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# War Studies

1. Root-Causes of the War.
2. "Peace with Honour."

BY

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# WAR STUDIES

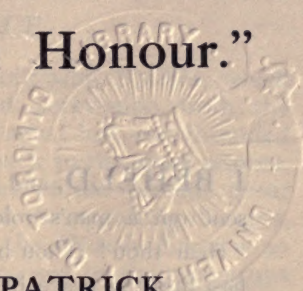
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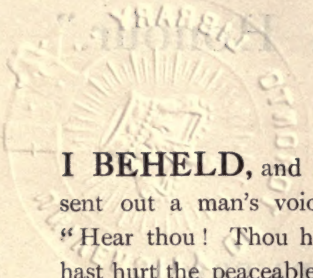
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**I BEHELD**, and lo as it were a roaring lion sent out a man's voice to the Eagle and said, "Hear thou! Thou hast afflicted the meek, thou hast hurt the peaceable, thou hast loved liars, thou hast destroyed the dwellings of such as did thee no harm. Therefore is thy wrongful dealing come up unto the **HIGHEST** and thy pride unto the **MIGHTY**. Therefore appear no more, thou Eagle, nor thy hurtful claws, nor all thy vain body!" And I saw, and behold the whole body of the Eagle was burned.

(*Esdras*, Bk. II., Chaps. 11 and 12.)

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# WAR STUDIES

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## PREFACE

THE first of the two following Studies, which is reprinted, by kind permission, from the *Scotsman* of 22nd August last, was intended to carry its readers back to the more remote, but none the less real, causes of the present great war, and to warn the public of the appalling dangers, too little realised, to which the British Empire, as well as Germany herself, is exposed by the monstrous ambitions of the mediæval German government. Another object of the Study was to differentiate the Prussian military caste, headed by the Kaiser, from the German people, the vast majority of whom, had they been constitutionally governed, would certainly have voted against the war. About the middle of September last a correspondent of the *Times* stated that, after careful study of the German press, he had found no trace of disapproval of the war. Of course not. He forgot that the German newspapers are so rigorously censored that honest and genuine public opinion is systematically stifled, and that even facts are suppressed, whereas for "patriotic" mendacity and scurrility there is neither gag nor boycott. Was not the *Vorwärts* suspended the other day for publishing a letter from a wounded German soldier stating that he had been badly fed? After a suspension of three days the *Vorwärts* reappeared, but as it resumed its unpalatable criticisms it was condemned to entire suppression. Lastly, as announced in the *Times* of 3rd October, its resuscitation was authorised on condition that it should refrain from discussing

"class struggles," that is, practically, from saying anything displeasing to government.

The second Study, written at the end of September, was intended to emphasise still further the evils and perils of Prussian domination, and to suggest measures for averting them. Sooner or later some such measures will have to be taken by Germany herself if she desires to escape from the ruin to which "divine right" and "passive obedience" inevitably lead. Other measures will require to be taken by Europe, and perhaps by the other continents also, to establish a just and reasonable balance of power, and to insure the liberty and independence of all the peaceable and law-abiding nations. Most important and urgent of all, however, from the British point of view, is the need of measures for self-defence, measures to save us from the fate of Belgium and from national extinction. More particularly, in addition to an adequate regular army and a powerful fleet, we urgently require a citizen army sufficiently strong to defend our shores. In order that such an army may be efficient, not only the military training but the scientific and linguistic education of our youth will require to be systematic and thorough. In these matters, however reluctantly we may admit it, we may learn much from Germany. The Germans are wonderfully patient and thorough in the study of science and of languages, as well as in the pursuit of business. Detestation of their government should not blind us to the benefits we derive from their industries, their learning, language, and literature. When Germany has once cast out the evil spirit that has brought infamy on her name, she will gradually recover her high rank among the nations. Meanwhile let us be just to her, but let us at the

same time take the most strenuous steps to defend ourselves against the outrageous ambition and lawlessness of her present rulers.

The war might be profitably studied from other points of view also. Suffice it here to note that Kaiserism is just as much the antipodes of philosophical, moral, and religious principles as it is of constitutional liberty. Philosophers like Kant, Hegel, and Fichte, and poets like Goethe and Schiller, were humane. They treated of the spiritual needs and aspirations of humanity. The Nietzschean "superman" is an *inhuman* monster, whose fierce and insane lust of might wars against every human right. How then, it is sometimes asked, can certain German scholars, professors, and even clergymen possibly defend Kaiserism? The chief reason is that, as a rule, the learned German is a singularly credulous and unsophisticated person. Entirely lacking political aptitude and constitutional training, he is spoon-fed on "patriotic" history and on inspired, garbled, or censored news, and he is apt to be allured by the titles, orders, and decorations, dear to the German soul, that are so lavishly bestowed by their "all-highest" master on his humble and devoted servants. The German's blind, uncritical belief in his newspapers is just another phase of passive obedience. You may prove him wrong, but you cannot shake his belief. Instances of this are common. Some years ago, for example, a German professor of some note wrote a bitter invective against England, founded mainly on an alleged statement by Lord Charles Beresford in one of his speeches. The statement, disparaging to Germany, had been falsely attributed to him by some German newspaper. An English verbatim report of the speech, showing that no such statement had been made, was sent to the bellicose

