEAR 1916.

THE
HOHENZOLLERN DYNASTY;
MOTIVE AND MOVEMENT

Meekness is weakness :
Force is triumphant :
All through the world
Still it is Thor's day.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

Christianity—and this is its highest merit—has in some degree softened, but it could not destroy that—German joy of battle. Thor, with his giant's hammer, will at last spring up and shatter to bits the Gothic cathedrals.

Heinrich Heine.

PREFATORY NOTE.

I suppose that, as a matter of course, the main judgment which I have drawn from the studies summarized in this little book, has been given by many others : but it has not happened to me to meet it just as here presented. I have long believed that the present German Empire came into being as the result of an aggressive dynastic movement whose beginnings lay in the far past in the ambitious dreamings of the ruler of a petty German State ; and whose growth, through centuries of national vicissitudes, had been made, preserving and advancing all the while the original motive. Now, that this dynastic aggression has been so directed as to involve most of the leading peoples of the world in a war of unprecedented violence and devastation, I have ventured to bring together here some of the facts which confirm and illustrate my judgment, hoping thereby to contribute somewhat to the understanding, recently growing clear, of the inner meaning of the awful conflict ; and, possibly,

to give aid to those who are struggling to defend the nations from the peril threatening them.

I was resident for three years in Germany directly after the founding of the German Empire that now is. I had excellent opportunities, then, for seeing the spreading of the influence among the South German States of the aims and methods of Hohenzollern Prussia. I did not discern the full purport of the expansion of the arrogant Autocracy, but I saw enough to be aroused with the feeling that it bode ill for political freedom and popular government in the States gathered under the new dominion; and I felt, also, that the Empire which had been begun would become a formidable, even though not the master sovereignty among the world's peoples. The reading at that time of a novel of the day, which I have recalled in the following pages, gave peculiar vividness to my foreboding. But, of course, I did not then foresee any such rapid maturing of purpose as came with the accession to the Imperial throne of the present Kaiser; or apprehend any such speedy and ruthless titanic assault upon the liberties and rights of mankind as is now being made.

In the preparation of these pages, I have not cited many of the voluminous pertinent historical items available; but I have recalled enough of them, I believe, to make plain what I must judge is inherently true of the motive and movement of The Dynasty of the Hohenzollerns.

In passing now to its readers what I have written, I wish to say further that, I am very unwilling, at any time, even to seem to be a stirrer up of strife; but, as the course of events is at present, I see much more in the awful European conflict than just a struggle among ambitious dynasties and rival nations for some gain for their covetousness or ambition. I see cherished liberty, individual and social, together with popular and representative government among all nations,—long labored for and hard won,—I see all these treasures seriously imperilled. It is because I am solicitous for what I believe to be furtherance of the rightful welfare of humanity, and for what will bring to the world's peoples the only Peace worth having and keeping, that I repeat my judgment here and make this plea.

Tokyo, Japan,
May, 1916.

THE HOHENZOLLERN DYNASTY; MOTIVE AND MOVEMENT.

Some time ago I read a story ;—the name of the author and the title have passed from memory. A bit of graphic description in it, however, so interested me, because of passing events, that I copied it.

FINIS GERMANIAE.

“ That was the last shot,” said the burgomaster. “ It is long since the first was fired in Prague,—a whole generation. Since then, Bohemia has lost two millions out of its three, and in the Rheinpfalz only a fiftieth part of its inhabitants remain. Saxony has lost one million out of its two ; Augsburg does not now count more than eighteen thousand out of its eighty thousand. In our poor Bavaria, two years ago, one hundred villages went up in smoke, aflame. Hessen laments seventeen towns, seven and forty castles and four hundred villages. Germany has been laid waste, torn to pieces, cut off from all seas, left without air, choked and has miserably perished. *Finis Germaniae.*”

“ He emptied his glass and went home to sleep quietly, for the first time after thirty years,—thirty terrible years.”

As I read this portrayal of the awful desolation that befell Central Europe less than three hundred years ago,

—the waste of “The Thirty Years War,”—I knew that I was reading, for use in fiction, only what authentic history more than confirms.

THIRTY YEARS OF RAVAGE: 1618-1648.

When the account of that war could at last be made, the population of the German States had fallen from about thirty millions to less than half that number. The barbarities of the struggle had been, in fact, indescribable. Even the unarmed populace was treated with brutal ferocity. I read that “cities, villages, castles, and dwellings innumerable were burned to the ground;” that the many communities “were given up to the unbridled passions of a fierce and greedy soldiery,” and that the country “was in many places reduced almost to a desert.” Commerce and industry were practically destroyed. Politically the country was in chaos. All semblance of real unity had disappeared from the German peoples, and their medieval Empire had become a domain composed of many hundreds of petty States, having no interdependence, all giving only a nominal allegiance to a figure-head Emperor; each little sovereignty making for itself such general agencies as laws, coins, and weights and measures; each supporting a more or less insignificant army, and each proclaiming absolute government for its ruler. Indeed, the burgomaster, in the novel from which I have quoted, seemed to have passed an irrevocable judgment,—“*Finis Germaniæ!*”

Yet, as all know now, in this same Germany, empire has reappeared,—empire, far more extended, far more populous and far mightier than that of the hapless States making the Imperial Germany of the Seventeenth

Century ; and this new empire is to-day portentously at war with almost all the other nations of Europe, arousing by its implacable aggressiveness the concern of the whole world.

A SIGNIFICANT NOVEL.

Recalling this marvellous historic contrast, the query naturally came to me,—How was this enormous change brought about ; and what does Germany's present stupendous war portend ? I remembered, then, the reading of another story, more than forty years ago, when I was a student at Heidelberg University. At that time, I became deeply interested in the book because of its exposition of a momentous purpose evidently stirring the mind of its author. Again and again, during the years that have passed since then, I have thought over current events with that story's purpose in memory. I recall now but little of the book, except that, without mentioning the Franco-Prussian war then just closed, or the newly proclaimed Empire of Germany, the story, whose action lay in a distant past, was an enthusiastic glorification of the vision of one famous German ruler, of a dynasty to come from his own family which should be dominant over all Germanic peoples and supreme among the governments of the nations around it.

THE HOHENZOLLERN VISION.

The story represented life in the castle of one of the Hohenzollern electors, that of the first,—Frederick of Nuremberg, I think,—in the mid-Fifteenth Century. It was, in general, an entertaining recital of the doings of brave knights and fair women ; a tale of love's joys and woes ; of struggles and fateful issues. But, through it all,

moved the person of the Elector, constantly dreaming of the rise of his domain, in some future, to Imperial grandeur ; his descendant successors holding the throne by warrant of absolute sovereignty, and enforcing their will with irresistible power. Published, as the story was, almost contemporaneously with the founding of the German Empire that now is, over which a lineal descendant and true heir of the Hohenzollern family of Brandenburg had just been proclaimed the divinely favored ruler, the book became notably significant to me as an interpreter of the memorable event ; and it opened the way to a satisfying answer to the question I had asked.

REAL CAUSE OF TO-DAY'S GREAT WAR.

I see the German Empire of to-day at war with nearly all the nations around it, essentially, because of its pursuit of the purpose which long ago became the motive force of the House that holds practical dictatorship in the Empire's career.

THE HOHENZOLLERNS IN HISTORY.

Let the following pertinent sequence of facts be associated with the assertion just made. Historically, it is true that, five hundred years ago, a small province among the many hundreds of petty German States, then,—the Margravate, or Electorate of Brandenburg, when it was almost on the verge of political extinction,—was transferred, in gratitude for certain services, by its lord, the Emperor Sigismund, to a South German count, Frederick of Nuremberg, a member of the old princely House of Hohenzollern. This gift was made in the year 1415. On October 1st of the last year, 1915, a lineal descendant and heir of that favored Hohenzollern Count, now ruler of

Imperial Germany, sent the following reply to a congratulatory telegram received from his Prussian Ministry :—

“ My warmest thanks to the Ministry of State for its inspiring words by which it renewed on the day of the 500th anniversary of the reign of my House over Brandenburg its vow of loyalty. In reviewing half a thousand years of Brandenburg-Prussian history, God’s guidance appears to have been wonderful. Across the depths and the heights, my House has been raised from the Electoral hat to the Imperial crown ; and a small Mark to the centre of the German Empire, whose strength and power have been so brilliantly proved to friend and foe in the present war of the nations, the greatest of all times.

“ With full humility, I acknowledge, together with the German people, that thus far the Lord has helped us. May he henceforth graciously assist us and guide the German people who stand together, united and imperturbable, ready for all sacrifices, through the dark days of severe affliction to the bright sunlight of peace ; to new and vigorous work ; *to the road marked out by divine providence.*

THE ANCIENT BRANDENBURG MARGRAVES.

From the Fifteenth Century Brandenburg Elector to this Twentieth Century German Emperor-autocrat is an ascent almost immeasurably exalted. Yet, it has been made ; and it was made as the direct culmination of the movement of a political motive which, very early in these centuries, was produced and thereafter was persistently cherished and served.

In the Mark of Brandenburg before it was given to the Hohenzollerns,—from even the Thirteenth Century,—the power of the Margrave was almost unlimited. His dominion possessed an independent importance ; and he carried out, so we read, an independent policy in a way not paralleled in any other German Mark. The Emperor

was still, of course, the suzerain of the country ; yet his relations with it exercised only a small influence towards the shaping of its development. These facts became but the more characteristic of the Electorate when the Hohenzollern was accepted as its lord.

THE EARLY HOHENZOLLERNS.

Frederick of Nuremberg proved himself equal to the task he had received. He saved the imperilled Mark from its dangers. He secured a good measure of internal order, and made his subjects feel that the central power was a fact which could not be ignored. During the first century after the Hohenzollern Dynasty in Brandenburg was established, no noticeably important stages were passed in the development of its distinctive motive. This first ruler, Frederick, however, became a noticeable figure, even in the Imperial politics ; and in 1438 he was actually a candidate for the Imperial throne. With good reason the writer of the story I have recalled, glorifying the inception of the aggressive monarchy of the German Empire that in these days has come to be, found in the person of this Elector the prototype of the over-lord needed to lead in his country's victorious ascent.

His son, Frederick the Second, sought to consolidate his father's strong personal powers and to expand the Electorate territorially. He conquered Berlin, and built a royal castle inside its walls.

Frederick's brother, Albert (Achilles), who came into power in 1470, enlarged his province considerably by conquest. His special importance for our retrospect is in the fact that he established the privilege of primogeniture, which, keeping the Brandenburg possessions together,

greatly contributed to the furtherance of the Hohenzollern dynastic aim. Towards the end of the century, Berlin became the seat of the Electoral court. Learning was encouraged throughout the realm.

Under the Elector Joachim, Roman law was introduced, thereby improving the administration of the courts. The head of the State was made the head of a State Church.

As the Sixteenth Century passed, other causes came into operation tending to assure for the coming Hohenzollern rulers a more general absolutism in their government. The power belonging to many towns gradually gave way before the enhancing power of noble families. The well-being of the peasantry steadily deteriorated. Their personal rights were more and more weakened. Towards the end of the Sixteenth Century "all vacant official positions became the possession of members of the nobility. The nobles also received the privilege of exacting compulsory service from the peasants."

FIRST BRANDENBURG EXPANSION.

With the opening of the Seventeenth Century, Brandenburg, by good fortune as well as by successful scheming, gained so extensive a territorial enlargement that its movement towards positive leadership among the many hundreds of petty States in which the German peoples were gathered, was greatly hastened. Thereafter, for some time, only Saxony and Bavaria were greater in extent. In 1609, some provinces on the Rhine were passed to Brandenburg, by inheritance; and in 1618, through rights belonging to a Hohenzollern Commander of the Teutonic Knights, who by virtue of his office was

hereditary ruler of Prussia, this Prussia,—a great district north-east of Brandenburg, conquered by these Knights as a religious adventure in the Thirteenth Century upon their return from the last Crusade,—became a Brandenburg possession. Thereby, the Electorate was advanced far on the way, both territorially and politically, towards the coveted leadership.

“THE GREAT ELECTOR;” 1640-1688.

At this stage of our retrospect,—we are at the middle of the Seventeenth Century,—we meet with a commanding Hohenzollern personality. He is Frederick William, called “The Great Elector,” under whom Brandenburg, as the source and regulative power actuating the peculiar development of the present German Empire, became of marked significance. The Thirty Years War, had devastated the Brandenburg territory along with the rest of central Europe. Nevertheless, such were the Great Elector’s achievements, that “his reign forms one of the most signal instances in history of the conquest of adverse circumstances by personal energy and merit.” “At his death the new north German State of Brandenburg-Prussia was a power that had to be reckoned with in all European combinations.” At the outset of his rule, this Frederick William determined to consolidate the three widely separated Brandenburg possessions; and to promote as much as possible their political unity and industrial success. His efforts added greatly to his personal political sovereignty as well as to an increase of the independence of his domain. A full third of the Brandenburg territory,—the Prussian district,—lay outside the boundaries of the medieval German Empire, thereby enhancing the Hohen-

zollern independence. In the administration of his dominion the Great Elector assumed an unconditioned rule. He found Brandenburg, in a way, a constitutional State. The legislative power was shared between the Elector and a Diet. He left the Electorate to his successor as, in substance, an absolute monarchy. He was his own premier and general. Under him the military and bureaucratic systems which have since characterized this foremost among the German States received their distinctive method and movement.

The Great Elector's reign closed in 1688, resulting in the transmission to his son, Frederick, of a State in central Europe second only to Austria in power and prosperity.

THE KINGDOM OF PRUSSIA :—1701.

Under the son of this "Great Elector" the "Kingdom of Prussia" came into being. The Brandenburg Elector became then the Prussian King. This King Frederick did much to develop his capital city, Berlin. He greatly encouraged art and learning. But, so far as the special aim of his House was served, only little was done by him to carry it onward.

ADVANCE OF THE HOHENZOLLERN MOTIVE.

Under his successor, however, King Frederick William the First, in the early half of the Eighteenth Century, the motive force of the Hohenzollern Imperialism received an especially well-defined expression and a marked access of strength. The government of this King took on what is named a "Spartan rigor." What he did was done with "despotic energy." He held his sovereignty as wholly absolute. He brought a formidable military autocracy into being. He was controlled by the conviction that he

was divinely endowed as a patriarchal monarch. He boasted that his will was "a rock of bronze." Under his monarchy great industrial progress and gain of wealth was made by Prussia. Moreover, he created the finest army in Europe, then. His regiment of gigantic personal guards is famous in Prussian history. Among other far-reaching acts, he broke down, in his own interests, the feudal rights of the Prussian nobles; and he became known as the "Defender of Protestantism." During his reign, it is said that Prussia became "the model state of Europe," though its government was "wholly arbitrary and the King's ministers were merely clerks used to register his decrees." He ruled from 1713 to 1740. His reign is described as of "the utmost importance from having checked the threatened downfall of Prussia, and paved the way for 'Frederick the Great,' his son, to whom he left 'a strong army and a full treasury.'"

"BRITISH EMPIRE OVER-SEAS;"—1700-1800.

During this notable development of the superior military autocracy aimed at by the Hohenzollern Dynasty, there was going on, almost *pari passu*, the expansion and the establishment of another mighty State,—“The British Empire over-seas.” This Empire, however, was not the product of a personal or family ambition; nor was it carried forward in the interests of an autocratic or absolutist dynasty. Its motive was the widest possible industrial and commercial supremacy; and its regulative force was ostensibly the furtherance of constitutional government and the achievements of individually free men. By means of maritime power, the British people sought foothold for their industries and trade in all parts

of the world ; and, in doing this, they often forcibly took possession of desired lands and imposed upon them their laws and their methods of work.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

In America, for instance, several British groups had established themselves as Colonies, along with settlements gathering there from several other nationalities. They grew with these others in prosperity, all gradually developing into free, democratic communities ; all coming, at length, under the inspiration of the ideals of personal freedom and of popular government inherent in the traditional Constitutionalism of Great Britain, and all at last revolting from the attempted tyranny of a German British King, thereby becoming, themselves, an autonomous Republic.

Elsewhere, the British Empire widely expanded. Its rule was often severe and aggressive ; but always, at length, with widening scope, guiding its sway under impersonal law and with regard for the welfare of those upon whom its sovereignty was imposed. The British Empire, in fact, has been distinguished throughout its development, not so much by aggressive conquests of many lands and peoples ; and by arbitrary spoliation of property ; and by personal cruelty on the part its of promoters and officials, as by the service it has rendered, in the long run, to the growth of individual freedom, of justice and of the general welfare, even among the peoples brought under its rule by the use of armed force. The British Empire, in contrast with that which through the same years was the Hohenzollern goal, was essentially that of constitutional, impersonal law put over against the personal will of an absolute monarch.

"FREDERICK THE GREAT."

Resuming now our retrospect of the Hohenzollern Imperialism, we come to the reign of the famous heir of the House, known as "Frederick the Great," who was autocrat of Prussia for the forty-six years, between 1740 and 1786. In this Frederick, the motive force of his ancestor, the first Frederick, had a most devoted recipient and a successful promoter. Above all else, he sought the territorial expansion of his inherited autocratic sovereignty and its political aggrandizement, by the use of military power. Almost immediately after his accession, apparently just to gratify his Imperial greed, he attacked Silesia. Then, in 1756, in order to make this spoil secure, he sought to become master of Saxony. Hereupon, came "The Seven Years War" against allied Austria, France, Russia and Saxony. Afterwards, troubles multiplied many fold for Frederick, but this Hohenzollern monarch, true to the faith of his ancestors,—a faith markedly obtrusive in the utterances of all the Hohenzollerns, even until to-day—comforted himself and cheered his followers with the pious declaration, "Heaven still stands by us."

After 1763, Frederick's aggressiveness towards other countries was held in abeyance. He devoted his energies to the restoration and promotion of Prussia's industrial and commercial welfare. He proved himself to be "as great in peace as in war," so it was said.

Literature and philosophy had an extraordinary period of development under his patronage; in matters of religion, moreover, the most generous toleration prevailed. Politically, Frederick's rule continued to be personal and ultimate, consistent with the Hohenzollern tradition and habit. He was his own prime-minister in the widest and

most literal sense of the name. The people of his realm were no obstacle to his will; they had become almost servile in their attitude towards their monarch. Every measure emanated from the King himself; the country had learned to rely on him alone for help in all emergencies. Public opinion on political matters could not be said to exist; and "the provincial diets met simply to receive the instructions of the royal agents." Frederick, it is true, declared that "the ruler lives for the sake of the people," but he was in no measure a democrat. He may have been "a benevolent despot," but he was, nevertheless, a despot; he bore faithfully throughout his life his family's dynastic motive.

PAUSE IN THE HOHENZOLLERN ADVANCE.

With the passing of Frederick the Great (1786), the long growing and mighty despotism of Prussia, together with its promised leadership of the Germanic peoples, received a severe check; the Hohenzollern Dynasty entered a "Valley of Humiliation." The dream of autocratic Imperialism which had been constant in the House of Hohenzollern from the Brandenburg Electorate into the Kingdom of expanding Prussia, persistent for nearly four hundred years, seemed, for the time, to have faded away.

Prussia, in 1792, made an alliance with Austria, in order to restore the fallen King of France, Louis XVI, but failed. Then, in her discouragement, she accepted a treaty of peace in 1795 with the formidable revolutionary government of France. In those days began the darkest period for the movement of the Hohenzollern motive. Heedless at first of the sudden, portentous rise, and the conquering advance of Napoleon Bonaparte beyond the

boundaries of France, the Prussian King at length was aroused from his strange lethargy. Evidently he had to act if only for the sake of self-preservation. He attempted battle with the aggressor. But at Jena and Auerstadt, in 1806, the Prussian armies, no longer under the lead of such brain and will as that of the great Frederick, were totally defeated. Napoleon, in triumph, entered Berlin, whence the Hohenzollern King and Court had fled.

THE HOHENZOLLERN RENEWAL.

This terrible disaster, however, was not ruinous enough to crush the Prussian Kingdom, nor to destroy the Hohenzollern motive. A marvellous regeneration of dynastic ambition and of national effort soon followed, wrought and supported by devoted servants of the Prussian Throne. Memorable statesmen and soldiers, such as Stein, Hardenberg, Scharnhorst, and Gneisenau, appeared on behalf of the King, as leaders in the development of improvements in the forms and methods of government; in bettering the legal status of the people; in the reorganization and discipline of the army, and in reviving the *esprit du corps* generally of the populace. I read that "the revolution thus effected in Prussia has been aptly compared in its results to the great revolution in France; but, while there the reforms were exacted by a people in arms, here they were rather forced upon the people by the Crown."

PRUSSIA AGAIN IN THE LEAD.

It so happened, in those years of the approach of the time when the final defeat of the astounding Corsican adventurer was to take place, that Prussia had again risen to prominence among the German States. In the momentous "Battle of the Nations," fought at Leipzig, in

1813, the Allies, chief among them being Prussia, gained the victory—a victory which, in fact, secured the liberation of Germany and restored to the Dynasty of the Hohenzollerns its imperilled leadership. Napoleon's conquering career was at last effectually brought to a close with his defeat at Waterloo. And in 1815, by "The Congress of Vienna," Prussia regained most of the territory of which she had been despoiled by Napoleon. She was otherwise so dealt with there that the objective of the Hohenzollern Dynasty became, more than ever, of possible attainment. The many hundreds of German States hitherto existent, as they were rearranged after Napoleon's fall, became practically but three sovereignties ;—Prussia, Austria and the Rhenish Confederation.

DEMOCRACY STIRS GERMANY: 1815-1848.

Yet, for some time thereafter, the Hohenzollern monarchy, because of the wide dissemination of the ideas back of the popular uprising in France, was considerably embarrassed. Among the German peoples generally, the French Revolution had aroused longings for political freedom and national unity. A number of the rulers of the German States, consequently, either promised, or gave State constitutions by which some show of civil freedom appeared among their subjects. But in no German State was the ruler's absolutism, thereby, more than slightly modified. Frederick William the Third, of Prussia, did all in his power to resist the aspirations for representative government which had found voice among his people. "The utmost concession he made was to appoint a number of provincial diets, which tended rather to foster than to allay the general discontent." During this period,

Prussia made a great gain in leadership among the other German States because of the establishment of a widely inclusive Customs-Union. Her prestige and power were thereby notably advanced. At that time, too, the liberals who had appeared among the people of Prussia were considerably encouraged; it was their desire that their sovereign would grant to the Kingdom a representative, constitutional government.

With the accession of Frederick William the Fourth, in 1840, there was "a general expectation that the King would abandon the arbitrary ideas" of his father. And it did happen, after some critical years, that in 1847 an assembly was called by the King to meet the sovereign, that the people might lay before him their longings for civil freedom. "This assembly," I read, "truly expressed the popular feeling, but with so much moderation, and with so many assurances of loyalty, that it could not alarm the most timid." Frederick William, however, was offended by its tone, and haughtily proclaimed that he "would never abate the rights which, as a lawful prince, he held by a higher than human authority."

AN ATTEMPT AT REVOLUTION:—1848.

In the very next year, 1848, a revolution in favor of democracy again arose in France, and all Western Europe came under its influence. The popular excitement throughout Germany became intense. In the Prussian capital it broke forth into threatening violence; and the King, notwithstanding his conviction that he was an autocrat by divine right, seemingly gave way to the demand of the time and declared that he would lead his people in the establishment of a constitutional government

at home ; also that he would join in a Germanic Union which should maintain the dignity and promote the prosperity of all the Germanic nations.

CONSTITUTIONALISM IN PRUSSIA : 1850-1860.

The story of the next decade, so far as it relates to the movement of the dominating motive of the House of Hohenzollern is one of peculiar interest ; not because it tells of any marked advance toward fulfilment, but because of what it tells of varying hazards in the midst of the political struggles which then distracted all Europe. The impulse towards political freedom and popular representative government had become strong throughout Germany : but, as " the Germans had had no experience of free political life," they could do but little in Prussia towards making effective use of the promise of Constitutionalism which they had received from their Hohenzollern monarch.

A Prussian National Assembly met in 1848. Articles for the promised Constitution were received and were considered. One of the articles proposed happened to provide that, thereafter, it should not be said of the Prussian King, he wore his crown by " the grace of God." This proposition met at once with extreme antagonism. Some other articles were alike revolutionary. The King, thereupon, true to the motive of his House, broke with the liberals of the Assembly. He reassembled the delegates at Brandenburg near Berlin. After an impatient waiting, he dissolved the gathering. Then, under the direction of his own advisers, he granted to Prussia a Constitution about which the people had not been consulted ; and he gave orders for the election of a representative Chamber

under its provisions. This Constitution was revised later, but, however it was afterwards revised, it was always revised with the main object of reducing "to a minimum the power of the national representatives and of exalting and extending that of the Government."

During the Crimean War of 1855, the political reaction in favor of the Hohenzollern absolutism gained marked momentum. The Prussian Government appeared "resolved to make up for its temporary submission to the popular will by the utmost violence on which it could venture." A general election took place in the autumn of 1855, and so harshly was the expression of opinion restrained that "a Chamber was returned with scarcely a single liberal element of serious importance." "The German people seemed to have lost both the power and the will to assert their rights."

A slight reaction in favor of representative popular government took place in 1858, when the Prussian King had become insane. His brother, afterwards King William the First, assumed charge of affairs as Regent. But when the incapacitated King, Frederick William, died in 1861, and the Prince Regent assumed the rule of Prussia, it was not long before a vast change came over the Government:—*a change whose logical issues brought about, at length, the unprecedented international conflict into which the leading peoples of the world have been recently forced.* With the accession of William the First, the way was soon opened for the full resumption by the Hohenzollern King, of the distinctive motive of his House, and its advance towards the universal supremacy of which it is avowedly the divinely destined bearer.

THE HOHENZOLLERN REASSUMPTION.

King William was a true prince in the succession of the Hohenzollern Dynasty. He went to his throne with the resolve to undo, if possible, all that the Revolt of 1848 had effected in his Kingdom. At first, he found himself in check at almost every move he attempted. These obstacles were so at variance with his cherished dynastic prerogatives, that, in 1862, he decided he would "abdicate his throne rather than submit to constitutional limitations." He even prepared a writ of abdication.

