

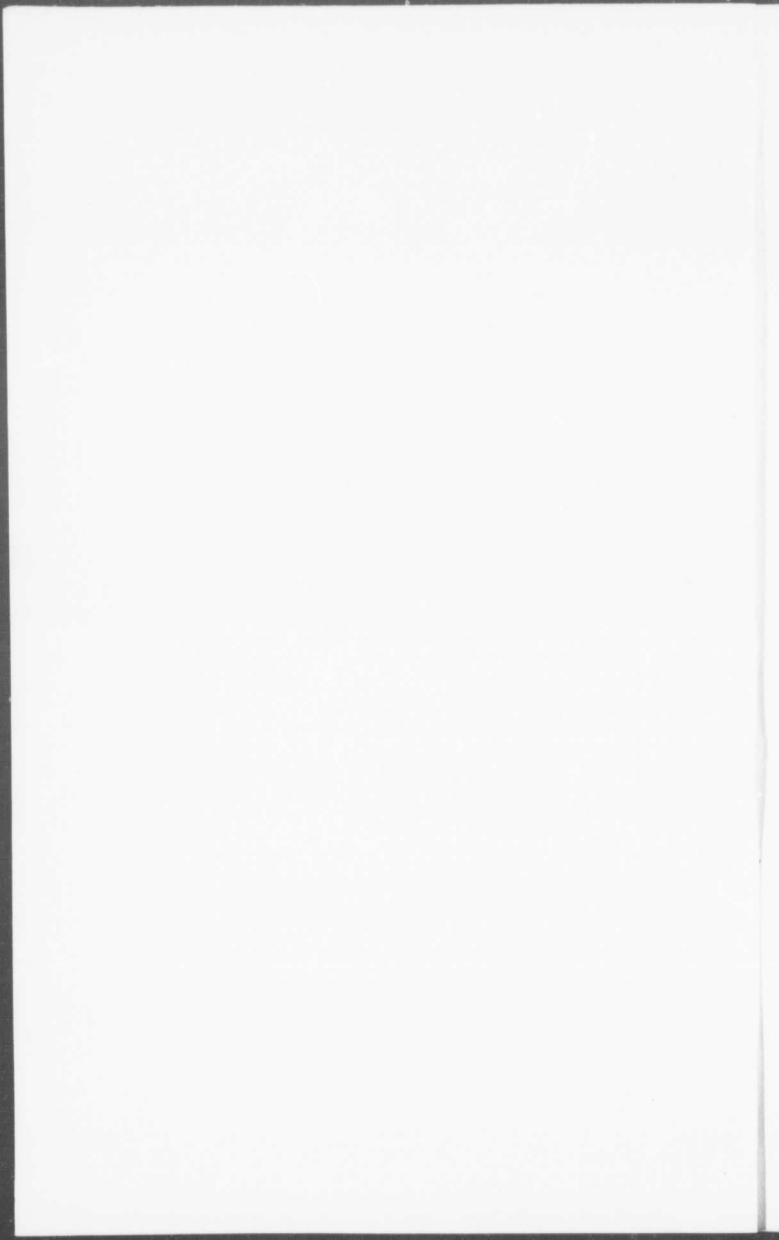
The German Tragedy
and its
Meaning for Canada

By

R. A. Falconer, C.M.G.
President of the University of Toronto

1914
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Can. Falconer, Robert T.







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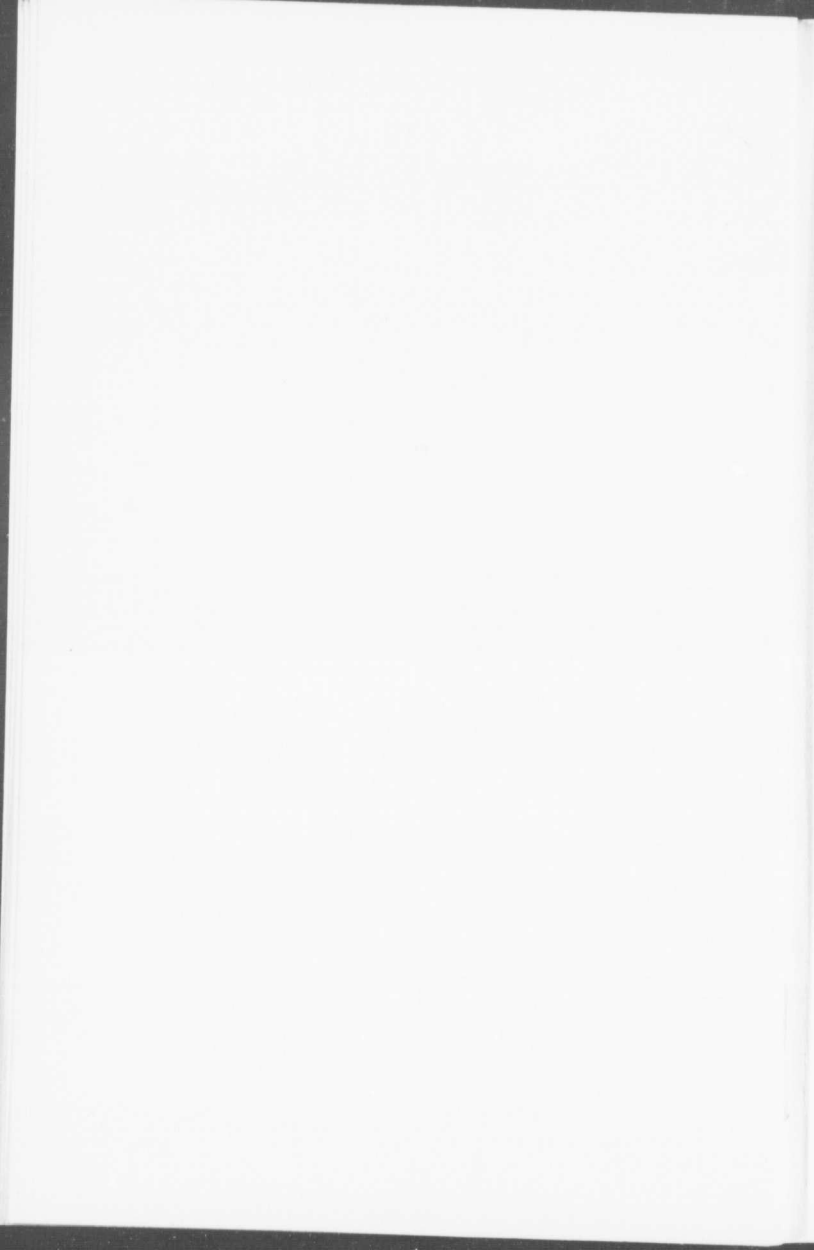
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To
Those from the
University of Toronto
who have served
During the Present War
with deep respect
1915



PREFATORY NOTE

The substance of the following pages was delivered in the form of addresses to students of the University of Toronto and to Canadian Clubs in certain cities and towns of the Dominion during the winter of 1914-15.



CONTENTS

	PAGE
I	
THE INNER MEANING OF THE WAR - - I	I
II	
A PERVERSION OF PATRIOTISM - - - 21	21
III	
FUNDAMENTAL CAUSES OF THE TRAGEDY - 49	49
IV	
THE BEARING ON THE FUTURE OF CANADA - 67	67



The German Tragedy and its Meaning for Canada

I

THE INNER MEANING OF THE WAR

GERMANY, which once was the home of Leibnitz, Lessing, Goethe and Kant, and which boasted in her idealism and intellectual freedom, has become an outlaw waging her campaign of "frightfulness" like one demented. It is a pitiful fact that her intellectual leaders do not seem to realise her abandoned state. Possibly they are ignorant of the situation. This is the most charitable view to take of men who still pretend to pursue the ideal, and dream of a spiritual world dominion. They imagine that Germany can penetrate into the inner realm of life, whereas she is a slave to organisation, to things material and to superficial appearances. Her real God is Force. Once again

in history Force has reared its head to assume sovereignty as it blandly offers spiritual gifts to its subjects, because they are too blind to see that they are the mere ashes of extinct liberties and ideals.

It is an old story. Israel's history rings with the cry of protest against the man of might who oppresseth the righteous, and to-day the "Imprecatory" Psalms sound very modern. Greece also resisted the barbarian who personified Force. On the pediment of the Parthenon as Athena sprang to life the horses of Night sank under the waves and the steeds of the chariot of Dawn rose from the surface of the deep. Again and again the small people of intrepid faith has defied the armies of the mighty. The Israelite and the Greek saved the world from godless Force; last August another small nation saved Europe. In ancient times the great world too often was the embodiment of force, and the struggling people, the minority, the poor stood for and preserved the ideal. But to-day, unless we are hopelessly deluded, the world as a whole siding with the small peoples is in the right, while Germany,

Austria and Turkey are in the wrong. The moral conviction of the world is against them. This means that civilised men have discovered danger in their policies and methods. Mere dislike of a people who have become prosperous and are arrogant is no sufficient explanation of the attitude of the nations. The age-long conflict is being fought out again. The tone of the people of France shows that they regard the issue as a moral one. For Britons the war is a sacred campaign.

The finest product of our civilisation is being rushed to the front. Apart from the few whose health and family necessities keep them back, the choice manhood of Britain is in the conflict. It is not merely adventurers who have enlisted, but men of sensitive mind who will feel most poignantly the physical suffering,—delicate and cultured youths with vivid imaginations to magnify the distress by forecasting it, who have had the brute indifference to death refined out of them. They shudder at wounding or inflicting pain upon a fellow-man. Trained in the laws of reason, their moral nature abhors war as a method of settling national

4 OUR FINEST YOUTH AT THE FRONT

disputes. Yet among them we hear of no shrinking from enlistment; men go to their death with incredible courage, and are buoyed up with a resolution that defies the agony of wounds or the being trampled into a nameless grave. They perform their hideous duty, if not with elation, at least with grim endurance. Where are there better faces, more purely bred than in the Honour Roll of the English illustrated papers? Oxford and Cambridge are almost empty, the provincial universities and those of Scotland and Ireland have done their share; ours in Canada and others throughout the Empire have heard the call. Men go solemnly to their awful task because they cannot do otherwise. They count not their life dear unto them if so be they preserve for Britain, the Empire, and the world those blessings for which Britain stands.

These last ten months have dispelled for us and for our children the fear that perchance our race had lost its courage and its idealism. Until this war we looked back to the past for our heroes. We thought of

“Old unhappy far-off things
And battles long ago.”

