

all sorts of glitter, yells what has been suggested to it beforehand, they call it an expression of the popular will.

But, in the first place, it is only about one ten-thousandth part of the whole population who do the yelling during such festivities; in the second place, out of all this mass, about one-half is gathered by some strong attraction if not collected forcibly, as is done in Russia; in the third, out of all those thousands only a few score really know what is the matter, while the rest would yell and wave their caps just as frantically if something else and exactly the contrary took place in its stead; and lastly, the police are always present on such occasions ready to grab any one who has the hardihood or misfortune to yell something different from what has been prescribed by the authorities.

In France, under Napoleon I., they welcomed with the same enthusiasm the war against Russia, as they did later Alexander I. against whom the war had been waged; and then again they greeted with enthusiasm Napoleon, and later the allies, and then the Bourbons, the Orleans, the Republic, Napoleon III., and Boulanger. In Russia they receive equally well, to-day Peter, to-morrow Catherine, the day after Paul, Alexander, Constantine, Nicolas, Prince Lichtenberg, the Slavonian brethren, the Prussian king, and the French sailors, or in fact any one whom the authorities wish them to welcome. The same takes place in England, in America, in Germany, and in all other countries.

The so-called patriotism of our time is, on the one hand, a certain mood, or frame of mind, which is being constantly aroused in the people and maintained by school, religion and a venal press, to suit the wishes of the government; and on the other hand, it is a temporary excitement aroused in the lower classes—who are both morally and intellectually inferior—by the ruling classes, and then vaunted by them as the will of the whole people.

What now is that lofty sentiment which, in the opinion of the ruling classes, should be ingrafted in the minds of the people?

Strictly speaking, it is nothing more nor less than the preference of one's own government and people, a sentiment well expressed in the German patriotic song: "*Deutschland, Deutschland, über Alles.*"

Replace Deutschland by Russland, Frankreich, Italien, or N. N., and you have an extremely lucid form of the lofty sentiment of patriotism. It may be that this sentiment is very desirable and very useful to the authorities and to the integrity of States, but one cannot help seeing that it is not in any respect lofty. On the contrary, it is very stupid and immoral. It is stupid because, if every State considers itself the superior of all others, then evidently all of them are wrong. It is immoral because it necessarily leads every man who possesses it to seek advantages for his own State at the expense of other States,—a desire absolutely antagonistic to the fundamental and generally accepted moral law, which is: Do not do unto others what you would not have them do unto you.

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