

peoples can secure our future. . . . And it is to preach this that I have come here."

*Pan-Germanism in the North.*

Björnson evidently realises the situation better now than he did in the old days when his trust in a coming era of universal peace, of arbitration and disarmament was greater. Now he sees only two ways for the Scandinavian peoples, an alliance with all the small nations, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, which would at least give them a voice in "the European concert" which he describes satirically as a case of "the Great Powers sitting and determining what is to be done with us." Or we must seek, he says, the protection of Germany, if only it had a decent system of politics. That is the only barrier, "the unfree institutions which Germany has." He admits that Germany is ruthless; he says: "Germany has no respect for the nationality of others. In the provinces which they have conquered from us, from Poland, from France, they outrage the national spirit and consciences of the people, they trample down our speech . . . and in doing that they really show a contempt for us." Yet he is ready to seek shelter under this very Germany whose iron hand has been laid so heavily on his race. That is how the great optimist and pacifist is ending. Nor is he alone in this tendency. Even in Denmark men like J. V. Jensen and Georg Brandes show sympathies in that direction.\* Brandes it is true is a Jew and cosmopolitan by culture; a great critic and in old days high Radical, breathing death to all 'Holy Alliances'; latterly Danish minister of the interior, with sympathies for the land of Bismarck and Treitschke—and a people that appreciate other literatures than their own: more sympathy at least than for the land of pogroms.

It is the inevitable attraction strength has for the weak, and well does Germany know how to reinforce that sentiment in the small nations around her. Björnson, however, covers his surrender by a misty sort of Pan-Germanism which includes the Germanic races in Austria, Holland, Switzerland, Scandinavia and even Great Britain and the United States. It is to be a great Germanic federation. "That is the great

\*Jensen is open enough. See his book *Nordisk Aand* (Gyldendal).