We hardly came down further than Nelson and Waterloo. But now we know that the heroic still survives, that our friends and acquaintances and the man on the street have as much courage as our grandfathers had. When our children recount to their children the glorious days of our race they will not leap over 1914-15 to speak of Waterloo in 1815, but they will tell of the Retreat from Mons, and the patient courage that held the trenches in Flanders a whole terrible winter through, how the soldiers and sailors amidst great provocation kept their good cheer and taught their foe what it is to be humane. They will tell again and again how magnificently the Canadians fought through two long days and two long nights at Langemarck and lost one-half of their officers and had the men laid low by the thousand, but saved the situation. So also will it be said of our allies the French, that 1914-15 was their *annus mirabilis* in which the virtues of their race astonished the world.

This self-sacrifice of our people—so magnificent, so ungrudging—is a sign of fervent patriotism. But what is it that gives this

6 THE PURPOSE OF THE SELF-SACRIFICE

patriotism its high purpose? One element of course is the passion to protect the homeland—England, with her stately mansions set in gentle landscape, her villages bright with flowers; Scotland's blue hills, her lochs and well tilled farms; Ireland, genial and rich in verdure; the overseas Dominions, ample in their provinces, abundant in their resources. Yet this is the least of motives. "Home" means the men and women who live after the soldier has left for the front. When he fights for Britain and the Empire it is for its men and women. His patriotism is kindled as he remembers the character of the home folk and the traditions of his race. There resides in Britain some quality that he believes it worth his while to preserve even at the cost of his life.

To make an impossible supposition, imagine that all the noble Britons were to volunteer and to perish, leaving as survivors only those who were unwilling to undergo the discomfort, or to endure the danger of defending their country, a remnant composed of such as were callous to criticism and willing to profit by the disaster of others, selfish beneficiaries of their vicarious sacrifice. Would

a state composed of those parasites be worth being wounded and dying for? Would an endless succession of such non-heroic bargaining folk constitute a nation to stir even a thrill of patriotism and rouse men to preserve its earthly immortality?

The heroism of this campaign, unsurpassed in our history, has been called forth by the thought of the glory of Britain, which is a moral reality, so transcending the merely visible that our soldiers and sailors willingly give themselves up to great suffering and death that thereby the soul of England may not perish. I know of no finer vision of this glory than that of Milton:

“Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep and shaking her invincible locks; methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full mid-day beam; purging and unscaling her long abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance: while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds with those also that love the twilight, flutter about amazed at what she means, and in their envious gabble would prognosticate a year of sects and schisms.”

8 THE MODERN WORLD LIVES BY FAITH

Is there not underlying the magnificent response made by our best people some significance as to the springs of their character? Surely it is a proof that our modern world lives by faith and not by sight. That is not to say that the man who goes forth with quiet determination to do his duty is conscious of any special virtue. Were he conscious of it his duty would be less pure than it is; but the inference to be drawn from the sacrifice offered by multitudes with the definite purpose of preserving Britain is, that behind the visible Britain there is the real spiritual Britain, a corporate life of virtue that speaks through each true citizen and perpetuates itself from generation to generation. To justify their pure heroism our soldiers must have caught a glimpse of the spiritual realm in which the virtues of our race are set like stars, and from which, as this dread night passes, there will come the dawning light of a righteousness and justice and liberty that will shine more and more unto the perfect day. For a Britain bathed in the light of such a realm of law and order heroic men will die. To maintain her and keep these virtues, that they may not

perish from the earth, no sacrifice is too great.

To a visitor from a planet in which reason rules, the sight of the most civilised nations of the earth locked in the present unparalleled conflict would probably suggest that the human race had gone mad. The cynic has not waited for such a celestial visitant before coming to this very conclusion, and at the opening of the war his voice was heard; but as the weary months have gone by, the heroism of the nations has grown too pure and the peoples are in too deadly earnest to allow the cheap cynic to be in the right. The contrast between the ordinary conduct of men and their present passion demands a less superficial solution.

In Toronto, not two years since, a hospital was opened which has the most complete equipment that modern science could suggest. No expense was spared to make possible the best results of medical skill. In this and other hospitals of the city, and of all cities of the Dominion, expert physicians and surgeons freely serve, giving of their best to the very poor and sparing no effort to relieve the suffering and destitute

and to keep alive even the social outcast. But in the present war advanced science is employed to create the most devastating explosives, to forge the deadliest weapons, to devise machines that will kill from the air or from beneath the sea, and to build dreadnoughts of appalling destructiveness. Nor is it the degraded or the infirm that are being blown to pieces; the finest fruit of our modern civilisation is being crushed by these most perfect instruments of carnage. In normal society the lowest criminal cannot be put to death but by forms of law; in Europe to-day graduates of the universities, inspired with noble purpose, disappear unnoticed and, for the day, forgotten except by some sore heart in a distant home that will cherish its own sorrow through the years. In spite, however, of this contrast the cynic is no longer heard. Unless words better than mocking can be spoken there must be silence.

The real explanation of the contrast is that the existence of something is at stake so transcendent that all ordinary values lose their significance. An occasion has arisen when the reality and worth of spiritual

possessions have been challenged, and even at the cost of losing their lives men must strike down the enemy lest he make good his challenge. One individual earthly life, however noble, is but as dust in the balance over against the realm of liberty, law, righteousness. We pass away; these realities must abide. It is the fact of our absolute belief that such realities must be preserved, which redeems the men of the modern world from being the most absurdly irrational of all the animal creation.

It may be replied that all that is said of our British youth is equally true of the Germans. They too are impelled by a patriotism ready for all sacrifices; they are dying for an imperishable Germany; they too idealise their country and see it bathed in the glow of patriotic fervour as one looks at a forest in the evening sunlight gilded with colour; which, however, only comes to this, when the glow of the evening sunlight passes will the nation be like a forest with leaves decaying in the autumn, or with the rich green still in its full summer? We all profess, Briton and German, that the ideal gives the real its worth. Our devotion

12 THE CLAIM OF GERMANY TO BE CHRISTIAN

is the proof of that, but will the ideal be discovered to be there when the glow of passion wears off?

One of the difficult features of the situation is the claim of German advocates of Force that they are true to the principles of Christianity. Bismarck said publicly in 1870:

"If I were not a Christian, I would not continue to serve the King another hour. Did I not obey my God and count on Him I should certainly take no account of earthly masters. . . Why should I incessantly worry myself and labour in this world, exposing myself to embarrassments, annoyances and evil treatment, if I did not feel bound to do my duty on behalf of God? Did I not believe in a Divine ordinance which has destined this German nation to become good and great, I had never taken to the diplomatic trade. . . Deprive me of this faith and you rob me of my Fatherland. Were I not a staunch Christian, did I not stand upon the miraculous basis of religion, you would never have possessed a Federal Chancellor in my person."¹

This is certitude in the highest degree, but certitude and truth are not interchangeable terms.

¹ Busch, *Our Chancellor*, I. 127-8.

Treitschke says:

"The true good fortune of life must only be sought in an end which is common to all men and attainable by all; not in the possession of wealth or in political power, or in art and science, but in the world of feeling, in a clear conscience, in the strength of love, and above all in the power of faith."¹

This is the same Treitschke who preaches the doctrine of Force, and who to his father's consternation saw nothing inconsistent with a strong Protestant conviction in supporting the immoral methods of Prussia.

The Kaiser's religious views are well known, but most surprising is Harnack's statement:

"Our Chancellor, with the scrupulous conscientiousness which distinguishes him, has declared that there was in this [advancing through Belgium] a certain wrong on our part. I am unable to follow him in this judgment, and cannot even admit a formal wrong: for we were in a situation in which formulae no longer exist, but only ethical duties. When David in extreme necessity took the shew-bread from the table of the Lord, he was absolutely in the right; for the letter of the law at that moment no longer existed. It is as well known to you as to me that there is a right

¹ Davis's *Political Thought of Heinrich v. Treitschke*, p. 34.

of need which breaks iron, how much more a treaty."

And yet Harnack was taught the philosophy of Kant and its categorical imperative.

We do not need to deny that this Prussian mind may be religious, but it is not religious according to the principles of Christianity. These representatives of Germany have not yet attained to the Hebrew or Greek standards; they take as their law the shifting and emergent necessities of the state, enjoying therewith the comfortable assurance that the presiding deity of the German empire is the eternal God, whereas he is not more than a national deity with morals to suit.

Our case is strong in the fact that the judgment of the world is on our side. Germany has defied the conventions of society. No reliance can be placed on the agreements made by her diplomats. She tears up treaties. She scoffs at international law. That sacred enclosure in which nations may gather as a civilised society she, the profane one, tramples upon and defiles. Her recent conduct is the best proof that the French philosophers and historians have not misread her history when they take

Bismarck's words to be the aptest commentary upon it: "Where Prussia's power is in question I know no law."

. . . . "Justice then is only feminine sensibility. They do not look for love. *Oderint dum metuant*," says Boutroux, of modern Germany,

"which has forgotten Leibnitz, who appreciated unity only in the form of a harmony of free and autonomous powers; and Kant, who called upon men to create not a universal despotic monarchy, but a republic of nations in which each will possess a free and independent nationality."

How different is the French ideal, not the domination of the world by one race, but "the formation of a European conscience by all the nations set free", and the spread of a civilisation, the essence of which is "the moral element of human life, the sweetening of manners".

This ideal of our French allies is also that of Britain. It is the only ideal which makes possible a permanent society of nations upon the earth. We take up arms along with our allies, because we believe that law is so sacred that it must be maintained among nations; that agreements are binding; that truthfulness and justice stand above force;

that the rights of peoples are to be estimated not by the size of the armies that can maintain them; that liberty to develop ourselves within a democracy must be preserved against all odds. Only on such principles as these can there be a fraternity of nations, only where law rules can there be abiding peace. A recent French writer has interpreted our spirit well in these words:

"It is not only for the sacred mother country that her sons from Canada, from Australia, from everywhere fight, but for the heritage that they get from her, and which, like her, is menaced; the traditions of liberty, of equal justice, of autonomy, of democracy which she has given to them with her blood. They are the creation of the race, her contribution to civilisation, and no contribution is greater, more precious, more worthy of being defended at the cost of any sacrifice, at the cost of life itself. . . . It is for the immaterial idea of their race and not for her material grandeur that they fight; not for a poor mercantilism, the egoistical exploitation of the world, but for the free development in security and peace of their will and energy, the superior form of a pacific humanity which places right above force and will submit to no tyranny."¹

¹Hovelaque in the *Revue de Paris*, April 1, 1915.