Then came a fateful moment;—for Prussia and for Germany;—indeed, as disclosed by after events, for all Europe;—and now, in all seeming, for the world. "The King was pacing up and down a retired walk in the beautiful English park of his country home, Babelsberg," so Poultney Bigelow describes the scene. The newly appointed Premier of the Ministry, Otto von Bismarck, was with the King. "The situation was explained: Bismarck listened respectfully, and gave as his advice that the abdication manuscript should be torn up. They were standing on a rustic bridge over a streamlet trickling into the Havel; and as the pieces fell from the King's hand the Prime Minister carefully picked them up, thus unconsciously symbolizing the traditional attitude of the Prussian Junker to his alms-giving super-lord.

'But' said the King, 'I must then carry on the government without a parliament, and where can I find a minister capable of doing this? Of course, Bismarck bowed; the bargain was struck; and from that moment the two conspirators worked as one.—The Commons made speeches and passed resolutions, but the Cromwells of

Prussia were in the pay of their King and the representatives of the people were turned out of doors."

BISMARCK AS A MONARCH'S CHAMPION.

In Bismarck, the new heir of the storied first Hohenzollern Elector gained a mighty guardian and a valiant champion. He made the "sacred mission" of the Hohenzollern autocracy his own, to protect and to fulfil. When raised to his exalted office he sternly resolved to advance Prussia's power and prestige until the Kingdom should be at the head of a united Germany. "Having something of Cromwell's superstition as well as Cromwell's strength he apparently regarded this as a sort of religious mission.—A rough, despotic, vehement nature, he was undeterred by scruples which might harass ordinary statesmen; having set up a goal he marched to it by the straightest path. The solemn traditions of diplomacy, he laughed out of court. He respected treaties exactly in so far as they were capable of being defended. With little faith in the action of moral causes, he took care to have behind him those big battalions which destiny is said unduly to favor. Prussia at once recognized that she had in him a statesman of commanding type,—a bold and resolute spirit; with narrow but intense vision, and a will created to go crashing through difficulties, and to fashion a world to its liking."

Bismarck, at the very outset of his championship of his Monarch's revived devotion to the ancient motive of his House, declared to the gathered Assembly which had the name of being the legislature for the Kingdom, that his Sovereign ruled by "the grace of God;" not by the will of the people. Furthermore, he announced that Prussia's

future must be brought under the protecting guidance of military power ; not under the direction of civil legislatures and courts. In his first speech before the Prussian Diet, which soon became only a nominal expression of the wishes or the judgments of the people, Bismarck made the memorable declaration that the longed for unity of Germany was to be brought about, not by speeches ; not by agreements ; nor by votes of majorities, but by " blood and iron."

THE NEW HOHENZOLLERN ADVANCE.

What Bismarck did to realize and to fulfil the original dynastic purpose which had been aroused to fresh clearness and power in the new Hohenzollern Sovereign he had been chosen to serve, need not be recalled now at length. Events, from the first, moved rapidly. The old, perplexing Schleswig-Holstein question was pushed to a solution satisfying to Prussia, despite the disapproval of many of the other European Powers. Then came the war with Austria ; forced by Prussia on that Empire ; the successful issue of which expelled Austria from Germany and left its rival in undisputed possession. Prussia annexed Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, Frankfort and Schleswig-Holstein. All the other northern States of Germany were compelled to form a Confederation under the leadership of Prussia. The four South German States,—Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden and Hesse Darmstadt,—were left in name independent : but by secret treaties they all were pledged to put their armies at the disposal of Prussia in time of war. The House of Hohenzollern thereby became actually the guide and motive force of all the German peoples, now virtually a united Nation. In the beginning of 1867, a constituent assembly of the new

Confederation met in Berlin. It was there explicitly arranged that the headship of the Confederation should be hereditary, and that it should belong to the King of Prussia.

This was a wonderful advance. But the motive which impelled the Hohenzollern Dynasty was not yet fully realized. That could not be adequately satisfied with any less a comprehension than an acknowledged direct sovereignty over all Germany. At last, a promising occasion appeared of which the Prussian Premier took much less than a fair advantage. A war with the upstart Empire of Louis Napoleon in France was precipitated. That struggle was soon carried through to a complete victory for the Germans.

THE PRUSSIAN KING MADE GERMAN EMPEROR.

Through the stimulus of the unsurpassed conquests made by the German armies, the obstacles which thitherto had prevented a complete Imperial unity of the German peoples gave way. Some of the southern States, in yielding, were allowed to reserve for themselves certain local, or special privileges; but all submitted to Prussia's lead, making of themselves, thereby, a united State. As the year 1871 opened, the King of Prussia, in the palace of Versailles in conquered France, in the presence of high officials coming from all the German States was declared Emperor of Germany. The vision of the far-away Elector Frederick became at last a wonderful fact. And thenceforward, until to-day, there has been centered, in what five centuries ago was the petty Mark of Brandenburg, a mighty Empire, inclusive of all German peoples; definite in purpose and marvellous in achievement; having as its ruler a descendant of the ancient House of Hohenzollern, the heir of the long cherished conviction of his

House that he is the bearer of an absolute political sovereignty, divinely imposed and sustained.

THE NEW HOHENZOLLERN DREAM.

Since the crowning of William the First, as the modern Emperor of Germany, forty-five years have now passed. During these years the Empire has had a most eventful and momentous career. But the world would have only little to note, or remember concerning the movement of this Empire, other than its extraordinary industrial, commercial, and general social development as such, were it not that, in the Empire's growth, certain purposes and efforts have appeared which evidently have become portentous for mankind beyond the German boundaries.

The dream of the Nuremberg Count has not only come true, but his Imperial heirs seem to have been impelled, under their good fortune, to behold a still wider vision, which, as Professor Usher describes it, is "nothing less than the domination of Europe and of the world by the Germanic Race." Not content with realizing their traditional dynastic ideal,—that of a German Imperialism dominant over all German peoples and supreme among the nations around it,—the Hohenzollerns' ambition to-day has conceived the purpose of making Germany under their own "divinely ordained" autocracy, Dictator of the World.

THE HOHENZOLLERN WORLD POLICY.

It was not long after the present German Empire was established, that its Sovereign revived the foreign colonial policy devised by one of his ancestors in the Seventeenth Century, and feebly directed then to the African coast. In 1884, parts of the West Coast of Africa received again

the German flag. Some of the Pacific Ocean islands were also made German possessions : and from that time foreign colonization was extended as far and as widely as opportunity came. Upon occasion, moreover, help was offered to rebellious colonists of other nations ; in Africa, in America and in Asia. Again and again, direct spoliation of the territories of feebler peoples was made upon even slight pretext. This policy was pursued so vigorously that, two years ago, great areas in Africa ; namely, Togoland, the Kameroons, the South West and East Africa protectorates ; also, Kaiser Wilhelm's Land in Papua, together with the Solomon and the Marshall Islands and Samoa of the Pacific, and the Shantung Province of China with yet other coveted regions, had become Germany's over-seas possessions. This aggressive expansion of the German Empire outside its European boundaries at length became an increasing source of general international solicitude. For the past score and more years, particularly, the World's Nations have been kept in a state of unrest and foreboding, more by the interferences and transgressions among them of the Hohenzollern Empire than by the movements of any other nation.

Early in the career of the German Empire that now is, the great Viceroy of China, Li Hung Chang, in a visit made to Europe, wrote of the beginnings of the present outworking of the German ambition ;—" From all that I have seen I am more than ever convinced that the Kaiser and Prince Bismarck meant what they said when they averred that the German Empire was destined to become a dominant factor in Europe." And Roland G. Usher in his remarkably prophetic book, " Pan-Germanism," appearing before the outbreak of the present war, and

outlining what was evident to him as the new Hohenzollern Imperial policy, spoke of its three phases as:—“ first, an attempt to secure colonies ; second, an attempt to obtain entrance into the markets of the East by a trade route across the Balkans and Turkey, which formed, by international agreement, a neutral zone ; and third, the determinedly aggressive scheme for the actual forcible conquest of the world.”

WILLIAM, THE SECOND ; KING-EMPEROR ;
PERSONALITY AND PURPOSE.

In June 1888, the present Emperor, William the Second, came to the Hohenzollern throne. It was said of him at the time, by one who knows him and his family's history well, that “ in force of character and intellectual power he surpasses any of his predecessors, certainly up to the time of the Great Frederick.”

Two years later, William dismissed from his service Prince von Bismarck, the potent promoter and support of the new Imperial Germany. Since then the Emperor has been, practically, not only the Sovereign of the State but his own Prime Minister ; directly aiming to be dictator and leader of the Imperial policy. What he is and wills is now, therefore, that which more than any other power moves and makes the Imperialism of which modern Germany is the subject.

It would be impossible to portray here this extraordinary personality with anything like an adequate representation. But it goes far, to make the recent stage reached by the Hohenzollern Dynasty intelligible, to know that its Emperor is fully devoted to his ancestral claim to be autocrat over his realm by “ Divine right ” and commission. How

true some of the extravagant assertions ascribed to him are,—claims to supernatural endorsement as Monarch,—can not be brought to test here ; but it is on record that, at Coblenz soon after his accession, he made the unqualified announcement that he is God's " Viceroy " ; and, at another time, he asserted that the " Hohenzollerns took their crown from God's altar," so that " they are responsible to no one but the Almighty." Also, justifying his words by his conviction of a divinely sanctioned responsibility, he said, in August 1888, at Frankfurt-on-the-Oder, that he " would rather see his forty-two millions of Prussians dead on the battle field than give up one foot of ground gained by the Franco-German War." Further, this Emperor, cherishing an unmeasured admiration for the character and achievements of his ancestor, Frederick the Great, fancies himself at times, so it is said, to be like him, both in person and in purpose. As King of Prussia, the Kaiser has practically an unlimited scope for his autocratic will ; as head of the Empire, as now constituted, his monarchy moves under certain limitations. He accepts these Imperial limitations perforce ; and he accepts them steadily under protest. One who was once close to him has written,—“ When in the beginning of October 1897, Prince Hohenlohe, by threat of resignation, prevented the Kaiser from offering armed assistance to the Queen of Spain, (to counteract the possible intervention in Cuban affairs by the United States) his Majesty talked for three days incessantly of ‘ Frederick, who was his own chancellor and parliament,’—‘ of the living, puissant Hohenzollern-initiative.’ ‘ But,’ he exclaimed, ‘ Frederick is not dead ; he lives here,’ (striking his breast) ‘ and his mailed fist will clutch somebody’s throat sooner or later.’ ”

As by a flash, this story discloses profoundly the personality under which the present movement of the Hohenzollern Imperialism has been brought. And it almost compels the judgment that, all conditions considered, the horrible conflict into which Germany has recently plunged many nations is but the natural, indeed, it may be said, the inevitable, sequence of the Hohenzollern conviction, become an obsession, in the mood of the present German monarch. The second phase of what we have seen outlined as modern Germany's Imperial policy was, in all probability, the occasion of the beginning of this struggle, but what may be named its real cause lies deeper; and, to all appearances now, through the same cause, the movement of the war has become an impulse towards the third, and culminating, phase of the aggrandized ambition of Imperial Germany, that is, the conquest, or at least the dictatorship, of the world.

THE HOHENZOLLERN CREED TO-DAY.

This judgment, to many who read it, will certainly appear excessive, or even baseless, I know. But I can not read the centuries-old story of the motive and movement of the Imperialism distinctive of the House of Hohenzollern, and learn what it plainly shows of the personality of the present exalted heir of the House, without seeing it culminate in this otherwise insatiable ambition.

Owen Wister, in his pathetic meditation on "The Pentecost of Calamity," aids this judgment graphically when he says;—

"And now we are ready for the Prussian Creed,—a composite statement of Prussianism, compiled sentence by sentence from the utterances of—the Kaiser and his

generals, professors, editors and Nietzsche ; part of it said in cold blood, years before this war, and all of it a declaration of faith now being ratified by action :—

“ We Hohenzollerns take our crown from God alone. On me the Spirit of God has descended. I regard my whole task as appointed by heaven. Who opposes me I shall crush to pieces. Nothing must be settled in this world without the intervention of the German Emperor. He who listens to public opinion runs a danger of inflicting immense harm on the State.”

I need not quote all that is given in Mr. Wister's luminous exhibit of the Hohenzollern motive. Only these few clarifying sentence more to give distinctness.

“ Might is right and is decided by war. War in itself is a good thing. The efforts directed towards the abolition of war must not only be termed foolish, but absolutely immoral.—Christian morality can not be political. Weak nations have not the same right to live as powerful nations. To us, more than to any other nation, is entrusted the true structure of human existence.—Our country, by employing military power, has attained a degree of Culture which it could never have reached by peaceful means. Our might shall create a new law in Europe.—It is Germany that strikes. They call us barbarians. What of it? We are morally and intellectually superior beyond all comparison.—We must fight with Russian beasts, English mercenaries and Belgian fanatics. France must be so completely crushed that she will never again cross our path. We have nothing to apologize for.”

THE STATE IS POWER ; AND IT IS MONARCHY.

Much more, in support of my judgment of the present movement of the dynasty of the Hohenzollern House,

could be quoted directly from the assertions of to-day's Emperor and of his immediate attendants. But I will recall now a few significant declarations made outside the Imperial environment, presumably free from the influence of the dynastic obsession ; made by a political philosopher who is everywhere accepted among Germans as a clear sighted expositor of governmental ideals,—Heinrich von Treitschke.

“ Power is the principle of the State.” “ The idea of power is of course a stern one ; to achieve one's purpose fully and unconditionally is here the highest and first thing. The essence of the State consists in this, that it can suffer no higher power above itself. The State is the power of the stronger race which establishes itself ;—it can not recognize an arbiter above itself, and, consequently, legal obligations must in the last resort be subject to its own judgment.” “ The position of the Hohenzollerns is not founded upon distinguished personal virtue or judiciousness ; but their superiority consists in the mere fact that they are the Kings ; that they stand upon their own right of sovereignty which is not disputed.” “ Certain views become, by reason of a long historical experience the habit of a ruling family ;—think of the efforts of the Hohenzollerns to form the Union ” (of the German States.) “ Originally it was merely a makeshift in order to secure themselves.” “ But the King, being profoundly imbued with the consciousness of his exalted duty, it is glorious to see how the high office educates its holder ? What examples of such kingly men Prussia possesses in Frederick the Second and King William ” (the First).—“ With us the Kingship is almost the only force of political tradition which unites our present with the past ; shall we wish for

ourselves English Georges instead of our famous House of Hohenzollern. We have such a proud monarchic history that a Prussian may well say ; ‘ The best monarch is just good enough for us.’—According to our Constitution the monarch alone is vested with the power of the State.—In Germany the will of the King—means something very real. This is true above all of Prussia, which alone has still a real monarch.”

ARMED PRUSSIA MAKES IMPERIAL GERMANY.

Treitschke goes so far in his exaltation of Prussia and its Monarch as to add,—“ He who judges impartially must say that since the Great Elector,” (1740), “ the political history of Germany is entirely contained in Prussia. Every clod of land which was lost through the fault of the old Empire, and was won back again, was acquired by means of Prussia. In this State lay thenceforth the political energies of the German nation. On Prussian soil that arming of the nation began which was later to become the lot of all Germany.—Even he who looks upon the army as an evil must consider it in any case as a necessary evil. The State must maintain itself as against other States. It is the normal and rational course when a great nation embodies and develops in an organized army the nature of the State, which is power because of its physical strength. With Clausewitz we again look upon war as the forcible continuation of policy. If the army is the organized political strength of the State, then that organization can only be power ; and it can have no will of its own, for it is intended to execute the will of the head of the State in unconditional obedience.”

But it is in Treitschke’s essay on “ The State in Inter-

national Intercourse" that he gives expression to the Hohenzollern master-aim. All that I have been quoting from him serves but by way of preparation for this statement.

IMPERIAL GERMANY SEEKS WORLD CONTROL.

"The victory of Germany over France (1870) turns the old system upside down. Like Spain since the Pyrenean peace, France shows herself after the battle of Sedan powerless to dominate the world henceforth. The map of our part of the world has been much more natural since; the center is strengthened, the *inspired idea*, that the centre of gravity of Europe must lie in the middle, has become a reality. Through the founding of the German Empire a tranquility has entered spontaneously into the system of States (of Europe); Prussia has now essentially the power she required. What now threatens the peace of Europe,—is the reaction of those States on the circumference, who have been gradually forced into the background by the great reconstruction, and cannot bear with patience the loss of their former greatness. This elevation of Germany to real power is the one great change in the European system of States which began with the year 1866."

"This is how we stand in the interior of Europe. Add to this the wonderfully altered conditions outside our part of the globe. In the course of little more than half a century a transformation has been accomplished such as the earlier world never knew."

The writer then speaks of the opening up of China, Japan, Australia and the islands of the South Seas, passing this significant judgment:—"Our Nineteenth Century is, as it were, the executor of the Sixteenth. The discovery

of the New World which Columbus accomplished has only now become a practical reality. The non-European world is entering more and more within the range of vision of the European States ; and, without any doubt, the nations of Europe must lay themselves out, directly, or indirectly, to subdue them. The great process of expansive Civilization continues with the irresistible force of a power of Nature."

Probably the consummate exposition of the motive and movement of the Hohenzollern Dynasty has been given by General von Bernhardt, a man of marked eminence in Germany, who has declared with emphasis that,—

" Might is right, and right is decided by war."

" The lessons of history confirm the view that wars which have been deliberately provoked by far-seeing statesman have had the happiest results."

" The prospects of success are always the greatest when the moment for declaring war can be settled to suit the political and military situation."

Professor Usher, commenting on the new Hohenzollern purpose, says that, " Germans now as a whole refuse to admit the validity of any theoretical notions whose application would in any way restrict or interfere with Germany's full share in the mastery of world." " If the factors on which the Germans rely are what they think they are, the domination of the world by Germany and her allies can only be a question of time." " The Boer War, Morocco, the strangling of Persia, the war in Tripoli, the Balkan crisis, are only incidents in this gigantic struggle in which the very pawns are kingdoms and the control of the entire globe the stake."

THE HOHENZOLLERN GOAL NOW SOUGHT.

At the present time, consequently, I can not reasonably doubt that mankind have been confronted by a fact of universal portent. The peoples of central Europe, united as the German Empire, are under the control of a Family Dynasty whose essential motive force has become the gaining of sovereignty over all mankind, under an avowed Divine commission: and, to this end, any means that can bring victory for it are declared to be justifiable and should be used. The movement of this Dynasty has shown a steadily persistent and aggressive advance through several centuries; from feeble and confused beginnings in the political chaos which befell feudal Germany, into the clarifying self-consciousness and power of the expanding Prussian Kingdom of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, until its direct goal was reached in the establishment of the German Empire forty-five years ago. Since that time, the Hohenzollern succession has been aroused to the conviction that the full satisfaction of its historic purpose can not be secured without the rise of the Empire to a dictatorship of mankind. Herein is to be found the meaning of the later course of events in which the Empire has had part; above all the meaning of the present implacable assault upon the nations lying in the way of Germany's dynastic expansion.

Owen Wister, speaking of this fact, says,—“ Had it not culminated before our eyes, the case of Germany would be perfectly incredible. As it stands to day, the truly incredible thing is that she should have made her spring at the throat of an unexpected, unprepared world.”—Then we are reminded, “ The case of Germany is the

Prussianizing of Germany." "The guilt is laid on Prussia and the Hohenzollern." "The process goes back a long way." It is, "a germination of state and family ambition combined, fermenting at last into lust for world dominion. It grows quite visible, first, in Frederick the Great. By him the Prussian state of mind and international ethics began to be formulated. Frederick's cynical, strong spirit guided Prussia after Waterloo; guided first the predecessor of Bismarck, and next, Bismarck himself." "Very plain it is to see, now, why the small separate German States, should after 1870 hail their new-created Emperor. Had he not led them united to the first glory and conquest they had ever known?" "So, they handed their soul to the Hohenzollern;" and "for forty years" they "have sat in the thickening fumes that exhaled from Berlin, spread everywhere by professors chosen at the fountain head." "Out of the fumes have emerged three colossal shapes,—the Super-man, the Super-race and the Super-state; the new Trinity of German worship."

HOW GERMANY NOW MAKES WAR.

The present awful struggle has, therefore, come upon the world by the compulsion of a dynastic will. The monstrosity born of the insatiable Hohenzollern lust has now matured and seeks the mastery of mankind; and many nations must do battle in self defense.

Remember the outbreak of the attack. That event will stand in history as a better interpretation of the wanton usurpation of human liberties, and of the remorseless destruction of the ideals and virtues of Christian civilization that now threatens humanity under the ironic name of *Kultur* than any critical dissertation could set forth.

a. Deliberate Deceit while still at Peace.

Consistently, it began with deliberate, carefully concealed deceit in the Empire's European international relations. In the British Parliament of last year (1915), Mr. Lloyd George said ;—" We recollect the Balkan crisis. Nothing could have been friendlier than than the attitude of Germany. She had a benevolent smile for France. She treated Russia as a friend and brother. She smoothed down all the susceptibilities of Austria. She walked arm in arm with Great Britain through the Chancelleries of Europe: and we really thought that at last the era of peace and good will had dawned. At that moment she was forging and hiding up immense accumulations of war stores to take her neighbors unawares and murder them in their sleep."

b. Violation of International Law.

Moreover, the mutual agreements which in modern times have been slowly elaborated among civilized nations, —Germany being one of these nations,—elaborated with much show of cordiality as established principles of international law :—such as the security of non-combatants ; as the sacredness of treaty obligations ; as the inviolability of treasures of art and shrines of religion,—have now been vaingloriously cast aside as having no place in the respect of the victorious leaders or champions of the Hohenzollern invader of the nations.

Is it not notoriously the fact that, when the Kaiser signed the decree which opened the present war, the German armies at once invaded Belgium and other territory which had been by treaty declared sacred from military movements made against other lands, and that

the Kaiser's representative later gave answer to a protest against this violation of neutrality, that Germany's advance was not to be checked by "a scrap of paper"? And it has been authoritatively announced by responsible leaders of the invading armies that, "it is of no consequence whatever, if all the monuments ever created, all the pictures ever painted, all the buildings ever erected by the great architects of the world be destroyed;" that, "the ugliest stone placed to mark the burial of a German grenadier is a more glorious monument than all the cathedrals of Europe put together."

c. Disregard of Humane Law.

Then, how directly contemptuous of all that other European nations have come to regard as humane limitations in their warfare, has been the manner of Germany's initiatory assault, just made, upon the people directly in her way. It has not had its like among civilized nations for a century and longer. In fact, the assault was not only the ruthless invasion of an unoffending State sacredly guarded by a promise of international neutrality,—one of whose guarantors was Germany herself,—but it was also, in large measure, a gross repetition of the devastation, rapine and slaughter which occurred three centuries ago when the German peoples almost destroyed themselves in their thirty years of interstate war.

Where, outside the decrees of "How Germany makes War," can be found in this century any thing like a permission of the awful excesses which were committed, if not officially ordered, in the beginnings of the invasion of Belgium,—the incendiarism, the pillage, the lust, the

torture and the murder then inflicted upon a helpless population, regardless of age or sex?

There may be valid reason back of Treitschke's dictum concerning “humanity in warfare.” He argues that “States and not their individual citizens make war on one another.” “On the feeling of the soldier that he has only to do with the enemy's soldiers, and does not need to fear that he will find every peasant, aiming at him from behind a bush;—on that feeling all humanity in war rests. If the soldier does not know whom he has to look upon as soldiers in the enemy's country,—then he must become cruel and unfeeling. Ruthless severity against the *franc-tireurs* who swarm around the enemy, without standing under the articles of war, is self-evident.”

Literally applied, this dictum may be accepted; but where does it give justification for the wholesale slaughter of hundreds of innocent villagers, of old and crippled men, of women and even of babes in arms, with torture and rape added,—for the mass of outrages committed by German soldiers when they were first let loose in Belgium; outrages of which abundant and sufficient proof is now upon record?

d. Wanton Sacrifice of its Armies.

And then, what more reckless and incalculable price could an autocratic dynasty compel its subjects to pay for the gratification of its greed, than the wanton sacrifice of their lives which the House of Hohenzollern has been demanding of the soldiers who are its enslaved subjects. Battles, as now fought by the Germans under their theories of the superiority of a persistent initiative, and of a constantly renewed offense, seem to have no considera-

tion whatever shown in them for the cost that thereby may befall the masses driven to make the attacks. One of the most horrible of all the uses which the Hohenzollern Autocrat is making of his power, is his merciless disregard of the lives of the individuals he commands to serve him. The German peoples, as a whole, seem indeed to have become servile to the autocrats of the House of Hohenzollern. And the Hohenzollern autocrats, in order to gratify the fanatic conception which has been made the historic ambition to their House, seem, in battles now, to offer their compliant subjects for sacrifice, almost without limit.

All these forbidden things,—treacherous deceit of neighbor nations; denial of the principles of justice and fair dealing which had been accepted as international law; violation of the provisions of international treaties solemnly agreed to; destruction of monuments of art and of shrines of religion; merciless disregard of the multitude of lives composing its own armies when battles are waged, and worse than all else, the savage and even inhuman orgies of its soldiery when the invasion of Belgium was begun,—all these forbidden things, and yet more, apparently have been deliberately chosen by the Hohenzollern Dynasty as means by which it may rightfully secure its monstrous aggrandizement.

THE WORLD'S MOST MOMENTOUS QUESTION NOW.

Inevitably, therefore, the world's peoples who have not yet been brought under the Hohenzollern Absolutism, are summoned now to meet its ultimate aggression upon the individual, social and civil liberties which are cherished among them, and to decide whether or not they will allow

it, unresisted, to reach success. This, I believe to be, to-day, Humanity's imperative and most momentous duty.

I am fully convinced that this judgment is not merely the judgment of an alarmist. I wish to be an alarmist, being witness of the portentous spectacle now displayed throughout Europe; and seeing much that is coming from the same source in other lands. And I am confident that my alarm is that of a clear-sighted man. I see grave danger threatening all possessors of personal and civil liberty; and I am convinced that, unless it is sufficiently guarded against, the free peoples of the world are to suffer from it. To me, the awful struggle in these days convulsing Europe, whatever else it may be immediately and on the surface, is, in its inner meaning, a struggle between an aggressive political dynasty, assuming to be divinely ordained,—commissioned to a sovereignty which shall be world-supreme,—and the hosts of individual men and women who are claiming personal self-possession and that political freedom, which, expressed in the State, is Democracy, or some other form of representative popular government. In other words, I see in the war now waged by the German Monarchy a direct effect of the original motive force of the House of Hohenzollern, meaning nothing less, than the subjugation of the peoples around it who are seeking to embody in their Governments, protection of personal liberty and of a free pursuit of individual and social welfare.