professor, but of this he took no notice, and he is on the war-path to this day. One of the latest and perhaps most striking proofs of the credulity of German scholars is to be found in the "Appeal to Evangelical Christians" issued by a number of theologians, who evidently "walk by faith (in their Kaiser) and not by sight (of the truth)." They try to justify the war on grounds which the admirable reply of forty-two eminent British divines (published in the *Times* of 30th September) shows to be either inadequate or entirely false. They make no mention of the true *fons et origo* of the war, they suppress vital facts, they garble others, and they invent new ones. Of course one cannot impugn the good faith of these German theologians, but it is manifest that they have blindly and confidently swallowed the tainted spoon-meat specially prepared for them by others. The same remark applies to a similar appeal recently addressed to the "world of culture" by ninety-two German scholars and artists. To use the apt words of the *Times* of 9th October, they have simply believed what they were told to believe. If, as Schiller says, "even the gods fight in vain against stupidity," who can hope to fight with success against blind prejudice?

In the coming harvest the reapers will bind the tares in bundles to burn them, but let them spare those ignorant and innocent millions, and even those docile and guileless scholars, whose only crime has been their mistaken loyalty to a hopelessly corrupt mediæval autocracy.

To-day comes the heart-breaking news that Antwerp has fallen. Belgium's agony is England's supreme warning.

J. K.

10th October 1914.



## I. ROOT-CAUSES OF THE WAR

**H**ISTORY repeats itself, but with strange and surprising variations. The periodical recurrence of more or less unjust wars and of the terrible tragedies they involve is a familiar repetition of history. Scarcely less familiar are the heart-rending atrocities periodically committed by semi-barbarous nations. But who would ever have dreamt of such horrors being re-enacted in the twentieth century by one of the most highly educated of all nations? Most surprising and most deplorable of all is the fact that these horrors seem to have been, partly at least, premeditated in cold blood for many years past. Never probably in the world's history was the ruin of peaceful and friendly countries so elaborately and so treacherously planned. What pretext of protecting the trade of the Fatherland or defending her frontiers could ever account for or justify the wholesale system of espionage and secret armament established in several other countries? Can anyone now doubt that Germany, or rather Prussia, has long been plotting with fiendish cunning against her peaceable and unsuspecting neighbours with a view to obtain "a place in the sun" at their expense? To anyone who has been partly educated and spent years in Germany, and has learned to love and admire the kindly, hospitable, and peace-loving

Germans, such an infamous plot would seem unthinkable. The explanation is that, while the great majority of the people have hitherto been honest, industrious, and pacific, the whole nation has long been entirely dominated by the military party and the bureaucracy, headed by the Kaiser, and that they alone are responsible for the outbreak of the present war. At this conclusion most people have doubtless already arrived, but they naturally ask how a comparatively small minority of the people can sway the destinies of a great nation and ruthlessly wage an unprovoked war against half of the civilised world. The answer is that, while no minority in a constitutional country is ever entrusted with such tremendous and perilous power, yet, under the baneful rule of "divine right and passive obedience," the sovereign alone, or at least a small minority, does possess that power. But, it may be further asked, is not the German Empire governed by a representative diet or parliament and a cabinet of ministers? Nominally, yes; but ministerial responsibility in the constitutional sense does not exist; ministers are responsible to the emperor alone. He is above the law (save in purely civil questions); his will is supreme in the last resort; and this autocratic system is obviously a direct negation of self-government. This evil might be mitigated, though not entirely removed, by a free expression of public opinion; but the nominal freedom of the press and freedom of speech are subjected to such stringent control that the true voice of the general public is rarely if ever heard. For "patriotic" speeches and articles, on the other hand,

however biased, however mischievous, there is neither gag nor boycott, seeing that they are inspired, or at least controlled, by the "all-highest" Kaiser himself. As in England "justice was poisoned at the fountain-head" by the Stuart kings, so too the kindly, honest, and robust German national character has been poisoned (but not, it is hoped, unto death) by the ruling caste with its base crew of sycophants, "patriots," bullies, and spies. The unbridled ambition, arrogance, and cupidity of that caste have unquestionably been root-causes of the war. Unhappily for the welfare of the whole world, there still exist kings who, as James I. once declared, are "gods upon earth," one of whom in particular proclaims, like Louis XIV., that "l'Etat c'est moi!"

Thus far the root-causes of the war are quite well understood both in Germany and elsewhere, but the widespread ramifications of these roots are more occult and less generally known. Pope's dictum:—