This war has given the world a rude shock. We had been assuming too complacently that the progress of civilisation had made impossible many of the things that have happened since last August. In university circles it had become almost an axiom that the invisible ties of universal culture would not be snapped by disruptive forces, that the reign of law had driven barbarism from the Western world. Unfortunately this is not so. We cannot contemplate the tragedy of this war without being startled by the facility with which, when once moral ties are cut, civilised men can slip back into savagery. A nation boasting of its patriotism has been perverted to a lawless mind, and European society seems for the moment to have collapsed. The fact, however, that the allies do not wish to destroy Germany, but only to keep her in such confinement as will give her a chance to recover from her delusion is evidence that they are not impelled by the lust for war, but by the impulse of self-preservation in a society of fraternal nations.

Again the truth of experience is enforced that a realm of freedom and order must be maintained on earth at the cost of the sacrifice

of the best that we have. Many of us who hate war are constrained to engage in it because we are face to face with conditions which are none of our causing, and which are so evil that they can only be overcome in the immediate present by the forthputting of all the force that we possess. We live not in a world of dreams, but of hard circumstances, which we may have seen shaping themselves, but which we were utterly powerless to avert; and now, when our life lies through this dark valley, we must simply go through it armed, as though on our fortitude depended the preservation of righteousness upon the earth.

Human institutions grow corrupt—not only elements within the nations, but whole nations—and ceaseless vigilance is needed to keep them healthy. This hard duty of service is rejected by some on principle, by others through inclination. There is the literalist who interprets the words of Jesus rigidly, and the ascetic who finds it easier to take the path into the desert than to keep his footing in the hurly-burly of life. Not unlike him is the pious man who fears the contamination of the world and looks on

with horror at the doomed mass of corruption. There is also the quietist who shudders at the duties that the world forces upon him. All these, shocked at what they see passing round them, sit at home in comfort and allow the world to go to the devil. To endure evil patiently, however, though it is at times heroic, is at times sheer cowardice.

Had it not been for the present war multitudes would never have faced the fact that worse things may happen to a man than to die; that to live by shirking duty is infinitely worse. Thousands upon thousands prefer to die rather than that righteousness should perish from the earth. It is salutary also for us to be confronted by the fact that some of these good things—honour, freedom, law, agreements among the nations—may perish from the earth unless men are found willing to struggle even unto death to maintain them. Of this willingness we are assured. It is this fact that is saving our soul in the present conflict. As a country and empire we are being tested by the sacrifice, though why it was needed we cannot tell. The mood of our people finds exquisite utterance

in the following lines entitled "A Grave in Flanders":¹

Here in the marshland, past the battered bridge,

One of a hundred grains untimely sown,

Here, with his comrades of the hard-won ridge

He rests, unknown.

His horoscope had seemed so plainly drawn—

School triumphs, earned apace in work and play;

Friendships at will; then love's delightful dawn

And mellowing day.

Home fostering hope; some service to the State;

Benignant age; then the long tryst to keep

Where in the yew-tree shadow congregate

His fathers sleep.

Was here the one thing needful to distil

From life's alembic, through this holier fate,

The man's essential soul, the hero will?

We ask; and wait.

¹They were written for the Harrow School magazine by Lord Crewe, whose son-in-law, Capt. the Hon. A. E. B. O'Neill, M.P., was killed in action in November (*Times*, Feb. 1915).

II

A PERVERSION OF PATRIOTISM

PATRIOTISM, if pure, is the supreme national virtue. Into it enter the memories of childhood and youth, the tradition of our fathers, the heroisms of far-off battles with the alien, the passion for enlarging liberty at home, the pride in our institutions of government, trade and commerce, education and religion. But on occasion nations have to their great misfortune sold themselves for a false patriotism as for counterfeit coin in the hand of a charlatan. The image and superscription induce those who possess it to believe in its value, and they continue to use it as lawful currency on every opportunity. But the day of reckoning cannot be long postponed; a false patriotism must lead to bankruptcy.

This is the condition into which the German people have fallen. Their patriotism has

become debased: it is no longer a standard of honour recognised by other nations. But they are as yet strongly united, their patriotism being, it would appear, more fervid than ever before. If Germany was once disunited, South set against North, Bavarian against Prussian, she seems not to be so to-day. Doubtless the Empire, which was consummated in 1871 by blood and iron, has been hammered in the last few months into a solid whole by the supposed aggression of its enemies. The quality of the patriotism, however, is less pure than it was three generations ago. There was then no German Empire, only a loose confederation of Kingdoms, duchies and towns, but there were genuine patriots who cherished an ideal of the united Germany that was to be. They were full of discontent by reason of their fragmentary governments, the broken residue of the Holy Roman Empire, as they believed. To its delusive greatness they looked back wistfully, and not without hope that one day it would be restored again, and the German people would receive the political recognition in the world which was their due. This was no unworthy dream,

and it was cherished by men of pure hearts and clean hands, many of whom were found in the universities of country towns or charming old-world cities in which echoes of Goethe and Schiller still lingered, and the idealism of Kant and Fichte still had its influence. Berlin, strong in the reputations of Schleiermacher, Humbolt, Stein, Niebuhr and Ranke, in whom she found at once stimulus towards humanism and an inspiration for patriotism, was held in admiration by the cultured world of Europe. Germany herself was generous also towards England in those days as the home of a refined aristocracy and the hearth of political freedom.

The high-minded intellectuals who drew their inspiration from German idealism believed that Germany could attain her destined political greatness only through enlarged freedom. This was interpreted by them through the ideas of the French Revolution and the teachings of more recent political thinkers of the outer world, especially those of England, which had created a desire for representative institutions, and deliverance from the dynastic control and military dominance that were especially

powerful in Prussia. These aspirations assumed such strength that in the early sixties King William of Prussia, in his powerlessness to stem the current, was on the point of abdicating. A sincere and consistent believer in the divine right of the Hohenzollerns, he clung to his inherited privileges. In 1861 Roon writes to Bismarck:

"The King suffers terribly: his nearest relations are against him and counsel a rotten peace. God grant that he may not give way. If he did we should be steering under full sail into the morass of parliamentary government."¹

This was a fateful period for Prussia and therefore for Germany. The fortunes of a democratic patriotism were hanging in the balance over against monarchical absolutism. In September, 1862, Bismarck is called to the King's side, and his masterful personality tips the scale against democratic government till it kicks the beam. He supports the King in reorganising the army in the teeth of an opposing majority in parliament, and by his energy silences his threat of abdicating, though his forceful measures are at times too much even for King William. On one occasion, in

¹ Bismarck, *Reflections and Reminiscences*, I 263.

conversation at the railway station of Jüterbogk, Bismarck tells him:

"We shall get no nearer the goal by speeches, associations and decisions of majorities. We shall be unable to avoid a serious contest, a contest which could only be settled by blood and iron. In order to secure our success in this the deputies must place the greatest possible weight of blood and iron in the hands of the King of Prussia, in order that, according to his judgment, he might throw it into one scale or the other. . . The King interrupted me, 'I can perfectly well see where all this will end. Over there in front of the Opera House, under my windows, they will cut off your head and mine a little while afterwards' . . . 'To give up his life for King and Fatherland was the duty of an officer', I said, 'still more that of a King as the first officer in the land'. As soon as he regarded his position from the point of view of military honour it had no more terror for him than the command to defend what might prove a desperate position would have for any ordinary Prussian officer."¹

The ruling passion of Bismarck, like that of his fellow patriots, was the attainment of the political union of Germany, but he was convinced also that there was only one means by which this could be accomplished. He

¹Op. cit. I 309 ff.

abhorred parliamentary government. It would lead straight into red republicanism. To the end of his career he consistently aimed at alliances with monarchs such as the Emperor of Austria and the Czar of Russia, who were the embodiment of autocracy, and he distrusted France with her traditions of liberty and detested England with her free institutions.

"Never did I doubt that the key to German politics was to be found in princes and dynasties, not in publicists, whether in parliament and the press or on the barricades."¹

Writing in 1881 King Lewis of Bavaria congratulates Bismarck on his

"firm stand against the lust after government by parliamentary majorities which is now cropping up in Bavaria also. I shall take care that their goal, which is not compatible with the monarchical principle, and would produce endless disturbance and discord, is not attained."²

Bismarck writes to King Lewis:

"These preparers of the Revolution are recruited pretty exclusively from the learned proletariat in which North Germany is richer than South. They are the educated, highly cultured gentlemen, who, without property, without industry, without business, live either

¹Op. cit. I 314. ²Op. cit. I 405.

by their salary as civil or local servants, or by the press, or frequently by both."¹

Over against these words of Bismarck may be set those of Lord Acton, the historian, for whom Freedom and moral ideals are the soul of what is great and good in progress.

"Monarchy, as understood in Germany, is not as we understand it, the condition under which a nation secures self-government; it is not government by law but government by authority. It is antagonistic to Republicanism not in form only, but in its essential spirit."²

Bismarck having undertaken for King William the reorganisation of the army without the consent of the Prussian parliament, rivetted on the people the militarism to which by history and temperament they were only too prone.

In this brief survey of the process by which the new Germany arose under Bismarck only the few most significant events can be dwelt upon. The first of those to be selected may not in itself seem very important, but it is a necessary step in the process. This was the annexation of the

¹Op. cit. I 402.

