

and superstitions which are the chief ingredients in the hell-brew of war. The whole historic responsibility for the disaster may be unravelled at the Day of Judgment—not before. The responsibility which we can reasonably discuss—the responsibility which matters—must rest upon men of this generation. To go back even to 1864 or to 1870 is to go too far back. What we have to determine is not the share which Napoleon III., Palmerston, Bismarck, Disraeli, Beust and Gortschakoff may have had in bringing about the conditions that led to the war. We have to decide what men of our own day—men, for the most part, now alive—committed the acts and adopted the policies which first led Europe to the brink of war, and then hurled her over.

I assert that the whole of this responsibility rests with the Central Empires, and that it is not neutral impartiality which would deny it, but blindness to a long series of incontrovertible facts.

THE FACTS OF THE FOURTEEN YEARS.

If, in what follows, I concentrate attention upon the case of Britain against Germany, it is only for the sake of brevity. Besides, the