"For forms of government let fools contest :  
Whate'er is best administered is best,"

is sometimes quoted with approval, but it is shallow and misleading. Government in Germany is admirably organised and administered, and in time of peace the peaceful citizen enjoys almost as great security and comfort as in other civilised countries; but the moment he comes into collision with the military party or the police, or expresses his opinions too freely in public, or even in private, he is ruthlessly smitten by the mailed fist or trodden under foot by the iron heel. It is therefore to a very limited

extent only that he enjoys either "liberty of the subject" or "even-handed justice." The reason of this is that he does not live under the ægis of "one law of the land," but under three distinct codes. The ordinary civil and criminal laws govern all the everyday relations of citizen towards citizen. But if the citizen should be wronged in any way by a policeman or other government official the ordinary law is powerless to afford him redress; his only course is to submit his case to the administrative courts, in which the wrongdoer is almost invariably favoured and protected by "administrative law." These courts are presided over mainly by administrative officials, whose code is specially designed to uphold their congeners in the execution of their duty. The result is that a wrongdoing official is usually treated with great leniency, and that the injured party rarely obtains redress. All civil officials thus form a privileged class, above the ordinary law of the land, and are therefore encouraged to treat private citizens as inferiors. This system is, of course, entirely repugnant to British principles of fair play and equality before the law. Instead of being the servants, government officials are the masters of the people; and although often good-natured and easy-going in the performance of their duties, they afford their military and imperial superiors a powerful instrument for keeping the great mass of the population in subjection. But a far more powerful, sometimes cruel and brutal, instrument consists in a third and supreme code of law, to which utterly passive obedience must be rendered. This is the military law, imposing on the whole nation the laud-

able "duty of defence" (*allgemeine Wehrpflicht*), and manifestly enacted for defensive purposes only. Yet those "supermen," the Kaiser and his military caste, in defiance of all considerations of honesty, morality, and humanity, have not scrupled to distort the "general duty of defence" into a general right of aggression against their peaceable and unsuspecting neighbours. For some two thousand years past we have been taught that "righteousness exalteth a nation," we have learned to love whatsoever things are pure and true and just and of good report, and we believe that honesty is the best policy, but these modern supermen (while professing Christianity forsooth) utterly repudiate such principles and seek to exalt their nation, or rather to gratify their own overweening vanity and ambition, by means of the foulest treachery and mendacity. Among numberless proofs of this may be noted the recent utterances of the Imperial Chancellor (mouthpiece of the Kaiser, and not of the nation) to the effect that, while the invasion of Belgium was contrary to international law, "necessity knows no law," and that a solemn treaty is a mere worthless "piece of paper." The reader need hardly be reminded that any necessity of self-defence was absolutely non-existent, and that the peace and welfare of the whole world depends on the inviolability of treaties. The mendacious plea of self-defence has been persistently reiterated of late in Germany by the Kaiser himself and his party, with a view to goad the nation into the belief that the Fatherland was in danger. This amazing campaign of treachery and mendacity reminds one of the Stuarts, who, though hirelings of France,

masqueraded for their brief span as "gods upon earth." As of them, so also of their modern congeners, it may be truly said that they claimed the divine right to do wrong and to break every law of God and man.

Besides the Kaiser, "his highest self," as he is officially styled, and besides the military caste and the bureaucracy, there is another class of the community which also to some extent partakes of the privileges and prestige of divine right. This is the "nobility," who are numbered by tens of thousands, as against the few hundreds of British and Irish peers, and most of whom correspond to our "gentry." When a peer's eldest son is a peer and all the others are commoners the title carries with it a certain dignity and prestige, while all the younger members of the family are gradually blended with the community at large; but when a baron's ten sons are all barons, and when he may possibly be the grandfather of a hundred barons, the title ceases to have much value. In Britain, therefore, the titled class, which even commoners of humble origin may aspire to enter, is seldom regarded with envy or jealousy, whereas in Germany a hard and fast line is drawn between *Adlige* and *Bürgerliche* (aristocrats and plebeians), which naturally causes a good deal of soreness and friction, seeing that the great majority of distinguished men in every walk of life belong to the latter class. This feudal and mediæval distinction, nowadays an anachronism, thus forms another bar to the fusion of all classes into one harmonious community.

But here arises the vital question, how the monarch by divine right can enforce passive and unquestioning

obedience to his divinely authorised behests. He enforces it partly by administrative and partly by military law, but chiefly by the still more potent and irresistible engine of the oath of military allegiance. As commander-in-chief of the army he exacts from almost every man in the empire this crowning oath of obedience, the violation of which would expose the delinquent to be condignly punished, or even to be shot, as a deserter. This oath forms, as it were, the great motive power of the fearful and wonderful mechanism of the Germanic polity, and, whether for good or for evil, that tremendous power can be wielded by the "War Lord" alone. By virtue of that power four or more millions of Germans, sworn to blind and passive obedience, are now being led forth like sheep to the slaughter, few of them knowing or daring to ask why, while probably most of them in their hearts utterly disapprove of an unjust and unprovoked war. It is pitiable to think of the untold misery to which these and other millions of Germans will be subjected, and it is exasperating to know that many millions in other countries too will suffer no less severely from the attacks of an insanely and cruelly ambitious oligarchy. Truly "there is something rotten in the state of Germany," a perpetual menace to Germany herself and to all her neighbours. How long will Europe tolerate this canker in her midst?