²Acton, *Historical Essays and Studies*, pp. 251-2.

duchies of Schleswig and Holstein in 1864. Whatever may have been the rights of their relationship to Denmark, they should not have been annexed by Prussia. The act was a deliberate over-riding of the privileges of small peoples, and it is important to mention it here, because it illustrates a permanent policy with Bismarck, who, to judge by the action of Chancellor v. Bethmann-Hollweg towards Belgium, seems to have set the standard for his successors. His treatment of Austria in this adventure was anything but generous. No one, however, will spare much pity on Austria for having been outwitted in the transaction. Protests many and influential came, however, from Prussia itself. Bismarck in his memoirs admits:

“I encouraged the King to win an increment of territory for the state. . . The Crown Prince raised his hands to heaven as if he doubted my sanity . . . The Holstein question, the Danish war, Düppel and Alsen, the breach with Austria and the decision of the German question on the battlefield—all this was a system of adventures upon which the King would, perhaps, not have entered but for the difficult position into which the new era had brought him. . . . Without having investigated the

complicated legal questions of the succession, he stuck to his motto, 'I have no right to Holstein'. . . Without doubt public opinion in the cultured middle class of Germany was in favour of the Prince of Augustenburg. . . At that time the acquisition of the duchies by Prussia was regarded as an act of profligacy by all those who since 1848, had set up to play the part of representatives of national views. My respect for so-called public opinion—or in other words the clamour of orators and newspapers—has never been very great, but was still further materially lowered as regards foreign policy in the above cases. . . After the Gastein convention and the occupation of Lauenburg [the Schleswig-Holstein affair, 1865], the first addition made to the Kingdom under King William, his frame of mind, so far as I could observe, underwent a psychological change; he developed a taste for conquest."¹

It is not long after this sorry business until Austria, the recent ally of Prussia, is cleverly put in the wrong by Bismarck, and is suddenly attacked and overcome by the splendidly organised military forces of Prussia under Moltke. The object was simply to challenge Austria to a contest of strength so that Prussia might wrest from her the primacy over the German states. The superiority of Prussia

¹Op. cit. II 9 ff.

once demonstrated, the affair was over. Bismarck would not allow his former partner to be humiliated, and forbade an advance upon Vienna, keeping in mind for his future plans his need of Austria as an ally, or at least a not unfriendly neighbour.

Then comes the war with France in 1870-71, the preparation for which was so skillfully engineered by Bismarck that the onus of provoking it was placed upon the Emperor of the French and Benedetti his ambassador to Prussia. There is not much to choose between Bismarck and Napoleon III in the matter of scheming, but for sheer ability the Emperor was distinctly outclassed. Bismarck brought on the war in order to unite the German states in the face of a common external menace and thus to accomplish his life's purpose. His success is one of the great facts of the 19th century. What concerns us, however, is not so much the creation of the German Empire, as the result of that creation upon Europe and its moral effects upon the German people. After the victory Bismarck meted out humiliating terms to France in striking contrast to those which he had proposed to Austria. The

case is put thus by Abeken, who acted as Secretary for Bismarck for a time:

"In 1866 things were utterly different from 1870. We had reason to hope and we wished Austria to be grateful for our forbearance. We hoped and wished to be on good terms with her afterwards, and have a firm, faithful, and honourable alliance. This is possible between two chivalrous opponents who have no occasion to bear a grudge against each other, when the victor has not treated the vanquished with scorn. Now it is different. We are convinced that the one feeling of France will be hatred, anger, malice, revenge. It would fill the hearts of Frenchmen even if we were to withdraw to-morrow and leave them Lorraine and Alsace, and make them a present of the war expenses. For this reason our only policy is to do them as little harm as possible, but to break their physical and moral courage. They must know and feel that they have been conquered."¹

This brings us to the pitiful story of Alsace-Lorraine. It is often said that Bismarck advised the annexation of these provinces against his will and merely to satisfy the military party, but this seems to be only partially true. These provinces had long been desired by Germany, who claimed that they had been unlawfully wrenched from

¹ Bismarck's Pen, p. 309 f.

her by France a century and a half previously, and Bismarck shared his people's feeling. He might have been contented with Alsace, but certainly with nothing less, and the reason he assigns for the annexation is the necessity of securing South Germany from French attack and rendering it immune against French policy. Bavaria had always had more intimate relations with France than Prussia, and Bismarck justified his policy by saying that the improved frontier defences would be a barrier against the French, all too prone as they were, according to their national character, to make encroachments upon peaceful neighbours. The subsequent policy of Bismarck, in dealing with Alsace and Lorraine, seems to show that he was not so much afraid of a military invasion by the French, as of the peaceful penetration of French influence into Bavaria which would counteract the influence of Prussia. The seizure wounded the French heart sorely. Even until now there breaks forth time and again a lament over the sad fate of the lost provinces. The country had been robbed of her faithful children. Hundreds of thousands of these emigrated to

France or even as colonists to Algeria, but many of those who remained cherished such strong sympathies for France as to cause infinite trouble to the German government. The measures taken to break the opposition were so severe and prolonged that as late as 1888 the Governor, Prince Hohenlohe, afterwards Chancellor of the Empire and one of the most attractive figures in recent German public life, condemned the policy of Bismarck. In 1888 he writes:

"Bismarck desired me to introduce the system of compulsory passports against France, a measure which would not only excite general surprise and excitement, but would also greatly embitter the local population. It seems that Berlin desires to introduce these irritating measures with the object of reducing the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine to despair and driving them to revolt, when it will be possible to say that the civil government is useless and that martial law must be proclaimed. . . . Circumstances here displease me intensely. It is a pity that I couldn't retire now as a strong protest against all these goings on." "Bismarck thought that compulsory passports were only a means of showing the French that their outcry did not frighten us and that we had nothing to fear from them."¹

¹ *Memoirs of Prince Hohenlohe* II 384, 388, ff.

The best commentary on this policy is recent history, on which such a lurid light was flashed by the incident at Zabern, when military arrogance and brutality triumphed over civil justice. That these relentless methods were not only pursued on principle, but that they must fail to accomplish their purpose, may also be read in the history of German Poland, which, however, cannot be dwelt upon here.

Had these provinces not been taken, France would have forgotten her defeat, there would have been no alliance with Russia, and probably no race for armaments would have been begun. The new Empire, therefore, consummated with blood and iron, though outwardly successful, bore rankling wounds within and carried new conceptions which resulted in loss of moral integrity to the nation.

However, in the new era there arose a new prosperity. The indemnity paid by the French brought a large capital into the country, and the average German was easily persuaded by this accretion of money that the war had been economically beneficial to him. Peace afforded opportunity for commercial

development, and that came with amazing rapidity. For years the Germans had been patiently learning how to apply the results of science to industry, they had been disciplined into efficient methods, and their power of organisation grew with exercise. Frugal and hardworking, they made profits on the combined results of their economical use of margins and of their scientific efficiency. Furthermore, these personal and acquired advantages were increased by the effect of the protective tariff, which was introduced by Bismarck as a means of producing revenue for the Empire. The colossal development of industry which had taken place since 1870 was evident to any one visiting Germany of late after the lapse of years.

English-speaking students who attended the universities of Germany in the eighties or earlier have delightful memories of quiet towns beautifully situated and still enjoying the quaintness and charm of the days of Germanic idealism. But even then there were complaints in the smaller places of the absorbing materialism of Berlin and its evil influence on the moral life. Regrets

were heard that since 1870 productive intellectual work had ceased, that no great writers, thinkers or poets had arisen, and that a spirit scornful of things ideal was reigning in the capital of Prussia.

The more recent visitor to Germany has found magnificent modern cities with which few of the new world can compare in the efficiency of their administration and of their commercial enterprise. Hamburg, Munich, Frankfort and towns of Western Prussia rank industrially and commercially among the great cities of the world. The railway communications and the lines of steamships, both those running in all directions over the world, and the magnificent steam-ferry between Rügen and Scandinavia, are the creation of a commercial and industrial nation of the first order. Organisation, energy, scientific efficiency, these are the qualities that have impressed the recent visitor to Germany. Of late also world avenues of communication have been thronged by German travellers, not only those bent on business, but tourists as well. Increase of wealth has made this possible, though too

often unhappily there has come therewith undue assertiveness and an arrogant manner.

A new chapter opened with the accession of the present Kaiser and the passing of Bismarck. Bismarck was the father of the German empire, and from his will and brain were generated some of the ruling conceptions that have gone to the making of the Germany of to-day. But they were in themselves like powerful poisons which must be dealt out by a skillful physician if they are not to work disastrous effects upon the patient; and William the Second is not that skillful physician. He has been from the beginning possessed with an inordinate conception of the function of the Hohenzollern dynasty to treat the humours of the modern world. Those who were in Germany when he came to the throne will remember that he was unpopular because it was supposed that he would plunge the country into war with France, but to the surprise of his own subjects he came forward as the friend of peace. Though he wished to play the rôle of peacemaker, he would, nevertheless, astonish the world by sporadic, eruptive utterances and by championships that were very erratic

in a peace-professing monarch. His espousal of the causes of the Sultan and Kruger was not forgotten in Britain, nor his words and actions during the crises in China, Bosnia and Morocco. They all were significant of a new development of German statecraft. Bismarck had been content with winning a firm place in Europe for the new Empire, and he looked upon the acquisition of colonies with little satisfaction. William II, however, inaugurated a world-policy for Germany. She must have her "place in the sun" and therefore a great navy, though Prince Hohenlohe contends that

"it is unjust to reproach him with wishing to call a fleet into existence as a whim or for his pleasure. He is doing nothing but carrying out what the German people has desired for 150 years."

Though it cannot be doubted that the fateful development of German ambition from being content with securing a place within Europe to dominating the world by its "Kultur" found in the Emperor a strong advocate, it may be that he hoped to accomplish this by peaceful methods and by striking displays of power at opportune times and places. Nor was he willing to be

merely a supernumerary in his Empire. He chose his own chancellors and they became his servants, though probably the combined pressure of the military and naval parties pushed him faster and further than he wished to go. Indeed about two years ago I was told by a distinguished gentleman who had spent a winter recently in Berlin, and was often given the opportunity of conversing with the Kaiser, that he resented the charge that his aims were warlike, but he acknowledged that the leaders of military and naval affairs frequently brought pressure upon him for action which he found it difficult to resist. This agrees with the report of M. Jules Cambon, the French Ambassador at Berlin, to the Minister for Foreign Affairs in Paris, in a communication dated Nov. 22nd, 1913, giving the record of a conversation reported between the Emperor and the King of the Belgians in the presence of the Chief of the General Staff, General von Moltke.

