

# WHAT WAR INVOLVES FOR GERMANY AND THE WORLD

**IF GERMANY TRIUMPHS,** she will take all old Lorraine and something more, perhaps Belgium as well, with its great shipping port of Antwerp, and reduce France to a second-rate power. There will be no one in Europe to say her nay, no one to raise a voice of power against any methods of subjugation she may choose to employ. And she will perform as an armed camp for another century.

**IF GERMANY FAILS,** she will have to surrender some discontented non-German provinces and some oversea possessions; she will lose much of the commerce she has built up largely by means of her military power and prestige. Her dream of domination will have ended, and it is safe to predict that there will be a constitutional change in the power and prerogatives of the German Emperor.

## STRUGGLE BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND GERMAN MILITARY AUTOCRACY

Professor Cappon, of Queen's University, Kingston, Ont., Reviews the European Developments of Recent Years and Discusses the Issues of the Contest—Germany's Encroachments and Intrigues in the Balkans Forced Russia into War—The Kaiser's Aim Was to Cripple France—Influences Within and Without the Empire

Mr. Carnegie's Temple of Peace at the Hague has been opened just in time to look out on a general European war. To add to the irony of the situation Mr. Carnegie, casting about in his inaugural speech for a possible guardian of permanent peace, fixed upon the German Kaiser as its main hope and stay. The great ironmaster's appeal was natural enough, of course, and a well-timed use of a good opportunity, for the Kaiser was then the strong man in Europe, and it is only the strong that can keep peace or do much towards it. But the question is always, has the strong man got all that he wants?

If the Kaiser has not quite got all he wanted he has certainly got a very great deal during the five and twenty years during which he has ruled Germany. He has succeeded in spite of some democratic opposition in building up the great German military machine to the utmost extent that the nation can bear. Even the Socialists in the Reichstag voted for the extension of the conscription last year, being pacified partly by the fact that the additional expense was to be laid only on the wealthy classes.

Within 12 years or so he has raised the German navy from a position of insignificance to the second place after Great Britain's. He has seen a great German mercantile navy grow up whose oversea commerce is already about three-fourths of that of the world-wide British Empire. German bankers and syndicates under his protection have extended their operations and planted their agencies all over the Near and the Far East.

German industries have risen rapidly to a commanding position in the markets of the world. Germany has been getting her slices of the globe, too, naval stations and points of vantage; she has got slices of territory in Africa, part of New Guinea, with many adjacent and outlying islands in the Pacific; she has got a port and two hundred square miles of territory in China; she has got (from Britain by exchange), Heilgoland, a rock fortress which now protects the German coast instead of threatening it, as formerly.

**Why Should He Stake All?** Naturally she has encountered keen competition, and some opposition in this expansion, and it is true her holdings are still not much compared with those of old established empires and colonial powers, but Germany came late into the field and cannot expect in a few years to rival the work of generations and centuries. There is only one way of doing that and the others all know it. Best of all for him, the Kaiser could sit back and reflect comfortably on the fact that the population of Germany was increasing at a great rate than that of Great Britain or France. Why, then, should he go to war and stake all these gains in a mortal conflict with three great Powers, even if he had Austria-Hungary to help him? There is every reason to believe that he knew Italy would not join him in such a venture. It is months now since the Austrian Premier gave a

very plain intimation of his opinion on that point. The security of Germany from attack was unquestionable. No nation in the world would have sought war with her unless forced into it by her aggressors. Even Austria-Hungary, as her firm ally, would have had "peace in our time," as the Prayer Book says, by simply abstaining from stretching out further a despotic hand over the young nationalities of the Balkans. Professor Muensterberg, of Harvard is trying to persuade the Americans that Russia is to blame for the present war. She was mobilizing, he says, although the Kaiser asked her not to do so. No one can tell yet how this new constitutional or semi-constitutional Russia is to turn out as an influence in Europe once she gets on her legs again. She appears to be willing to enter upon better courses, but I would not expect miraculous changes. In the present case, however, it is hardly reasonable to ac-

use her of aggression because she began to mobilize when a large Austrian army had already advanced on Serbia. Consider the previous history of the Balkan peninsula.

A generation ago, what is now the Balkan problem, appeared to the British simply as a question of preventing Russia from seizing Constantinople and posting herself on the route to British India. But Britain had no territorial ambitions in the Balkans, and when the young Slav nationalities there sprang into life from the ruins of the Turkish Empire, she left the field to them and to Greece. But though it was Russia that had unclosed the grip of the Turk on them, Russia's own path to the open waters of the Mediterranean was closed by their coming into being. That was the final result of the Crimean war, were John Bright still alive to ask about it. All that was left to Russia was to play the part of the big Slav brother in advising, controlling, protecting.

price she has paid for Alsace-Lorraine is mounting up very high. Germany has expansive ambitions and the hostility of France means that there is a powerful voice and vote against her at the council table of the Great Powers and a certain foe in the event of war with any of them.

