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**THE ONLY POSSIBLE
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**"A Peace To Protect the Generation
of the Future"**

By the Rt. Hon. C.F.G. Masterman.

A FRIEND of mine was recently in charge of a small hospital for wounded Belgians. The men were disconsolate and depressed all the day-time, but in the evening would find some cheerfulness in gathering round the fire and inventing new tortures for the Kaiser. The officer, solitary in the day-time, was fairly content. It was in the evening that the misery of his country and his own condition ate into his soul. One such evening my friend was sitting with him in the heart of a fierce autumn tempest, which continually banged the door open, letting in a tempest of rain and wind. After rising to close it several times, "A, cette porte!" he exclaimed in anger; but a little later, with a sad smile as of apology, "Enfin j'aurais tort de m'en plaindre. La Paix pourrait bien entrer un jour par-là!"

"Peace one day may enter through that door." It is the longing of half Europe, careless by what wild tempest. Peace may be borne into the humble homes of the poor. This longing for peace extends as much among our enemies as ourselves. All letters and travellers from Germany bring the same cry: "O that Peace would come." "We cannot endure much longer the sufferings of this terrible war." The scarcity of food, the fear of future consequence, the unassuageable loss of the dead, the unappeasable anxiety for the living—these are characteristic of the "common people" of all the nations now engaged in the destruction of Europe. Yet this longing for peace is entirely compatible with a determination on both sides that neither will yield until each has gained its end. "Chatter about peace," based on internationalism, or the horrors of war, or unless attempts to reconcile the irreconcilable, are futile and vain. Not by such doors will Peace again enter the world.

The Prime Minister's Pledge.
No Government to-day is likely to offer terms of peace which would be tolerated by its enemies. The combat will continue until attrition or economic exhaustion has compelled our enemies, as it compelled France in 1871, to sue for peace. Nor would any advantage be gained (as some persons of intelligence seem to think) by us at this time putting forth terms which our enemies might use as a basis of bargaining. For the very promulgation of these terms might in themselves defeat their own objects, and be interpreted as a sign of weakness to neutrals who to-day worship not Right, but Strength. Yet unofficial suggestions of at least the possibility of an end fill the magazines: from the one side, which is content with the evacuation of Belgium, to the other which demands the crucifixion of the Kaiser. A saner method would be an attempt to interpret the Prime Minister's deliberate definition, in terms of territories, finance and protection against the recurrence of "the greatest calamity Europe has ever seen."

"We shall never sheathe the sword, which we have not lightly drawn, until Belgium recovers in full measure all, and more than all, that she has sacrificed, until France is adequately secured against the menace of aggression, until the rights of the smaller nationalities of Europe are placed upon an unassailable foundation, and until the military domination of Prussia is wholly and finally destroyed. That is a great task worthy of a great nation."
And the minimum of interpretation of so inspiring and righteous an ideal has been interpreted non-officially to me by some such scheme as follows:
Belgium will be restored to complete independence, with an indemnity paid by Germany adequate to the rebuilding of her ruined cities and villages, the revival of her destroyed industries, and full compensation for her disabled and her dead.
France will receive Alsace and Lorraine, and indemnity for all damage done in the present conquest provinces. But also a natural and defensive boundary. "It is only," as M. Briand declared recently, "when we have made it impossible for Germany to attack the independence of other nations that we can talk about Peace." The natural boundary which would render their attack for ever unrepeatable, alike upon Belgium and upon France, is the boundary of the Rhine. And it would seem that either Belgium or France or some neutralized internationally guaranteed buffer State should "make it for ever impossible" for the German hordes to

flood over westward, killing, burning, and outraging, as they did fifteen months ago. Let Germany remain therefore, behind the Rhine, which is its natural western boundary.
Denmark shall receive Schleswig, which is purely Danish. German, Austrian and Russian Poland shall be united under the Tsar, or a King appointed by him; and thus the revival of a martyr nation (like Ireland in the west) would reveal to the world that ideals are more powerful than material things, for ideals of nations may sleep, but never die.
The Future Of the Turks.
Italy would receive Trentino and the whole of Italy Irredenta. The Turkish Empire would be torn to fragments, and Armenia, Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia and Thrace divided amongst those who would develop and revive these once fair places now desolate under alien rule. The Turks would generally be penned up in Central Anatolia, where they would be compelled to learn work instead of massacre. And that great flood of infamy which swarmed into Europe, destroyed great parts of this country, the walls of Vienna, and caused in five centuries ruin, misery, and desolation unathomable, will have come to an end for ever.
Serbia will be restored, with a heavy indemnity from Austria and Hungary to repair the vast damage done. She will receive Bosnia and Herzegovina, full, adequate access to the Adriatic, and all of Austria that is Serb; and her lamentation to-day will to-morrow be turned into rejoicing.
A united Rumania, a united Greece is possible if these nations can rise to the height of their opportunity. Italy proceared out of "a geographical expression" because she thought Italian unity worth fighting for—in 1830, in '48, in '59, in '66. If Greece or Rumania consider that Greece irredenta or Transylvania are not worth fighting for they will never receive them in the end. For a Government and nation which will not risk its life for its enslaved brethren, is a Government and nation unfit for such such cowardice to be given the