“The German Emperor's interlocutor thought up to the present, as did everybody, that William the Second, whose personal influence had been exerted in many critical circumstances in favour

of the maintenance of peace, was still in the same state of mind. This time it appears he found him completely changed. The German Emperor is no longer in his eyes the champion of peace, against the bellicose tendencies of certain German parties. . . . As the years begin to weigh upon William II the family traditions, the retrograde feelings of the court, and above all the impatience of the soldiers, are gaining more ascendancy over his mind. . . . If I were allowed to draw conclusions I would say that it would be wise to take into account the new fact that the Emperor is growing familiar with an order of ideas which formerly was repugnant to him, and that, to borrow from him a phrase he likes to use, 'we should keep our powder dry'."¹

This development of post-Bismarckian patriotism may be also illustrated from that most significant book "Imperial Germany" by Prince von Bülow, who was probably the ablest of the Emperor's chancellors. It may be seen in his frank discussion of policy that the purpose aimed at in the securing of colonies and the construction of a mighty navy was not merely to provide openings for commerce or protection for the merchant marine. The colonies they knew would not afford more than a very partial market for

¹French Yellow Book, p. 18 f.

their trade. It is true that to the world's misfortune they were taught to believe, probably by the party who wished to build up a strong navy, that without its protection their merchant ships would become a prey to jealous rivals. This in itself was a thoroughly injurious doctrine, and to any but a people indoctrinated with conceptions of militarism not at all self-evident, but the argument served as a pretext for establishing a new world-policy. When Germany speaks in the council of the world she is to be listened to because her command is supported by such power that no nation or group of nations can afford to defy her. As by force the empire was consolidated in Europe in 1870, so by force the policy of Bismarck, as Bülow believes, will be consummated in a prevailing world-domination, the success of which will react favourably on home difficulties.

This pan-Germanism, however, the world is informed, will use its force to open a path through the more or less barbarian nations along which the German "Kultur" can travel. The German patriot is so content with the blessings of his own civilisation and

view of life that he has come to see it to be his duty to force this "Kultur" upon the world, even a reluctant world. In the French Yellow Book are found these words in a report sent in March, 1913, to officers in the German army:

"Neither the ridiculous clamours for revenge of the French jingoes, nor the English gnashing of teeth, nor the wild gestures of the Slavs, will turn us from our end, which is to strengthen and to extend *Deutschtum* (Germanism) throughout the entire world."

And from the Reichstag the president, Herr Kämpf, sent this New Year's wish last January to the Emperor:

"that lasting peace may follow the struggle which the German people entered enthusiastically, sacrificing blood and wealth in order that Germany might fulfil its cultured mission in the world."

Force crowned by "Kultur"—Teutonic civilisation—a special diadem! Force will take this crown and place it upon a submissive world whenever technical science, trade efficiency and military skill have subdued it to German sway.

Little need be said as to the immediate negotiations that led up to the war, for they

are universally known; the horrible crime at Sarajevo which was made by Austria the occasion of almost impossible and most peremptory demands; the support of Austria by Germany; the efforts of Sir Edward Grey to induce Germany to join a conference with Italy, France and England to compose the difficulty; the almost certainly designed effort on the part of Austria and Germany to humiliate Russia before the Slav world and to secure the preeminence of Pan-germanism over Pan-slavism; the mobilisation of Russia against Austria; the improvement of relations between Russia and Austria; renewed efforts on the part of Sir Edward Grey by promising that if either Russia or France were to attack Germany England would side with Germany against her; the order of Germany to Russia for demobilisation within twelve hours; the declaration of war against Russia and France; the invasion of Belgium; the entrance of Britain into the war. Another important factor in the situation is the neutrality of Italy, which was not consulted by either of her allies, all the more significant because feelers were put out by Austria to Italy in 1913 as to her willingness to

remain neutral if Austria were to undertake a campaign in the Balkans which might cause changes in the Adriatic.

The line of defence for the invasion of Belgium is well known. It is put thus by Professor Harnack, who may be taken as an excellent witness as to the views of the educated classes in Germany:

“We have not threatened Belgium with war, but we have declared that as Russia and France compel us to carry on a war upon two fronts we must necessarily break down, if we could not advance through Belgium; that this we would do, but at the same time carefully guard Belgium against any injury, and make good all damage. Candidly now (he asks his English friends) would Great Britain, if she had been in our position, have hesitated even for a moment to take a similar course? And—would Great Britain have drawn the sword *for us* if *France* had violated the neutrality of Belgium by such a march? You know quite well that you must answer ‘no’ to both questions.”

The Germans have always maintained that the British government used the breach of neutrality simply as a pretext to stab Germany in the back when she was fighting for her life against Russia and France. Undoubtedly the invasion of Belgium drew

Britain into the war, as it would have done also if France (as she threatened in 1870) had been guilty of a breach of this treaty. But the conduct of the war since, and what has been revealed of the real character and purpose of Germany's military and political leaders, show that Britain would have been bound to come in sooner or later even if Belgium had not been invaded.

By her actions Germany has shown herself to be at heart so regardless of international law that she is essentially the outlaw of civilisation. The tearing up of the treaty with Belgium was the beginning only, but it was symptomatic. Thereupon followed the horrors of the campaign in Belgium, the destruction of monuments of civilisation and religion and the ravaging of the sanctities of humanity. Raids on defenceless towns, the sinking of trading ships, the murdering of their crews, attacks from air or sea on women and children in undefended cities, the ill-treatment of prisoners of war, the use of asphyxiating gases, the torpedoing of a passenger ship carrying 1,500 civilians, many of them neutrals—all this is the method of a brutalised or maddened mind.

"It is a clear violation of international law to sink unarmed ships, taking the lives of a non-combatant crew and of civilian passengers, but what is international law for, at a time like this, except to be sent to the bottom of the sea? Such acts go counter to humanity, but let humanity be sunk with all the rest."¹

This is the issue after two generations. The idealists longing for German unity with high hopes of the mission of the German spirit, where are they? Even the idealists of socialism are silenced. But may not all this be the mind of one class only, the military leaders of Prussia? May they not have learned too well the mind of Bismarck in one respect (though they have sadly departed from his shrewd policy as regards Russia), as to whom Abeken says:

"The idea that he would oppose the bombardment of Paris because of its works of art or for the splendours of Paris itself is incredibly ridiculous. I think nothing in Paris would give him a transient desire to spare it if he considered the bombardment right from a political and military point of view." This opinion is confirmed in Bismarck's own memoirs when he refers to this incident with the utmost indignation toward the

¹New York *Evening Post*, Apl. 3, 1915.

ladies at court who thwarted his plans, surrounding the English catchwords "humanity" and "civilisation" with a halo.

At the beginning of the war we were fain to believe that the disaster was due to a clique only, the ruling Prussian military party, and articles were written on "the two Germanies". An English newspaper, quoting in August from an issue of the *New York Nation*, says:

"The war does not change what we think of Schubert and Schumann, of Lessing and Hegel, of Helmholtz and Siemens. . . . The greater Germany cannot be disentangled now; that is the horrible part of it; her own loyalty to her betrayers makes it impossible to hope as yet for any appreciable division of feeling in Germany."

The experience of the past eight months has confirmed this to us as being only too true. That "Germany of intellectual freedom and spiritual leadership to whom every nation the world over is deeply in debt", has disappeared for the time. The stream has sunk underneath Prussian Junkerdom. When and where it will arise again, who can tell?

Those who owe most to Germany are saddest at the contemplation of this perversion

of a once noble patriotism. Here are all the elements out of which the Greeks would have composed a moving tragedy. A nation has arisen in its overweening insolence in the attempt to encroach upon the rights of others. Aeschylus seems to have regarded such pride as "a madness that fastened upon the soul of the sinner, confounding his intelligence so that he could no longer discriminate between right and wrong". Is not a similar madness the most probable diagnosis of the present condition of the once great and ideal German people? It remains for us to hope that their delusion will be purged out of them by the humiliation of utter defeat.

III

FUNDAMENTAL CAUSES OF THE TRAGEDY

THE course of the national degeneration of Germany has been outlined, and it is necessary to illustrate more clearly some underlying causes of this perversion of patriotism. What germs of disease lurked beneath a robe of such seemingly rich virtue and brought disaster to the body-politic?

Undoubtedly one of the most potent factors that prepared for the present situation was the man Bismarck. He must not be regarded as the fountain-head of all his policies; often he simply gave a greatly increased volume to tendencies and methods which had been in vogue in Prussia for generations; but he was a representative of a class, the Prussian Junkers. As Busch says of him,

“Bismarck seems to me a marvellous personification of Prussia. The real Prussians are found in the ranks of the lesser nobility, the army and the

bureaucracy such as it has hitherto been. Bismarck is a typical Prussian nobleman, soldier and official."

By the pressure of his hand he imposed Prussianism on the German empire, in the creation of which he had an enormous share. The rest of Germany did not yield willingly to the hand of the potter, the material being often hard to shape, showing cracks indeed even until the most recent time; but Bismarck had his way.

When in 1862 Bismarck undertook to maintain the dynastic authority of the Hohenzollerns he repressed parliamentary government and put his heel upon the flower of political freedom which, like a vine long maturing, was blossoming as in spring-time, and was ready, if only it was cherished, to bless a happy Germany with its fruits. We are often told by Bismarck and followers of his, such as von Bülow, that the German is incurably non-political, that in spite of his supremacy in other spheres he is but a child in affairs of state. The world of 1914-15 readily admits that this is true in diplomacy and the conduct of foreign affairs. But has the average German

had a chance since 1862? Bismarck did not permit the establishment of the only school in which the people could have been educated in politics. That school is freedom under representative institutions. Instead of this, Germany has been dominated by a masterful personality or by officials. There have not been wanting since the days of Plato those who believe that a "benevolent autocracy" is the best kind of rule, but the benevolent autocrat is hard to find, and most rulers who exercise power without due restraint end by being themselves corrupted. In Plato "every apparent assertion of the principle of autocracy is qualified and cancelled by the passionate intensity of the counter-affirmation that in the actual world salvation is to be found only in the reign of law".

In all walks of life there can be traced fragments left by the man of dominant will who broke where he could not bend. He builds vast structures, magnificent externally, but they are palaces of convention and rigidity rather than homes of freedom. The masterful man is admired by the world because, in its timidity, it wants to be led; if, however, he is an absolutist he will not

produce great human results, because he cowed men, and represses the individuality which finds its scope only in freedom. Such a dominant will was Bismarck's. He gave a set to the tide of his people's life by releasing or inhibiting ideas which affected their moral and mental attitude, as we see to-day in the German nation, for, having been prevented from developing as a democracy, it has been disciplined by means of a carefully manipulated press, and by the teaching in the schools and universities, into certain political ideas that are in striking contrast with its noble inheritance as to the supremacy of reason.