Those who have lived, studied, and travelled in Germany used to return home delighted with the people and their country, and tell entertaining and more or less veracious tales of their experiences. One of the earliest of these tales was told by Sir Francis

Head nearly a century ago, in his "Bubbles from the Brunnens of Nassau." A party of tourists on the Neckar, he tells us, were denied admittance to an old castle used as a state prison on the ground that the prisoners had gone for an excursion and taken the keys with them! Mark Twain, another distinguished traveller, gives a graphic account of the duelling and beer-drinking habits of the Heidelberg students. And who does not remember "the castled crag of Drachenfels," and the romantic stories of other picturesque castles on the Rhine, and of the Schloss of Heidelberg, and K athchen of Heilbronn, and the Brocken spectre, and the charming fairy tales of Grimm and Hauff, and Goethe's Hermann and Dorothea and G otz of the Iron Hand, besides countless other interesting subjects which might be mentioned at random? The present writer too might contribute his quota of pleasant reminiscences, but must refrain from saying more just now than that he has been well acquainted for half a century with Germany and the Germans, from a reigning prince and various civil, military, and academic personages down to one of his best friends, a humble boatman (yet one of nature's gentlemen), and that during his many and prolonged visits to Germany he has met with the utmost kindness and hospitality.

On the other hand, he often obtained such glimpses at the seamy side of German life as may serve to illustrate the subject now in hand. Thus, shortly before the war of 1870, an English student kept a surly bull-dog which he had named Bismarck, but when his German comrades heard the dog's name



they besought him "um Gotteswillen" to change it lest he should be run in for *lèse-majesté*. They knew, of course, that the great Prussian minister was under the sacred protection of the administrative law, which would certainly regard a piece of harmless chaff as akin to high treason. Again, during the custom-house formalities at Herbestal on the Belgian frontier, close to the spot where the Germans recently violated Belgian neutrality, a traveller once remonstrated, *more britannico*, with a custom-house officer for his undue inquisitiveness, whereupon a friendly porter whispered to him, "Um Gotteswillen don't, he is a government official!" A striking example of the official high-handedness begotten of protection was witnessed by the writer some years ago at Wiesbaden. Round a street corner came a cyclist, fortunately at moderate speed, when a gendarme posted there deliberately thrust the scabbard of his sword into one of the wheels, thus of course upsetting the bicycle and its rider, but luckily without doing serious damage. "Too near the corner," explained the functionary. As he rose from the ground the cyclist glared furiously at his assailant, but without a word picked up his machine and trundled it off in silence. He of course knew that it was useless to complain to the administrative authorities, who would probably have turned the tables on him and fined him for contravening the traffic regulations. But what if he had been seriously or fatally hurt? Neither he nor his family would have obtained any redress, while the gendarme would merely have been admonished for excess of zeal in the execution of his duty. While the civil

official is thus shielded by *robur et æs triplex*, the military officer participates largely in the divinity that doth hedge a king. His political and social status is monumental. He towers on a pedestal far exalted above the *profanum vulgus*. For military offences he may of course be punished, but in all other cases he is almost as immune as his master, who "can do no wrong." This was well exemplified by the recent military scandals at Zabern, in Alsace. The high-handed and illegal, not to say brutal, aggression of the officers was in the end approved by the all-highest military authority, and the delinquents were entirely exonerated. The pretext for such travesties of justice is that the defenders of the Fatherland must be protected and encouraged in every possible way in the discharge of their important duties, just as in the Dreyfus case the hushing up of forgery and perjury was once deemed by many to be justifiable in order to maintain the honour of the French army.

Another case may be cited to illustrate the military conception of justice in Prussia. Some years ago the writer made the acquaintance of a young Prussian officer who was undergoing a year's imprisonment in a Prussian fortress. Beyond the temporary loss of his epaulettes and a short postponement of promotion, his punishment was of the lightest, as he had a comfortable room in the fortress, and was free to go wherever he chose on parole from early morning till ten at night. At a public café some months previously he had conceived himself insulted by a half-tipsy, unarmed civilian, whereupon he drew his sword, ran the offender through, and killed him on the spot.

The ordinary criminal law being powerless in cases of this kind, he was tried by court-martial, and as his zeal in vindicating the honour of his cloth was deemed a little excessive, he was condemned to the punishment above mentioned. It is right, however, to add, in palliation of his offence (which in some countries would have been regarded as murder), that an unwritten military law in Germany requires an officer who thinks his cloth insulted to strike the offender with his sword, so as at least to draw blood.

Enough has been said to show that the Germanic polity is in most respects the very opposite of constitutional. There is little or no real liberty of press, or speech, or action, no even-handed justice, no oneness of law with equality before that law, no ministerial responsibility. While in Great Britain the sovereign power resides in king, lords, and commons, and ultimately in the electorate, and while in France it is held to reside in the people, in Germany it resides in the emperor, the army, and the bureaucracy, and in the last resort in the emperor alone. As already hinted, these peculiarities have of necessity affected the character of the people. Ever since the Franco-German War of 1870, Germany's too easy triumph, with the milliards in its train, has begotten in the ruling caste an overweening vanity, a fierce lust of further conquest and booty, and a glorious dream of European and world-wide ascendancy and empire. These failings and follies have also reacted on the national character, the poisoning of which has been aggravated by the gag and the boycott. The general public in Germany has accord-

ingly been fed up for many years past with spoon-meat calculated to flatter their vanity and to convince them that all their neighbours were wickedly plotting against their Fatherland. This Mephistophelian policy has certainly failed to hoodwink a great many thoughtful and intelligent Germans, but it has, unfortunately, exerted a most baneful influence on a considerable majority. Hence their groundless and trumped-up hatred of England and France, hence the development of a hateful system of bribery and corruption and treacherous espionage. Thanks to this malign policy of the dominant caste, Germans of the baser sort have multiplied of late, and have become *falsch*, treacherous, and brutal, but there is happily reason to believe that the nation as a whole is still *treu* at heart, loyal, honest, and humane. If they can find some peaceful means of converting the present autocracy into a limited and constitutional monarchy, they will confer an inestimable boon on the whole of Europe as well as on themselves. Instead of ruining themselves and others, and incurring almost universal execration, they will then enter on a free and happy era of prosperity, and will powerfully promote the sacred cause of peace and goodwill among men.

