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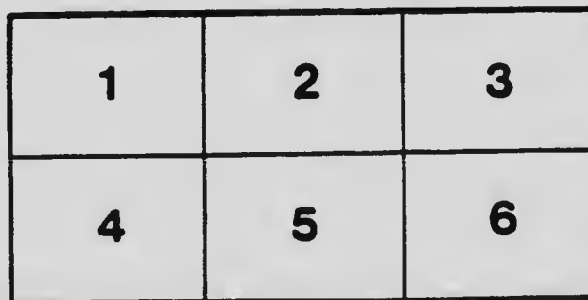
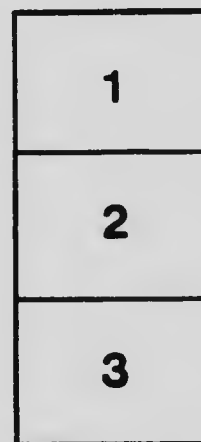
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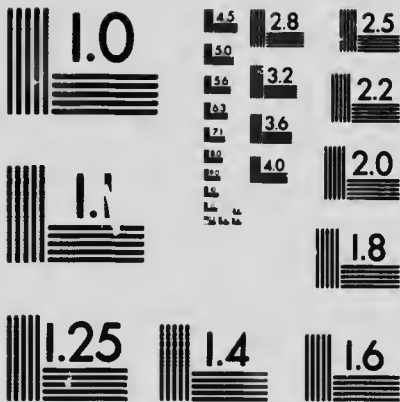
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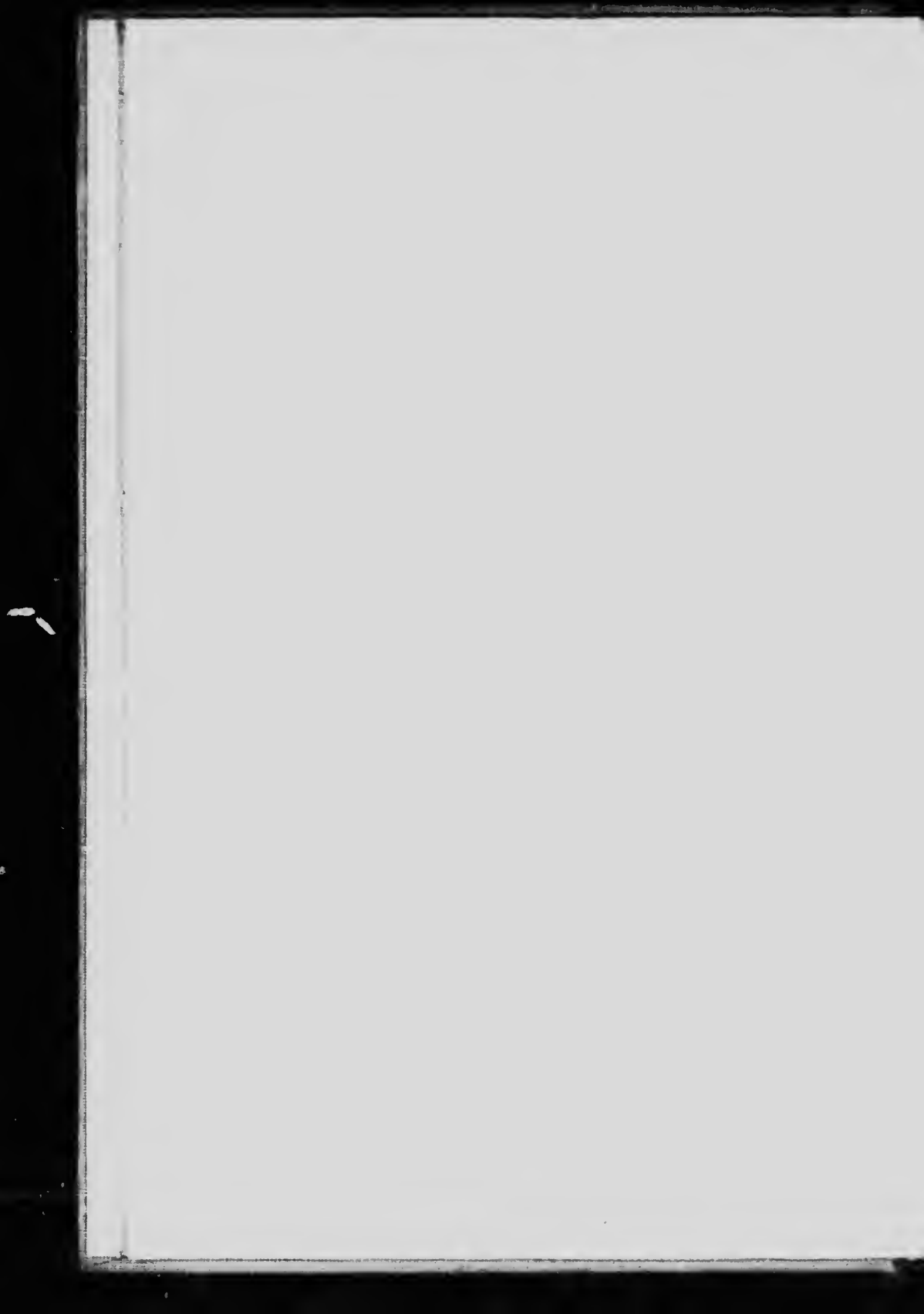
PATRIOTISM
AND THE
FELLOWSHIP *of* NATIONS



