

outbreak of the war, that could not be justified by scores of texts from the Nietzschean scriptures. In many cases, no doubt, it would also be possible to find texts of an opposite tendency; for few philosophical rhapsodists have been more fertile than Nietzsche in self-contradictions. But the dominant ideas of his philosophy, the ideas most frequently and emphatically expressed,—the ideas, in a word, that get home to the mind of nine readers out of ten—are precisely those which might be water-marked on the protocol-paper of German diplomacy and embroidered on the banners of German militarism.¹ This is certainly no mere coincidence.

It is no doubt the case that, among active politicians, Treitschke has had much more direct influence than Nietzsche. Moreover it would be an error to regard either writer as a true originator of the ideas associated with his name. They are not the causes, but rather the most conspicuous symptoms, of the modern German temper. They are co-ordinate effects of that great disaster to civilization, the war of 1870. The German people were 'overtaken', as our forefathers used to say, with the inebriation of victory, and the writings of the two German-Poles reek of its fumes. Each in his own way—the one with an imposing air of stolid sanity, the other with a freakish emphasis of insanity that for some time hindered his acceptance—they constructed a theoretical justification of the practical example of triumphant force that had startled and fascinated the world. Bismarck is the true author, no less of Nietzsche's philosophy, than of Treitschke's history. Nietzsche, of

¹ Bernhardt's notorious *Germany and the next War* bears on its title-page the motto from Nietzsche: 'War and courage have done greater things than love of one's neighbour. Not your pity but your bravery has hitherto saved the unfortunate.'