

and Bernhardt and of the influence of these ideas on Prussian military policy, it says:

"But in whatever way we may excuse Prussia we must fight Prussia; and we fight it in the noblest cause for which men can fight. That cause is the public law of Europe, as a sure shield and buckler of all nations, great and small, and especially the small.

"To the doctrine of the almightiness of the state—to the doctrine that all means are justified which are, or seem, necessary to its self-preservation, we oppose the doctrine of a European society, or at least a European comity of nations, within which all states stand; we oppose to it the doctrine of a public law of Europe, by which all states are bound to respect the covenants they have made. We will not and cannot tolerate the view that nations are 'in the state and posture of gladiators' in their relations one with another; we stand for the reign of law.

"Our cause, as one would expect from a people that has fought out its own internal struggles under the forms of law, is a legal cause. We are a people in whose blood the cause of law is the vital element. It is no new thing in our history that we should fight for that cause. When England and Revolutionary France went to war in 1793, the cause, on the side of England, was a legal cause. We fought for the public law of Europe, as it had stood since the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. We did not fight in 1870, because neither France nor Germany had infringed the public law of Europe by attacking the neutrality of Belgium, but we were ready to fight if they did.

"A fine cartoon in *Punch*, of August, 1870, shows armed England encouraging Belgium, who stands ready with spear and shield, with the words, 'Trust me! Let us hope that they won't trouble you, dear Friend. But if they do—' To-day they have, and England has drawn her sword.

"This is the case of England. England stands for the idea of a public law of Europe, and for the small nations which it protects. She stands for her own preservation, which is menaced when public law is broken, and the 'ages' slow-bought gain' imperilled.

"What England not only desires but needs, and needs imperatively, is, first, the restitution to Belgium of her former status and whatever else can be restored of all that she has sacrificed. This is the indispensable preliminary to any form of settlement.

"The next essential is an adequate guarantee to France that she shall never experience such another invasion as we have seen in August 1914; without a France which is prosperous, secure and independent, European civilization would be irreparably maimed and stunted.

"The third essential, as essential as the other two, is the conservation of those other nations which can only exist on sufferance so long as 'Real-politik' is practised with impunity.