A LITTLE PRIMER OF GREAT PROBLEMS

BY

F. MELIAN STAWELL



PATRIOTISM
AND THE
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PATRIOTISM
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A LITTLE PRIMER OF GREAT PROBLEMS

BY
F. MELIAN STAWELL



WITH A PREFACE BY
F. S. MARVIN

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" Nothing is more helpful to man than man."
SPINOZA.

" And our own good pride shall teach us
To praise our comrades' pride."
RUDYARD KIPLING.

36830
20-7-1925

PREFACE

By F. S. MARVIN

IF this little book comes into the hands of any teachers or young people still at school—and it is to be hoped that it may—there are two points about its subject-matter which are perhaps worth their consideration at starting.

What is the sort of history they have generally to teach or to learn? In nine cases out of ten it will be a sketch of our own political history, the sovereigns who have ruled over us, the races from which we are sprung, the steps in the expansion of our empire, the growth of our political rights. Most children may be congratulated if on leaving school they know as much as this. Yet when we think of what history means, how small a part this is! The fact is that modern nations and printed school-books came into existence at much about the same time, and the latter have naturally always served as the channel for spreading a knowledge and strengthening the spirit of the former. But, in spite of this, many good people will tell us that our teaching of patriotism is lamentably weak, and in a sense this

is true. We can hardly be too grateful or too affectionate to the land that bore us, the land of ordered freedom, tenacity of purpose, and social strength, which is able at a supreme crisis like the present, as so often in the past, to take its place in a great coalition of civilised nations struggling to attain a higher common life. It is true that in most of us there is room for much more gratitude and affection, but patriotic feelings are in no sense hostile either to a recognition of the rights of others or to a fervent desire to make our own country better than she is.

We do not love our own families less if we try to help our neighbours. So with our teaching of history. It should be wide as well as deep. But only too often it makes no attempt to be wide. Our books and our methods, fortunately, do not cultivate any disdain of other nations, and in our habitual frame of mind we certainly do not wish them ill; but as a rule we ignore them. History—at any rate for children—means merely the history of England; the history of Europe is commonly regarded as a sort of extra subject, to be taken, if there is time, by the more advanced pupils.

Miss Stawell's book is a convincing argument of the error in this method, and if we lay her teaching to heart we shall find that even the love of our own country will be purified and increased. For all our knowledge,

our national cohesion, and our prosperity are only part of a larger process. All other nations have contributed to it and we advance, not by their failures, but by their success. A comprehension of this truth is so fundamental that no one can begin to understand any of the most important things in history—the mediæval church, the revival of learning and the growth of science, the discovery of new worlds, even the rise of political freedom, which is our special glory—until he recognises that they are all common property and have been secured to us and to all mankind by united efforts—efforts in which we in England have sometimes taken only a secondary part.