THE HOHENZOLLERN PORTENT FOR AMERICA.

And further, I see in the aggressions of the Hohenzollern Imperialism, not only the portent of the subjuga-

tion of all Europe to its rule, but, this being accomplished, the serious imperilling of the many endeavors of humanity to establish "governments of the people, by the people and for the people," which, especially during the last century, have been in movement throughout the American Continents. More particularly do I see the mighty republican Union of North America endangered by the Hohenzollern Dynasty, should its armies be victorious in the present conflict. It is easy enough to smile at this foreboding, and to pass it by without further heed. But there is ample evidence to show that the danger is not a vain thing in the plans by which the Hohenzollern Empire is now working. There are truthful men who have good reason for their belief that a victory for Germany in Europe is only needed to bring from Germany demands upon America, because of America's present "pro-Allies neutrality," which would make the retention of American freedom either impossible, or, if possible, a treasure of almost inestimable cost.

I am an earnest advocate of peace. I would welcome all honorable means by which peace on earth and good will among mankind might be gained. I would go very far, and would yield much, to secure and to preserve amity, personal, social and national throughout the world. But I am compelled, also, to declare that there are occasions when both personal and national peace can be had only at too high a cost; times when war should be accepted as an alternative preferable to any peace possible then; such war, for instance, as fighting for the sake of personal liberty, for home, or for country, when the evident alternative is submission to slavery, or the strengthening of tyranny over the home or the homeland.

For reasons such as these, much as I deplore what the reasons demand, I believe that the duty of all free peoples to day, and eminently the duty of the people of the United States of America, is to counsel seriously with those who believe they foresee the danger that threatens them, should there be a victorious issue for the Hohenzollern Dynasty in the struggle now waging in Europe. Then, if convinced, they should prepare themselves to withstand it. The duty of an adequate self-defense is, I believe, as much the imminent duty of the American people, confronted by the motive force dominant in the Dynasty which compelled the present war, as it would be the duty of any man in a wilderness to make ready against the ravening of a beast of prey.

The foe which, among the nations, to-day most endangers the personal self-possession of individual men and women; the enemy most arbitrarily in the way of the social organization of mankind as the resultant of the efforts of free thinking, self-determining fellow beings; the aggressor most seriously checking the aspirations of multitudes among mankind to establish their States as real commonwealths, wherein all their members shall be free in the pursuit of personal and collective welfare, in the home, in the field, in the factory and market, in the School and in the Church; the most forceful and determined foe to-day to all such expressions of the souls of free men, has matured,—so I believe,—in Germany, in the Hohenzollern Dynasty as obsessed by its historic motive which has now become a purpose to lay hold of universal and a masterful sovereignty over humankind.

So, I dare the assertion that, confronted by the present portentous international conflict, all peoples who love per-

sonal and civil liberty and are seeking political self-government, especially the people of the great American Democracy, could do nothing that would be wiser or more prudent than to arouse themselves to the danger that has appeared, and at once to make themselves ready to meet it; to defeat it,—if need be;—and even to help in its destruction. Let all free men and women, to this end remember, and remember with a new comprehension, the profound injunction which Abraham Lincoln, at the summit of his career as President of the American Union, gave to his fellow citizens on the battle-field at Gettysburg:—

“Our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation,—dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

“We are met on a great battle field,—to dedicate a portion of it as the final resting place of those who here gave their lives that that nation might live.—In a larger sense we cannot dedicate; we cannot consecrate; we cannot hallow this ground.—It is for us, the living rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work that they have thus far so nobly carried on;—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to the cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that the dead shall not have died in vain; that the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.”

POSTSCRIPT.

This study received much editorial comment both in Japan and elsewhere although the pamphlet was not given a trade publication. I happen to have three notices of it appearing in foreign edited newspapers in Japan, the personal and public value of which induces me to add extracts from them here.

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1. *The Japan Advertiser*.—In the *Advertiser's* review, March 31, 1916, the writer said,—

“Minds grasp with readiness what is said shortly, and retain it firmly. In ‘The Hohenzollern Dynasty: Motive and Movement,’ just issued in Tokyo, Dr. Clay MacCauley has compressed in a pamphlet what might profitably be expanded into a volume. Doubtless the expansion will come some day: the germ suggests a historical study on the grand scale which is too interesting to be left undone; but this is a time when what is said must be said quickly. The indictment of the House of Hohenzollern which Dr. MacCauley has framed in the briefest and simplest form is more than a historical study. It is an exposure of a theory of government diametrically opposed to the principles of individual and social freedom, and which, if it succeeds in the great grapple which it has brought about, will be fatal to the democratic system which gives those principles their best opportunity for promoting the welfare and progress of mankind.

“Dr. MacCauley's contribution to the literature of the war seems to us to strike a new note. Many able authors, French, American, and British have written studies of various questions raised by the war but these were mainly

concerned with immediate aspects. We do not recollect having seen any which took such a broad sweep, showing on one hand how faith in a dynastic, divine-right autocracy has led to a bid for the dominance of Europe as a prelude to the mastery of the world, and on the other, how the present struggle, due to the dynastic impulse of the Hohenzollerns, is also a grapple between the two root ideas of government from within and government from without.

“The House of Hohenzollern celebrated last year the 500th anniversary of its reign. Not inappropriately the great commemoration fell in the midst of the most extensive war which that half-thousand years have witnessed. Most appropriately the Kaiser, in his message to the Prussian ministry laid stress on ‘God’s wonderful guidance’ of his House and called on the German people to follow him ‘on the road marked out by divine providence.’ For in the gigantic curve of fine contour which Dr. MacCauley traces, faith in the divine right of kings—which is simply the assertion of personal autocracy carried to its ultimate limit, and an unwavering belief in the law of the strongest, have been the banners under which the Hohenzollerns have marched from the Margravate of a petty state to the sovereignty of Germany. A succession of able rulers, some, like Frederick the Great, well known to the general reader, others whose names are only familiar to students of German history, transmitted and developed the dynastic motive until we see it, in our own enlightened days, leading to manifestations of arrogance which cannot be paralleled in English history even by going back three centuries to Charles I. whose attempt to make divine right pass muster ended on a scaffold. The present Kaiser’s countless assertions that his rule rests on supernatural authority, that he is God’s ‘Viceroy,’ that the Hohenzollerns took their crown from God’s altar, and so forth are in the minds of everyone.

“What one is apt to forget is that all this is merely a continued story. The Kaiser’s grandfather, the Emperor William I. found himself in inherited conflict with the democratic forces which 1848 had liberated

in Europe. Some slight steps towards constitutionalism had been made by the Prussian kings in their fear of revolution. King William found those instalments of popular government so much at variance with his cherished dynastic prerogatives that in 1862, as Dr. MacCauley recalls, he prepared a writ of abdication sooner than submit to constitutional limitations. Bismarck advised that the writ be torn up. He informed the nominal legislature that his sovereign ruled 'by the grace of God and not by the will of the people,' and announced that Prussia's future must be brought under the protecting guidance of military power. In his first speech before the Prussian Diet, Bismarck made the memorable declaration that the unity of Germany was to be brought about not by speeches nor votes of majorities but 'by blood and iron.'

Under the Electors of Brandenburg and Kings of Prussia, the Hohenzollern Dynasty advanced to the autocracy of the most powerful state in Germany. Under William I. and Bismarck it advanced to the Imperial Throne of a consolidated Germany in which all the other states were reduced to vassalage. The present reign saw the beginnings of *Weltpolitik*; the acquisition of a colonial empire; the establishment of a military power which, after producing an armed and unstable peace almost as barbarous as war, ended in the present conflagration.

"Not the least interesting part of Dr. MacCauley's work is the section in which he points out that *pari passu* with the development of the military autocracy aimed at by the Hohenzollern Dynasty there was going on the expansion and establishment of the British Empire. 'This Empire, however, was not the product of a personal or family ambition; nor was it carried forward in the interests of an autocratic or absolutist dynasty. . . . The British Empire, in contrast, with that which through the same years was the Hohenzollern goal, was essentially that of constitutional, impersonal law put over against the personal will of an absolute monarch.'

"We do not pretend to have summarised Dr. MacCauley's argument, which is itself a summary, but have suggested it; and its interest and importance will be recognized.

However imperfectly we have followed the case, there is some satisfaction in knowing that the thought, too briefly embodied in the pamphlet, rings so true to the historical sense that no baldness of restatement here can entirely rob it of force. The brochure is really a pregnant contribution to the literature of the war, and we have no doubt it will attract wide notice. We should like to see a Japanese translation circulated. To have the inherently reactionary and unfertile nature of the political ideas for which the Hohenzollern Dynasty has stood during five centuries exposed would be a useful corrective to the exaggerated respect for military strength which is apt to appear among people who have no well grounded faith in democracy on which to lean in times of crisis.

“ We lay the pamphlet down with a wider sense of the supreme matters which are at stake, and a deeper conviction that the dead shall not have died in vain if the result is the final discomfiture of the blood and iron theory of human government. Then, in Lincoln’s noble words quoted by Dr. MacCauley, “ ‘ the nations shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom, and government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.’ ”

2. *The Japan Chronicle*.—With the heading “ Fatalism in History,” the *Chronicle*, April 19, 1916, said editorially, that under the title “ The Hohenzollern Dynasty,” Dr. Clay MacCauley, has published an interesting pamphlet, the motive of which may be gathered from the verse which appears on the title page :—

“ Meekness is weakness :
Force is triumphant :
All through the world
Still it is Thor’s day.”

“ In a prefatory note Dr. MacCauley says he has long believed that ‘ the present German Empire came into being as the result of an aggressive dynastic movement whose beginnings lay in the far past in the ambitious dreamings of the ruler of a petty German State ; and whose

growth, through centuries of national vicissitudes, had been made preserving and advancing all the while the original motive.' He then proceeds to trace the history of the Margravate, or Electorate of Brandenburg from its transfer in 1415 to Frederick of Nuremberg, a member of the old princely house of Hohenzollern, to its present position of Imperial control over the whole of the German States. The story of these five hundred years, involving many vicissitudes, constitutes a historical romance of great interest. Perhaps the outstanding feature throughout the history of the State which rose from these small beginnings has been the continuance of the autocratic power of its rulers.

" Dr. MacCauley stresses the absolutism of the rulers of Prussia, rather than the lack of moral courage among the people, as being responsible for present conditions. He says that the story of the Hohenzollerns almost compels the judgment that, all conditions considered, ' the horrible conflict into which Germany has plunged many nations is but the natural, indeed it may be said the inevitable, sequence of the Hohenzollern conviction, become an obsession in the mind of the present German monarch.' If this means that the autocratic power of a sovereign over a nation naturally leads to a desire for dominion over other nations, the argument is capable of much justification. But the writer would seem to carry it much further. He says : ' I see the German Empire of to-day at war with nearly all the nations around it, essentially because of its pursuit of the purpose which long ago became the motive power of the House that holds practical dictatorship in the Empire's career.' Again, he speaks of the subjugation by Napoleon of Prussia and the other German States as not ruinous enough ' to destroy the Hohenzollern motive.' And still again : " The vision of the far-away Elector Frederick became at last a wonderful fact.' Surely this is fatalism in history.

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" We have dealt with this point at some length because it is the central thesis of Dr. MacCauley's pamphlet. It is, indeed, because he believes that the present German Em-

pire came into being as the result of an aggressive dynastic movement, with beginnings in the far past in the ambitious dreamings of a German prince, that he has published a view of the case that he believes has been overlooked. As we have said, such a view of history approaches fatalism, and does not seem to be borne out by an examination of the facts. But when Dr. MacCauley comes to deal with the methods and events of the present war, he is on different ground. As is well known, Dr. MacCauley is an earnest advocate of peace, and in his own country has strongly denounced the tendency to Imperialism. When a publicist with these opinions justifies the resistance by force of arms to the German menace, and warns America that unless the German spirit of world domination is defeated in Europe, the United States will be the next victim of aggression, we can realise the alarm and suspicion which the policy of Germany has aroused. 'I would go very far,' he says, 'and would yield much, to secure and to preserve amity, personal, social, and national, throughout the world. But I am compelled also to declare that there are occasions when both personal and national peace can be had only at too high a cost; times when war should be accepted as an alternative preferable to any peace possible then; such war, for instance, as fighting for the sake of personal liberty, for home, or for country, when the evident alternative is submission to slavery, or the strengthening of tyranny over the home or the homeland.' Dr. MacCauley has himself borne arms when he believed his country was in danger from internal foes, so that his is not mere academic counsel. Therefore, when he recapitulates the facts—how Germany makes war; the shocking incidents of the invasion of Belgium; the violation of international law; the disregard of humanity shown; the wanton sacrifice of men by German commanders in order to achieve some particular aim,—we feel that Dr. MacCauley is one of those who has realised the dangers not to Europe alone but to humanity as a whole which are involved in the present stupendous struggle."

3. *The Nagasaki Press*.—In the *Press* of April 12th, 1916, after a lengthy review of the study I had made, the editor said,

“ Dr. MacCauley’s conclusions are the most interesting portion of the book, because they deal with the present war and the relation thereto of the United States. He says: ‘ The present awful struggle has, therefore, come upon the world by the compulsion of a dynastic will. The monstrosity born of the insatiable Hohenzollern lust has now matured and seeks the mastery of mankind ; and many nations must do battle in self-defence.’ The manner in which the statesmen, the soldiers, the thinkers, and the people of Germany have pandered to the ambition of their rulers is outlined and the reader gets the conviction that the nation cannot be absolved from a large share of responsibility for the evil which has followed in the train of the Hohenzollern motive.

‘ The author is an American and he sees in the possible triumph of the Hohenzollern Dynasty a grave menace to the United States. ‘ For reasons such as these,’ he says, ‘ I believe that the duty of all free peoples to-day, and eminently the duty of the people of the United States of America, is to counsel seriously with those who believe they foresee the danger that threatens them, should there be a victorious issue for the Hohenzollern Dynasty in the struggle now waging in Europe. Then, if convinced, they should prepare themselves to withstand it. The duty of an adequate self-defense is, I believe, as much the imminent duty of the American people, confronted by the motive force dominant in the Dynasty which compelled the present war, as it would be the duty of any man in a wilderness to make ready against the ravaging of a beast of prey.’

“ In re-stating the origin of the present war, and in so clearly pointing out its menace to the world’s greatest ideals, Dr. MacCauley has rendered good service to humanity and the cause of international peace and good-will.”

II.

IN THE YEAR 1916.

WHO IS GERMANY'S REAL
ENEMY ?

“ If Germany's tragedy be, as I think, the deepest of all, the hope is that she, too, will be touched by the Pentecost of Calamity, and pluck her soul from Prussia, to whom she gave it in 1870. Thus shall the curse be lifted.”

From "The Pentecost of Calamity."

OWEN WISTER.

1915.



WHO IS GERMANY'S REAL ENEMY ?

Looking through an old German magazine this morning,—November 3, 1916,—for some needed literary information, I happened upon this question, as the heading to a book-review. Naturally, because of the present engrossing international struggle the question, commanded attention, and I was soon occupied by the answer that gave motive to the book.

This answer I found to be one of surprising insight; and, considering the time and place whence it came,—forty-eight years ago and in Germany,—it took shape as a startling judgment and prophecy. The book was issued from the press of the University printer in Munich in 1868; its author not named. But the review appeared in "The New Age," in 1871, written by Professor Dr. Herrmann Freiherrn von Leonhardi, of the University of Prague. This review eminently deserves circulation among those who are desirous of knowing just where the blame lies for the great crime under which the world is now suffering. I reproduce a large part of it, for readers of English.

THE HOUSE OF HOHENZOLLERN THE ENEMY.

Dr. Leonhardi, a German writing of a German book, observes that "through a careful historical study the author

had come to the conclusion that the hereditary foe of Germany is the House of Hohenzollern." "This judgment," he adds, "which most of the people of Germany would not have been inclined to accept when made, in 1868, had, since then, been really confirmed. The author certainly makes a powerful arraignment not only of the Hohenzollerns themselves but of the Prussian system of government, and also of the subject Prussian people."

" 'Historically,' so says the writer of the book, 'it is the fact that already in 1740 the Hohenzollern offensive began with the aim of crushing the existing Government of Germany and of appropriating its separate parts for itself. From that time on until the French Revolution the terrible wars in Germany were the work of the Hohenzollern Dynasty.' "

" Maria Theresa wrote to Marie Antoinette: 'The future does not lie before me smiling. I shall not live to see it, but my children and my grandchildren and my good people will know it only too well. We are feeling already the unprincipled and mighty despotism of this military Monarchy, which knows no other rule of conduct than its own advantage. If only the Prussian motive is allowed to win greater gains, what an outlook is opened for those who come after us. And certainly,—don't let us deceive ourselves,—it is steadily on the increase.

" " We should not be led astray by the flatteries of the Prussian policy. The King uses them only thereby to reach his ends. These gained he always does the contrary,—he never keeps his word. He does this to every one, except to the one Power that he fears,—that is Russia.

" " Austria and France must keep closely bound together,' continues the Empress. ' We shall be overrun and

overthrown, one after the other, if we do not stand firmly united.' ”

A WARNING FULFILLED

The author of this prophetic book then gave the comment, “ We repeat our judgment that the warning made by the Empress Maria Theresa in the year 1778, now, in the year 1868, has in no way been weakened in truth and clarity.

“ And the means used at home by which the Hohenzollern Dynasty has made its policy successful abroad were sharply and definitely set forth by the Empress. It was the unsparing exploitation of its own subject people in money and in blood. It is from the Hohenzollern State that the frightful example of the system under which Europe is now suffering has issued : namely, the system of draining and wasting the vital forces of the people for the purpose of maintaining overpowering standing armies that shall be always ready for aggressive wars.

“ King Frederick the Second, as the ruler of five million people so exalted himself among the Great Powers that he compelled those five millions, in a time of peace, to support an army of 180,000 ; that, is to have one soldier for each twenty-seven persons.

“ What an endless reach of misery is made in the simple relation of those two numbers : 1 and 27 ! Such a military burden, in a time of peace, human history has never before known. This system has made King Frederick, as the representative of the Hohenzollern Dynasty, the founder of ‘ armed peace.’

“ The Hohenzollern State has never struck a blow for Germany. Whatever may have been the wish of the Germans, it has been made to serve the House of Hohen-

zollern. The policy of this House in 1813, and since, has been only to carry on, with Russian help, a war of conquest. The just wishes of the German nation were not met in the Congress of Vienna.

THE HOHENZOLLERN DYNASTY AND DEMOCRACY

“ However, the German Bund came into being ; and the Hohenzollern Dynasty took part in it. But it took part, as all after moves showed, not to further the German federative principle, but to check its development ; and, at the first opportunity, to destroy the Union, just as it had crushed the Empire, in order that the German lands might become so much further material for annexation. . . .

“ Nowadays, there rises a foreboding such as the Empress Maria Theresa expressed in 1778. But we quiet our fears with the thought, that one-half of the military power of the Hohenzollern State, the *Landwehr*, or ‘ Home-guard,’ can not be used in a war of conquest. Still, the Prussian policy has not neglected use of the other means which the Empress Maria Theresa characterized ; namely, falsehood in every shape and manner.”

The author then spoke of the baseness of the Hohenzollern policy, as directed towards Italy, both in its promises and its perfidy, continuing,—“ The year 1866 brought forward a crisis. The Hohenzollern policy became, clearly, just what the Empress Maria Theresa, ninety years before, had defined it to be ; that is, undisturbed by right, truth or honor ; above all a military despotism, having, instead of cynicism, in religion, a despicable hypocrisy. . . .

“ And now another danger has appeared. Many Germans are beginning to come to terms with the Prussian autocracy, because of the seemingly accomplished fact, of its

victory. We say *seemingly* accomplished. The day of Königgratz, of the Prague Treaty of Peace, are indeed accomplished facts. But not, therefore, so, is the victory of Prussia. No permanent status has been secured. All Europe is now involved in the drama. The closing scene of frightful tragedy has not been given,—the tragedy of the insatiable land-greed of the Hohenzollern Dynasty towards Germany and, indeed, towards all Europe. Only the first act has passed. The others are to follow.”

AN ABSOLUTE MILITARY MONARCHY

The author of the book under review, in trying to prevent his fellow countrymen from deceiving themselves about Prussia's purposes, or the possible welfare of the Germans arising from the making of a great German Empire under the lead of the Hohenzollerns, effected a most interesting historical sketch of the career of the Hohenzollerns from the year 1628, in the Mark of Brandenburg, to the Battle of Königgratz. Then he asked, “Who or what conquered in that battle? At Königgratz the people were given up to the Moloch lust of the Hohenzollern craving for dominion. There, all sense of freedom within the Hohenzollern State was smitten and conquered; outwardly, all the confidence of the nations in their safety in peace, or in the preservation of their rights, disappeared with this awaking of desire in those who were strong. Not the will of a people; not any idea that can warm and inspire the human soul was the conqueror at Königgratz; but the Hohenzollerns,—with their motive of an absolute military monarchy, and its inevitable consequences of complete servility within and of lust of conquest outwardly,—these were the conquerors. And before the idol of this success

the subject delegates cast themselves beseechingly into the dust, showing to the world that, correspondent to the Absolutism above was the Servility below; proving the truth of Lessing's declaration, of a hundred years before, concerning the power of the Hohenzollern State as exercised in its skill in the art of education. The Berlin Parliament freely surrendered the stronghold which, in appearance at least, it had, until then, zealously defended. Neither in the Long Parliament in England, nor in the French Convention was there anything analogous to this far-reaching servility. Well might Bismarck say that a masked absolutism, with such a Parliament, could find easy rule.

“With this Prussian Absolutism pervading Germany, how can one hope for a possible free national development? Through a Parliament? This delusion looks to us like the childish devices of the Hindoo who would drive away a tiger by the incantations of magic.”

THE PRUSSIAN ATTACK UPON FRANCE

I should like to quote much more and at length from the review made of this significantly prescient book, particularly from what the writer divined of the speedily approaching assault of Prussia upon France which was made two years after its writing. The author wrote that France must put itself into an attitude of defense:—

“I say defensive attitude, because every war against a marauding military power like that of the Hohenzollerns, is such a war. It is like the struggle of man against a beast of prey. We are confronted by the godless principle of the Dynasty of the Hohenzollerns, that upon earth the Power of the Strong, only, should prevail. This fact has become the curse of the peoples of Europe.

“And now, if you ask frankly, ‘What do you wish?’ I answer, just as frankly,—War against the Hohenzollern State; war against the terrible motive which this State has proclaimed, and which is its ever-animating soul. I wish for this war, even while I know well its terrible consequences. I see, clearly, that this war would bring nameless misery to our German people. And yet, I wish for the war. It would be the minor evil. The far greater evil would be the carrying forward of the principles of the Hohenzollern State into our old lands and then into new lands,—the conquest of new lands by means of force and falsehood; the application of this distinctive system to them; the compulsion of the other European States to imitate the ways of the Hohenzollerns; and *so at last,—after all,—only a war that will be more frightful, more forceful, more ruinous than ever before.*”

“We see in the Hohenzollern Dynasty;—in the motives by which it has formed its State,—the opposite of all true German principles; the opposite of a peaceful, free political evolution. In a word, *the Hohenzollern Dynasty is the real hereditary enemy of Germany.*”

THE GERMAN PEOPLE AND THEIR RULERS.

With these far-seeing, penetrating words the German reviewer closed his excerpt from this remarkable book, written in Germany, and by a German, nearly fifty years ago.

I shall not quote the reviewer's sympathetic comments, in which there is a current of hope that Prussia might thereafter learn the ways of justice and peace, and a demand that declarations of war should not be longer left to the will of “infallible” Princes. Dr. Von Leonhardi's

concluding note, however, well bears repetition today :
 " The German people have, without doubt, so generous a gift of moral judgment, and so much conscientiousness, that they know they can not avoid their responsibility, before God and in human history, for all the horrors which war brings with it, in these days of progress, in greater measure than ever before ; and that they would seek in vain a scape-goat for their crime.

" People and Princes ! We hope, that these words of the poet Herwegh may never become true of you,—

‘ Thou art, in fame-crowned murder,
 The first among the world's lands,—
 Germania ;—I fear for Thee.
 Dismayed, I think that Thou
 Art sunk in wanton frenzy :
 Dost seek the gauds of false greatness :
 And, drunk with " the grace of God,"
 Hast human right forgotten.’ ”

What a comment upon the career of the House of Hohenzollern and the present day insistence by its subject people upon the historic Hohenzollern motive, do these voices from the far and near past bring to these tragic times !

Tokyo, Nov. 3, 1916.

III.

IN THE YEAR 1916.

THE
MEASURE OF THE TRUE
AMERICAN.

“ In America, a New Era commences in human affairs. This era is distinguished by Free Representative Governments ; by entire religious liberty ; by improved systems of national intercourse ; by a newly awakened, and an unconquerable spirit of free inquiry, and by a diffusion of knowledge through the community, such as has been, before, altogether unknown and unheard of.

“ America, our country, our own dear and native land, is inseparably connected, fast bound up, in fortune and by fate, with these great interests. If they fall, we fall with them ; if they stand, it will be because we have upholden them.”

*From “ A Discourse in Commemoration of
John Adams and Thomas Jefferson.”*

DANIEL WEBSTER.

1826,

PREFATORY NOTE.

In a newspaper record of Memorial Day exercises at Yokohama Japan, May 30, 1916, is this note of the address of the day.

“ Dr. MacCauley, himself a veteran of the Civil War, portrayed the spirit that actuates Americans everywhere in the annual observance of Memorial Day. By tracing the events leading up to the birth of the American Nation, the struggles and growth of the Union, and by a logical interpretation of these historical events, he impressed every member of his audience with the true meaning of national loyalty and patriotism among Americans and the ideal for which Americans stand. It was the renewal of allegiance to this ideal, he emphasized, which characterizes the Memorial Day services observed annually now by citizens of the United States.

“ In concluding, he declared there never was a time when there was need among Americans for a more real patriotic sense than to-day; and he asserted that, in the present great strife among the Nations of Europe, every true American should show his sympathy with those who were fighting for the cause of political freedom and for the same principles in which Americans believe.”

