

the waging of it gratified professional soldiers. Here we have a case of militarism avoided by a peculiarity, not in the organization of the army, but in the administration of the country.

These examples at once prove and illustrate my contention. Our present political circumstances, however, call for a further remark. The armed force which may be dangerous to the liberties of a country is armed force on land. A standing army which is at the disposal of a ruler can nearly always coerce the mass of the population; if that ruler wishes to subvert free institutions, and if the army will obey him, those free institutions are in danger. Now a navy is free from this objection. Napoleon's whiff of grapeshot was fired from army cannons, not from the guns of a warship. The navy bore little part in the struggle between Charles I and his parliament. Chartism was overawed by the army, not by the navy. A naval force is strangely unable to bring pressure upon the land which maintains it. Its huge strength fails the moment it turns it upon the country whose flag it flies. In organizing a national army it behooves a country to make sure that the command will rest securely with the civil power, and that the force of its armaments will be exerted only when the interests of the whole people demand it; the thing can be done, as England has proved in one way and Switzerland in another way; but we must take care to do it. But in organizing a navy we are absolutely secure from dangers of this kind. Again, naval officers never are very numerous, tend to live somewhat separated from the rest of their fellow-citizens, and have no facilities for exerting a professional interest upon the decisions of state. They are bound in any state to be what British professional soldiers are, the technical servants, not the masters of, the government. There is one respect in which undue demands may be made by a navy upon the government: it may demand too much money. This, when we look at it steadily, is a mercantile rather than a military danger. The demand for a bigger