Whether Bismarck meant it deliberately or not, his policy in 1870 has forced the German nation to be a nation under arms, an armed camp with a military autocrat and aristocracy in command of it. No doubt that has its advantages as a training. It has made the German practical, energetic and a shrewd calculator. I think Prof. Muensterberg is right in his view that their new industrial energy and commercial enterprise have one and the same root as their military discipline and imperialism. What is certain, at any rate, is that they are vigilantly supported and protected by the Government. But, all the same, the strain of this position is making the Germans more sombre than they used to be, less free and genial. In Berlin they all seem to work as if there were something on their minds, as if something were hanging over them. The old geniality and honest simplicity of the German character are disappearing, they have become rudely, almost ruthlessly, practical. You can see the change in their literature also. The old humanitarianism of Lessing and Herder (both Prussians) and the idealism of Schiller have given place to the bitter idealism of Nietzsche and the stern principles of "world policy."

triumphs, she will take all old Lorraine and something more, perhaps Belgium as well with its great shipping port of Antwerp, and reduce France to a second-rate Power. There will be no one in Europe to say her nay, no one to raise a voice of power against any methods of subjugation she may choose to employ. And she will perform as an armed camp in Roman dignity and ease. If she falls, she will have to surrender some discontented non-German provinces and some oversea possessions; she will lose much of the commerce she has built up largely by means of her military power and prestige. Her dream of domination will have ended, and it is safe to predict that there will be a constitutional change in the power and prerogatives of the German Emperor.

**Roused Suspicion** It was during the Boer War in 1900 that the deep and general hostility expressed by the Germans first began to arouse John Bull's suspicions. That hostile sentiment was partly perhaps a generous sympathy with the smaller nation, but the Germans keep a watchful eye on oversea and colonial affairs, and it had its roots partly also in the colonial ambitions Germany was cherishing in Africa. When some years later, therefore, the extensive naval program of Germany began to reveal itself, accompanied now and then by some significant utterance of the Kaiser's ("Our future lies on the ocean," etc.) which could only be interpreted as a challenge to Britain, the man on the street began to realize that a conflict was probable.

**What the War Involves** So the Kaiser may have made up his mind to end it. If Germany

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### GERMAN INTRIGUES IN BALKANS FORCED RUSSIA INTO THE WAR

But now the Germanic powers, who had hitherto stood aside, began to put a finger into the pie. At the Congress of Berlin in 1798 after the Russo-Turkish war, Austria-Hungary, supported by Germany, acquired a protectorate over Bosnia and Herzegovina and re-entered the circle of German interests as the ally of that now dominant military power. Russia got Bessarabia, but paid for it with the loss of Roumania's friendship. Since that time the Balkan peninsula has been a hot-bed of diplomatic intrigues, the young nationalities there being jealous competitors for what remained of the inheritance of the "sick man" and almost equally distrustful of Germanic encroachment and Russian control.

Russia had an advantage in being the natural standard-bearer of the Pan-Slavic ideal, but the Germanic powers have been scoring the most points in the contest. Roumania, which has a German prince as its ruler, was drawn to their side. Another German prince was planted on Serbia, where he was assassinated, and still another, quite recently, in Albania. Russia also had to sit still during the period of her disorganization after the Japanese war and see Austria's final annexation (in 1908), of the Slav peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina. And what is the ultimate goal of these Germanic encroachments and intrigues? Albania is already struggling in the net, and Russia naturally suspects that it is a Germanic control stretching to the Aegean, perhaps to Constantinople, and convertible some day into a great Germanic empire with its subject peoples. What have Germans to do in those old Slav lands anyway? Before that simple fact Prof. Muensterberg's denials of a Germanic policy of expansion can expect little credit. Nor is it quite fair to represent the conflict, as Prof. Muensterberg does in a recent issue of The Fatherland, as an inevitable conflict between "the onrushing Slav world and the German world." He seems to forget that in the Balkans the Slavs are where they belong and have always belonged, while the Germans

are where they can only appear as foreign conquerors.

**Aim to Cripple France** Russia is still in a stage of political and economic transformation and was in no good position to become a ready or willing aggressor at present. But she was obliged to mobilize unless she was willing to submit tamely to further Germanic encroachment. In such circumstances Austria-Hungary's attack on Serbia could be nothing but the signal-gun for a general European war, and it would be fatuous to suppose that that signal was given except in concert with Germany. Germany began by formally asking Russia's intentions, but hurried at once with a million men to the French frontier and invaded without warning the neutral states of Luxembourg and Belgium.

What kind of a war are we to call this? The best name the Germans themselves can find for it—and they have been discussing it openly enough for some time past—is Preventive War, that is, Preventive War, only in meaning is not to prevent war but to strike first. And this Preventive War is really directed against France. To cripple that power is the first step to all further steps for Germany.

The enmity which has existed between France and Germany since the latter took Alsace-Lorraine in 1870 has had various degrees and phases, but its last phase in Germany seems to be a sullen recognition that the

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