THE MEASURE OF THE TRUE AMERICAN.

When Abraham Lincoln delivered his address at Gettysburg, dedicating its battlefield to the memory of the men who struggled and died there that the American Nation might live, his words were mastered by three great thoughts. He spoke of the nation, brought into being by its patriot fathers, as "a Government of the people, by the people and for the people," generated under the conviction that all human beings are "created equal" in right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Also, he called into reverent memory "the brave men, living and dead," who had given the full measure of their devotion that the Government, and, indeed, "any nation so conceived," "shall not perish from the earth." And then, as the culmination of his patriotic plea, he declared that the true memorial to be perpetuated for the nation's "honored dead," is the dedication of the living to their "unfinished work," by highly resolving "that the dead shall not have died in vain; that the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom," and a full realization of its sublime ideal.

More than a half-century has now passed since Lincoln thus interpreted for the American people the inner meaning of their momentous Civil War. And, with the passing years, the worth of the plea of our martyred

President has become increasingly memorable both for its bearings upon the nation within, and upon it in its enlarging relationships with all humankind.

THE MEANINGS OF MEMORIAL DAY.

During the years immediately following the struggle for the Union, almost of necessity Memorial Day was specialized for remembrance of the patriot dead. At that time, the story of the preservation of the Union was vividly retold and the future integrity of the Nation was depicted as lifted above any arena of perilous debate. Naturally, during those earlier years the exercises of the Day were particularly the affair of the defenders of the national federation. They were in largest measure personal, solemnized at the grave-sides of fallen relatives and friends with garlands and with eulogy.

But with the passage of the years; with the wide spreading of death among the survivors of the war; with the fading of alienating memories and the increasing deflection of personal, commercial and political interests by the new happenings and aspirations affecting the whole people of the country, Memorial Day gradually extended its scope. It has become now, in large measure, what Lincoln urged the people to make it, their Day of Commemoration of patriot devotion and of a renewal of their own fidelity to the national ideal. Of course, the earlier celebration of the Day has not passed away because of this larger apprehension. Multitudes, moved by affectionate homage, all through the homeland and even beyond the seas, are still to be seen on each recurring Thirtieth of May, bearing garlands and wreaths to lay upon myriad graves marked by the national flag. However, Memorial

Day is also the chosen time when the whole American people, all now bound together as citizens of one mighty Commonwealth, are summoned anew to loyalty to the ideal which gave being to the Declaration of Independence of 1776, and, eleven years later, was expressed in a federal Constitution as their abiding national law. I ask you, therefore, to consider with me to-day the patriotic service of personal dedication to the sublime American aspiration, proclaimed by our martyred President as "Government of the people, by the people, and for the people." The theme that I have chosen for what I wish to say is, *The Measure of the True American*.

When I began to think seriously upon the treatment of this lofty theme, my thoughts were turned far backward seeking to learn just how the wonderful self-government attempted by the American people came to be; why its preservation should receive the supreme devotion that has been given to it by the hosts who have in various crises sacrificed themselves for it; and, more directly, why that devotion should be renewed by those who to-day bear American citizenship.

GLIMPSES WITHIN AMERICAN HISTORY.

In this retrospect, an extraordinary sequence of events was disclosed. Had I the time now I should like to repeat it in full. It would make an inspiring study. But I can report only a few glimpses of what I saw.

Nowhere did I see among the world's nations, as they were before the American Union was achieved, the like of our Nation, or, excepting among some small nationalities such as the confederacy of the Swiss Cantons, any near approach to our democratic State. Yet I did see one

country among the world's Kingdoms and Empires,—Great Britain—that had borne during more than five hundred years the distinction of making a real, though slow and unsteady, national development, in which the right of the human individual to political freedom and responsibility had begun to become secure. Thereupon, I perceived that the genesis of the American Union had been the ultimate fruition, under peculiarly favoring conditions, of the evolution of the political freedom which had been begun and gained much strength in the career of the English people. And then came under review the unique movements by which Democracy was at length integrated and made supreme in the American Union.

Imagination at first carried me back to the demands of the English barons upon their King, in the Thirteenth Century, for certain privileges of person and property, which they forced him to grant in the *Magna Charta*, thus laying a permanent foundation for English constitutional liberty. Also, I saw the freedom of the English people confirmed for them in their "Petition of Rights," and the "Bill of Rights," which, through much tribulation, they secured in 1689. And so, at the time of the American struggle for independence, while practically all other nationalities were held in the crippling bonds of royal and imperial sovereignties claiming, under divine authority, an arbitrary direction of the political being of their subjects, the English people appeared as in large measure conscious of and exercising individual, personal right in the hazards of their political fortunes.

Because of the centuries-long distinctive growth of the sense of popular civil freedom in Great Britain, I saw that the course of events for all mankind had entered a wholly

new path when Columbus discovered the American Continent; and was followed by many explorers; and; then, by hosts who made the New World their home. Political evolution there was so moved under the special conditions affecting it that it took on characteristics which were to issue in a product hitherto unknown among nations;—the epoch for humanity now manifest in the marvellous career of the American Democracy.

EARLIEST EXPLOITATION OF AMERICA.

The direct result of the discovery of America was, you know, the starting of several of the nations of Europe upon expeditions of exploration and of conquest there. At first Spain, then England together with the Portuguese, were in the lead. Wherever these adventurers touched the new world's coast each laid claim to an indefinite reach of territory in the name of his sovereign lord. Of special interest to us, in the multiplicity of the events of that far away time, is the fact that John Cabot set sail from Bristol, England, in May, 1497. Historian Fiske declares that "the first fateful note that heralded English supremacy in North America was sounded with the sailing of Cabot's tiny craft." Fourteen months before Columbus sighted the mainland of the new world, Cabot had sailed far along the Atlantic Coast, and, as was the manner of the time, he "gave to England a continent."

What else was gained by the explorers who crossed the Atlantic in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries, we need not recount at length. There were the Spanish aggressors in the West Indies, Mexico and Peru. There was Americo Vespucci, who, in 1504, sailed along the South Atlantic Coast, the man whose name was wrongly given to

the new world eighteen years later. And there was Cartier of France, who in the north, on the St. Lawrence River, not long afterwards opened the way to two hundred years of warfare between his country and Great Britain, in rivalry for the sovereignty of America's great domain. Many other adventurers, crossed the ocean and returned to their home-countries telling exciting tales of the possibilities of the overseas world. But our interest does not now lie with them. Great Britain's enterprise especially concerns us.

BEGINNINGS OF "THE THIRTEEN COLONIES."

For a long while England hesitated to take advantage of Cabot's discoveries. The Pope had given all America to Spain in 1502. The English Government was disinclined to interfere concerning this sacred title. However, about a hundred years later an English colonization of the New World was begun. In 1584, Lord Raleigh attempted to locate a colony at Roanoke. He named the whole region lying between the French possessions at the North and the Spanish holdings on the Southern Gulf Coast in honor of his Queen,—Virginia. The Roanoke Colony failed ere long ; it soon disappeared, leaving no impress upon America's future.

A few years later, however, a decisive event took place when James I. divided the Virginia Company into two branches,—the London and the Plymouth Companies, the former for the South coast, and the latter for the North. In the King's order was the declaration that these territories were opened to occupants, for the advancement of "*human civility and a settled and quiet government.*"

With this event the story of the real conception and growth of the American Nation begins, and the original incentive leading to our Memorial Day theme appears.

We can ignore the first response made to the opportunity given by the liberal Royal invitation. The attempted colonization, in 1607, on the Kennebec River in the North did not have enough vitality to survive its birth.

I. VIRGINIA.

But in the same year a number of English gentleman, who have been spoken of as "not wonted to labor," sought to make a home for themselves on an island in the James River in the South. Three years later, this Jamestown Colony having almost perished, Lord Delaware came to it with supplies and new members. That enterprise was then continued with renewed life, transmitting its vigor to a speedily growing immigration, which gradually achieved a representative self-government in sympathy with the developing popular government in England. In 1619, the House of Burgesses, Virginia's first colonial legislature, was gathered; it set forth for the Colony a genuine government by the people. Ten years later, King Charles I. recognised the authoritative value of this colonial self-reliance when the Virginia people resisted his orders relative to a royal tobacco monopoly. "*The seeds of American liberty were thus already germinating on the shores of the Chesapeake.*" Representative liberty soon became an established Virginia custom. It is true that this Colony was also markedly loyal to the British Crown; and it favored the reign of the unfortunate Charles I. But afterwards, in the ascendancy of the Commonwealth, under Cromwell, Virginia gave allegiance to that Govern-

ment because of the promise that, as colonists, the Virginians *should have all the liberties of the free born people of England ; no taxes, no customs, no garrisons of British soldiers except by their own consent.* The Virginians thenceforward believed themselves to be a free people.

II. MASSACHUSETTS.

The permanent colonization of the Northern Branch of the Virginia Company—Plymouth—began in 1620. In that year the British Government issued "The Great Patent for New England." Among its grants were "*absolute property of soil, unlimited jurisdiction, regulation of trade, sole power of legislation, administration of justice and appointment of all officials.*" The patent covered the whole continent, giving a width of the present New England States.

But, most dramatically, in that year there was on the Atlantic Ocean a little vessel named the *Mayflower*, bearing a company of a hundred and two English men and women who had left the protecting care of Holland that they might find secure refuge and undisturbed freedom in the New World ; a Colony from whose purposes and beliefs, probably more than from any other one source, there was to come, within the next century and a half, the free and independent, representative Democracy whose uplifting and heroic service to human well-being has brought to us our day of patriotic memory. This little band of "pilgrims," avowedly seeking perfect civil and religious liberty for themselves, were beneficiaries, of course, of the "Great Patent" then issued for New England ; but, acting independently of that, the "Pilgrim Fathers," when their frail vessel, after its stormy voyage, lay at safety in Province-

town harbor, made with each other a sacred compact, to "*combine ourselves together in a civil body politic,—to enact, constitute, and to frame such just and equal laws as shall be thought most mete and convenient for the general good of the Colony, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience.*"

With these words a self-reliant democratic political organization was actually brought into being in the New World ; and in that organism lay a possible development whose consummation would be, in fact, the first true Democracy which mankind had achieved. And it so happened that in the near future the Colony which came into being on the shores of Massachusetts Bay assumed for itself, and thenceforward maintained, all the privileges and offices of self-government.

In 1629, the Charter of the Massachusetts Colony was transferred from England to America. Thereby, the corporation directorate was changed from a foreign institution into a provincial independent government. John Winthrop, as the elected Governor of the Colony, brought the Royal Charter with him to Massachusetts Bay. Thus a self-regulating State was legally established in the New World ; a State wherein, to be sure, loyalty to the Crown of Great Britain was cherished, but also where that loyalty was made dependent upon the popular good will. The aim of this new Commonwealth was "*to reduce to practice the forms of civil liberty and the doctrines of religion*" which the Puritans held to be their priceless treasures.

What happened in the other parts of America in those times, so far as the components of our national Union are involved, a few rapid glances will show.

III. MARYLAND.

Lord Baltimore, an English Roman Catholic, received, in 1632, a grant of dominion in the New World. His aim was to establish there, because of bitter personal experiences, "*an asylum for civil liberty and a shelter for the persecuted of every Christian denomination.*" His sons began a Colony the following year near the mouth of the Potomac River. In time, after many tribulations, an independent, purely democratic legislative assembly came into being; and finally, from this Colony, the State of Maryland was established. I have read that Lord Baltimore was "the first ruler in the history of Christendom to plan popular institutions with entire liberty of conscience."

IV. RHODE ISLAND.

Roger Williams, a Puritan of Massachusetts, ten years after the Pilgrims landed, incurred the displeasure of the magistrates of the Puritan Colony because he held that the State should leave matters of religious opinion and worship to the conscience of the individual and to confine government to secular concerns. It has been claimed for him that he is "*the first person in modern Christendom to assert, in its plenitude, liberty of conscience and equality of opinion before the law.*" It was the fortune of Roger Williams to found the State of Rhode Island.

V. CONNECTICUT.

The Colony of Connecticut was formed in 1637, composed of several Puritan settlements. It was gradually enlarged by incorporating with itself other communities. It began to govern itself two years later by a written Constitution, which is described as "*an embodiment of unexampled civil liberty.*" Herefrom came the State of Connecticut.

VI. NEW YORK.

There was a settlement of Dutch traders on the island of Manhattan in 1615. *Forty years afterwards in that Settlement it was agreed that no new laws should be enacted for them except with the consent of the people.* The English in 1664, as part of their rivalry with the Dutch, took possession of Manhattan Island ; and New Amsterdam became New York.

VII. NEW JERSEY.

What is now the State of New Jersey had a varied genesis. It was settled first, at Bergen about 1617, by some Manhattan Dutch. Twenty years later, emigrants from Sweden located themselves near the mouth of the Delaware River. In 1664, the district was named New Jersey because of an English ducal grant.

The English finally secured possession of New Jersey in 1674 ; when some Quakers bought it, making the memorable proclamation :—*We lay a foundation for after ages to understand their liberty as Christians and men, that they may not be brought into bondage but by their own consent ; for we put power in the people.*

VIII. PENNSYLVANIA.

William Penn, an English Quaker, in 1681 received from King Charles II. a great territorial grant. He found already on his land a colony of Swedes ; but he assured them their home ; and he issued a generous invitation to the world's peoples to make use of his lands. Many immigrants came,—English, German, Dutch, Scotch, Irish and French. To all he made this declaration of the use of his proprietary power :—“ *You are fixed at the mercy of no Governor. You shall be governed by laws of your*

own making and live a free people. I shall not usurp the right of any or oppress his person."

Penn dealt most kindly with all his colonial tenants, and made a treaty of peace and friendship with the Indians. William Penn's Colony became the State of Pennsylvania, in whose capital city the American "Declaration of Independence," in after time, came to pass and the American National Congress was first gathered.

IX. DELAWARE.

Penn also possessed title to the district which later became the State of Delaware. In 1703, its people, although under the Penn governorship, *instituted and maintained a legislative assembly of their own.*

X-XI. NORTH, AND SOUTH CAROLINA.

In the far South, however, American colonization, in its beginnings, did not have quite the good fortune we have so far seen.

In 1562, a band of French Huguenots sought refuge on the Southern Atlantic Coast. They called their new home Carolina, from their own King, Charles IX. In 1663, these lands were granted by the English Sovereign to the Earl of Clarendon. In 1670, the growing Colonies there were given a Constitution prepared by the celebrated philosopher, John Locke. It was almost feudal in character, and, naturally, it soon failed.

Under King George the Second, in 1729, North and South Carolina came into being. They were directed by royal Governors, yet *they had legislative assemblies chosen by the people.*

XII. GEORGIA.

The Colony of Georgia was organized in 1733, by General James Edward Oglethorpe, for the help of persecuted Protestants and others in distress. It had for its government a Board of Trustees. But this form of government was too widely separated from the growing democracy of the other American Colonies to last. *In 1754, the Board of Trustees gave way to the demand of the people for a legislature of their own choice.*

XIII. NEW HAMPSHIRE.

New Hampshire, the one of the thirteen original members of the American Union, the last to have being, needs no distinguishing story. It was part of the Province of Massachusetts until 1741; and, until then, it had all the rights and privileges of the whole Colony. After that year, *it had autonomy as a self-reliant Colony of Great Britain.*

THE STARTING OF A NEW EPOCH FOR HUMANITY.

In these glimpses of the beginnings of the American Nationality we see a most significant preparation for the beginnings of the new epoch in the political development of humanity which gives us our theme. We have had glimpses of many currents of diverse human life flowing from Europe into a land wholly new in history; a land wherein no civilized peoples, no developed institutions, no political traditions or habits, no inherited, confirmed community privileges had place to shape, or to direct, the future social, religious and political movements that should be made. The newly-forming communities there, were under no bonds except those arising from a voluntary loyalty to

a State thousands of miles away, across seas which could be traversed only slowly and at wide intervals.

* * * * *

For some time before the great events by which the American Nation came into being, the whole North American Continent had been the arena in which three mighty European Powers were seeking supremacy.

At the north-west of the Thirteen Colonies were the French forces representing, for that age, monarchic absolutism for both State and Church. Commissioned nobles, priests and soldiers were arbitrarily directing the exploitation of Canada and the Northwest.

To the south and west of the Colonies were possessions of the then decadent, monarchic Spain, having in them no inherent vigor derived from a healthful immigration. The regions there were merely territories which many Spanish adventurers were despoiling at their pleasure.

In 1763, however, a permanent determination was made of the rivalries of these three Powers. By the "Peace of Paris," reached in that year, Great Britain became sovereign of the whole of North America, east of the Mississippi River. Spain's seemingly useless territory remained undisturbed for the time. But all the possessions of France were taken away from her, and the dominion of the French was totally excluded from the continent. Great Britain's sway took its place. British sovereignty was extended, east of the Mississippi, from the Gulf of Mexico to the Polar Ocean.

So, then, midway in the Eighteenth Century, there was established in Eastern America an enormous British domain in which, of special moment, thirteen Colonies were developing as unique political entities. All of these Colonies

had become possessed of an acute sense of political independence and were insistent upon self-government. Each of them was expectant of recognition of its right to autonomy, and each was jealous of even any seeming infringement of the right. Two of them, Rhode Island and Connecticut, were true republics; three, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland, were hereditary proprietaries; the others were vice-royalties; all of them, however, electing their own Legislatures and claiming the right to initiate their own laws.

INDEPENDENCE FOR "THE THIRTEEN
COLONIES," ACHIEVED.

Our immediate theme now comes near. We have no time to recall an adequate sequence of the causes which led directly to the War for Independence, and to the creation of the American Union. But let us remember clearly that the Revolution of 1776 was not that of a desperate uprising of suffering peoples, beaten down by cruel oppression; nor was it because of any dread of the tyranny of an aggressive, autocratic dynasty. The Revolution started from a much higher level than such wrongs. Rather, the principles on which the conflict was carried through should be regarded more as "a tribute of English freemen to England's own past and to her own productive energy."

This War was an advancing extension into America of the same centuries-long strife which in England had been aiming at liberty for the people there. It has been said that "*at the time of the Colonial revolution the struggle took on contrasting phases; namely, an effort of the English people at home to regain liberty which had been temporarily wrested from them, and in America to preserve that liberty.*"

The effort of the Colonials was made decisive by their declaring independence of the usurping Royalty in England and establishing a free, self-reliant Nation of their own. The fatal error of the British Government of the time was that it would not acknowledge that British Colonials had the same civil liberties as those held by the free-born people of England. The struggle in England, in 1688, against Andros, the royal Governor, who tried to get possession of the Colonial Charters, was not so much a warring against actual oppression as against a system under which oppression would become possible. Likewise, in Virginia, in 1765, when Patrick Henry, in the House of Burgesses, opposed the Stamp Act of the home Government, his opposition arose from his claim that the Colonials having all the rights of free-born British subjects could not be taxed without representation in Parliament, proclaiming the portentous judgment that, "Caesar had his Brutus, Charles the First his Cromwell, and George the Third"—when, as the Royalist Chairman shouted "Treason," the orator continued, "might profit by their example."

In 1776, the momentous crisis arrived. The representatives of all the Thirteen Colonies came together in Congress, and, for the sake of their inherited freedom, united in a "Declaration of Independence" of the King and of their "British Brethren," mutually pledging to each other in its support "their Lives, their Fortunes and their sacred Honour." After six years more of trying war, independence was wholly achieved.

HOW THE COLONIES BECAME THE UNITED STATES

Never in the history of civil governments has there been a problem more difficult as to a satisfying solution than that

which confronted the Thirteen Colonies when the treaty was signed which gave them full autonomy. Throughout the War they had been forced into close co-operation and had been measurably free from dissension. The Continental Congress did effect a sort of national unity ; but it is a memorable fact of that Congress that there were, in representation, thirteen actually independent State Sovereignties, each on the watch to prevent an invasion of its independence. The one real bond among them was resistance to the British rule. That first Congress, for example, had no power to tax any of the States. Indeed, as the War closed in 1782, there was hardly a political measure about which all the States were in accord. "Interests opposed interests, classes classes, and men men." It is true that under the stress of the War, in 1777, certain "Articles of Confederation" had been adopted as an attempt at securing a National Union. But this instrument met the political need very poorly. No real National Union was secured by it.

There were wise men, however, to whom the necessities of the emancipated States gradually became clear ; and these men were enabled, in time, to become the makers of a new Nation composed of these thirteen self-insistent Sovereignties. They saw that, in order to maintain any autonomy for any of these separate Sovereignties worth the having, each independent State must, in some way, limit its independence and increase its co-operation with the others. They saw clearly that there could be no possible liberty for any separate State without union with the other States for the protection of its freedom. And they saw, too, that there was no possible union for the States except a union in which their liberties should be preserved.

Starting from these evident but seemingly irreconcilable needs, came, then, to the nation's founders the exalted vision of our American Union. They decided to make of the many States,—“The United States.” “Many in One,” *E Pluribus Unum*, should be its motto. Liberty and Union should be its method, and the Union with Liberty should be its consummate goal. George Washington was the clear-seeing spokesman for the patriots, who saw the true welfare and progress of the emancipated people dependent on this achievement, when he pleaded for “*an indissoluble union of the States under one federal head ; having a sacred regard for public justice ; the whole organization cared for and perpetuated with mutual forbearance and sacrifice.*”

At last, the leadership which the emancipated American people accepted and began to follow with increasing intelligence and fortitude, had emerged from the confusion and ignorance which had pervaded the long struggle for liberty. In 1787, the Constitution of the American Union was finally formulated,—an achievement which, all things considered, has been well regarded as the most remarkable political transaction in human history. Thirteen small, self-conscious, ambitious States,—enfeebled, dispirited, crippled by a long war and by inner dissension,—set to work under the law of self-preservation to secure a durable Government.

At first, their representatives assembled only to disagree. But wise and patient leadership finally enabled them to work out the Federal Constitution.

Much public clamor was raised in the separate States over this new political bond ; but the people refrained from dangerous contention, and, in the end,

all the States accepted it. The United States of America had become a permanent factor among the world's Nations :—"The Measure of the True American" was proclaimed. When it was all done, Washington said, "*I conceive that under an energetic Government such regulations might be made and measures taken that will render this country the asylum of pacific and industrious characters from all parts of Europe ; indeed, a kind of asylum for mankind.*"

THE AMERICAN UNION PROCLAIMED A FACT.

Then what happened ?

The federating Constitution had been ratified by all the States. But only three of them had given it unanimous assent. The others had accepted it by majorities varying greatly. Evidently, the forces of dissension were not all quieted, though the voice of the majorities had spoken and had declared to the world the measure of the true American. Eight years afterwards, when President Washington gave up his official leadership of the new national Union, he said in his "Farewell Address," because of a justified solicitude,—"*No recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm your love of liberty which is interwoven with every ligament of your hearts. And the government which constitutes you one people is also dear to you. But, as it is easy to foresee, this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most actively directed. It is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union ; that you should think of it as the palladium of your political safety and prosperity ; indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of*

every attempt to alienate any portion of the country from the rest." The name of America, he declared, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism above that of any local habitation.

The new Nation had evidently made entry upon a perilous path. Those Americans who were convinced that the welfare of the Thirteen States was dependent upon a thorough Nationalization determined to realize their faith; the separate States were warned in their accepting the Constitution that they were committing an irrevocable act.

When, in 1797, the Congress passed certain "*alien and sedition laws*" to protect the Union from the treasonable machinations, within its borders, of certain aliens, and two of the State Legislatures by majority votes asserted that each State had the right to judge of the constitutionality and validity of an Act of Congress, the first of the internal perils of the new Nation had to be met. The theory of supreme State Right had had a portentous expression.

In 1803, President Jefferson purchased from Napoleon the vast territory of Louisiana, making the Union, thereby, owner of fully one-third of the continent lying west of the Mississippi River; an enormous district in which rival sectional interests were to bring, in the near future, gravely hazardous issues for the developing Nation.

Because of the "War of 1812" the United States became more closely bound together, though this war was bitterly opposed in New England. This was followed by what is called "The Era of Good Feeling" in our national career. James Monroe was elected President then by an almost unanimous vote of the States.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE UNION FOR EXISTENCE.

The era of good feeling was closed, however, by the sudden precipitation of the stupendous issue which for the next half-century brought almost mortal calamity to the country, and was ended only by the awful armed conflict, in celebration of which this Memorial Day is now one of the Nation's commemorations.

In 1820, a sectional dispute arose in the national Congress over the admission of Missouri as a State, privileged to continue Negro Slavery as one of its institutions. A dangerous excitement was enkindled; but, for the time, it was allayed by the so-called "Missouri Compromise."

"The Monroe Doctrine" was proclaimed three years later, essentially for the purpose of protecting the American Continent from becoming a source of danger to the American Nation by the establishment on it of foreign political institutions.

In President Jackson's tenure of office the measure of the true American was set forth anew with forcible emphasis. One of the States, insistent upon its supreme right as a sovereign State, declared that the tariff laws passed by the Congress in 1828 were "null and void, and not binding" upon itself. But President Jackson, believing that he was defending the rightful supremacy of the whole Nation, repudiated the local nullification and prepared to enforce the national authority. Another compromise in the Congress stilled this threat of strife; and the United States continued their national development.

A remarkable, far-reaching Congressional debate was

brought forward during this "Nullification Crisis," when Daniel Webster set the American Union far onward on its chosen way by asserting,—"*It is the people's Constitution, the people's government, made for the people, made by the people and answerable to the people. The people of the United States have declared that this Constitution shall be the supreme law.*"

In those years, it was, there was a most portentous increase throughout the country of the long-existing agitation over problems immediately connected with Negro-Slavery.

In the Northern States there were many men, advocates of the abolition of Slavery, who urged a disunion of the States because, so they elaimed, the country's Constitution protected Slavery.

In the Southern States, hostility to abolition and the abolitionists became intense. One of the most threatening effects of this increasing sectional alienation was the stimulus it gave to the original claim for the supremacy of the "Rights of the States" against those of the Nation. Thenceforward there was no public question so engrossing, so alienating, therefore none so dangerous to the Union, as that of the place Slavery might hold among the national institutions.

"The Mexican War" of 1846 came to pass largely in the interests of Slavery. That war was ended by the acquisition for the country of another vast extent of territory,—all of California and New Mexico. Increased perils for the national Union came with the demands made for the admission of Slavery into this new national domain. Texas, however, made a State in 1845, was the last new State to come into the Union privileged to hold slaves.