Germany has suffered because she has been woefully served by those in power. This is mainly the result of Bismarck's method. He left ruling conceptions, but he left no successors. Of course he was a genius over against whose mighty personality, like that of a Richelieu or a Cromwell, even able successors would have been dwarfed, but his method gave no chance to the development of statesmanlike capacity in others, and the ablest of them, such as Bülow, simply repeat his leading ideas as their political gospel. It

was pitifully true of Bismarck that he was jealous of ability in others who threatened to supplant him, or at least to lessen his influence. He had few friends, not even Moltke, and in later life he found the Court full of bitter rivals. The outstanding rivalry that closed his public career was with the present Kaiser, who, being just as convinced as his grandfather of the divine right of the Hohenzollern, had not his self-effacement, and soon dropped the old pilot. Possibly the reason why he did not, like the first William, choose a great chancellor and remain loyal to him, was because Germany has been no school of democracy in which great secretaries of state were trained. In any case he has not found them, and the new master of the ship of state has kept the tiller firmly in his own hands just as eagerly as the old pilot did, or at least has snatched it out of the grasp of his chancellors in any time of threatening storm.

The method of Bismarck creates the official, and the injurious effect of such a powerful will controlling for a long period a system of officials, is seen in the subservience of the whole people. As the other

German peoples were brought by the strong hand of the dyer into the common imperial vat, they took on the colour of the system in which Prussia had long been steeping.

The most injurious form of this officialism is what is called "Militarism". The thing itself originated in Prussia long before Bismarck's day, but he enabled King William to fasten it more securely on the country when in 1862 he undertook to crush out parliamentary government. It is defined by Busch as

"in reality that Prussian discipline by virtue of which all the forces of the state, all the members of the governmental organism in its various branches, work together with one common object—that system, the first principle of which for all connected with it is obedience, or rather the subordination of each individual's personal inclinations and opinions to those of his immediate official superior in particular, and to the interests of the state in general. Every part of this system is an accurate fit, dovetailing admirably with the part adjoining it; all goes on smoothly as in the army, which is merely the most distinct outcome of the spirit animating all our state institutions and officials, besides being the chief and central school in which that spirit is imparted to the population at large."¹

¹Op. cit. I 215.

Yet Bismarck himself was keenly alive to the danger of allowing the military authorities to usurp civil functions and to dictate the policies of the state. Though he believed in blood and iron he warned his people that the nation must always be on its guard against those military gentlemen who, if they have a magnificent machine, will be bound to show what they can do with it. Ruthless and implacable towards France as Bismarck showed himself in 1870-71, "Militarism" must take its share of the responsibility for "the French mortgage" with which the German Empire was burdened, for it seems that the potent chancellor was almost compelled by the generals to demand the fortress of Metz, which was situated in the French-speaking area of Lorraine, and in 1875, and later toward the end of the eighties, he had to resist pressure from the military officers and general staff, who were adopting a terrorist policy towards France.¹

French writers, Lavissee for example, insist that this "Militarism" has been a fundamental characteristic of the Prussian State during the twenty centuries of its history;

¹Camb. Mod. Hist. XII, 136, 141.

"the German nation was born and lives only by the offensive". Lavisse also quotes Bülow: "In the struggle of nationalities a nation is hammer or anvil, conqueror or conquered; there is no third solution." That this view is commonly held in Germany may be inferred from a strikingly similar utterance by Oncken, professor of History in Berlin.

"Long centuries of weakness and dismemberment have taught the Germans that, without this determined display of force, the heart of Europe will become an object of attack and spoliation for their neighbours. In the new Empire, Emperor, princes, and people, all parties and all ranks, are agreed that these lessons of the centuries, taught by the heights and depths of the nation's history, shall not have been given in vain."¹

Whether or not it be an ancient Prussian characteristic, this belief in force as a necessary factor for the maintenance of the position of Germany is widespread, Harnack's disclaimer notwithstanding:—

"If we prove victorious—and victory is to us more than a hope—then we shall just as hitherto feel ourselves responsible for the higher culture, the science, and the peace of Europe, and put far

¹Camb. Mod. Hist. XII, 173.

from us the thought of setting up a hegemony in Europe. We will stand by every one who in brotherly association with us is ready to shape and preserve a peaceful Europe."

In the face of what Bülow says, this cannot count, for unquestionably he believes that the securing by Germany of a sunny place in the world, as an expansion of that which Bismarck gained for her in Europe, can only be effected by a continuance of his methods of blood and iron.

And what of Treitschke? His masterful influence on Prussian political thought has lasted for a generation. As far back as 1886 Lord Acton speaks of him along with Sybel, who

"became the first classic of imperialism, and helped to form that garrison of distinguished historians that prepared the Prussian supremacy together with their own, and now hold Berlin like a fortress."¹

Hear Treitschke:

"We have now agreed that war is just and moral, and that the ideal of eternal peace is both unjust and immoral and impossible. Curiously enough it is just in the domain of war that the triumph of the human intellect most clearly asserts itself."

¹ Historical Essays, 378.

This is practically a worship of the sword. Its results are evident. "The State is Power", and where its interests come into conflict with ordinary law or morality these must give way.

"Alsace and Lorraine are ours by the right of the sword. . . . We Germans, who know both Germany and France, know better what is for the good of the Alsatians than do those unhappy people themselves, who in the perverse conditions of a French life, have been denied any true knowledge of modern Germany. We desire even against their will to restore them to themselves."

Such teaching as this, seconding the personality of Bismarck and finding magnificent external success in the war of 1870, made rapid headway, and the world has been shocked to discover that even the universities of Germany, which should have been homes of spiritual ideals, have been during many years centres for the propaganda of Treitschke's "Stateism", all too consonant as it is with old Prussian views.

Another primary factor in the creation of the conditions from which the war has arisen is found in the development of Germany's vast material prosperity. If it is her worship

of "Militarism" and her gospel of Force that have brought Germany into collision with France and with Russia, she has come into jarring relations with England more especially because of her commercial ambitions. The expansion of Germany's trade and commerce has been enormous, and she is constantly reaching out for new markets. What colonies she has acquired have not been suitable for her own people to occupy as their homes, and with her boundless energy, her industry and her use of the applications of science she has felt at once her power and its restriction. In her judgment commerce and world-power go together. It is true we are told by Oncken that "the need of expansion, of an eminently economic nature, had manifestly no connection with a military craving for conquest, which enemies of Germany thought must be inferred from scattered remarks of the Emperor".¹ But her colonies were of little use to her except as evidence of world-power, for both her trade and her people went for the most part elsewhere. They were regarded as indispensable to give her prestige as an Imperial leader

¹Camb. Mod. Hist. XII, 170.

among the nations of the world. In Asia Minor and China she was of course hoping for colonial control that would bring her commercial returns, but this was still mainly an unrealised aspiration.

Apart, however, from the success or non-success of her own colonies, there is no doubt as to the demonstrated efficiency of Germany as a commercial nation. What she won came as the result of hard effort and scientific skill. She was making money fast. Her magnificent steamships were significant of her successful enterprise. Yet wherever she went there was one nation above all others that stood in her way. England was mistress of the seas, she possessed a large part of the most productive areas of the earth's surface, her trade was flourishing, and she had inherited great wealth. But England seemed to possess all this without having earned or deserved it. Long ago her colonies had fallen to her, usually (so Germany thought) because her enemies had been crippled in European situations that did not concern her; why these colonies stayed with her she could not imagine, taking, as she did, at full face value all the complaints that she

heard in the colonies against the Motherland, and believing that India was rife with sedition. It was unreasonable that the loose-jointed British Empire should hold together. It was bound to fall apart soon. Then, England had no such system of technical education as Germany, and her intellectuals were always warning her that she was cavalier in her trade-methods, indifferent to science and given over to sport. Yet she had wonderful prosperity and persisted in her free-trade policy, advantageous though it was to her rivals. Declining as she was believed to be, her foresightedness was uncanny, and she had a masterful way of doing the right thing at the right time.

All this was most exasperating, particularly as the Englishman would treat his rival so often with the reserve and hauteur which a high-bred aristocrat of long standing has for a *nouveau-riche*, ill-mannered competitor. Prosperity is always hard to bear. It is as old as human experience that riches are the severest test of character. "Jeshurun waxed fat and kicked". In the soil that has been enriched by the showers and warmed by the sun of prosperity, those vices to which we are

prone spring up quickly as a crop of weeds; and of all the vices that accompany increasing wealth envy is one of the commonest. In any case this seems to have been a peculiarly Prussian trait, as is abundantly attested by the opinions of Bismarck, Hohenlohe and Bülow. It is not surprising, therefore, that this envy should have developed against England very rapidly in recent years. The ground had been prepared for it by Bismarck, who, as a Prussian Junker, detested England and all her ways. To quote from him:

“A nightmare has until the present time weighed upon our national sentiment, namely that a Frenchman, and in the fullest degree an Englishman, by reason of his nationality and birth, is a superior being to a German; and that the approbation of public opinion in Paris or in London constitutes a more authentic proof of our own worth than does our own consciousness.”

This view has long been rejected with scorn. German Kultur has come to its own.

We have here a complex phenomenon. It is not necessary to deny that England was often very disagreeable to Germany, that she also had her Chauvinists, and that there was a measure of jealousy of Germany on

account of her expansion and her growing trade. But England discovered more than this in Germany. Hatred was openly preached by many leading men, envy was growing apace, in spite of England's persistence in free-trade Germany's commerce was united with a policy of world-control, and behind it all was a theory that a nation can only expand if force is used. Influenced by the long-standing Prussian view that the State is power, that it can only stand in power, the average German merchant seems to have been won over to the view that his growing commerce would be safe only if it were protected by a fleet. It was natural and right, he thought, that the rival of whom he was jealous should hate him and only bide his time to pounce on his commerce with his fleet. Therefore step by step with the growth of overseas trade goes the creation of a navy, but this navy was not to be solely an instrument of defence; it denoted a world-policy also. Had it not been for Germany's deep-seated and growing envy and her equally deep-seated doctrine of force, the world, and especially England, would have given her a free hand in trade

without any fear. For Germany, however, to challenge England's naval supremacy, which has been established for centuries, and which is required to guarantee the security of her foodways, is very different from England's looking askance at the feverish haste with which her rival built a fleet to protect her commerce as she professed. No nation would dare to destroy that commerce without the certainty of some such coalition being formed against her as has been created against Germany in the present war. Moreover, the suspicions of the world were increased when the Emperor, his chancellors and the German military and naval parties carried this new world-policy into effect by "a system of provocations and systematic threats which Germany called peace", to use the words of Premier Viviani of France.