## 2. "PEACE WITH HONOUR"

**E**RE long Germany will be obliged to sue for peace. When and on what terms can peace be honourably concluded? Not until Belgium, France, and Russia are indemnified (as far as money can indemnify them) for their stupendous losses, not until the independence of Belgium and the safety of France and the peace of Europe are secured, not until the down-trodden Slavs are emancipated from the hated yoke of Prussia and Austria. These are the fundamentals of an honourable and lasting peace, but there will, of course, be many difficulties to overcome and details to adjust. Meanwhile it may be useful to consider some of the chief avenues to a stable and durable peace. These may be conveniently ranged under four heads—(1) Constitutional, (2) International, (3) Linguistic, and above all (4) Military.

(1) The constitutional aspects of the situation have been partly dealt with under the head of "Root-Causes of the War," being the first of these Studies. A few further considerations of like nature may now be added. The causes of the war, immediate and remote, have been discussed so often that it suffices here to repeat that loyalty to treaties, love of liberty and justice, and righteous hatred of treachery and mendacity compelled the British to take part in it. Now that the beginning of the inevitable end is

approaching, the Allies are all agreed that the first step towards peace must be to destroy the Prussian hornets' nest in their midst, in order to safeguard themselves in future against foul treachery and murderous aggression. The next step, it is hoped and believed, will be taken by Germany herself. "Fast bound in misery and iron," she has groaned for the last forty-four years under the tyranny of Prussian militarism, under the sway of divine right and passive obedience, with its iron heel and mailed fist and brutal cat-o'-nine-tails. Her bureaucracy, under the administrative law, is above the law of the land; her army is governed by the still higher and more ruthless military law; and over them towers the Kaiser, who is above all law (except in purely civil questions), who can do no wrong, and to whom every man in the empire, as a soldier present or past, owes "unconditional obedience" (see the Germanic Constitution, secs. 63, 64). This government maintains law and order of a sort, but it is the law and order of the prison-house or the galleys. It denies to the private citizen most of the rights that are dearest to constitutionally governed peoples. There is no real liberty, no oneness of law, no equal justice, no genuine public opinion. The representative Diet (*Reichstag*) dutifully votes taxes for the army and the navy and legislates in matters of imperial importance, but it lacks the essential attributes of a constitutional assembly. It has no control over the executive, it has no initiative unless by permission of the Federal Council (*Bundesrat*), and it may be dissolved by that council before the end of its five years' term of office.

There is no cabinet, no ministerial responsibility, no government to turn out. To the superficial observer it "keeps the word of promise to the eye, but breaks it to the hope." The Federal Council, composed of delegates from the twenty-five different German states, is at once an upper chamber and a kind of cabinet. It is presided over by an imperial Chancellor, the nominee of the King of Prussia, who is also the German Emperor. It prepares bills to be submitted to the Diet, which it entirely dominates, and is itself dominated by the emperor. A declaration of war by the emperor requires the consent of this Council, but its consent is almost inevitably a foregone conclusion. A significant side-light is thrown on this power of the emperor by a clause in the Prussian Constitution, which gives the king the sole executive power and the sole right to declare war or peace. This system of government is therefore the merest travesty of a constitution. Instead of being broad-based on the people's will, it hangs precariously and perilously on the will of an absolute autocrat. If the autocrat be wise and benevolent, the nation may thrive fairly well under his sway; but if he is mentally or morally deranged, his rule is certain to be disastrous to the nation. How is this feudal and mediæval incubus, this source of terrible danger, both national and international, to be removed?

Naturally industrious, kind-hearted, and humane, the national character of the people in Central, Western, and Southern Germany has been lamentably warped of late years by the Nietzschean gospel of materialism and brute force adopted by Prussia,

The whole nation has been systematically, "patriotically," and mendaciously taught by the censored press that Russia, France, and Britain are the deadly enemies of the Fatherland; and the people, often against their better judgment, have meekly submitted to the grinding military tyranny of Prussia under the delusion that they were safeguarding the liberties of their beloved country. They are laudably desirous of national unity and independence, but their unity was created more or less artificially, from without, and mainly by Prussia, in 1871, whereas the Italian *risorgimento* was a mighty renaissance from within, crowned with the recovery of Rome as its national capital. Little did the Germans think that their laudable patriotism was being treacherously exploited to minister to Prussian ambition and rapacity; little did they know that the military caste, belonging chiefly to the "nobility" forsooth, contemptuously regarded them as mere "food for cannon," to be slaughtered by hundreds of thousands for its selfish ends. But the night is now far spent and the day is at hand, a day of doom for the tyrant, with his crew of spies and assassins and his gagged press, but, it is earnestly hoped, a day of renewed life, light, and liberty for the sorely afflicted and misguided nation.