The sectional struggle over Slavery continued, becoming more intense and alienating. In 1860, Abraham Lincoln received the electoral vote of every Northern State except New Jersey. Thereupon eleven States of the South determined to insist upon the original individual sovereignty held by the Colonies and thus break up the Federal Union. They passed acts of Secession that they might form themselves into an independent Confederacy.

The Civil War, the "War for the Union," then convulsed the American people. After four years the war came to an end. In the ending, Slavery had disappeared from all the States; and, also, the question was finally answered that the American Union is a fixed fact in the passing of the ages.

THE AMERICAN UNION IS NOW ONE NATION.

There appeared, thus, an indivisible American Federation of States, the measure of whose universal citizenship is legalized personal, social, and political freedom, limited only by the needs of all other free fellow Americans.

Possessing this renewed and clarified charter of human right and duty, the American Nation, later to consist of forty-eight States and a national territory extended into distant parts of the globe, has been developing during the past half-century, achieving an increase in prosperity and in general well-being such as has never before been seen.

But this marvellous advance, naturally, has not been made undisturbed by new perils, or without new need for the exercise of patriotic duty. America has now become an enormously complex civil, industrial and commercial Organism for itself; and it has been brought into intimate and critical world-wide international relationships.

So much is this the fact that, probably, never before has the duty been more imperative upon all Americans for them to consider seriously the true measure of their citizenship and how they shall best conform themselves to it.

THE NATIONAL IDEAL AND THE MEASURE OF
OUR SERVICE OF IT.

I must now bring my address to a close. But as I do this, I ask you to honor well our Memorial Day by recalling earnestly our National Ideal and what is needed for loyal service to it. We are, as Americans, confronted by manifold personal and social problems. We are all, more or less, related to the domains of our national industries and commerce. We are all, more or less, in contact with questions concerning such important relations as those of employers and employed; of capitalists and laborers; of officials and private citizens; of rich and poor; of virtuous and criminal; of the healthful and the sick; of the wise and the ignorant; of the native-born and the immigrant, of our own and of other races; in fact we are all, more or less, in touch with the whole round of the affairs of our complex national life. So, to be true to the measure of our citizenship we should faithfully seek to be brother-men with all of humankind.

I may not leave my theme, however, without reference to one further phase of American duty.

I have had this phase in mind since I first made choice of our theme; indeed, my theme came to me largely because of it; and I have told the story of the genesis and character of the American Union chiefly that its recital might add emphasis to what I am now about to say.

AMERICANS AND THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL
DEFENSE OF CIVIL FREEDOM.

The greatest international conflict, the conflict probably the most portentous in its effects near and remote, that has ever arisen among mankind is now being waged in many lands. I must, therefore, ask, What are we to expect of every true American in his bearing towards this stupendous conflict? I have made answer for myself. Our Nation may not be forced to become an active participant in the struggle; but I believe that not only every true American may, but that he should, give his sympathy and his best wishes to any participants in this conflict who, he is convinced, are struggling for the preservation and the furtherance of personal and political liberty. Indeed, there is much, I believe, that obliges even our National Government to show good will to any Nationality, endangered in the struggle, whose object is politically akin to that of America. It is to be remembered that in the days when the Hungarian patriots, in 1850, were seeking political freedom and the Austrian Government protested to our Nation's Administration that the American people were violating neutrality by giving Louis Kossuth a helpful hearing, Daniel Webster, then Secretary of State, declined to entertain the protest, announcing that "*it is the right of Americans to give sympathy to any people struggling for a Constitution like our own.*"

And further, I am persuaded that the true American should never hesitate to help in suppressing whatever attempts might be made by alien hands, while under the protection of American hospitality, to betray America by giving aid and comfort to any foes of personal and political freedom.

With firmest conviction I believe that no man has a right to claim American citizenship and, at the same time, reserve and exercise allegiance to any foreign Potentate or Nation whose dominant principles and acts are antagonistic to the measure of the true American.

Every American citizen is the pledged lover of human liberty, individual and collective ; he is devoted to upholding the ideals of a democratic State. So, just to the measure that he swerves from fidelity to this sacred obligation he is recreant to his trust.

* * * * *

Let us all, then, seek to bear ourselves as becometh the memory of the men who, through the past centuries of trial, danger and devotion even unto death, wrought for civil freedom as the birthright of man. Failing in this, our offering to-day of these fragrant symbols of remembrance at the graves of the Nation's " honored dead " in yonder cemetery would be but a hollow mockery. They, with the great hosts of other times, who have died for freedom's cause, have made possible for the world the self-government that is the ideal of American Democracy ; and long after all the personal mourners of their deaths shall have themselves passed away they will be so remembered by mankind. But the best memorial that Americans can give on behalf of these heroic dead is earnest, personal consecration to the perpetuation of the Ideal for which they died.

Soon after the close of the American Civil War I wrote these words :—" The Empire of the People is now for the first time really brought to mankind. It is the last, best gift of the Ruler of Nations to Humanity. It is the Empire of Popular Liberty, armed with Popular Law. If

we are but faithful to it, nothing can bound its sway but the limits of the world."

"Empire unsceptered ! what foe shall assail thee,
 Bearing the standard of Liberty's van ?
Think not the God of the fathers shall fail thee,
 Striving with man for the birthright of man !
Lord of the Universe ! shield us and guide us,
 Trusting thee always, through shadow and sun !
Thou hast united us, who shall divide us ?
 Keep us, O ! Keep us, the MANY IN ONE."

IV.

IN THE YEAR 1917—18.

THE
AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY OF
JAPAN AND THE WAR.

“For the sake of a real and an enduring peace among the present warring Nations, and even throughout the world, we hereby join hand and voice with the multitudes of our fellow countrymen and their friends, who, professed lovers of peace, have, nevertheless, received as their present motive, the conviction that the way to the goal they long for is directly through the present struggle to a positive victory over the Hohenzollern Autocracy.”

From the Announcement of the Executive Committee of The American Peace Society of Japan, Feb. 12th 1918.

CLAY MACCAULEY, PRESIDENT.

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY OF JAPAN AND THE WAR.

1.

EXTRACT FROM "ANNOUNCEMENT";—FEB. 12TH, 1918.

"Recently, however, most of the world's leading Nations have become involved in war,—in the most terribly cruel, destructive, and, withal, portentous of all the wars that have afflicted mankind. And now the United States, our own country, has been forced into the awful conflict as one of its active and armed participants. Because of this act, every American has become vitally affected: each of us is unavoidably confronted by the momentous issues that are accompanying the act; and each is, as a matter of course, met by the duty to take a definite attitude towards the struggle in all our relations as citizens and as men.

The American Peace Society of Japan, with a membership wholly American, is, therefore, of necessity summoned to give to the present world struggle its earnest attention and judgment. It is all the more strongly called to this duty because its distinctive purpose, in its larger reach,—the promotion of international or world peace—is involved in the momentous strife.

AN EXPRESSION OF JUDGMENT.

After a careful and deliberate consideration of the great question thus raised for us, we, the Executive Committee of the Society, now make public the following Announce-

ment. It is an expression of the judgment which, as both Americans and as members of this Society, we are constrained to make :—

1. As individuals, and as members of this Society, whose aim is international peace, whatever our judgment may be, such judgment is necessarily subject to this distinctive aim.

2. But while we acknowledge this fact, we remember with it another fact of profound import ;—that there can be no peace among either men or nations that is worth the having if it is secured by force, used under the impulse of personal, national, dynastic, or racial ambition, and in violation of man's natural rights ;— to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness ; to individual legal equality among fellow beings ; to security in the possession of honestly gained property, and to much else that is generally recognized as of Human Right.

3. In the present international struggle, our country's President, the Federal Congress, and an overwhelming majority of our fellow-Americans, have become convinced that the war has been aroused and carried on by the aggressive dynasty that dominates the German Empire ;— a dynasty that, in the prosecution of its military despotism, has made often repeated attacks upon unoffending peoples ; that has aggravated these attacks by ruthless and wanton desecrations of national and personal rights ; by needless destruction of public and private property, and by a devastation of human well being, and even of life, probably unparalleled in human history.

So, then, on behalf of and for the sake of the very peace that we of our Society earnestly long for, we are constrained to condemn the attacks made by the military autocracy of

Germany upon other peoples and nations; and we herewith express our profoundly felt sympathy with our fellow-countrymen, and with all peoples with whom our country is allied, in the defense they are making against their despotic assailant aiming at the suppression of human—collective and individual—rights. We are impelled to this decision really for the sake of the peace which is our ideal.

PEACE BY ALLIED VICTORY.

For the sake of a real and an enduring peace among the present warring Nations, and even throughout the world, we hereby join hand and voice with multitudes of our fellow-countrymen and their friends who, professed lovers of peace, have, nevertheless, received as their present motive, the conviction that the way to the goal they long for is directly through the present struggle to a positive victory over the Hohenzollern Autocracy.

Even the long-devoted and foremost pleader in America for international peace,—the official spokesman of the American Peace Society, that has served its ideal with no uncertain voice for nearly one hundred years,—the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, has just proclaimed to all friends of peace and to the whole American people that “we are now faced with an irrepressible conflict [between the will to might of the German Government and the will to right of the United States; and we believe it to be true that a triumphant Germany would now destroy every hope we have for a world governed by justice, and that what we mean by Civilization is at this hour hanging in the balance.”

On behalf of the very cause it has served, this devoted representative of multitudes of lovers of peace has therefore

sounded for itself and for them a rallying cry in this declaration: "The clarion, unmistakable call to us all is that we must now end this war by winning it."

To this duty the summons from our beloved country comes to us who are of "The American Peace Society of Japan." Both the Houses of the American National Congress, in agreement with the Nation's President, have officially proclaimed that a state of war has been thrust upon the country. And it has become clear, from the acts and utterances of the Nations now at war, that conferences which might be held by the advocates of peace to devise peace proposals; that judicial processes attempting to secure peace; that courts of international appeal to settle disputed international questions; that all co-operative efforts to lead the nations peacefully to the peace we long for, are agencies that, for the present, are without avail. Much as we wish for them, the ordinary methods that are valued as means for promoting amity and quiet among the Nations are now beyond effective use; and this, just because of the claims and the insistent aggressiveness of the arrogant Autocracy which started the world-wide struggle.

WE MUST FIGHT FOR RIGHT.

Consequently, meeting the portentous crisis which has been raised for mankind by the Autocracy of Central Europe, we make public this our Announcement. And we repeat, in its support, the proclamation, just sent forth by our country's President, of the principle under which the American people will henceforward act until a just decision befalls in the world war:—

"It is the principle of justice," says President Wilson, "of justice to all peoples and nationalities, and their right

to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether they be strong or weak. Unless this principle be made its foundation no part of the structure of international justice can stand.

“The people of the United States could act upon no other principle; and to the vindication of this principle they are ready to devote their lives, their honor, and everything that they possess. The moral climax of this the culminating and final war for human liberty has come.”

2.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY;—

FEB. 12TH, 1918.

“This is the seventh anniversary of the American Peace Society of Japan, organized for “the promotion of international peace and good will,” specializing this aim, however, to the furtherance of a mutually helpful friendship between Japan and America.

My particular prompting for the few minutes I may take for an address to you now is to consider the momentous question with which we all, personally and as members of this Society, have been confronted since our last assembling. Our country is now engaged in war, taking sides as an armed ally with the Peoples who are defending themselves against the Nations of Central Europe. And we, as an American Society, though devoted to peace, are necessitated, whether we so will or not, to take a definite position towards the portentous situation thus brought into being.

Of course, we long for peace to prevail throughout mankind. And, of course, we would do all in our power,

through pleading ; through dispassionate discussion ; by means of appeal to the Peoples at war, to observe the injunctions of right and of justice in the direction of their personal and international relations. But all these means, although they have long been foremost in the efforts of multitudes of others who are like us,—here and elsewhere among the Nations,—have, for the present at least, become futile ; and the question is directly forced upon us—“What shall we, as a Peace Society, do?” No question so momentous for us as this now awaits our answer.

PEACE MERELY AS PEACE IS WITHOUT WORTH.

It has long been clear to me that peace, merely as peace, is not in any worthy sense, a personal, social or national condition to be longed for. There is the peace that is consequent upon physical and mental disease or impotence ; there is the peace of the cowed and abject serf or slave ; and there is the peace of death, spiritual as well as physical. I agree fully with President Nicholas Murray Butler, a Director of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, that “Peace is not an ideal at all ; it is a state attendant upon the achievement of an ideal. The ideal itself is human liberty, justice, and the honorable conduct of an orderly and humane society. Given this, a durable peace follows naturally as a matter of course. Without this, there is no peace, but only a rule of force until liberty and justice revolt against it in search of peace.”

Here is full justification for the answer to our question that is put forward in our Executive Committee’s report and that has commended itself to a multitude of true lovers of peace everywhere. Yes, members and friends of our American Peace Society in Japan ; with peace still our

aim, we can yet show fidelity to that aim by standing resolutely and without faltering, side by side, in support of our President and the National Congress until finally victory for human right and freedom is achieved. It is eminently fitting, therefore, that the "Announcement" made by our Executive Committee should become this Society's declaration to our fellow countrymen and to the world. In order to hasten the end of all War, let this war be won; let human liberties, individual and national, thereby be made safe, and be kept safe into the coming centuries.

EVEN FORCIBLE DEFENSE OF RIGHT IS RIGHT.

And in obeying this mandate, do not let us fear that we are violating the need of the higher manhood, or even of the true Christianity. Our country has been thrust into this war because of an appeal to moral ideals. A real and durable international peace is America's motive and goal. No voice that cries, "peace for the sake of peace;" that bids us acquiesce in the domination of Wrong under the law that Might makes Right, should lead us now. The standard raised for us is one of the supremacy of Justice, of Liberty for all human beings under the rule of Equity and of Mutual Helpfulness; of vindication for the wrongs of the weak, and of guardianship of an open path for all in which natural endowment and energy shall be the measure of success. Never in human history has the issue so clearly been drawn between international Right and Wrong as now; and never has international Wrong found a leader more ready to use blasphemy than the military Autocrat whose aim is world-conquest for the sake of himself and of his ambitious dynasty.

With deepest longing, we would choose other means than armed conflict for resistance to this assailant of the world's liberties, but it has become clear that nothing but the force of arms can make powerless the weapons with which human liberty and man's true development are now assailed.

In thus answering our great question, I see no violation of either the needs of the higher manhood or even of the religion of Him named "The Prince of Peace." With this conviction, we may all, I believe, sincerely support our country and give aid to all freedom-loving Peoples in their present terrible struggle."

V.

IN THE YEAR 1917.

KRAUSE'S
LEAGUE FOR HUMAN RIGHT
AND THEREBY
WORLD PEACE.

“I pray God that if this contest has no other result, it will at least have the result of creating an International Tribunal, and of producing some sort of joint guarantee of peace on the part of the great Nations of the world.”

Woodrow Wilson.

THE World Court idea is not new. It has been the thought of eminent men—scholars, churchmen, publicists, occasionally statesmen—at intervals for generations. William Penn put forward, in 1693, a plan to prevent wars. In 1795, the famous German philosopher, Immanuel Kant, published his essay on “Perpetual Peace,” a fundamental conception in which was that wars would not cease until all the governments of the world were democratic. The great English lawyer, Jeremy Bentham, 1789, whose speculations fertilized so many departments of law and social endeavor, likewise elaborated a plan. Other men at other times, before and since these, have turned their thoughts to this subject.

In America we have had men such as Elihu Burritt and Charles Sumner who have influenced, not only the people of America, but of the whole world. The first Peace Society was formed in New York, 1815, followed by one in England the ensuing year. It was Burritt who organized the Brussels Congress of Friends of Peace in 1848; and this was followed by the important gatherings in Paris, Frankfurt, London, Manchester, and Edinburgh. The great Congress in Paris, 1849, was presided over by Victor Hugo.

Then there burst upon the world a series of wars, beginning with the Crimean War and the war in Italy, followed by the Austro-Prussian War and the Franco-Prussian War; and the peace movement was stilled for a full generation.

Theodore Marburg.

1915.

GREAT world events of profound importance are now preparing. The increasing interdependence of the Nations is creating new international rights and duties. But there is no World Legislature to recognize and legalize them; there is no World Court to interpret and apply them; and there is no World Executive to enforce and vitalize them. Precisely here appears one of the most obscure and, at the same time, one of the most potent causes of the war.

The new world life means, sooner or later, a World Consciousness, a World Conscience, a World Ethics, and a World Court, together with the other departments of a organized political life embodied in a Federation of the World.

Josiah Strong.

1915.

INTRODUCTION.

Among books that came into my possession during student days in Germany, in the early "Seventies," were some copies of a magazine named *Die Neue Zeit*, The New Age. This publication was the organ of an exceptionally interesting group of thinkers, social reformers, educators and progressive religious idealists whose inspirer and, in many ways, unquestioned guide was a man, who, after a short life of arduous labor and of endurance of severe political and scholastic antagonism and even persecution, died just as a career of opulent justification and reward seemed to be opening for him.

Whether or not Karl Christian Friedrich Krause would ever have had a wide acceptance among the leaders of politics and of philosophy in his native Germany, is a question very difficult of answer, in that he was, throughout, inspired by a far advanced ideal of political and intellectual freedom as man's birthright. Consequently, he could never have become satisfied with the Dynastic Monarchy

which seemed then to be irresistibly persistent in aiming at the control of the German peoples; nor could he ever have complied with the subservience which the then most favored leaders of philosophy and of social speculation in his country were showing to the ecclesiastical and educational officials who were dependent upon the favor of the Family long-regnant in Prussia.

And more than this, Krause's career was seriously crippled by the opposition of a wide spread beneficent fraternity which, because of a misunderstanding now unquestioned as such, met him, with obstacles to his advancement, at almost every turn he made in his later professional career. This misunderstanding was fully cleared away after Krause's death; and, so far as could be, it has been amply atoned for. But, certainly during Krause's life time, it was a barrier to what, otherwise, might have gained for him a far wider recognition, and an influential leadership both personally and as a thinker.

I am hoping that, at some time not far distant, I may be able to give to readers of English a measurably intelligible account of the life and thought of this wonderful apostle of human freedom and of the high calling of mankind in the development of social order

and advancement of spiritual ideals. It would be only an act of justice to the memory of one of the really exalted and prophetic minds of the past century to do this. Also, possibly, a widely extended knowledge of his insight and faith might be of some real help to many earnest men to-day who are trying to find a better guidance for men and peoples than at present the multitudes are following.

In a way, as a contribution to this personal wish, I have summarized in the last two articles which compose this pamphlet, one of Krause's youthful essays which has just now become extraordinarily timely. I happened upon this essay recently in turning over the pages of "The New Age" in a search for other information.

The reproduction of Krause's Proposal here given, I know, is quite inadequate as an exhibit of its original expression ; and, probably, I have not fully, or even always correctly, interpreted the writer. But, in the main, I am confident that I have made clear the far-reaching and profound proposition whose realization Krause believed would tend to bring to mankind the peace and welfare that all sincere and aspiring human beings long for, however much they may be misled to do violence to their instinctive beneficent desire.

Krause, as other of his writings show, saw, even farther than he has indicated in this Proposal, into the sublime principle that is needed to secure an everlasting peace upon earth. But in the League he advocated he seems to have set forth that which appeared to him to be a possibility, consequent upon the benevolent resolve of the victorious Rulers and Peoples of his own troubled times, declared by them as regulative of the new internationalism they were soon to make a reality. As after events came to pass and had their effect, Krause's seeming faith was proven to be much more a product of his aspiring vision and wish than of fact.

However, as this Proposal was then earnestly offered, and as it remains upon record as a plea for a boon which this great lover of his fellow-men seems to have thought that human promise had made possible in his time,—a hundred years ago,—I think that it may be repeated to-day as a source of encouragement, or at least as a stimulus for the many who are now waiting for the cessation of the mighty present struggle among Europe's leading Nations, and for the new venture that is, therewith, to be made to secure an abiding peace for mankind. Whether or not Krause's plea, or some other akin to it, shall

have a more sympathetic hearing in our day than that of Krause had a hundred years ago ; or whether there will be again most generous promises given by the Powers through whose success the present conflict will close, only that the course of past events is to be repeated, no one can foretell. But it is well, I think, to listen to Krause's voice as of one among the many that are to-day heard, pleading that this latest mortal struggle of the Nations shall come to an end ; and as of one of those who are daring to hope that, this time certainly, some real and permanent advance towards the longed for blessedness of peace on earth will be made. Surely, all sincere men ought to give earnest heed to the fact, which was Krause's profound conviction, that however peace may be secured, and however it may be guarded, there can never be any actually abiding peace among the world's nations, until "the Powers that be" clearly see and loyally serve, as supreme over all international intercourse, the principle and practice of Human Right.

When the editor of *Die Neue Zeit*, in 1873, republished Krause's far-seeing and seemingly justified plea to the Allied Nations of Europe of 1814, he added this explanatory note :—

“In our time (1873) we have witnessed an especially gratifying, but not enough celebrated example of the settlement of a portentous struggle, within the province of Right, between two of the mightiest of the earth’s peoples, British and American.”

The Alabama Claims Commission is here referred to; a tribunal which, in September 1872, settled peacefully a critically threatening question then under discussion between Great Britain and the United States of America.

“May this great event long encourage those who have doubted a peaceful issue possible for such things; and may it also do much to bring about a Court of Arbitration among Christian peoples as a permanent institution, and so extend the idea of Right in the intercourse of the Nations.

“We consider it timely now to rescue from oblivion, and to publish, a pertinent proposal made by Krause at the time of the defeat and expulsion from Europe of the first Napoleon.

“This proposition of Krause’s is not given as an absolutely ideal offering for securing the right intercourse of the world’s Nations; but it does bear upon the present unjust conditions prevalent among the peoples of Europe. Krause did not undertake the impossibility, in his age, of wholly setting aside War, but only to advance the possibility for the Nations, in most cases, to avoid War.

“However, this Proposal is fully ideal so far as it puts forward and holds fast, the principle that Right should go before Might; that,

absolutely, Might may not be made coincident with Right, just because the strong and just State is summoned to protect the weak. Krause's proposal is, also, ideal in that it is directed toward the ethical-religious sense,—the noble side of men and of Nations."

This renewal of Krause's plea, in 1873 among the nations of Europe, was without decisive effect, just as it was in 1814. Moreover, in the present year the world is convulsed by the most widely extended and most terribly destructive war of all the wars that have ever afflicted mankind. In all seeming, such vision and such an appeal as that of Krause is, still in these days, among all things, most vain and barren of authority, or even of attraction, for the allegiance of mankind.

Yet, who that really knows the course of human events can fail to see that "through the ages an increasing purpose runs";—a purpose whose consummation can mean nothing less than, at some time, Peace come as a blessing to an ennobled Humanity seeking to be loyal to Human Right.

So, then, it is not merely as an interesting, personally memorable fact of the past century that I reproduce in these present momentous and portentous days, the beneficent Proposal

vainly made by Krause to the European Allies of his time; and again ineffectively published, as the modern Empire of Germany was beginning its career of aggressive expansion, forty years ago. More than all else, I wish to repeat Krause's plea now that it may possibly find place as one among the accepted influences which, at the coming close of the present International struggle, are to give direction to the movement of the Nations in the New Era they are then to begin.

March, 1917,
Tokyo, Japan.

KRAUSE'S LEAGUE FOR HUMAN RIGHT AND THEREBY WORLD PEACE.

PART FIRST.

OCCASION FOR THE PROPOSED LEAGUE.

One hundred years ago, the "War of Liberation" waged by North Germany, culminating in the "Battle of the Nations" at Leipzig in the autumn of 1813, marked the real overthrow of Napoleon Bonaparte. During the previous twenty years, Bonaparte had grown to be the military monarch of Europe. The revolution of the people of France against feudalism and their hereditary monarchy beginning in 1789, followed by the war made upon them by the other monarchs of Europe, because of their execution of their king, Louis XVI., was the occasion of Napoleon's rise to leadership and speedily to dictatorial power. He became leader of the French armies against the Powers hostile to France. In 1804, crowning himself Emperor, he established an absolute military sovereignty over France, and began to annex and to rule, through his own crowned agents, the other nations of the continent. Even Prussia succumbed to his aggression after Jena and Austerlitz, in 1806, and was compelled to witness his entrance into Berlin as the country's conqueror.

Four years later, England was in alliance with Austria

against France. But, resolute to bring all Europe under his will, the French Autocrat then invaded Russia. From that country, however, he was compelled to make a disastrous retreat. In the next year, 1813, at Leipzig he was at last overpowered. The retreating French were pursued by their victors to Paris, where, on April 6, 1814, Napoleon abdicated his throne and was sent, as an exile, to the island of Elba. The victorious allies, Great Britain, Austria, Russia and Prussia, arranged at Chaumont on the Marne, March 1, 1814, the preliminaries of a treaty of peace with the fallen monarch; carrying their purposes farther forward in the "Treaty of Paris," April 11, when Napoleon had renounced his sovereignty. Then they came to an agreement to send plenipotentiaries to meet at Vienna in the autumn, that they might make fully definite, and complete, the provisions that had been accepted in "The Treaty of Paris."

Napoleon's return from Elba; his resumption of Imperial power; the rallying to him of the French army; his final struggle against the Allied Nations; his utter defeat at Waterloo, June 18, 1815, and his banishment for life to St. Helena, made only a vain, though a mighty, anticlimax for his stupendous, portentous career.

AN ETHICAL POLITICAL EXPERIENCE A CENTURY AGO.

All Europe, because of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Dynasty, had passed through a momentous ethical political experience. Among the Germans, for instance, an intense longing for social unity and constitutional government had been awakened. A sense of national brotherhood began to pervade the many German States. The King of Prussia, though a Hohenzollern, was

led to promise his people a Constitution. Among the German universities, especially, there arose a strong agitation for personal and political liberty.

With surprising significance, the Sovereigns of the Allied Nations seemed, then, to be moved by an exalted desire to restore peace to Europe upon a settled basis of justice and equity; to re-establish the authority of law in place of arbitrary personal will; to reinstate rightful owners, communities and persons, into their own properties; to reduce military establishments; to create anew a balance of power among the European States by which the greatest among them might be restrained and the least of them protected. The negotiations for “The Treaty of Paris,” and the bases then sent to be the foundations of the structure to be elaborated by “The Treaty of Vienna,” had for their avowed purpose a stable equilibrium for the peoples of Europe, and security for their future peace and prosperity.