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privilege of ruling over them, even if liberated by other hands.
The German fleet should be surrendered, and either sunk or divided up amongst the Allies. All Zeppelins or Zeppelin hangars should be burnt. They have proved useless in warfare, and merely machines for killing unarmed women and children. The German colonies, worthless in themselves, must remain as trophies for the nations who have conquered them—South Africa, India, Australia, New Zealand, France and Japan.
On some such basis European peace might be secured. The terms may seem unduly favourable to Germany; but no German would be left ruled by or subjected to another race; and no other race would be ruled by a German. Nationality would be vindicated, and only by nationality being vindicated is there hope of peace.

A Protective Peace.
And this moderate peace would be a protective peace also: a peace to protect the generations of the future. Lugubrious pessimists in the House of Lords describe indefinite conflict followed by revolution and anarchy, after which "great portions of the Continent of Europe will be little better than a wilderness, peopled by old men, women and children." Well, in some awful moment in which heaven has joined great issues good or bad for human kind, the men and women of a day have always been ready to face the chance of that nightmare—for the welfare of the men and women of to-morrow and all future time. Lord Milner, in one of his mischievous speeches, has denounced the delusion of optimism from which he thinks great parts of this country are suffering. There are no "delusions of optimism" in this country. There is a kind of creeping paralysis of pessimism which weakens the hand to strike and unnerves the will and resolution to continue. This, at the moment, is the greatest danger to this nation. It spreads quietly, like a miasma or poisonous gas, although he end is recognized by all sane men to be inevitable—and that end, necessary.

There are some who would desire to interfere with Germany's internal organization, depose the Kaiser, insist on a Constitutional monarch or a Republic. History denies the utility of all such previous efforts. The Treaty of Vienna, which was to bring universal Peace to the world, forced an undesired Government on France. But the ghost of Napoleon roamed for more than a generation through an uneasy Europe, placed Napoleon the Little on his uncle's throne, and created eighteen years of almost continuous wars. It would be better to hope that German Socialism will send the Kaiser packing.

Granted certain conclusions; that we can maintain our export trade and industries in order to finance all the Allies (for a far more possible danger than defeat in the field is bankruptcy); that during the next year several millions of Russians can be equipped and armed; that the Allies will maintain their resolution not to make a separate peace and above all, that the British Fleet remains unconquered and unconquerable; victory is as certain as to-morrow's sunrise: even if Germany got to Constantinople and Bagdad and Peking, and annexed the whole of Asia to their territories. However much the blood spilt and the treasure destroyed, "La Paix pourrait bien entrer un jour par-là." It is, quite true that if one man could apprehend personally all the sufferings of the world during any day of peace he would go mad also. At least we shall insure such terms that a tragedy such as the present shall never occur again; that the nightmare in which Europe has been living for forty years shall come to an end.

Safeguarding The Future.
And if you ask for a reason for this gigantic sacrifice you can find it in Mr. Belloc's justification of the wild warfare of his "Rebel":
All these I mean to do,
For fear perhaps my little son
Should brave his hands as I have done.
In simple fashion, in the story told by M. Albert Thomas to the Labour members in London, of a soldier on leave in France who rose from the back of a hall at a meeting to which he had come with his twelve-year-old boy, where the speakers were voicing discontent: "Comrades, I am surprised to hear what is now being said. We who have been with the Colours know all about fatigue, the suffering and demoralization of trench warfare; but we are to-day in the same mind as we were at the beginning. I went to fight in order that my son here might never have to go to war. If I am to die, then I shall die, but I do not want him to see war. To avoid this we will make every sacrifice—our liberty, our blood, our life."

The schr. Waterwitch, Capt. Burke, arrived here New Year's Day from Pernambuco, after a run of 37 days, in ballast to Crosbie & Co. She had one the whole, favorable weather with a period of storms.

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