We cannot leave out of our account the decay of morality and religion which has attacked the German people themselves. They have become indoctrinated with a false philosophy of the State through the efforts of the leaders of public policy and their professors of history. Powerful ideas, especially

if propagated by those in authority, soon have their effect. In Germany these ideas as to the state worked rapidly. Whatever we may have thought of Germany at the beginning of the war, we have the proof now that the breach of her treaty with Belgium was not merely a regrettable incident, but was indicative of a state of mind. The depravity of this state of mind has been progressively manifested in the atrocities committed in Belgium, the attacks on defenceless towns and non-combatants, the use of poisonous gases, the sinking of passenger and hospital ships, and in a spirit of lying that traduces its enemies. Quite as serious a phenomenon is the justification put forth for this system of deception and inhumanity, that anything is permissible if the interests of the state demand it. They are fighting for their life, they say. The world, however, believes that a political system that creates a life that can justify these barbarities is a menace to civilisation and must be destroyed.

That such a doctrine of the state should have been able to take hold upon the educated mind of the people shows that the old German idealism is almost extinct. Military

66 DECLINE OF MORALITY AND RELIGION

power and material prosperity have been too much for the spiritual forces. Religion and morality are dumb.

IV

THE BEARING ON THE FUTURE OF CANADA

THE Canada that will emerge from this war will be a new country. Indeed Canada is changed already. Never in our history has there been such a moral act as the response made by thousands from a sheer sense of duty. Nor has the effect been confined to those who went to the front. Many who were constrained to remain behind faced their duty and did not reject a better choice. Besides these, the people at large having been compelled to admire the readiness with which others were offering themselves on behalf of the Empire, have had a new ideal of duty visibly set before them. There is a tonic for worthy natures in being forced to contemplate virtuous conduct in others. Furthermore, the intelligent people who have been following the war have had their passions purged by the sight of the tragedy with which Europe

has been visited, for the sufferings of Belgium, France and Britain have so eclipsed our misfortunes or distress that we have no pity left to spend upon ourselves. The knowledge that armies of men have for months been undergoing the venture of death to restore order and maintain law in the world, has also made us realise the awful gulf fixed between organised but lawless force, employed though it be in defence of a nation's existence, and ordered freedom which finds its realisation in law based on righteousness. A new idea of the sacredness of Law has sunk into the mind of our people.

The message of the supreme and triumphant sacrifice made by the first Canadian contingent on the field of battle has, like a mighty spirit, swept across the Dominion. Heads were bowed in grief and have been lifted again in confidence. Man for man, officer for officer, our Canadians have done as magnificently as any troops thus far in the campaign. Without expecting an ordeal they found themselves tested in the severest possible way with great issues depending upon them. And they held the line. Confidence has been born on the battlefield in

the valour of our soldiers. They have taken a share in upholding the Empire and our civilisation.

These men, however, have done more than this. They have, by their approvedness under fire, taken us out into a world-arena. Now the testing will come to the people at home. It means more to be a Canadian since Lange-marck than it did before. How much more only the future can tell. Our place in the Empire will be different. As we have borne responsibilities in war so we shall bear new responsibilities in the Empire. We must play a part henceforth on a larger stage. Can we play that part worthily? Have we the qualities of mind and spirit also that will fit us to endure the long drawn out struggles of international competition?

It is on our youth that the new Canada will depend. Men of middle life who were born and bred in the older Canada will not change much, and soon the direction of affairs will pass to those who will have been at the front, or to their fellows who at home eagerly followed their doings. Men who at the threshold warded off a scourge from their homes and looked death in the face, together

with their friends whom they have shielded, can be trusted to maintain the character of the country for which they were willing to die. It will never be for them a cheap or meanly esteemed possession.

If the spirit of the younger generation is good the future is safe, for it is the spirit that giveth life. Once the spirit has been purified, rules and regulations for conduct are of minor importance. Not that it would not be easy to mention fault after fault against which we should be on our guard, but such a catalogue of Canadian shortcomings would be of little value if the spirit is unpurged. A list of moral prescriptions would not be much more than platitudes. Given the vigour of a new Canadian life, and the intelligence may be trusted to find how it should manifest itself. We need inspiration more than knowledge.

But indeed our intelligence has been exercised all winter through. The tragedy of Germany is the most concrete example of courses that lead to ruin, and as we have investigated its causes we have got a wholesome warning. Slowly there has sunk into our minds a comprehension of the political

evils that follow upon absolutism, injustice done to small peoples and minorities, the sowing of hatred towards other nations, governmental control of the press, the saturation of the public mind with the doctrine that the state knows no morals but only the demand of self interest, and the dissemination of false ideas as to Law. To attempt to teach good public morals by precept is comparatively ineffective even in times of peace, but to have impressed upon our youth, subdued to a spirit of sacrifice, the causes of the German national tragedy, upon which we hope the curtain will soon be rung down, is to have sent them forth to the work of a new age with an unexampled education.

Certain principles have emerged from the history of Germany which we should learn well, some being emphasised by their breach and its consequences, others by the marvellous results that she has accomplished.

(a) Once again this national tragedy has reiterated the danger that follows on restraint of freedom. Just as an enlarging conception of freedom is the ruling idea in the history of Britain, so it must become increasingly broad

for us and be more intelligently accepted by our people. The Germans claim, indeed, and with justice, that they have practised intellectual freedom, and that the cherishing of the *libertas philosophandi* has been the chief glory of their universities. But unfortunately their freedom has of late years been confined to this intellectual realm, and has been accompanied by gross servitude to officialism. Such a one-sided liberty is quite insufficient, if indeed it is not injurious to the whole man, for finding no constraint set to his imagination or the searchings of his mind, he is devoid of the responsibility of having to act upon his beliefs. Action is the complement to and verification of theory. There must also be a mischievous reaction upon intellectual processes if limits are set to political thought by prohibitions of political action. Freedom is the spring of creative effort. It cannot be contented with conventions that cramp the mind or conduct; it must have initiative to search into the unknown. This boldness is often inconvenient, and as long as the dynast is in the saddle he will attempt to ride down the youthful knight-errant. Officialism and

tolerance are hard to reconcile; to the former originality is a thing suspect, to the latter it is full of promise.

The effect of this has been seen in Germany, for though her technical efficiency and powers of organisation are marvellous, we have heard for the last twenty years that she has ceased to be creative. Superb method and adaptation there are, but even in so far as she has had military supremacy, it has been in part dependent upon her feverish but effective application of foreign inventions to her own arms. It is obvious to any student of recent literature and history that the Germans have excelled in scholarship rather than in insight, and that they are deficient in understanding the human spirit in other peoples than their own. There have been days of creative German thought, but they were days of greater political freedom. There may be again epoch-making names in Teutonic literature, art and science, but they will flourish in days of freedom or of revolt.

It is not hard to understand why Lord Acton maintained that the quality of a nation's liberty is to be estimated by the treatment that it gives to minorities. True

liberty cannot allow a majority to crush out or be indifferent to the rights of a minority, because the free soul is aware that truth is not necessarily to be found with the majority. In fact the history of progress is the history of the conversion of a minority into a majority. That is not to say that all minorities are right. Probably as a rule the majority rather than the minority is right, but there is just a chance the other way, and with a knowledge of this possibility a free people must always be lenient towards minorities and give them the opportunity of proving themselves. They may be the creators.

The statesman who believes in freedom must protect the majority as well as the minority, and therefore show his discretion by the method in which and the juncture when he deals with the supposed rights of a minority. Votes and majorities in themselves will not solve the irritating grievances of the few. The mere fact that a multitude is acting does not imply that the multitude is a democracy. A true democracy sets bounds and limitations to itself and does not establish a many-headed tyranny in the place of the

dynast whom it may have dispossessed. Real freedom is a matter of the spirit, not of numbers. If the majority, as is almost always the case, carries the day, it should do so without letting the minority feel that its personality has been crushed under the mechanical tread of masses of voters. A statesman is truly great who, acting in wisdom and justice, may overrule a minority but will not humiliate it. To allow the few to be as free as possible so as to be true to themselves is to release creative energy in the State and to secure peace.

As free people, therefore, we of the Empire, and Canadians in particular, must be sympathetic in our attitude to small nations. If creative power can only thrive in an atmosphere of freedom this privilege must be maintained for those who cling to their nationhood because they love to be free. Did they not love to be free they would have been absorbed long ago by the large countries alongside them. How intense the passion for independence may be we have lately learned again, though if we had read history we should not have needed to be reminded that freedom is the priceless

treasure of a noble people. Has not the heroism of Belgium and her King added a superb chapter to the dignity of human nature, and retaught us that the finest virtues are often best illustrated among small peoples? Whatever else Belgium has contributed or may in the future contribute to human civilisation, her stand for freedom has immortalised her. Unless our civilisation is to be the deadly, uniform thing that Prussian officialism would make it, we are bound to preserve the liberties of small peoples. Free, they are unique and interesting; incorporated into a rigid empire, their creative power or originality disappears. It would be strange were Canadians to think otherwise, because the Empire is based upon the principle of freedom throughout its length and breadth. Had our grandfathers' struggles for responsible government not been kindly dealt with by wise men at Downing Street, there probably would be no Empire to-day. Had this principle also not been consistently carried out in the treatment of the provinces, there would be no Dominion to-day.

Keeping in view our position as Canadians in this Empire, and contemplating the collapse

of Germany's colonial system and her pitiless treatment of small nations, we must resolve to learn wisdom in our dealings with all kinds of minorities. It would be absurd to glorify the minority. Majority rule is the right principle in a democracy. But we cannot forget that small and new provinces have their rights and individualities, which must be respected, and that all sections of the community have to be sympathetically considered. In fact our contentment, if not our security, in the Dominion depends on the way in which we work our constitution. Our statesmen should have a knowledge of the ingrained convictions and aspirations of the various sections of the people and grades of society, and they must interpret them to the other sections and grades of society, instead of using the crushing power of majorities as a final solution of difficulties.

So it is with the Empire. If we are to have a share in the Empire outside us, we must travel more in order to understand those portions of it which are different from our own, and to exercise justice in dealing with other races. The intermingling of peoples occasions very acute problems which

are not to be solved in a doctrinaire fashion or by a rule-of-thumb remedy.