“THE HOLY ALLIANCE.”

As a further and as the most significant sign of the spirit of that new age, the “Treaty of Vienna” was accompanied, September 26, 1815, by the creation of “The Holy Alliance” in which the Emperors of Austria; and of Russia and the King of Prussia, avowedly united and promised one another to “remain bound together in the bonds of true and brotherly love; “to deal with all their political and personal interests by Christian principles,” with a view to perpetuating the peace which had been achieved; “to help mutually and to assist each other”; “to govern their peoples like fathers of families, and to maintain religion, peace and justice in their dominions.” All the potentates of Europe excepting the

Pope and the Sultan of Turkey were invited to be partners in this sacred compact.

What, as the years passed, became of "The Imperial Holy Alliance," so beneficent and inspiring in avowal and promise, does not now concern us.

KARL CHRISTIAN FRIEDRICH KRAUSE.

I have taken this glance at the momentous course of the political forces and their consequences in Europe a hundred years ago, especially that I may make more clear the *raison d'être* and the purport of a political Proposal then made to the European Sovereigns and peoples by a teacher of philosophy at the time lecturing in Berlin. This man, for ample reason not at all to his own discredit, is but little known to fame; yet, as time passes, he is receiving recognition as one of the best men in character and in exaltation of ideals for the well-being of Humanity, and as one of the greatest men, in power and depth of thinking, that have ever lived:—I speak of Karl Christian Friedrich Krause.

Krause was born in 1781, and died in 1832, just as he was about to become professor in the University at Munich. His life, consequently, was coincident with the whole of that marvellous revolution among the peoples of Europe of which I have made a slight retrospect. As a philosopher whose philosophic aim was, above all, the betterment of human life, Krause was profoundly interested in the political changes of the time; in the effects of the political forces then most effective, and in the means that could be found and made possible of service for the peace and happiness of distressed Mankind. He knew, of course, of the efforts that good and wise men had been making to

spread principles of right and of social justice among the Nations ;—offering plans that might work deliverance and prosperity for them. For instance, in his writings he shows that he felt the high purpose and hope of Kant's essay on " Everlasting Peace."

But he, too, had in vision an ideal which, if realized, he was sure would bring about man's deliverance from the woes that were oppressing the world.

KRAUSE'S INTERNATIONAL PROPOSAL.

In 1806 Krause first received his Ideal, when the thrones of Europe were falling before the assaults of the newly made Emperor of France ; and Europe's Kings were allying themselves for a restoration of their own seats of dominion. Then, in 1814, seemingly, Krause came to feel that the reinforced and successful Allied Sovereigns, in regaining their thrones, were being moved by such lofty aims, and were giving such benevolent promises to their emancipated peoples, that there might be a way devised through which Justice, in the full sense of the word, could receive homage from both Rulers and their peoples, and thereby a true ideal of national and international peace and welfare be realized.

Actuated, probably, by this motive, the aspiring thinker published over his name, in the months of June and July, 1814, in Berlin, in the *Deutsche Blaetter*, dated May 24, just after Napoleon's exile, and while the Allies were formulating their generous plans for the future welfare of Europe,—

" *A Proposition for a European League of States, as a Basis for Universal Peace, and as a Just Defense Against All Attacks Upon the Inner and Outer Peace of Europe.*"

The aim of this Proposal, said Krause, was to show how to make the Alliance of the chief Powers of Europe, just effected, permanent and useful ; how to attract other Powers to it ; and how to create a League of the States of Europe, for war and for peace, that should be just and indestructible.

If a true European League could be effected in spite of the aggressive antagonism of France, he said, then the just freedom of Europe, and thereby, in time, the freedom of all the peoples of the earth would be assured. By means of a League of States, made in accordance with the idea of a justly organized Humanity,—at the time apparently made possible because of the high-purposed Alliance that had been achieved by the leading States of Europe,—a universal peace might be the issue.

Only in this way could such peace be secured, he declared.

Moreover a League, so formed, would arouse in other and aggressive States a wholesome fear ; it would induce in them respect for its just principles ; and, thereby, it would tend to make the power of Right and of love more and more a bond of union among the Nations, advancing the interests of Popular Justice and Freedom.

The Sovereigns of Russia, of Austria, of Prussia, of England and of Sweden, supported by their peoples, had just completed a great work tending in this direction. Now, if they will, they can bring to pass a yet greater and more fameworthy achievement.

The fulfilment of such a League of Nations might all the more be expected from these recently associated States, since, in their present Alliance, they had not deprived any of their component States of any existing right. This

Alliance could be continued in the League ; carrying forward all the forms that are peculiar to the present systems of government in the several States ; preserving for them their differing special advantages fully as well as the most splendid conquests could promise. Moreover, for the sake of bringing itself into being and perpetuating itself, the present Alliance had in no way made necessary the sacrifice by any of its Members of any inherent national power or prestige.

PART SECOND.

CONDITIONS FOR THE PROPOSED LEAGUE.

Before Krause formulated the Articles that he thought should be embodied in the Constitution of the International League which current events seemed to have made possible, he gave an extended statement of what he considered to be reasons by which the League would be justified ; he also defined its fundamental characteristics.

Naturally, Krause's Proposal, being the work of a philosophical idealist, assumed, for those Rulers and Legislators who were able to make it a practical reality, a greatness and a generosity of thought and of aim far surpassing the judgment and the efforts which had been dominant in Europe during the preceding generation. But, idealism in human relationships and a longing for deliverance from the horrors of the immediate past were seemingly uppermost in the avowed purposes of the chief Leaders of the time, and were, apparently, promising to become master-forces among the peoples of the victorious States. Seeing these things, Krause found a reasonable

encouragement to set forth his supreme solution of the all-important problem.

I shall not translate at length the introduction to the Articles that Krause formulated for the Constitution which he commended for the regulation of the new International League. But, that his sublime conception of what Mankind should do, and at some time, as he believed, can do, to make human life,—individual, social and international,—peaceful and prosperous, I will freely summarize the conditions which guided him in defining his proposition.

This summary has exceptional interest and value today, in that it shows not only what a great lover of his fellowmen sought to do for his kind more than a hundred years ago ; but, further, *how much Krause did, definitely, in anticipation of many of the efforts that have been made, in recent years, at such International Congresses as those which have been gathered at The Hague ; and in what is now moving some of the world's leading thinkers and national guides, notably, the President of the great American Republic, in specializing their desire for the incoming of national and international justice and peace.*

RIGHT, AS THE ONE INTERNATIONAL BOND.

In Krause's judgment, the one necessary and fundamental regulative purpose that should direct the then forming League of States, and, indeed, the condition of any International League that could ever have lasting value and achieve a pacific end, must be *the establishment and the support of Right.*

The propcer meant that Right should be the one, the only, and the all-dominant bond of the International

Alliance which, with the most exalted professions, was then being proclaimed for Europe.

WITHIN RIGHT EACH NATION TO BE FREE.

And, Krause insisted, it should always be understood and accepted by the Allied States that, in all relationships, *where this common principles of Right did not limit them, they should each remain internally and externally free*; each of the component peoples of the League should be left wholly free to develop its own distinctive life only the more fully, in accordance with its own distinguishing character and aims.

Several such leagues, Krause hoped, might in time, be formed among the world's many Nations; and, at last, a League of these leagues might come into being constituting a Union of Mankind, which should be continued far into the future, under the one bond,—Human Right. But, even though such World League be an unrealizable dream, there is, he believed, certainly a most urgent need that the proclaimed Alliance then forming among the great States of Europe should be moved by the principle of Right; that its Nations should secure the dominion of Right and of Justice among themselves; and that, by their united power, they should resist injustice when issuing from any of their Members against other peoples, and should withstand any assaults made from without upon any of themselves or upon their Alliance.

MEANING OF "RIGHT."

Just what Krause intended to set forth, in making "Right" the supreme aim and regulative power in all that the proposed League might be and do, becomes clear in reading his later elaborated description. But it is suffi-

cient to say for him here, that, in his "Philosophy of Right," he defined "Right" as "the organic whole of all the outer and inner conditions which determine rational human life;" that is, "whatever is necessary to the full accomplishment of human destiny, individual and social." More popularly put, Krause meant that in "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness;" or in "personal security, personal freedom, physical and mental, and in safety of private property," lie man's "natural, and inalienable rights"; also, that, included in, and conditioned by these rights as "absolute," there are "relative rights" such as are specified and assured by Social Custom and National Law.

EQUALITY AMONG THE LEAGUED NATIONS.

Starting from this fundamental and regulative principle, Krause claimed that the essential initial condition distinctive of the proposed League, in order to assure real worth to the League, should be *recognition of all its component Nations as fully equal Members*; as having, severally, equal right to existence as self-dependent States, developing under the specific forms of Government each had chosen. All the component Governments in the League, therefore, should be so constituted that they would exercise, reciprocally, an acknowledgment of this right.

a. Restraint of a Nation under International Right.—There is, consequently, an inherent right among all the Nations to resist and to restrain, as far as need be, any Nationality which antagonizes the rights of another Nation. The leagued Nations may rightfully punish a Nation which makes itself a criminal against other peoples. But this right *reaches only so far as Right itself goes*. They may punish; but they may not destroy.

b. *International Respect.*—Right is in accord with ethical or social freedom; consequently, the innermost strength of the proposed League would lie in its recognition of the individual freedom of every people, and *in its respect for their peculiar national genius.*

c. *Right of International Culture.*—In the exercise of a morally free development among its constituent peoples, however, a true international League would be justified in *promoting a general, rational system of culture or education, by means of instruction and by legislation.*

d. *Equality of National and of Personal Ethics.*—The proposed League, moreover, should avoid any acknowledgment of the *ignominious and disgraceful assumption that Governments and Sovereigns are possessed of another kind of morality* than that of individual human beings; of an ethics peculiarly their own; that, in the political domain, lying and fraud are allowable; and that Right extends only as far as there is Might.

e. *Publicity in International Policy.*—The morally fine righteousness of the developing League should be served under the greatest possible *publicity*,—free from all craftiness and deceit.

f. *No International "Guardianship."*—Further, the League should not acknowledge for itself, or for other Nations, the plundering, or the destruction of any People under *the pretence of guardianship.* In its plenitude of power the League should guarantee and secure fundamental Right for all the Nations. It should seek to make them, each, more and more independent of chance and ill-luck, and of the magnitude of numbers.

EACH NATION A SOVEREIGN WITHIN THE LEAGUE.

The States constituting the proposed League should also have as inalienable a sovereignty, independence, and autonomy in the promotion of their particular Nationalities, as that which is generally recognized when limited alliances are made among Peoples and Princes for the purposes of a *particular war*, or for the encouragement of a *special kind of commerce*. The League that is needed should be nothing other than an Alliance of free and independent States, all bound together as pledged for the furtherance and protection of Human Right.

AN ORGANIC FEDERATION FOR THE LEAGUE.

This League should be an *organic* federative State, having within, an equilibrium of its component Members, harmoniously co-operating, much as in a sound body the associated organs work together. A *despotic* State has unity among its Members, but there is no freedom for them in their co-operation. Arbitrariness in the Government, or the will of the despot dominating the central or head State, is its law, and not Right. Such a League can have no morally free, co-operative development for its life.

KANT'S ESSAY "ON EVERLASTING PEACE."

Yet further, the now promised League should not be formed with merely a covenant such as that which Kant advocated in 1795, in his essay, "On Everlasting Peace." *Kant's purpose was only to ward off War*, by seeking an expanding Alliance among nations directed against international aggression and like evils. The League that should now be sought, however, should aim, *above all, at*

the promotion of a sense of Right, throughout its Allied Nations. With the supremacy of this sense, a true Alliance would be secured, and a lasting peace would, of necessity, follow.

Just so long as there is an imperfect sense of Right among the peoples of Mankind, there will be wrong done; then, uprisings aroused against wrong; and, consequently, war.

UNIVERSAL RIGHT THE BOND OF THE LEAGUE.

Also, just as the purpose of the proposed League should not be only the warding off of war, *so its uniting aim should not be that of any other partial interest.* It should not be, for instance, an Alliance for the promotion only of Commerce;—either to secure its freedom or to advance specialized commercial privileges. The proposed League should be an *Alliance in the service of Right only, by means of a practical comprehension of universal Human Right.* Therein, all separate human interests with which Right, as such, is concerned would, of course, be included. Naturally, therefore, a common support of War would be given, when war could not be avoided; a common advancement of Industry and Trade secured; also, the care and nurture of all the common interests of Science, of Art and of other Social Concerns.

The real scope of the League should be *the whole domain of Right, but of the domain of Right only*; and it should affect all human relations only so far that, by it, they would be given direction toward a full realization of the life of Humanity. Thereby, consequently, there would tend toward realization, a self-dependent, individual, and therewith an all-sided, harmonious development for the

State ; also, for the Church and all social organizations ; and for Science and for Art ; also for the Family ; and, in fact, for all agencies that serve human intercourse.

He who demands of the State more than service to Right would take from it, and, therewith, from all other human institutions, that which gives enduring power and assures lasting harmony and peace. For this reason the now hoped for League of States *could not be made secure through any kind of Ecclesiastical Government, nor by any Speculative System as such, nor through the supremacy of any Family, or of any Race, or of any one Nation.*

The proposed International League, would be formed, inevitably, through the alliance of Nations which are now dependent, some of them, upon Church creeds and ordinances ; and some upon Families ; and some upon Races. All these relationships, in accordance with the principle of the assurance of a free development, should remain undisturbed by the League. If, in one State, there is Catholicism ; in another, Evangelical Christianity ; or yet in another, no Christianity ; or, if one State is a monarchy ; another a republic ; another an aristocracy, the all-including League should not be concerned with these particular facts, except to assure to each separate State the fullest freedom to perfect itself, within, by means of its own choosing ; and to strive in its own ways toward a more just State government ; toward a purer Religion ; toward a higher Science and Art ; and to become an example, by fidelity in its own ways, to every State not yet included within the League.

FREEDOM FOR EACH NATION TO JOIN, OR TO
WITHDRAW FROM, THE LEAGUE.

Of course, the task of so arranging the proposed League of States that they would all be united, purely and wholly, on behalf of Human Right, is seemingly very difficult, when all the differences existing among them are considered :—the differences of their religious creeds and practice ; of their forms of government, and of the many other functions of their culture. But the difficulty would be greatly lessened were it expressly understood that every State, just as it would be enabled to *join the League by free choice, could, also, by as free a choice withdraw from it.* The States would, thereby, avoid the vain play that is now seen in the so-called “everlasting” treaties ; agreements which are almost always broken as soon as possibly contrary advantages appear. Under a perfectly free choice, the leagued States would naturally be impelled towards that which is really essential to the League, in order that, thereby, they might give the League a better and surer support.

The promised League of States should be a *free* union that it might the better meet the idea and the ideal of Humanity. It would thus be placed *in accord with the historical conditions of human evolution.* Human history shows a steady approach toward such union of Mankind ; an advance ever working within the course of events even when, upon the surface, mere passion seems to have sway.

Also, *such freedom in the Alliance appears to be the only means of international union that is in accord with Right,* particularly now, when there is so strong a striving toward securing a political equilibrium in Europe ; an equilibrium sought under an avowal to prevent again the

suppression of any single European Nationality, and to convince any awakening aggressor among them of the impossibility of the success of his criminal lust. This intended political equilibrium is in harmony with a socially free evolution of Humanity. For the support of this striving the proposed League of States is fundamentally justified.

A despotic federative State is directly in opposition to Human Right. It is almost *inevitably through Revolution that, under such a State, a nation is impelled to seek its own preservation.*

HISTORICAL JUSTIFICATION OF THE PROPOSED LEAGUE FOR HUMAN RIGHT.

It may, therefore, be held as essentially and rationally true; also as a fact drawn from history, that Nations are justified in forming free leagues on behalf of Human Right only; moreover, that such leagues are valid under every possible condition of Humanity; and that, especially now, the first and most imperative need in the interests of Human Right in Europe, and, mediately, throughout Mankind, is just such a League as has been here proposed.

* * * * *

Having stated these conditions as the guide of his political ideals, Krause saw in the then proposed and nominally initiated Alliance of Europe's leading Powers,—Germany, Russia, the Austrian States, England and Spain,—a combination with a physical might which would enable those States to maintain a League, such as he had conceived, against all possible external assault. And should France, which had been under Napoleon Bonaparte, the all-dreaded aggressor against human freedom, also come

into the proposed League, so much the better for France and, thereby, for Mankind. The love of conquest, so long making that land the fear of the Nations, would, by that act, be given up, and a happy future assured.

A League of the Nations in Europe such as that proposed would tend to attract peoples of the other lands of the world. Thereby the beginning of the longed for peace and prosperity of all Mankind would be hopefully made.

The dawn of the Sovereignty of Right among all peoples would have appeared with the coming of this first great International League; and the strife that had lasted throughout the past generation, because of an instinctive defense of a higher conception and enjoyment of Human Right, would have come to an end in a peaceful co-operation among the Allied Nations;—a gain realized as the goal and the prize of the conflict through which they had struggled.

PART THIRD.

FUNDAMENTAL ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT FOR THE LEAGUE.

Having elaborated what he was convinced are the conditions under which the proposed League of Nations should be formed, Krause ventured upon a definite statement of the main Articles which he believed should be embodied in its Constitution.

As a wise student of human nature, and as a scholar having comprehensive historical knowledge, he could not in all probability have supposed that the leaders of the International Alliance, then apparently coming into being,

even under the solemn announcement they were making as "The Holy Alliance," would accept his Proposal in its full purport. But he had had his vision; and he believed that he should set forth his ideal as he was persuaded it should be realized. Therefore, the following series of Articles, stating the main factors needed for the perfecting of the then developing International Alliance, came from Krause's pen.

I.

OBJECT :—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PRINCIPLE
OF RIGHT.

The States which are entering this forming League of Nations should unite for the purpose of making authoritative among themselves, in its complete comprehension, the Principle of Right.

II.

FUNDAMENTAL LAW FOR THE UNION.

Consequently, these States should agree, first, to formulate and to sanction a Code of National Right; then, to organize their own relationships in accordance with this Code;—seeking to develop this Code continuously by means of common co-operation; to maintain and to protect it, in all its parts, against inner and outer attack; through watchfulness and care, and by debate, and, if need be, by the legitimate use of force.

The chief Articles in this Body of Legislation should provide for:—

a. Equality of the States. Every separate people or State is a fully equal, equally justified, member or "Person" in this League for National Right. Each State should equally enjoy its rights, and should, therewith,

receive the protection of the League, independently of the numbers in its population, or of the magnitude and position of its territory. The States composing the League should be bound together as thoroughly, equally free Sovereignties. Their Governments as such, should all be of equal rank ; all equally justified ; all equal before the law and the judgment of the federated Union.

The Government of the League, as such, therefore, could never be personally monarchic ; but only so far a monarchy as the League would govern itself by the unity and equality of its Law.

b. Reciprocal Hospitality. The States of the League should reciprocally guarantee among themselves, wholly equal rights in the possession of their own territories, and they should maintain a mutual hospitality of intercourse.

Also, they should assure, for all, fully equal rights to common waterways ; to all interior lakes and seas ; and to the Ocean so far as the power of the League might extend.

c. Voluntary Association. The association of each people, or Nation with the League should be wholly voluntary ; and just as voluntary should be its release from the Union. But each of the Nations should be required to fulfil whatever the obligations relating to national rights with which it had originally bound itself to the League. The League, however, should not have power to exclude any of its Members, who had violated the fundamental principle of Agreement of the Union, except in consequence of a judgment given in accord with the League's original Covenant.

d. Rule for the Invitation of non-Union States, into the League. The States in the League might invite or induce other States into association with them. But this

inducement should be made only under conditions of freedom; never violating another people's free-will, or disturbing their social development; never putting them under guardianship in the name of Right, or compelling them by force to enter the League.

The States of the League should concede to all other peoples their inherent, natural Right, wholly apart from a consideration of their membership or non-membership in the Union.

e. Fidelity in Allegiance a Regulative Principle. The peoples united in this League should give themselves,—wholly without consideration of compulsory right, or of self-advantage, or of defense under peril, or of any impulse to revenge,—to the furtherance and protection of all their rights.

They should acknowledge, as unconditionally valid, the legal, judicial decisions of the League, given by a common Court, concerning any matter of dispute relating to Right or matters of Justice. And they should promise to accept such judgment without reserve, let the dispute be with a State that is within the League or outside it.

Consequent upon observance of this obligation, a lasting peace would prevail among the States of the League, as such. No separate State would initiate war with a people outside the Union. There would be no appeal made beyond the judgment of the League Court.

A State that would not accept the decision of the League Court would, by its own act, become an outer State in relation to the League.

f. Pledge of the Union for Self-Protection. The States of the League, further, should be pledged to assure, to protect and to defend, with their united power, all the

rights of the several States and the rights of the League itself against every other State or coalition of States.

Also, they should be pledged to conclude and to ratify special defensive and offensive alliances, in case of war, in accordance with the fundamental condition of the League and of its component States; and with regard to the circumstances existing at the time.

g. Authority for War or Peace. But only the whole League should have authority to declare war, or to make peace; and it should do this only by public proclamation in the name of the League.

III.

THE LEAGUE COURT.

The contracting, allied States should create a League Court. This tribunal should pass judgment in freedom, in accordance with the Legal Code of the leagued Nations,—such as has been indicated in preceding articles,—following an open and regular investigation, consequent upon formal complaint and a considered defense.

A judgment issued in the name of the League should be a *judicium parium*.

The Court should not impose punishment. It should lay before a State under judgment, the conditions to which it must conform if it would remain a member of the League. In case of refusal of compliance with these conditions, exclusion from the League would follow.

IV.

UNITED GUARANTEE FOR CODE AND COURT.

The leagued States should guarantee, reciprocally,—with their united powers pledged,—the fulfilment of the requirements of their legal Code, and of the judgments of the League Court.

V.

THE FEDERAL COUNCIL.

The League should create, for the making of its Legislation and for the care of all relationships arising under National Right, a permanent Federal Council.

This Council should deliberate over the farther development of the League, within the whole province of National Right.

The Council should make and publish new laws and put them into operation.

The Government of the League should lie in the Federal Council, only.

The Council should consist of the sovereign Personalities of the supreme Government of each of the States of the League: that is, of the ruling persons, princes or nobles, or the presidents of the States.

And these Representatives, either in person, or by ambassadors having full powers, should continuously appear in the sessions of the Council and serve the interests of the League.

But each State should be allowed to have only one Representative in the Council, or, at most, only one vote.

As members of the Council, all Representatives should have equal right; none given preference, whatever the names, or signs of distinction they might otherwise have,—no *primes inter pares*. Therefore, the Federal Council should have no President.

In the private relations of the Governments included within the League, there might be orders of rank and preferences of honorary titles.

Also, the several States, as separate States, might main-

tain relations with other States by the service of Ambassadors and like officials.

VI.

PRIVILEGES AND DUTIES OF THE LEAGUE COUNCIL.

The Federal Council might announce to all Nations that the aim of the League is the establishment of a perfected dominion of Human Right among all the earth's peoples :—that it seeks to realize an ideal of International Justice ; consequently, to bring about the cessation of War ; indeed, to advance a higher development for all human affairs and institutions so far as they can be advanced under the conditions of Human Right.

Therefore, the Council could regard as within its province, the hearing and testing of all propositions for the betterment of the separate States and of the League, as such ; also, for the advancement of Science and of Art, and of Education ; and of Religion ;—all these Social means, however, only so far as they could be promoted in harmony with Right and in accord with the free moral evolution of men and of Humanity.

It might be within the province of the Council, also, to spread knowledge of generally useful agencies among the States ; and then, after a wide acceptance of them, to introduce them into the Federal Legislation.

VII.

CONDITIONS OF UNIVERSAL AND OF LOCAL LEGISLATION BY THE FEDERAL COUNCIL.

The decisions made by the Federal Council, having an all-inclusive effect, should be given the force of Law only by the unanimous consent of the States.

But if, in consequence of debate over such matters as those affecting only single States, a division of judgment should occur, then, so far as the fundamental Covenant of the Federal League would not be harmed, the separate States might follow their own wishes.

In case, however, the division should occur over questions, or matters which radically concern the League, as such, the party being in the majority might propose to the minority the alternative choice of accepting the majority vote, or of giving up membership in the League. In case the minority would not concede to the majority, the Council might confer over the question,—Whether it were not better to postpone the whole matter under debate, rather than that the dissenting Member should resign from the League.

VIII.

STATUS OF THE OFFICE-HOLDING PERSONNEL OF THE LEAGUE.

In this eighth Article Krause dealt with the status of the working personnel, or office-holders, needed for the care of the various Departments required for the League's work. He gave a series of practical suggestions that need not be repeated here. He added, however, that this Administrative, or Executive Body should be without any legislative authority whatever. Such authority, in the first and last instance, should lie wholly in the Federal Council.

IX.

SPECIFIC DEFINITION OF THE OBJECT OF THE LEAGUE.

The proposed League of European Nations, continued Krause, should be understood throughout the world as

being, above all, and essentially through all, just a League for Human Right,—as being, in fact, only that.

Krause would have had the League, then forming,—soon after known as “The Holy Alliance,”—make proclamation, of being resolved to perpetuate itself as proclaimed :—to defend itself against all assaults from within and from without, and not to acknowledge for itself, or for any of its constituent Members, any outer protectorate or guardianship ; resolutely determined to carry its purpose forward for itself, but, at the same time, declaring that every other People or Nation on the planet is a brother-people, a justified citizen of the Realm of Humanity upon the Earth, be it near or far, little or big, rich or poor, mighty or weak, high or low in culture.

Also, Krause would have had the League so disposed as to offer itself as Mediator or Arbitrator in all international differences within its own borders or even outside them ; and to become a friendly Guide for the world’s Nations ; seeking to prevent the incoming among them of the differences which only the forces of War could end.

It should be clearly seen, in doing this, said Krause, that the League would aim at no farther influence upon States outside its membership than that of a helpful sympathy and counsel. In this way the League would gain more than through a show of physical power. A favored People that would bear itself justly and kindly towards a People less favored would be readily and gratefully accepted as educator and sponsor.

Moreover, the League, to be what it ought to be, should clearly and positively renounce every attempt to gain ter-

ritory or population through Fraud or War, either for itself or for any of *its component States*.