The other main point on which the book invites some general reflexion is the possibility of achieving the ideal which it sets before us and the degree to which this has already been attained. Is this Home of Humanity, in which all nations may live together as brothers, any nearer completion than when history began? Here happily the omens are favourable in spite of the great divorce which now ranges the nations one against another on long miles of embattled trenches. This catastrophe must delay many things which millions had worked for and longed to see; but it cannot defeat them in the end. For the world as a whole is incomparably more closely united than it was, even in the days when men were talking most con-

fidently of human progress and the triumphs of science in the service of man. Their ideas are still ours, and we may trace their realisation in a hundred ways, though we use a quieter language and allow more variety to man's nature and more time for him to correct his faults. Throughout the world, including those countries now our enemies, there are multitudes of men believing passionately in those ideals of brotherhood and progress which a great war is bound temporarily to eclipse. They must ultimately prevail, for their cause is one in which true religion and science are joint advocates and speak the same language. England, associated now inseparably with her brave allies, and with the sympathy of her great kindred neighbour across the Atlantic, may, if victory crowns her arms, take a leading part in the longer and even more difficult triumphs of peace.

F. S. M.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

THE GROWTH OF NATIONS—§§ 1-8

	PAGE
Introduction—The Growth of Law—Private Conscience and the Law—Is it ever Right to resist the Law?—Law, Force, and the Criminal—The Goal of Law and of Force—Nations in Conflict—Nations Reconciled	7

CHAPTER II

THE NATION AND MANKIND—§§ 1-4

The Greatness of Nationality—The Advantage in Difference—The Advantage in Unity—Humanity First	25
--	----

CHAPTER III

CO-OPERATION IN LABOUR AND TRADE AND IDEAS—§§ 1-10

Exchange and the Division of Labour—Foreign Trade—The Need for Full Production and Fair Distribution—Some Problems of Fair Distribution—Fair Distribution between Nations—Protection and Free-Trade—The Case for Protection—Summary—The Exchange of Ideas—Foreign Immigration	32
---	----

CHAPTER IV

NATIONAL SECURITY AND NATIONAL EXPANSION—§§ 1-4

The Necessity for some Land—The Advantage of a Varied Commonwealth—Advantages in Colonies for Trade and Investment—The Temptations of Jealousy	61
--	----

CONTENTS

CHAPTER V

THE PROTECTORATES AND THE BACKWARD RACES—§§ 1-3

PAGE

The Needs of the Backward Races—The Co-operation of Others in the Work—Military Advantages in Protectorates and Colonies	74
--	----

CHAPTER VI

THE FUTURE—§§ 1-6

The Temptation of Territory—The Duty of Great Britain—The Need of Some Limit—The Temptation of Power in War—The Family of Nations—An International Court	82
--	----

PATRIOTISM AND THE FELLOWSHIP OF NATIONS

CHAPTER I

THE GROWTH OF NATIONS: LAW, SYMPATHY, AND FORCE

§ I. INTRODUCTION

EVERYTHING that ought to make us proud of our own nation, glad to live for it and ready to die for it, ought to help us to sympathise with other nations too. It is not easy to sympathise with a foreign nation; partly because we are different from foreigners and do not understand them as well as we understand our own people. Often we cannot speak their language, and sometimes we have scarcely heard of them until we are at war with them, and in war sympathy is harder still. Sometimes it seems impossible. But almost all great things are difficult. No great reformer ever pretended that what he asked men to do was easy, and when Aristotle said, "We make war for the sake of peace, not peace for the sake of war," he knew that both war and peace were full of difficulties.

We are fighting now in a difficult war, but

we are fighting because we hope to build up a better Europe in which no nation shall be allowed to tyrannise over another, but each shall have a chance to live in peace and friendliness with its neighbours. But this work is one we cannot finish by war alone. There can be no peace without friendliness, no friendliness without sympathy, and little chance of sympathy without understanding. We understand our own people fairly well, and that is one reason why we do not hate them even when we admit that they have done wrong and deserve to suffer, any more than a mother can hate her children when she sees that one of them has been cruel to another.