How then is Germany to retrieve her character from the infamy into which she has been plunged, blindfold and tongue-tied, by the outrageous campaign of her Prussian rulers against truth, justice, liberty, humanity, and religion? Down to the new era of blood and iron, and of the mendacity which kindled the war of 1870, she bore a high character among



nations as a cradle of learning and science, of philosophy, poetry, music, and industry. At the same time she was honest, humane, and hospitable. For her lamentable decline, which we hope is capable of being arrested, Prussia is undoubtedly responsible, while the overbearing arrogance of Prussia, formerly a very poor country, is traceable to her too easy and successful spoliation of France in 1870. "Set a beggar on horseback" and it is well known where he will ride to, but if he is armed to the teeth he may do much damage before he reaches his destination. Of the sad moral decline of their country many thoughtful and intelligent Germans who have not bowed the knee to the Baal of Berlin are themselves painfully aware. Some years ago the present writer was told by a staunch German friend of the old school that such fine old adjectives as "ehrlich, treu, schlicht, bieder, gemütlich" (honest, loyal, straight, trusty, good-natured), once applicable to the German character, were already well-nigh obsolete. For all these evils, with the attendant disgrace they have brought on the whole German nation, there is but one sovereign and effectual remedy. Let the hitherto oppressed and deluded people follow the example of other civilised nations and take the sovereign power, the sole sheet-anchor of liberty and independence, into their own hands, instead of weakly and fatuously entrusting it to a single dictator. Let them remember that the vaunted sovereignty of the mighty Kaiser is *their* sovereignty which he has usurped and scandalously abused. Let them with one accord peaceably lay down their arms (to be resumed, of course,

when necessary for self-defence), and thus utterly strip their rulers of their glorious borrowed plumes. Let them awake to the fact that most of their own "constitutions," particularly the Prussian (1852) and the Germanic (1871), have been weighed in the balance and found to be (as has long been predicted by constitutional lawyers) utterly wanting. The adoption of some form of genuine constitutional government in Prussia and in Germany would not only in due time rehabilitate the tarnished character of the nation, but would in future safeguard the whole of Europe against outbreaks of revolting savagery. Let the nation by all means have an army amply strong enough for self-defence, but not an army so enormous as to terrorise all their neighbours. Had a constitutional form of government existed in Germany before the fateful month of August 1914, the present war could not possibly have broken out.

(2) What, in the next place, can other nations do to prevent the recurrence of unprovoked wars of aggression? Germany herself can do much, but other nations will demand further guarantees for the maintenance of peace and the observance of treaties. If John Bright had been still alive he would hardly have spoken with scorn of the balance of power as a fetish. Never was some such balance more urgently needed than at the present juncture. All nations, great and small, require protection against wilful and wanton attacks and against the perils of treacherous espionage. And nowadays even the eminent civilians who "lie abroad for the good of their country" are by no means above suspicion. One of the first

jurists to propose the remedy of an international police (and also, incidentally, the neutralisation of Constantinople) was the late Dr James Lorimer, the distinguished professor of public law in the University of Edinburgh. The principles of his admirable scheme may be briefly outlined as follows. Let a new Holy Alliance be founded, not for the purpose of bolstering up effete monarchies of the divine right school, but for mutual defence against enemies of the public peace. The objects of the alliance would be to chastise all treaty-breakers with sledge-hammer force, and to prevent the growth of armies beyond the strength necessary for self-defence. The fact that the peace of the world was guaranteed by half-a-dozen or more of the first-rate powers would of itself remove all excuse for the maintenance of unduly large armies. The watchwords of the alliance would be "peace, truth, justice," and its cult might be observed with equal devotion by the most and the least Christian of nations, though not by the maniacal disciples of Nietzsche. The feasibility of such an alliance has often been doubted, yet it is conceivable that even the present Allies, especially when joined by Italy, might prohibit wars of aggression in future. Let Belgium, France, Russia, Servia, and China first be swept clear of their enemies, and England safeguarded, and then let the Holy Alliance begin its beneficent task of establishing a real and stable "balance of power," or, in other words, of maintaining international law and order.

(3) The relevancy of a few linguistic considerations will soon be made apparent. The English are not

good linguists. Foolish people, who perhaps know "small Latin and less Greek," sometimes actually boast of their ignorance of living languages. "English is good enough for me," they say, implying their contempt for other languages. "Modern languages," says another, knowing none of them, "are languages of the shop!" Do Dante, Shakespeare, Racine, Goethe, Tolstoi, and other illustrious authors use the languages of the shop? "Oh, but these languages are easily picked up in a few weeks," is the retort, "whereas dead languages are far more difficult." How do these pedants know? Are they competent to make such sweeping assertions? No one would dream of disparaging Homer and Virgil or any other great classic, but with a slight knowledge of grammar and with the aid of dictionaries it is not difficult to read and to appreciate them. Nor is it difficult to read a modern language with similar aid. But here the comparison ends. The learner of a modern language, if it is to be of practical and living use, has four further difficulties to overcome. He must understand it when spoken, he must pronounce it intelligibly, and he must speak it and write it fairly well. Such, at least, is the experience of one who has studied half-a-dozen living languages besides Latin and Greek. To understand a spoken language readily is never easy. The writer once asked an English lady, who was a very fair German scholar, if she had understood a German sermon she had just heard. "Not quite all," she replied; "there was such an echo in the church." Precisely; to an inexperienced ear there always is an echo in a foreign