(b) If true Freedom, the necessary condition for the development of the highest qualities of manhood, can be conserved only by the exercise of the utmost discretion on the part of rulers and people, we who have been served heirs to such a priceless inheritance must not through over-confidence or indolence allow it to deteriorate. Though the sons of freedom show the highest originality and creative energy, these blessings come to people of such privilege as a result of supreme effort. Whatever we may say as to their want of freedom, it cannot be denied that for many years the Germans have shown that technical efficiency can be brought to wonderful development even under the rule of officialism and centralised control. The fact that they are thorough and splendidly organised does not need to be emphasised, for the whole world has been paying them tribute, possibly even to their detriment, and Germany became convinced not only of her own supremacy, but no less that her rivals were falling into decrepitude. This conviction was due to her inability to

understand any other kind of efficiency than that produced by the Prussian jack-boot at its worst or paternal government at its best. For certain purposes this efficiency is remarkable, and has been demonstrated again in the present war. But it is a onesided efficiency. The Germans may be efficient in their preparations of war material, in organising masses of men and in arranging for transport. In all this apparatus of government, just as in the municipal direction of their cities and the supervision of their commerce, they do not need to learn from others.

But in the internal methods of government, which, if more truly human, might have removed the causes of war and made enduring prosperity, and which are therefore the supreme test of efficiency, they are lamentably inefficient. Did the world ever see more hopelessly incompetent diplomacy than that of the German Foreign Office which led up to the war, or more futile bungling than that of her Bernstorffs and Dernburgs? Till now German writers scorned the inefficiency of Britain, and persuaded themselves that her Empire was a haphazard house of cards that would

tumble to pieces at the first touch from without. It is probable, therefore, that nothing has surprised Germany more than the response made to Britain in her time of need by the sons beyond the seas as well as by the Indian Empire. Hers indeed is a higher efficiency than anything that Germany has known, of an order so far beyond the mere technical ability to handle things and the officialism which disposes of subjects at will, that they are incomparable. It is not strange that so rigorously neutral and unemotional a people as the Dutch were moved to enthusiasm as they saw the daughter nations hastening to the aid of the Mother; and a Briton may be pardoned for recalling to himself the prophet's vision of Israel's Messianic age, "Lift up thine eyes round about and see: they all gather themselves together, they come to thee: thy sons shall come from far, and thy daughters shall be carried in the arms. Then shalt thou see and be radiant, and thy heart shall thrill and be enlarged; because the abundance of the sea shall be turned unto thee, the wealth of the nations shall come unto thee. . . . Surely the isles shall wait for me, and the ships of

Tarshish first, to bring thy sons from far, their silver and their gold with them, for the name of Jehovah thy God, and for the Holy One of Israel, because he hath glorified thee." There is at least this aptness in the quotation, that it is the spirit within Britain that has brought her sons back to her in her time of need along with their treasure, and that spirit is a spirit of justice and uprightness. Aloof, silent, self-contained though the Briton may be, he is actuated by a sense of fair-play that allows the other man something of the same privilege that he himself enjoys. Slavery he has ever abhorred. Therefore, the methods of slavery are anathema to him throughout the realms that he administers. To give liberty to his own kith and kin is now a matter of course; to enlarge the liberty of subject races his adopted policy. This spirit of fair-play is in some measure the power of entering into the mind of another, and the Briton's justice has restrained his diplomacy even in its worst days from such disaster as Teutonic intrigues have brought on the world.

But though we who live in Canada and in the other self-governing Dominions have

been educated in a democracy, and have inherited traditions from Britain, it remains to be proved that as a democracy we can be efficient in this new world in both respects—the higher and the lower. We must needs show that we have in all our dealings with other peoples an appreciation of justice and righteousness, that we can sympathetically put ourselves in their place and thereby manifest this purest fruit of democracy. But we have also to prove that the lower or technical efficiency can coexist with the higher, which we hope that we inherit. Monarchical absolutism has proved its ability to regulate outward conditions. Democracy has to prove that it can regulate the conditions of its people no less efficiently. Can villages, towns, cities, provinces, a Dominion be as well governed by those whom the electorate puts into power as by a paternal dynast? They can, if the people induce their ablest and best men to serve them in a public capacity. It rests with the people themselves. Whenever they are seized with such a sense of the importance of civic and provincial well-being as to be willing to choose the capable men, to accept them as leaders

without jealousy and without putting them in the pillory, and to pay them ungrudgingly for their services, the best and ablest will serve. Democracy will not prevail in its competition with Absolutism until it ceases to desire to reduce all to one dead level and to envy distinction. The leader is not to be forced upon the people from without; he is to be created from within. But the true democrat knows that we need leaders, and his hero-worship is unbounded when he finds one whose moral quality and disciplined capacity mark him out as fitted to lead.

The lower efficiency is made all the more necessary because of the present war. When it is over the Briton and Canadian may expect to have the redeemed German once again as his competitor. He will be a chastened but liberated man, freed, we hope, from his burden of militarism and excessive expenditures on armaments, but he will be just as efficient in his organising power, just as well educated, perforce no less industrious and it may be (who can tell?) able in his humiliation to appeal to the sympathy of the world and get back much of his trade. Can we in Canada think with complacency

of meeting such competition? We must prepare for it with the utmost earnestness. We must realise that we have not yet begun to understand what that competition may be. We do not wish to be left behind in things material nor in things of the spirit. But if we are to take a worthy place in the rivalry with liberated peoples, we require a well disciplined mind, the skilled use of hand, eye and all our faculties, and a reserve of character. Mere natural endowment will not win in competition with a highly educated, scientific nation, nor will a country rich in natural resources long escape impoverishment unless they are used sparingly and wisely.

One result, therefore, of this war should be a heightened appreciation of education. Every class should have the opportunity of such intellectual training as will give us mastery over our environment and skill in using the material things from which we are to secure our livelihood. It is not so obvious what methods are best for producing the highest results in the varied callings. These are to be learned partly by drawing upon the experience of others, partly by intelligently

considering our own conditions. But the earnestness and discretion of a naturally intelligent people will not allow them to wander far from the right path. We must, especially, be on our guard against waste of moral power. Disciplined and sober men who are always masters of themselves will never find themselves at a disadvantage in competition. They will be wide awake to opportunity, and having their natural powers trained to discern what is good, their choice will be well made and effectively carried out.

(c) We must also not forget that education cannot be confined to learning precise methods in order to arrive at technical efficiency, but must aim to produce a fully developed character. The Canadian universities have been allowed the privilege of taking an important share in this war by equipping from the staffs of their faculties of medicine hospitals for overseas service. No effort has been spared to make these hospitals suitable for their purpose. Their scientific provision is as good as can be got; the nurses and general staff were chosen with great care, and some of the best physicians and surgeons of the Dominion are serving.

If they are sent to France they may be not far away from hospitals of the enemy on the other side of the trenches, which will be equipped also, we may rest assured, according to the standards of German efficiency. But here is the irony of the situation. On our side are many young surgeons and physicians who have not long since forgathered with some of their enemies in great medical congresses; indeed it may be that pupils will be arrayed against their old teachers. Science is pitted against science. Instead of being a power to bring the nations together it has become an instrument of awful destructiveness.

Such a result as this in the heart of modern civilisation must mean either that science in itself is ineffectual for humanising mankind, or that science has been made the servant of the wrong people. Probably we may discover that both causes are required to explain our present calamity. The wrong people are indeed in charge, and they have employed results of science to further their evil machinations, the last diabolism of their science being the use of asphyxiating gases. But true science is no abstract thing; it is

a spirit and attitude of men. In so far as the scientists of Germany have allowed their methods and results to be prostituted to wrong ends, their science has reacted upon themselves, dehumanised them, made them the servants of the men of Force. It is not indeed their science as such that has done this, but they have pursued it in so one-sided a manner that the rest of their life has been weakened, and their moral and ideal outlook upon the world of men has been perverted.

Truth is learned not through the persuasive-ness of force but through the liberty of the spirit, and freedom itself is an attitude of mind. Real liberty must in time express itself in the fullest liberty of human action, political included. Force, on the other hand, is the weapon of the despot, and if it has once completely captivated the political activity, it is bound to confine within barriers the spirit also so that it cannot soar into the ideal. It is impossible to separate the activity of man into faculties so that one may be permanently developed or restrained without affecting the other, in such a way, for example, that a people may possess a mind of

great intellectual daring and continue to be politically servile.

There may, indeed, be a well defined intellectual method which by being mechanically pursued with persistent energy will reach certain results. This we have seen in Germany. Her science has been splendidly organised according to exact methods in every department—in the natural sciences, history, economics, philosophy. Her system has won great successes in trade and commerce. Her army also has been assumed by herself, and heretofore admitted by others, to be administered in the most efficient manner. For that method which Germany has taught the world more thoroughly than any other people our civilisation must be grateful to her. Because she has become barbarous or maddened for the time we must not attribute her condition either to scientific method or to science itself. We must be discriminating in our criticism and be sure that we have discovered the real causes of her tragedy. To throw the charge of it upon science because her universities were leaders in science would be absurd; to abandon the pursuit of scientific method because

the Germans have thereby attained supreme technical efficiency would be folly. Instead of this we must study carefully what she has accomplished by means of her science and her method, for barbarous at heart though her leaders were, they used their science and method so well that the rest of the world has been terribly put to it to maintain its higher ideals.

An attempt has been made in the foregoing pages to trace the causes of this tragedy. They are to be found in the *character* of the people who ruled, of the scientists who taught, and of the historians who prophesied. The wrong kind of people have been ruling and teaching and preaching. Their ideas were not sufficiently human to train a nation to play her part in the civilised world. Wherefore we have again a justification of the view that the highest aim of education is to produce a thoroughly disciplined character directed by spiritual conceptions. This pursuit of the ideal was once Germany's professed aim also, but the ideal was lost when she became absorbed in a method directed for material ends by leaders without humanity.

If the future of Canada is to be what it should be, we must be no less scientific than others, no less rigorous in our pursuit of a method in so far as it approves itself to our reason; but our science must be directed by men who are free in heart as in intellect; our teachers and prophets in school, university, church and press must proclaim that in the realm of the spirit we possess abiding truths for humanity, which have been won for our race by the agony and endurance of ages, and which must be defended with our life; we must keep pure the wells of public morals and of religion.