Also, that it should never acknowledge Might as the basis of Right.

X.—XI.

THE LEAGUE CAPITAL AND LANGUAGE.

In these two Articles, Krause discussed the question of the Capital to be chosen, and the language to be used for the common needs of the proposed League. Under the circumstances existing a hundred years ago, Berlin and the German language seemed to be most convenient agencies for serving these needs.

But, said this far-seeing philosopher and social idealist in closing his prescient essay, the aim of the Proposal he had elaborated had been simply to set forth in its chief features the Idea that should be the motive force of the European League of States which just then seemed to have become possible of realization.

“ I developed the idea, philosophically and historically,” he wrote, “ a year ago ; but I think it to be my duty now, before my manuscript can appear in full, to try to win the attention and the consideration of contemporaries for this momentous opportunity, as at present it is offered to the Nations.

“ May the Proposal here made be read and approved by the Princes and their Counsellors who are in possession of the power and the station requisite to give it a practical fulfilment.

KARL CHRISTIAN FRIEDERICH KRAUSE.”

“ *Berlin, May 24, 1814.*

VI.

IN THE YEAR 1918.

KRAUSE,
A GERMAN PHILOSOPHER
OF ONE HUNDRED
YEARS AGO:

SOME NOTES ON HIS LIFE, AND THOUGHT.

KRAUSE, A GERMAN PHILOSOPHER OF ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

One hundred years ago there lived in Dresden, Germany, a thinker and university lecturer named Karl Christian Friedrich Krause; a man since then esteemed by many persons in many lands as one of the best, wisest, most prescient and, in true manliness, one of the greatest of human kind.

A LIFE OF SUFFERING AND POVERTY.

But, in the year 1818, Krause was suffering from severe political and social persecution and a growing mortal illness,—a prophet almost wholly without honor in his own country, and yet, a prophet of whom,—so history has given verdict,—his own country has made itself most dishonorably unworthy. In Berlin in 1814, upon Fichte's death, Krause was put forward as a fit candidate for the professorship in the university, thus vacated; but the compliant and complacent Hegel was favored by the Prussian authorities in his stead. In the next year, under charges that were wholly baseless, except as excuses to silence the thinker, Krause returned to Dresden where, for the next eight years, he was resident. In 1823, he went to Goettingen, and there recommenced his university work. But there, too, the Prussian hostility appeared against him and prevented his taking the chair vacated by Bouterwek's

death. Wendt was favored, but, afterwards, openly disgraced by wholesale plagiarisms from Krause's writings. The hostility to Krause at Goettingen, where he remained for some years as a "*privat docent*," went even so far as to accuse him of participancy in a political uprising, in which he had had no part whatever. Indeed, his teachings are emphatic in their opposition to forcible political or social revolution; and in no way has time shown any kind of a foundation for the accusations then made. But the Prussian Government and some other antagonism, which since that time has been amply repented for as wrong done to the philosopher, persisted in its persecution. It compelled Krause to seek a home elsewhere. He had been charged, in utter maliciousness and without a semblance of good reason, with being even an agent of the Paris "*Comite directeur*."

RECOGNITION THAT CAME TOO LATE.

Krause found a home, then, in Munich, Bavaria; but there, too, he was followed by his enemies, who soon procured a governmental order for his banishment from the city. Even the philosopher Schelling was, for the time, made one of his enemies. The unjust order, however, was happily annulled; and Krause at once came into favor with the university authorities, by whom a chair for his teachings was opened. This long delayed justification and honor, however, came too late to this brave pioneer for the larger thought and the higher life. A month later, September 27, 1832, he died.

Krause was no political agitator or social iconoclast, yet he was a radical and an advanced thinker in philosophy and sociology, aiming to realize in life,—in the State, in

Society, in all Human Relationships,—the profound and beneficent ideals which had been disclosed to his earnest, penetrating thought. Those who knew him intimately, knew a man who, by conviction, invariably put forward Justice instead of Force, as the arbiter in human affairs ; a man whose personal motive and means of conduct best found expression in the phrase now carved on a fine memorial erected to him,—*Die Liebe traegt den Sieg davon*, “Love bears the Victory.” It is my hope at some time to make the life and thought of this great martyr to truth much more fully known to the English speaking public.

The present engrossing movement of international events, however, has reminded me of a few pertinent sayings of his which, I think, are worth repeating now, as showing somewhat the insight of one who lived and spoke far ahead of his times, and who might well be followed, or at least counselled with, as the present generation enters the momentous New Era about to open for mankind.

SOME OF KRAUSE'S APHORISMS.

I read among Krause's “Aphorisms” this, for instance :

“Governments which disown, or deny all Right: that is, Governments which subject the life and the goods of living, of both individuals and social organizations, to the arbitrary will of any one, either a person or aught else ; Governments which consider and deal with all under them as not being possessed of Right ; such Governments, themselves, deserve to be considered as existing not in accordance with Right, or as legitimate, but rather as being themselves without title to Right.”

And this, in 1829 :—“Real, genuinely human Culture is now, in some measure, retrograding in Germany, especially because of the prevalent talk about the so-called ‘ positive ’ as the only means of salvation to be found for the State, the Church and the general Social Life ;—talk that is being unweariedly given to the poor youths of our higher schools by the servants of an outlived past. It is through just this influence that there will arise in these youths, upon whom the culture of the next generation will depend, an indifference, a contempt, yes ! a fanatical persecution of profound thinking, together with a brutality and savagery of manners,—as some of our higher schools are, alas ! now showing,—which can only be done away with by a return of the sacred and healing spirit of really Scientific (philosophic) Research.”

“ It was not Philosophy or the philosophers who were the immediate cause of the French Revolution. Its impulse was in the unrighteousness of the Government of the State ; in the arrogance of the rich and of the privileged ; and in the despairing necessity of the poverty-stricken masses among the people. Wherever these causes are at work, there, at last, will Revolution appear.”

“ No philosopher has yet orated against Justice,—justice enlightened, humane, discreet. Justice is inherent in all desire essential in man. The philosopher never ignores or discredits that which is at all good, or just in an existing State ; and when he rightly understands Philosophy he will never teach, support, or encourage disorder and rebellion. Read through the list of the insurgents and you will find in it very few, if any, philosophers.”

“ The excesses of the Eighteenth Century and, indeed, of all the centuries are certainly, least of all, to be ascribed to philosophers. And, even though some of these thinkers may have borne a part of the blame, they were blameworthy just so far as they erred ;—so far as they yielded themselves to passion,—in brief, so far as they were untrue to their vocation ; and, heedlessly, were carried on the current of the time.”

“ So far no State has made a registration of the intuition or conviction that neither itself, nor any other Social Organization devoted to human welfare, is the whole of human life. For this reason it is that the State by means of Force and Craft has associated itself with, and interferes in, all human interests, and endeavors to hold them all under its tutelage. But under the Divine Providence true guardians of humanity are chosen and appear ; who, not sitting on thrones, aim to lead and educate the State and all the specialized Organizations of Society aright, by free spiritual guidance ; yet leaving their freedom inviolate.”

And this :—“ The development, or emancipation and uniting of Nations, while they are on the lower levels of culture, apparently come to pass like the mating of wild animals,—in strife and with pain.”

But, “ through Evil, as a sufficient or adequate source, Good has never come. Thereby, however, the good may be awakened ; having been generated by and grown out of, and because of, its original, essential might. Still, never does Good originate in Evil. Good proceeds only from the morally good. Evil means lead to evil ends. It is not

justifiable to seek to reach good ends with evil means ; and it is impossible by bad means to make good gains.”

“ Individual men, Social Organizations, People and Nations that seek to make a display of grandeur and sublimity, play their parts in vain, when they go,—and just as far as they go,—by evil ways and towards bad ends.”

“ Now is the time when it should be proclaimed aloud to all ‘ The Powers,’ and to those who are their stay and defense :—‘ Who does not understand will surely be understood ; and they who sit there and judge, will certainly be judged.’ ”

* * * * *

KRAUSE'S LEAGUE OF NATIONS

It was just one hundred and four years ago, however, that, if we have in mind man's political evolution, Krause made his most memorable contribution to the principles and agencies directing human welfare.

That contribution is given in his “ *Proposition for a European League of States, as a Basis for Universal Peace.* ” Krause's aim in his proposal, he said, was to show how to make the Alliance of the chief Powers of Europe, just effected,—because of Napoleon's threatened subjugation of Europe,—one that should be really permanent and worth the having ; how it might attract other world Powers to it ; and how it would create a League, for War and for Peace that would be just and indestructible.

Krause did not propose a “ League of States to Enforce Peace. ” The wonder of his proposition is that, then, almost exactly as appears in President Wilson's repeated proclamations now, the plea he made was for an Inter-

national League devoted to the direction of human political power and institutions towards the establishment and furtherance of Right and not Might, as the arbiter and guide of international relationships. By means of a League of States, formed in accordance with the idea of a justly organized humanity,—at the time seemingly made possible because of the high-purposed Alliance that had just been achieved by the leading States of Europe,—“The Holy Alliance,”—a universal peace might be the issue.

And “*only in this way could such peace be secured,*”

A PROPHETIC PROPOSAL

Krause's proposition, published prominently in Berlin in 1814, was received, in high places, so far as we know, with no favor at all. Nevertheless, to-day it stands as a signal and prophetic declaration, whose substance is the burden of the faith and purpose of a leading statesman of these times; one whose voice will be seriously heard in the counsels under which the near New Era for human kind is to have its initial guidance. It is not less than marvelous, how much Krause did, definitely, in anticipation of the efforts that have been made in recent years, at such International Congresses as those which have been gathered at the Hague; and in what is now moving some of the world's leading thinkers and guides, notably, as just said, the President of the North American Republic.

Krause's dominant aim in his proposed League was the establishment and the support of the Right,—giving an adequate definition of “Right.”

He provided in his plan, that in all relationships where this common principle of Right did not limit them, all the Nations should remain internally and externally free.

All the component Nations of the League should be fully co-equal members, as such ; each restrained only under the common needs ; each respected in its peculiar national genius ; all promoting a general rational system of culture or education, by instruction and by legislation ; the League disowning any assumption by Governments or Sovereigns of having any other kind of morality than that of individual human beings ; the League conducting all its affairs under the greatest possible publicity ; the League not acknowledging any claim for itself, or for any of its constituent Nations, to assume rule over, or to despoil any People,—the claim put forward under the pretence of guardianship.

All the States in the League should have an inalienable sovereignty, independence and autonomy in their specific national life ; but all should be bound together as pledged for the furtherance and protection of Human Right.

The League should be “an organic Federative State, but not finding as a League its security through any kind of ecclesiastical government, nor by means of any speculative system, as such ; nor through the supremacy of any family, or of any race, or of any one nation. These things belong to the separate Nations for use as they may decide about them for themselves.”

I shall not here follow this prescient thinker throughout his elaboration of the fundamental articles of agreement proposed for the League. I have already done that elsewhere.

My object now is merely to recall through these few references the fact that more than a hundred years ago,—this much misunderstood and unjustly dealt with man, Krause,

a member of the great German people, that heard but, lamentably, did not heed his counsels,—gave to them and to the world such practical political wisdom and forewarning as that which is indicated in the rapid glimpses of it that are disclosed in the quotations I have made from his encyclopedic writings.

It were well, I believe, for the New Era, which is about to open for Humanity through the present stupendous world-strife; it were immeasurably well, should those who are to be its guides, understand clearly and, also, heed what this far-away prophet thought concerning the needed course for Man's development.

VII.

IN THE YEAR 1918.

“THE DOWNFALL OF RUSSIA.”

A WONDERFULLY PROPHETIC BOOK.

“THE DOWNFALL OF RUSSIA :”

A REVIEW.

I have had for a long time a book bearing the title above quoted. It was published in 1905. It has now become of especial interest because of its remarkable predictions in connection with the Russia of today. The writer, Hugo Ganz, a Vienna newspaper man, went to Russia just before the outbreak of its war with Japan that he might gain knowledge of “the real state of affairs” there, and make public report of them “without prejudice.” The results of his inquiries, as a whole, make one of the most instructive studies of a Government and people that could be secured ; but in certain forecasts of the Nation’s future, he gained an insight that, as conditions now are, was extraordinary.

RUSSIA A PRISON NATION IN 1905.

Personally, Mr. Ganz did not experience throughout his journeyings any annoyance from the Imperial police surveillance ; but, because of what he observed, he had to ask from the outset, “Is Russia a State—or a prison ?” He found, soon after passing the country’s boundaries,—“An empire of one hundred and thirty millions of prisoners and of one million gaolers,—and these gaolers understand no joke.” Passing through Poland he saw a people alien to Russia, “of one race, one class, one caste,” an aristocracy to whom their “master, the Russian, was of no con-

sequence"; the two as "separate as oil and water." "The Pole will never become Russianized as long as he remains on Polish soil." "Germanization of the Pole is like an ill-fitting garment that pinches; Russianization is a thorn in the flesh that makes it fester and throws the entire system into a fever."

ASTOUNDING REVELATIONS.

Our inquiring traveller soon met with some astounding revelations from many of the people who were subjects of this barbaric State and its companion Church. Among the first things he heard was this, from a prominent Orthodox acquaintance:—an arraignment of the alliance of France with Russia, as the greatest misfortune that had befallen the patriotic Russians. "Until this alliance," he said, "we still felt some shame before Europe for our barbarous and shameful rule. But since the distinguished men of the most enlightened Republic have begun prostrating themselves before us, the knout despotism has received the consecration of Europe and has thrown all shame to the winds."

CONFESSIONS OF A RUSSIAN PRINCE.

The inquiries of this Austrian traveller soon led him into a conversation with a prince who had been a friend and even a confidant of the Tsar. He had had conversations with many other men, some of the highest rank, from whom he had learned much about the real course of official action and the inner state of affairs, but he gained so much of essential value from this prince that he reported it at length.

This prince was hopeless of any change for the better in the Governmental policy of the country, con-

sequent upon the growing discontent that was meeting it among intelligent people. All meetings of learned societies, scientific congresses and so on were then, invariably, ending in political demonstrations, he said. Prisons were being filled with worthy men and women; and deportations and banishments were increasing. But the prince did not look for a consequent revolution among the politically intelligent; they submitted to martyrdom. To him, only one forcible revolution was possible and dangerous. That might come if there should be a disastrous national defeat in war; namely, "a peasant revolution directed not against the regime itself, but against all property owning and educated persons." "Do not forget that we are ruled by a camorra of bureaucrats,"—"whose primary interest is the uncurtailed maintenance of their power. If the Tsar wished to hear the truth about the condition and sentiments of the country he would never succeed, because they do not expose one another in the camorra."

"And so your highness can see no deliverance?"

"Only when God in heaven shall decree it. We live between the anarchists in office and the anarchists with dagger and revolver. The fountain of public opinion is not tolerated."

"Whence then can help come?"

"We deserve honest sympathy, for no other nation has yet been made to struggle for its civilization against so pitiless an adversary. Europe must distinguish between the Russian nation and this adversary."

"Our common oppressor, I repeat, is the camorra of the officials; a thoroughly anarchistic class. I do not know when and how our release will come."

A PORTENTOUS PREDICTION.

I have wished to give these glimpses of the state of affairs seen then that I may make the more intelligible a portentous conversation with an important statesman, held by Mr. Ganz during his visit, in which there is a startling prediction of the present social and political chaos into which the Nation has now been cast.

Speaking of a possible redress for the country's political evils, the Tsar was set aside by this statesman as a possible helper. He "is living, as it were, behind the Great Wall of China. He has never visited a 'duma' (city council) nor a 'zemstvo' (district council), nor a village, nor an industrial center. He is kept by the camarilla in constant dread and is so closely watched that he does not see a finger's-breadth of heaven much less of earth."

"What then, in your Excellency's opinion should be done to help the country?"

"Abolition of the police system, security of personal freedom, abolition of the censorship, discontinuance of the persecution of sectarians, and, I say the word quietly, a Constitution." With these little concessions today any political convulsion could be avoided. *No one knows what will be offered ten years hence.*"

"Are there any prospects of this concession?"

"Not the slightest."

"What will be the end, then?"

THE TERROR THAT WILL SURELY COME.

"The end will be that the terror from above will awaken the terror from below. Peasant revolts will break out and assassination will increase."

"And is there no possibility of organizing the revolution so that it shall not rage senselessly?"

“Impossible. The strength of the regime consists in the exclusion of any understanding between the land-owners and the peasants because of the social and intellectual chasm between them.”

“Can there be no change of the fatal policy that is ruining the country?”

“Not before a great general catastrophe. When we shall be compelled partly to repudiate our debts,—and that may happen sooner than we now believe—steps will be taken, perhaps, towards a general convention. Not sooner.”

“Is there no mistake possible here, in what you are saying?”

“Whoever, like myself, has known the State kitchen for the last twenty-five years, has no longer any doubts.”

THE COLLAPSE IS NEAR.

“We must wish, then, for Russia’s sake, that the catastrophe come as quickly as possible.”

“I repeat to you that it is, perhaps, nearer than we all think, or are willing to admit.”

“This,” added Mr. Ganz, “was the substance of my long interview with one of the best judges of present day (1904) Russia, from which I have omitted only that which would render their author easily recognisable. And I must say that, with slight variations, the statements of all the other competent persons whom I have had the opportunity of meeting agreed with those of my present informant.

‘We are near to the collapse,’ repeated the statesman on parting.”

There is much else of timely interest in this wonderfully

illuminating and prophetic book. Its title itself indicates that. And I have reproduced enough from its pages to show that, long ago, there were eyes clear enough to see the coming of the awful national disaster that has now beset the mighty Empire of Russia.

* * * * *

Will this huge ruin ultimately bring a blessed deliverance withal? Let Hope hold while we wait.

VIII.

IN THE YEAR 1918—19.

THE PENDING WORLD CRISIS.

1. ON THE HEIGHTS.
2. A PARLIAMENT OF NATIONS CALLED.
3. UPON THE SUMMIT.
4. AT THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY OF
JAPAN.

THE PENDING WORLD CRISIS.

1.

ON THE HEIGHTS.

THE REDEEMING PROMISE OF THE CLOSE OF WAR.

“ Out of the lowest depths there is a path to the loftiest heights,” wrote Thomas Carlyle, happily phrasing a sublime faith. It may be the tragic fact that the way of deliverance at times lies hidden from longing eyes, but this path is nevertheless somewhere, we are assured ; and there is but need that some one come who is discerning enough to find it, and inspiring enough to lead in the ascent to safety and repose.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S ARMISTICE ADDRESS.

This was the reflection with which I read this morning the address that President Wilson has made to the American Congress in presenting to it the terms of the armistice just agreed to between the Allies and Germany. As I receive it, this address is one of the most far-seeing, essentially good, sublimely prophetic and beneficently momentous State papers ever offered to a great Legislature. It fittingly appears at the cessation of the mightiest mortal struggle that ever brought human kind into mutual conflict ; at a time when implacable hostility would naturally direct their relations. It is animated by the

deepest sympathy with all, friend and foe, who are suffering from the cruelties and terrors of the awful war ; and it heralds with confidence a New Age for all Mankind, an era that is to be shaped by national and international justice and that guides safely in the ways of a prosperous peace.

“ I am confident ” says this prescient guide of the peoples,—war tortured for the past four years,—“ that the nations that have learned the discipline of freedom,—are now about to make a conquest of the world by the sheer power of friendly helpfulness.” “ The present belongs to the peoples who preserve their self-control ; the future to those who prove themselves true friends of mankind. To conquer with arms is to make a temporary conquest ; to conquer the world by earning its esteem is a conquest that is permanent.”

“ The objects of the war of armed Imperialism, of the men who were but yesterday the masters of Germany, are at an end, their evil ambitions engulfed in disaster.” “ The arbitrary power which could secretly disturb the peace of the world is destroyed. The great Unions which destroyed it have now definitely united to set up a peace that will satisfy longings for disinterested justice, based upon something better and more lasting than themselves, or the selfish computing interests of powerful states.” And there is “ no longer conjecture as to the objects of the victors. They will protect the weak, accord their just right to the strong.” And more than this, “ they will immediately do everything possible to supply the needy peoples of Central Europe with food and relieve their other distressing want, thereby setting their minds and energy in line for the great tasks of political reconstruction now facing them.”

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Was ever in human history a war brought to a close with such redeeming and benevolent promise and pledge? Every true lover of Peace, every one who has any sense of the common origin and destiny of Humanity regarded as his own kindred, must feel that in these words, coming from the chief executive of a Nation that is now at the front along with kindred great Powers, a New Era for humanity has been heralded; and that we are all summoned to order ourselves as helpers in realizing the sublime Idealism which the closing world struggle has induced this world leader to proclaim.

May we fervently pray that the Allied Powers shall long keep the heights they have just been made competent to gain.

Tokyo, Nov. 17, 1918.

THE PENDING WORLD CRISIS.

2.

A PARLIAMENT OF NATIONS CALLED.

A "World Crisis" seems an extravagant naming of the present passing of human affairs. A "crisis" is a vitally decisive state of things: and the "World" here stands, especially, for the totality of human kind. For Humanity as a whole, I have said, a crisis is now pending; a positive, momentous culmination, or turning point at which a change is to come that is to affect the World for good or ill, radically and permanently. The recent years-long deadly struggle of many millions of armed men of many Nations is now past, and victory upholds the banners of the Allied hosts. Everywhere, except within the domains of the enemies conquered by these hosts, human kind are rejoicing that these enemies have been defeated and their cause, seemingly, made impotent. The future of Humanity now lies open to the will of the victors in the struggle.

Hence the World Crisis;—the issuance from this triumphant will and its imposition upon all Nations. Never in human history has so momentous a decision been in the making; never before has human judgment been so fraught with portentous responsibilities and consequences.

But how is this world-dominating will to be expressed? No one can, as yet, predict. But a marvellous lead has been made towards a formulation of that will; and this

lead I wish now to bring clearly to remembrance, and, distinctly, to fix it there.

MEANING OF THE WORLD WAR.

Recalling the course of the awful clash of the armies that are now beginning to return to the ways of peace, we easily remember that, ere long, it took on a meaning, in the judgment of quite a number of those who intelligently observed it, that was almost wholly new in the history of wars. They did not see in this conflict, mainly,—if at all,—just a renewal of the causes operative in the myriad tribal and national strifes of past ages, such as the opposing ambitions of tribal chiefs or national dynasties ; or the antagonizing aggressions of alien religious cults ; or the hostility of rival Empires in their march of conquest, either territorial or economic ; or even armed rallying for the settlement of implacably alienating inter- and intra-national political problems and methods. Most, if not all of these causes, doubtless were seen to have some place in the beginnings and development of the strife. But, to some deep seeing minds, beyond all these, and dominating the war, which at length became a World War, there appeared the sublime conviction that this struggle was impelled essentially by a motive force of universal human moment ; that it has an issue of no less inclusiveness than the free autonomy of Mankind, individual, social and national, as antagonized by the arbitrary assumptions of personal autocracies and monarchic dynasties. This profound interpretation of the world-struggle rapidly found clarity and definiteness of expression in several minds ; but, as it has come to pass, most clearly and definitely in the addresses and state papers of the President of the chief American Republic.

PRESIDENT WILSON AS INTERPRETER.

It was astonishing to see, as the war progressed, and the profound intuition concerning its purport was set forth and gradually formulated by President Wilson in many distinct and practical propositions, how many of the leaders and spokesmen of the battling Allied Nations began to accept these propositions, so that, at the last, when the Central Powers sued for an armistice and pleaded for a Conference through which peace might be gained, no favorable answer was made, until these propositions had been submitted to, without any reservation, on the part of the suppliant Powers. And today comes the announcement telling of the culmination of this unprecedented course of events, in the going of the American President far from his own country,—this act itself without precedent,—to preside at an International Conference in which a World-inclusive Peace is to be sought, and ways for its perpetuation to be inaugurated.

President Wilson goes to Versailles, having left with the American Congress a message in which he has said :—

“The Allied governments have accepted the basis of peace which I outlined, as the Central Empires also have, and they desire my personal counsel in their interpretation and application ; and it is highly desirable I should give it in order that the sincere desire of our Government to contribute, without selfish purpose of any kind, to settlements that will be of common benefit to all the nations concerned, may be made fully manifest.

“The peace settlements which are now to be agreed upon are of transcendant importance, both to us and to the rest of the world. The gallant men of our armed forces, on land and sea, have consciously fought for ideals which they knew to be the ideals of their country. I have sought to express these ideals ; they have accepted my statements of them as substance of their own thought and

purpose, as the Associated Governments have accepted them. I owe it to them to see to it, so far as in me lies, that no false or mistaken interpretation is put upon them and no possible effort omitted to realize them."

A TRIUMPH FOR PEACE LOVING MANKIND.

Then, to this extraordinary statement of the regulative purposes of the coming World-Conference and of the leadership that he has been invited to take in its deliberations, Mr. Wilson has added this inspiring assurance, which arouses hitherto unguaranteed hopes for all peace loving mankind :—

" Now we are sure of the great triumph for which every sacrifice was made. It has come and come in its completeness : and, with the pride and inspiration of these days of achievement quick within us, we turn to the tasks of peace again ; peace secure against the violence of irresponsible monarchs and ambitious military coteries, and made ready for a new order, for new foundations of justice and fair dealing. We are about to give order and organization to this peace, not only for ourselves but for the other peoples of the world as well, and as far as they will suffer us to serve them."

Surely there has never before been a political conviction of so sublime a consummation and immediate practical application proclaimed to Mankind?—the coming of the realization of the most beneficent and stimulating ideals for associated humanity ; the emancipation of individual men, of societies and of nations into actual autonomy ; the passing away from, and the turning into a memory,—the personal political enslavement and the political servitude of communities and of nations that had been borne under arbitrary and irresponsible autocracies?

A NOVEL PARLIAMENT OF NATIONS.

Certainly, then, a World Crisis is pending, when a fully empowered Conference of Nations is assembling under a pledge to make an actual adjustment of international relationships in accord with the ideals and propositions that the American President has clearly set forth.

First, and fundamentally the Versailles Conference is assembling with the avowal that it will obey in its decisions the principle of Right as its supreme arbiter, and will aim at permanent World Peace as its goal.

Accepting this guidance the Conference, we are assured, has been pledged by the Nations represented in it to achieve "a general association with specific covenants and mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike."