language. He also remembers a French lady (wife of a member of the *Institut*, no less) who once recited to him an English (?) poem. As he could not catch a single syllable, he remarked politely, but evasively, "Ah! parfaitement, Madame," which got him out of the difficulty. He also once heard a French recitation given by an English gentleman at an evening party. After the hearty applause had subsided a Frenchman sitting beside him privately confessed that he had not understood a word of it. What bearing has this on the subject of "peace with honour"? None in a direct and immediate sense, but it has a most important bearing on our national "safety, honour, and welfare." A sound practical knowledge of two or more of the chief living languages is indispensable to success, not merely in the "shop," but in science, literature, and most other branches of human activity. Some of those very scoffers already alluded to have been known to derive their classical learning largely from more or less imperfect translations of foreign commentators. Through lack of first-hand practical knowledge of modern languages we inevitably fall behind other nations in classical, historical, and literary lore, and particularly in science and every kind of business. Many years ago the writer was asked to act as *cicerone* to a great Austrian prince who was visiting Edinburgh, on the ground that the then Austrian vice-consul knew no German. He also once met an English attaché to the British Embassy at Berlin whose sole language was English, and not long ago he fell in with an English commercial traveller at Lyons

who knew not a word of French. This reminds one of the story of an English (probably Cockney) lady at Nîmes who, after vainly asking the hotel waiter for "doo lie" (*du lait*), tried to make him understand by drawing the figure of a cow, whereupon he promptly offered her tickets for a bull-fight in the Roman amphitheatre! But this insular ignorance has its tragic side. It involves not merely loss of knowledge and loss of business, but often deplorable loss of life. While every German officer, and many privates too, know English or French or both, and have certainly turned their knowledge to good account, most of our officers and men are lamentably ignorant of French and German. Many a German reconnaissance or ruse or ambush has succeeded owing to knowledge of the language of the country, while British ignorance has caused many mistakes and disasters. To know French is vitally important for Britons in France, and to know German will stand them in good stead if they invade Germany. Our educationists should therefore no longer be allowed to despise the "modern side" of our schools as if it were inferior to the classical. It would in truth be far more important, from both the civil and military point of view, if taught with the energy and earnestness it so well deserves.

(4) But, above all, we must adopt stringent military measures to ward off the very real and terrible dangers of invasion. In spite of repeated and solemn warnings, we have hitherto been sunk in sloth and apathy. Our army, admirable and heroic though it be, has hitherto been so weak numerically as to bring upon us the

contempt of other nations, while our territorials, however loyal and public-spirited, are quite unequal to the great task of defending our shores. Had we been prepared for war we might certainly have assisted Belgium far more promptly and effectually, and we might possibly have prevented the invasion of France. Contrasting the Russian millions with our (then) two or three hundred thousands of soldiers, the *Novoe Vremya* even went so far lately as to assume that, if our army had been commensurate with our population and the needs of our Empire, we might have prevented the war altogether. The assumption is of course hardly warranted, as the cases are not parallel; yet we may at least profit by the hint. We may also reflect with advantage on the facts that brave little Servia, out of a population of four and a half million, has sent forth nearly half-a-million of her sons to fight against her once mighty enemy, and that Germany has, or has had, four or five million men at her disposal. In our own Empire the call to arms has no doubt met with a noble and gratifying response, but it is only a temporary expedient. The new levies, largely as yet untrained, and hardly adequate even for our own protection, can send but a small and at present inefficient contingent to our continental allies; meanwhile, however, our primary duty is to provide for our home defence, on which our very existence as a nation depends. Please God, we shall yet escape from the appalling fate of Belgium, but it might quite possibly have overtaken us had not the resources of Germany been already overtaxed.

Germany is known to have plans for landing on

our shores at different vulnerable points, and if one or more landings were effected, even by fewer than the 70,000 men usually spoken of as possible invaders, our fate would most probably be sealed. Foolish and ignorant optimists scoff at this danger. Our fleet, they say, would prevent it; but if not, the invaders would get a warm reception, and would be unable to return to their ships. But the reception so frivolously talked of, which would have to be prepared for at more than one point, could only be given, as Lord Roberts has so ably and so eloquently demonstrated in his message to the nation, if the United Kingdom possessed a defensive army of at least half-a-million well-trained soldiers. Nor, once landed, would the invaders be in a hurry to return to their ships, but would either march in triumph direct to London or settle down for a time (as at Liège and Brussels) to await reinforcements. That such an invasion or invasions might be attempted and might succeed is quite conceivable, seeing that the British fleet cannot be ubiquitous. Besides, if the fleet were to be mainly occupied in guarding our coasts, it would be diverted from its chief duty of scouring the high seas for the defence of our trade. This most important point has been emphasised by Lord Roberts in his great speeches, and was again alluded to by Mr Churchill and Mr F. E. Smith at the recent Guildhall meeting. All these considerations point to the urgent necessity of instituting some form of compulsory national service, as the voluntary system has been proved hopelessly inadequate for our home defence in times of danger. The most overwhelming argument in its favour is