Then, having this Alliance formed, the participating Nations are to be bound to make with one another, "openly arrived at, covenants of peace, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind;" and, along with this agreement, there shall always be a diplomacy carried on "frankly and in the public view."

Besides, the members of the promised Alliance are to seek, "as far as possible, removal from among themselves of all economic barriers and the establishment of equality of trade relations"; also, to establish a qualified freedom of navigation upon the seas, alike in peace and war; and, for the fourth general regulative principle, they are to bring about a reduction of national armaments "to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety."

The ten other Propositions that have been accepted from Mr. Wilson as regulative of the coming Conference are only specific applications of these fundamental Principles to current international problems and relationships. They need not now be recalled. Our interest is concentrated around the first four Principles, for in them is held the Crisis now pending.

IS A WORLD UPLIFT NEAR?

From now, therefore, we await the all-momentous issue. Is our World really on the verge of the mighty uplift that would certainly follow an honest general acceptance and application of the Principles and Motives that have been proclaimed as the guiding force of the assembling Conference of the Nations? Is it possible that the consenting Powers have actually risen to the heights to which the President of the United States has ascended? And if they have sincerely promised, and have gained the ideal summit to which they have been led, will they keep the heights they have been competent to gain?

Prediction of the answers to these questions can not now, with certainty, be given. But it is not a vain thing to hope,—surely not,—that after all that the World has suffered and has longed for throughout these tragic years, there will be some worthy attempt made by the coming pledged Arbiters in the readjustment of the world's affairs, to the end that their promise shall be made good.

REAL INTERNATIONALISM NOW POSSIBLE.

No one can expect a Millennial Age to be disclosed for Humanity just now. But the physical possibilities for a world-wide international harmony are with Mankind as never before in human history. Swift transit from even

the "ends of the earth" are now at the command of all,—over land, across the oceans and through the air. Communication of events and thought is now almost a matter of the instant, by means of the electric flash and flow. The printing press, cunningly devised machinery and the work of many kinds of laboratories have made possible a universal exchange of the products of all peoples and climates. And there is an increasingly general knowledge of mutually intelligible speech. Indeed, real physical barriers to the intercommunication of all Mankind are at present almost negligible. The mind and the heart of mankind need but to be disposed aright to make the coming New Era one of permanent good will and co-operative prosperity.

So, then, we may reasonably expect that, remembering the price that the Nations have paid for their victory and their present possessions of power, and the pledges under which the gathering Conference has begun to meet, there will be an issue from this World-Parliament, in some way, a worthy return for the inestimable cost with which the splendid Victory gained under the name of Right and of Justice has been won.

Tokyo, Dec. 11, 1918.

THE PENDING WORLD CRISIS.

3.

UPON THE SUMMIT.

Some weeks ago, under the title "On the Heights," I wrote a tribute to President Wilson as the standard bearer of the most aspiring political ideals for Mankind today. I felt that by his message to his own people at that time, and, through them, to the World's Nations he had ascended the heights of human social order and well-being, and was standing there as the confident leader to whom all Mankind should rally would they have the peace, the security, the personal and national prosperity and happiness for which they instinctively long. I felt that the best appeal had been made to the World then striving to find a safe and lasting refuge from the horrible wrath and desolation of War; and that the supreme demand had been made upon the ethical, religious and humane impulses and intuitions of Humanity, as beings spiritually born.

Naturally, much skepticism had met the American President's summons to the Nations and his resolve to become the spokesman for what he named "America's Ideals," in the International Conference about to assemble for the settlement of the momentous problems raised by the war. Faltering and compromise on his part, and failure to receive any substantial support for his Proposi-

tions, when they would be brought to international test, were freely predicted.

A WONDERFUL ADDRESS:

Of course, the end is not yet; and prophecy is a vain thing. But, even to my own surprise, there comes, today, a report of the opening address, called for from President Wilson in the discussion appointed by the Versailles Conference, on "The League of Nations"; an address which I venture to name the most wonderful and prophetic utterance so far made to a gathering of men chosen to represent the political will of human kind. If what President Wilson has said in the past may be distinguished by such phrase as "On the Heights," the address reported today merits no less a tribute than "Upon the Summit." There may be "a peak" of "the summit" left for his further ascent; but how there could be a loftier declaration of human endeavor, and of achievement for Humanity in their political order and progress, passes, certainly present, comprehension.

I repeat, as confirmation of the claims I am making, just a few of the President's supreme utterances. Think of his judgment of the kind of Conference he was addressing:—

"I may say, without straining the point, that we are not representatives of Governments, but of Peoples." "We are bidden by these Peoples to make a peace which will make them secure." "They have, as a sacrifice, borne the strain of the war, that we who represent them, shall make another such sacrifice unnecessary." "The central object of our meeting" is "to make permanent arrangements that Justice shall be rendered and Peace maintained."

“The very deep and genuine ardor of the United States for a Society of Nations does not spring out of fear or apprehension, but out of the Ideals which have come to be a consciousness in this war.” The United States “could not take part in guaranteeing European settlements unless that guarantee involved the continuous superintendence of the peace of the world by the Associated Nations of the World.” We must “make this League of Nations a vital thing;” “everywhere and without intermission watchful and attentive.”

POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY FOR THE WORLD.

“The select classes of mankind are no longer the governors of mankind”; “their fortunes are now in the hands of the plain people of the whole world.” “We” of America “regard the project for the League of Nations as the keystone of the whole, which expresses our purposes and ideals in this war.” “We would not dare abate a single item of the program of our instructions,” or “compromise upon any matter,”—“this peace of the world, this attitude of justice, this principle that we are the masters of no peoples, but are here to see that every people shall choose its own masters and govern its own destinies, not as we wish but as they wish.”

“As I go about the streets I see, everywhere, the American uniform. These men came into the war as crusaders, not merely to win a War but to win a Cause, and I am responsible to them, for it falls to me to formulate the purpose for which I asked them to fight; and I, like them, must be a crusader for these things, whatever it costs.” “It is our privilege to associate ourselves with you of this Conference in representing this Cause.” “The very pulse

of the world seems to beat to the surface in this enterprise."

* * * * *

So, this standard bearer of human Justice and Liberty has just spoken. Has the true prophet and leader for the New Era of Humanity really appeared and taken the guiding place in this Council of the Nations? Of course, I do not know: but this I do know, that, with an "Excelsior" banner, President Wilson has gone persistently and steadily onward towards the very heights of human social excellence, so far as we now can see them; and, at last, he seems to be signalling an ascent for all the Nations from the very summit of social order and amity possible to Mankind.

Tokyo, Jan. 29, 1919.

THE PENDING WORLD CRISIS.

4.

AT THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

At the Annual Meeting of the American Peace Society of Japan, held February, 21, 1919, as president of the Society, I reviewed some of the events of the War that bear directly upon efforts aimed at the establishment of the proposed League of Nations on behalf of the future peace of the world, and said, then,—

“ I may not close my message to you without turning our thoughts to the inspiring motives and the enlarged opportunities that the news from Versailles brings to us of this Society. Having as our general object ‘ the promotion of international peace and good will,’ our specific aim, which is ‘ the attainment of a right understanding and the furtherance of good will between Japan and America,’ would become henceforward,—should the proposed League of Nations be effected,—only the more stimulating and abounding in promise. Both the Peoples in whom our intimate interest lies would assuredly be charter members of the League ; and both would find it serviceable to their common desires and well-being to be faithful to the League as a whole. Particularly, it would tend to bring about for them both a genuine friendly international cooperation and intercourse in the relationships that arise

from their common interests in industry, in commerce, in travel, sojourn, social welfare, and in their political and religious institutions and faiths." .

" This Annual Meeting may, therefore, become memorable : marking, for us, the closing of one World Epoch ; an epoch of international segregation, rivalry, alienation, aggression and often of armed conflict, but henceforward changing towards a New Epoch for all Mankind;—the age of a coming together of many Peoples for an honest trial of the conditions involved in alliance, cooperation, mutual regard and protection " .

IX.

IN THE YEAR 1919.

HUMANITY'S NEW MOVE
ONWARD.

1. "THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS" PLEDGED.
2. AMERICA'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE
WORLD'S CIVILIZATION.

HUMANITY'S NEW MOVE ONWARD.

1

"THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS" PLEDGED.

With the passing of the spring of the present year, 1919, the International Conference at Versailles came to an agreement in a Covenant signed by the representatives of the many Nations assembled there, enacting a "League" dedicated to international cooperation for the attainment and security of World Peace.

Gratification at this far advance towards the goal of a many years-long cherished hope and faith, found expression for me in a tribute that, fittingly I think has place in these gathered war-time essays. I wrote:—

Three years ago the President of the United States of America voiced the longing of millions of human hearts in his declaration:—

"I pray God that if this Contest has no other result, it will at least have the result of creating an International Tribunal, and of producing some sort of joint guarantee of Peace on the part of the great Nations of the World."

Since that time the awful international struggle then waging has been borne through, ending in a decisive victory for the armies of the Peoples who were defending their civil liberties and national integrity against the assault

made upon them by the aggressive mighty monarchy of the House of Hohenzollern and its Prussian Imperialism. And today, there has been announced to the world an Agreement by the victorious Nations through which they are to be henceforward a League "to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security," by "international justice and honor," and by "the actual rule of international law." Thirty-two of the world's leading Peoples had consented to this Covenant as original signatories; and now we are told that a "Plenary Conference" of Nations has accepted the original proposal for the League without amendment.

"THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS" NOW A FACT.

A New Era for mankind has thus been, in fact, begun;—President Wilson's profound prayer has at last received a marvellous answer.

It is, of course, too soon to know what radically transforming effects will be wrought among the multitudes of Mankind by the directing operation of this mighty League. But the hour is surely now here when all those who believe in the Solidarity of Humanity and the coming, at some time of "peace on earth and good will among men," may rejoice over this far move onward of the Nations towards the goal so long the inspiration of seers and prophets,—the peaceful Federation of the World.

Personally, I am deeply grateful that the lessons I learned in my youth from the great interpreters of the history of human evolution; lessons which I have repeated over and over again, whatever discouragements opposed, are now, this far at least, realized in accomplished fact. And I am confident that we who believe in the persistent

onward movement of Humanity may find new assurance for our faith in this sublime advance of professed justice and good will as regulative among the Nations ; and may renew our service, with strengthened zeal, towards the realization in full of our faith in the transcendent religious Ideal ;—the coming, at last, of a true Brotherhood of Mankind.

That Ideal, I know, is far, very far from realization today. But, beyond question, a move onward has now been made:—a movement directly towards a comprehensive International Peace has been taken among the most populous and most powerful of the world's Peoples ; an advance away from self-absorbed, individualistic aggressiveness and aggrandisement has been secured, by the achievement of this International League. The domain of Man has been moved far forward and upward because of this act. The Nations have been lifted to a higher level than any they have hitherto had for their exploitation. New occasions have brought fine opportunity,—and great duty, too, anew,—to test and, if it may be, to enhance the world's manhood.

WILL THE ONWARD MOVE BE HELD?

Will the Nations prove themselves worthy of this great high calling? Of course, I do not know. But I am certain that a mighty onward move has now been made ; and that the World can never again be just as it was only five years ago.

Can the Nations hold the heights they have been competent to gain? Again, I am prompted to say, I do not know ; yet, competence to achieve surely implies ability to hold. Consequently, we may dare to say that from now on the Nations are fully free to do service to a benefi-

cent Internationalism, and thereby to establish their life on this new level, where they can make themselves ready for yet farther moves onward that will carry them, at length, into the serene forecourt of Human Brotherhood, in which the bond among all is to be "the Parliament of Man" under the "Federation of the World."

Tokyo, May 2, 1919.

HUMANITY'S NEW MOVE ONWARD

2.

AMERICA'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE WORLD'S CIVILIZATION.

In the month of May of this year, 1919, I was invited to address the students of Waseda University in Tokyo, and was asked to speak on the theme, "America's Contribution to the World's Civilization." The opportunity thus given, I accepted as one of signal importance; and what I said then apparently makes an appropriate rounding out and a practical statement of the ideals and the aims which have given being to these War-time Essays.

My hearers being Japanese young men, the address, given in the English language, was naturally elaborated somewhat at length, and was definitely explicit; but, omitting its introductory definition of the term "Civilization," and an explanation of why the word "America" is used as descriptive of "the mighty North American-civic federation, The United States", the address, just as spoken, here follows. I said,—

In thinking, of how I shall most profitably use the opportunity this theme has given me, I am taken far back of the time when the American "United States" came into being.

CIVILIZATION FOUR CENTURIES AGO.

About four hundred years ago, none of the civilized peoples of the world knew that there was any such domain in existence as the American continent. Then the civilized Nations of Europe were slowly awaking from a period of more than a thousand years in which they had been held under the control of a monarchical ecclesiasticism and many despotic kings and feudal lords. Speaking generally, we may declare, that, in the civilization which the people of Medieval Europe had achieved, there was no practical acknowledgment of any essential liberty for individual human beings. The subjects of those monarchical and feudal States had no legal right to direct or to shape the Governments that controlled them.

Yet, I must make some qualification of this fact. In Western Europe, certain progressive impulses had been generated in some minds as an effect of the fanatical Crusades which during two hundred recent years had carried millions of religious devotees into foreign lands. Moreover, what is called the "Revival of Learning" in the course of the Fifteenth Century had begun to arouse, in many more minds, a sense of personal worth and longing for religious and civic freedom. In some countries, like the mountain cantons of Switzerland and the Island Kingdom of Great Britain, important principles of civil liberty had done somewhat to give to the peoples there a conscious personal worth, and to limit the lordship of their rulers. A marked restlessness had thereby been begun within the long servile peoples of Western Europe. Self-reliant adventurers in travel and exploration had appeared.

As the Fifteenth Century came to its close, among

other wonderful events, was the most marvellous of all, an attempt to circumnavigate the earth,—then believed to be a globe,—and, incidentally, the discovery of the continent now named America.

WORLD EFFECT OF THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

1. This marvellous fact was the first that came to me in thinking of America's contribution to the World's Civilization. In what thereafter soon came to pass in Europe I saw the first memorable effect of America upon the World's progress.

That newly found continent beyond the ocean quickly became known to the Western peoples of Europe as a land that was in large part empty of human beings. It was soon learned that, whatever might be the fact about population in Central and South America, the domain that is now the United States—the America of which I am talking—had in it only some wandering tribes of comparatively helpless savages. In fact, as now described, the region that is included within the United States, is an expanse of millions of miles in area over which roamed, at the time it was first made known to Europe, hardly four hundred thousand of human kind. There, then, by that discovery, was opened to Mankind an enormous new world, practically empty of man, offering to Humanity its resources for whatever uses might be made of them.

MANIFOLD EMIGRATION FROM EUROPE.

That opportunity ere long became well known throughout Western Europe and was rapidly utilized. Bearing upon our theme, with much importance, is the manner of its utilization. Throughout the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, many thousands of adventurous and

aspiring, freedom-seeking people in the sea-coast nations of Europe—in Spain and Portugal, in France and in England—left their homes, determined to seek new life, prosperity, contentment and happiness on the far away continent.

The fortunes of the adventurers and emigrants of Spain and of other South Europe peoples, who were chiefly seekers of conquest and gold, have no place in the story I am telling. I pass them by to speak of what befell in the lands of the North, and to the peoples who went to them from the Nations of Northern Europe. I remember that French explorers, with many missionaries, made their way into the regions now known as Canada, the Northwest and the Mississippi Valley; but they did little for the settlement and colonization of those wildernesses. Numerous traders from Holland established themselves in the rich centers of the Atlantic Coast, now known as New York and New Jersey. Some emigrants from Sweden found homes for themselves not far to the south of the Dutch Colonists. And yet farther south, bordering upon the Spanish territory, there were several attempts, in the Sixteenth Century, to open places of refuge to persecuted Huguenots who had fled from a religious tyranny in France.

BRITISH COLONIZATION BECOMES DOMINANT.

But all these groups of emigrants, traders and refugees from North Europe, together with the support of their own Governments, gradually gave way before the extend-immigration and the political power that came to America from Great Britain. By the time the Eighteenth Century had opened, all the territory that is now the Atlantic Coast of the United States, from the St. Lawrence River

to Florida, had become the home of Colonies connected with Great Britain,—developing their civil and social life under principles which had their birth and growth chiefly in the English motherland.

The first contribution that America made to the World's Civilization is, therefore, this passive one of becoming a domain of as yet untried possibilities for many adventurous groups of human beings who were far separated from their many different Nationalities and were closely brought together. In beginning their social and civil life anew in this way, these folk were enabled, in their new environment, to obey freely whatever impulses they had towards personal and social independence and self-reliance. Also, they were helped, in their following these impulses, by being gathered at length under the Government of the freest and most liberal European State of that era, the constitutional Kingdom of Great Britain.

CIVIL FREEDOM THROUGHOUT BRITISH AMERICA.

2. Recognizing this fact, we are now brought to the positive, outgoing agencies in America's world relationships. The opportunity offered in the British Colonies in America to promote influences that bear upon the World's Civilization was wonderfully utilized. In a comparatively short time, there were thirteen British Colonies in the new domain; and, in all these colonial communities, it soon came to pass that a new tone of civil organization and order was sounded.

SPECIFIC GUARANTEES OF CIVIL LIBERTY.

Early in the Seventeenth Century, for instance, there was guaranteed to the Colony of Virginia by the home Government "all the liberties of the freeborn people of England: no taxes, no customs, no garrisons of British

soldiers except by their own consent." Then, Massachusetts received from the British Crown a grant, which gave to that Colony "unlimited jurisdiction, sole power of legislation and administration of justice." Maryland from its beginning was proclaimed to be "an asylum for civil liberty and a shelter for the persecuted of every Christian denomination." Rhode Island declared that it gave, "in its plentitude, liberty of conscience and equality of opinion before the law." New York had a people who "agreed that no new law should be enacted for them, except with their own consent." And Pennsylvania was given a proprietor, William Penn, who sent an invitation to all the oppressed peoples of Europe to come to his territory for homes; where they would not be at the mercy of any Governor. "You shall be governed by laws of your own making," he said "and live a free people. I shall not usurp the right of any, or oppress his person."

In fact, all these thirteen British Colonies, became organized as so many actual popular governments. They set forth Public Opinion as their ideal of civic authority; and they realized in a high degree, a national life, in which each man was a free citizen; each having personal power to choose the officers of his State and to have a voice in making the laws which should govern him.

You readily remember the course of events in those British Colonies as the Eighteenth Century passed. They had become thirteen separate popular governments; namely, governments of the people, and for the people and by their people. In themselves they were so many Democracies; and they were strictly independent in relation to one another. As the years passed, however, they were all aroused by certain encroachments that were made upon

them by the Governmental Administration in the home land, under a presumptuous King who had become temporarily successful. These despotic acts rapidly brought all the Colonies together in a Congress, where they at length declared themselves "independent of their King and their British Brethren" and were resolved to make of themselves a new and self-governing Nation.

THE BRITISH COLONIES BECAME ONE FREE STATE.

3. In carrying this declaration through, America made its next positive contribution to the World's Civilization. The thirteen free, independent colonial Democracies soon realized for themselves a federated Nationality. They became "The United States of America."

At first their federation was very feeble and seemingly uncertain. But after trials and negotiations, lasting for eleven years, in 1787 these free States bound themselves together by a formal Constitution which until to-day, with a few amendments, has been an unbroken bond. This Covenant has been regarded as being, until in the near past, the greatest chart of civil freedom ever devised. Before the present year, it may be named the most advanced stage Mankind has reached in the statecraft of Civilization.

It is no marvel, therefore, that the American Federal Union came to have a world-affecting career. It has long stood among the world's Nations as the State wherein popular government in theory, and, increasingly in practice, has been a fact. Also, it has been the Nation in which has been generated and nourished, as could be nowhere else, civic ideals and ventures whose aim is yet farther forward movements in human civilization.

EVOLUTION OF FREEDOM IN THE UNITED STATES.

But, I do not claim that America has ever fully realized, or even for the most part realized, its exalted ideals. Negro Slavery was firmly held within several of the States for many years. But, even with that drawback, the main purpose of the Union did not fail. At last Slavery was destroyed before the developing power of the ideals of the free people. In numerous other maladjustments of human relationships, inherited from past ages—social, industrial, economic, political and religious—abuses have from time to time disturbed the American Nation; but it is the fact that agitation against these evils has been always wholly unrestricted by law, and that the Will of the People, as it becomes enlightened, can and does control and dispose of them.

CIVIC LIBERTY AND THE LABOR PROBLEM.

Especially must we remember in this connection that some of America's most serious present problems have arisen directly from excesses in the working of America's fundamental national virtue;—from its being the wide-open, welcoming home, or place of refuge, for all Mankind. Because of this fact it is, that the multitudes of hand-laborers who have been gradually gathered from everywhere into the industries of the Nation have, in recent years, been led to combine for what they believe to be self-protection; and they have been seeking to draw barriers around their free land against increasing hosts, coming from other lands, who might harm them by an overwhelming and cheap competition. Only in this direction, that of competitive cheap labour, has America's ideal hospitality to all Mankind ever been lessened. But, doubtless, as the years pass, the American free spirit will make some

way clear by which even this limitation will be happily regulated.

AMERICA IN GENERAL HUMAN PROGRESS.

4. Had I time I should gladly enumerate many of the specific and definite contributions America has made to the World's Civilization ; particularly in the domains of popular education, of invention and mechanics ; in science, commerce, exploration, philanthropy, religion and their like ; but I must pass these good things by, to speak especially of that factor in human progress which at the present time is engrossing universal Mankind,—I mean the striving after a more inclusive and better order of international relationships which is now moving the World Conference in session at Versailles. Deliberations are passing there which, apparently, have culminated in a mighty "League of Nations" that is to have a world-wide inclusiveness and control. Human Civilization, in the full consummation of this aim, will be affected for the better as never before ; and the main purpose of what I am saying to-day lies in the part that America has taken in bringing about this world-important act.

AMERICA AND NATIONAL PEACE.

American history, I know, has not as yet been one of continued national peace, either within the Nation's own boundaries, or in its relation to other Nationalities. America began its national existence in a war of rebellion, effecting a forcible revolution for the sake of independence. Several wars occurred in later years in which the new Nation had part ;—war with England, with Mexico and with Spain. Also, one of the mightiest armed conflicts in human history was the American Civil War of a half century ago.

Nevertheless, the ideals that brought the American Union of States into being and are within its organic life, are such that the only end of their realization can be civic peace. And it is the fact that throughout American history, in spite of the Nation's several wars, there has been, as in no other Nation, a growing longing for National and International Peace which has been uppermost in the national mood, and, also, has had the initiative and leadership in whatever movements have taken place in the world towards a World Peace.

AMERICA AS PROMOTER OF WORLD PEACE.

Thinking now of Civilization as being the supremacy among mankind of peaceful relationships instead of those of War ; of a Civil instead of a Military Order ; of Peace instead of Struggle as the ideal social state ; of Right instead of Might of the law of human order and development, I am assured that America has the acknowledged distinction of leadership in carrying this higher civilization forward.

Sir Thomas Barclay, an eminent English jurist, has given authority for my making this statement. He has written that, " America has been the pioneer of the view that Peace is the normal condition of Mankind ; and that when the causes of War are eliminated, War ceases to have any reason for being."

It is true that there have been in all civilized ages, champions of peace. Many prophets of religion, many philosophers and sages from a far past, have had visions and hopes for Humanity as dwelling in a glorious age of peace and of universal welfare ;—an era of a Millennial Happiness. In our modern times, in many lands, practical advocates of international agreements ; of courts of arbitration ; and of national federations have offered their

pleas to the Nations. Many peace writers and organizers of peace societies, for the past century and more, have sought to bring groups of alien peoples together. The first Peace Society was formed in New York, 1815, followed by one in England in the ensuing year. At length, in 1843, in London, England, the first International Peace Conference took place; and thirty years ago such conferences became regularly periodical.

It was in 1881, however, that, for the first time, a movement was made that actually served International Peace on a widely extended scale. That was in the invitation issued by the United States for a Pan-American Conference. Secretary Blaine's aim was to provide for permanent prevention of War among the peoples of the American continent. Eight years later that Conference was held; and, as its consequence, "armies were reduced, and there seemed to be a rapid realization, then, of the idea that War can become superannuated, and positive measures for its prevention adopted."

With the American precedent to inspire him, the Emperor Nicholas II, of Russia, in 1898, issued his call for a similar Peace Assembly in Europe. Therefrom, came the Hague Conference, with twenty-six Nations in it, moving towards a Court of International Arbitration. Two such Congresses were held in 1899 and 1907. And one to be of surpassing importance was proposed for the year, 1917.

THE HOHENZOLLERN CRIME;—1914.

But before this much hoped for Congress could meet, there was committed, five years ago, the awful international crime which was thrust upon the World under the aggressive lead of the House of Hohenzollern.

That crime has been awfully brought to judgment within the last year, as you know ; and now that splendid movement of the past, by which the World's Civilization was being carrying onward towards an Era of International Justice and Peace, has again been begun. And, seemingly, it is today fraught with most cheering promise.

AMERICA IN THE WORLD WAR: WHY?

What part America has had in bringing the terrible German irruption to its inglorious defeat, we all know. And it is only the truth to say that America entered the World War, above all else, for the sake of helping to secure, at last, for the World an enduring and just Peace. Also, it is but right to make record here of the general acclaim of his colleagues that the American President, Woodrow Wilson, has led the Conference held by the Nations which are victorious in the war, in their creation of the "League" whose dominating purpose is to secure, from now on, the reign of peace among all the peoples in the world ; to be at last a definite guarantor of international peace ; a strong guard against all international aggression ; in fact, to be a firm barrier against that very "Thing" which, led by Germany, would have brought the whole structure of Civilization to ruin.

NATIONS NOW LEAGUED FOR WORLD PEACE.

5. Herein, in this "League of the Nations" we see, I donbt not, the crowning contribution that has so far been made to the World's Civilization :—this contribution made as the consummate effect of the inspiration of the exalted Ideals that have given to America its being and growth.

The response that I must give to our theme today is, therefore, this:—

With America in the lead, a world inclusive Compact has at last been wrought and offered to Human Civilization:—a League of Nations, which, I dare believe, is but the beginning of a federal Union of the peoples of Mankind:—a bonded Nationality which, as the years pass, may become, in fact, The United States of the World."



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