the present war, which has entirely shattered adverse criticism; but it is perhaps worth while to restate briefly the case so admirably and so prophetically presented by Lord Roberts. We require at least half-a-million men to guard our coasts. They must be trained in every arm, scientifically and practically, and be thoroughly disciplined from early youth. Their annual training in time of peace need not occupy more than a few weeks annually, but they must all be liable to be mobilised by government and subjected to strict military discipline the moment danger is threatened, and their country must have absolute reliance on them. Contrast this with the territorial system. The territorial forces are barely half sufficient for our needs. They are inadequately trained and officered, they are badly armed, and being voluntary (though individually most loyal and meritorious) they cannot be implicitly relied upon in case of emergency. Owing, moreover, to their inadequacy, the fleet is largely condemned to the subordinate rôle of sentinels and watchmen. Short-sighted people hate the word conscription, and swear that they "never, never will be slaves." This was the kind of criticism directed some three years ago by Mr Robert Blatchford, the eminent journalist, socialist, and war prophet, against the scheme of Lord Roberts, but his recent articles show a different and a highly patriotic spirit. It is precisely to obviate our ever, ever being slaves, and to save us from being crushed under a merciless foreign tyranny, that Lord Roberts implores us to arm! A pathetic cry from the poorest of our countrymen, to the effect that they could not be worse off than they

are just now, must also be noticed. Yes, they could. "Travailler pour le roi de Prusse" is the French for working hard without any pay. Our poorer brethren would certainly gain nothing by "working for the King of Prussia," who is also the German Kaiser. Let them rather remember Belgium, and let them do all they can, by enlisting or otherwise, to help the sorely afflicted Belgians and French, and to defend their own country against deadly peril.

It was a happy thought of Lord Roberts and his admirable and patriotic National Service League to substitute the term "national service" for conscription. Moreover, the service they advocate is quite different from the continental forms of conscription, and would be far less burdensome to the nation and to individuals. The modified English military service for self-defence has been enjoined by the law of the land ever since Anglo-Saxon times. Besides service in the national *fyrð*, or host, there was also the military service due to all the feudal overlords. This feudal service was greatly extended by William the Conqueror, but the national levies still survived. These were re-organised by the Assize of Arms (1181) and the Statute of Winchester (1285), while troops for foreign service were usually hired. After the Stuart troubles comes the Mutiny Act (1689), a great landmark, which for the first time legalises a standing or permanent army, but does not abolish the national levies (the militia, trainbands, or *posse comitatus*). The raising of these levies was made local by the Militia Act of 1757. Lists of all men in the district between the ages of 18 and 60 were drawn up

annually, and from these a quota (a small, varying contingent) was chosen by ballot for the annual training. The Act of 1829 suspended the ballot, unless the king in Council should order it to be enforced, and thus introduces the voluntary principle. The Act of 1852 expressly sanctions voluntary enlistment; lastly, the Act of 1907 substitutes the territorials for both militia and volunteers. Compulsory service in this country has, therefore, never been abolished, and it might legally be revived by an Order in Council. At all events it still exists in principle, but its practical revival will be a problem for military, legal, and educational experts to solve. Meanwhile a few suggestions on the subject, some of them already well known, may be hazarded. In the first place we should have half-a-million citizen soldiers under periodical training in time of peace, and at least double that number available in time of war. In Servia about one-fifth of the male population serves in the army, in Switzerland one-sixth, and in France and Germany about the same. For Britain one-twentieth would probably suffice, seeing that a regular army must also be kept in addition. This would yield a citizen army, potential at least, of about one and a quarter millions. Formidable as this figure may seem, its burden on the nation would be immensely lighter than the burden borne by the other great powers, whose military service usually lasts for three continuous years, while ours in time of peace would only last, as in Switzerland, for a few weeks annually. In order to prepare for such service it is suggested that every boy in every school in the

United Kingdom should be attached at the earliest possible age to one or other arm of the service, and drilled in it far more strenuously than in the Latin or Greek grammar. In such training would, of course, be included shooting, fencing, and gymnastics. Nor, after a little experience, would our young men regard this great national service as a burden, but rather as a most interesting and exhilarating athletic sport, as both a pleasure and a duty. This new sport, which is justly popular in Switzerland, consisting there of short annual trainings, combined with rifle practice almost all the year round, would by no means exclude our favourite national pastimes, but would go far to reduce the huge crowds of betting, drinking, smoking, and swearing crowds of spectators at races and football and other matches, falsely called "sporting men," few probably of whom ever mount a horse, handle a bat, or kick a ball. A nation of such sporting men is surely even more contemptible than "a nation of shopkeepers." How infinitely preferable, physically, morally, and mentally, is that noble new sport which will safeguard our beloved country against the peril of invasion and its unspeakable horrors!