§ 2. THE GROWTH OF LAW IN A NATION

It may help us to understand other nations better and see better how to behave towards them if we think over the way in which we ourselves in Great Britain have grown to be a united nation and why we are proud to be one. It has been a long growth and a slow one. It is true there never was a time in which men lived in Britain without caring for each other in some degree, without some order and some approach to law, but it is worth remembering that for hundreds of years they were as ready to fight and quarrel among themselves as nations are ready now, and even

when they did not fight they did not realise how much better their lives might be and how much more full of interest if they could always unite in doing things together and making things together instead of trying to domineer over each other and make serfs and slaves of one another. If there was to be any real unity at all, the first thing that had to be considered was how to protect the life and property of all. By some means or other, therefore, the perpetual fighting had to be stopped.

A famous step towards this was taken by Henry II., the king who issued the decrees known as the Assize of Clarendon (1166), just a hundred years after the Norman Conquest. Henry's action was a conquest too, and a far finer one than the Conqueror's, because it was the conquest of law over lawlessness and of regulated force over unregulated. Before his time there was no regular way agreed upon throughout the length and breadth of the country by which men could settle a quarrel. Sometimes the king decided it by his own will, sometimes it went before a judge, but often the two parties actually fought it out between them, or if they could not fight themselves they chose champions to fight for them. This was called the Wager of Battle—Ordeal by Battle. The side that won was supposed to be in the right, for it was thought that God would not allow the victory to go to the wrong-doer. But men came to see that this

was not so, that if the wrong-doer was the stronger man or sent a stronger champion, he won in spite of his wrong-doing. And they began to think that the will of God might be shown more clearly through the wisdom of men when they were calm, than by their fists when they were angry. So Henry and his counsellors revived and extended a certain old English custom and arranged that, whenever there was a quarrel, there should be an inquiry by twelve honest men, men who were likely to be impartial, and the decision of these men had to be accepted.

This was the beginning of our famous trial by jury. With some changes it has continued to this day, and being a reasonable system, it ensures that no man be judge, jury, or executioner in his own case. There is no such arrangement yet between the nations and there ought to be. International law-courts should follow the national.

Now law-courts involve laws. And in Britain, as elsewhere, some laws had gradually grown up, agreed upon through long custom and approved by public opinion. But other laws were needed, and changes, moreover, in the existing laws to suit changes in the time. This work of making laws and altering them was entrusted in the main to the king and his council: but if the king and council were wise they took care from the first that the laws they proposed should be such as were

likely to be approved by those for whom they were intended. No law can be widely and heartily obeyed if it is against the conscience of the people, and a law is not much use unless it is widely and heartily obeyed. Gradually the council of the king grew larger and met more frequently; it was called Parliament—an assembly for talking things over—and gradually the great majority of men in Britain, rich and poor, claimed and won their right to choose members to speak for them, so that all might have some say in deciding the principles on which Britain should be governed. Women are now claiming that right, and when it is granted to them it will be true to say that in Britain government is by the deliberate consent of the full-grown citizens who are governed.

§ 3. PRIVATE CONSCIENCE AND THE LAW

Where the people share in making the laws there is no excuse for lawlessness, and a free citizen should feel that riots stain both his own honour and his country's. He may think some particular law a bad one, but he has other ways of getting it altered than those which, like rioting, go back to the bad old days when every one was ready, as we say, "to take the law into his own hands" and decide by rule of fist. At the same time Parliament should always be careful not to

make laws which command the citizen to do what he may consider absolutely wrong, even if he hopes to get such a law changed later on. This principle, that laws should be careful not to hurt the conscience of any man, is fundamental, for conscience is the pillar of the State. But a man must not make his conscience an excuse for unimportant or self-willed objection. If every one refused to follow every decision of Parliament unless he approved it exactly, it is obvious that nothing would ever get done at all.

Poland long ago fell into confusion because nothing could be decided if one member rose in his place and said "I protest," and this the single members were constantly doing, and for quite trivial reasons. We in England have gained such unity and freedom as we possess largely because both Parliament and the mass of the citizens have been sensible enough to distinguish between important and unimportant objections, between, as we might say, matters of conscience and matters of opinion.

Especially in a crisis is it folly for separate parties to insist on points of minor importance. In war, for example, it is far better to accept some one plan and abide by it, even if it is not the best and fairest possible, than to be prevented from carrying out any plan at all because time and money and life are wasted in disputing over the separate demands of

separate classes. For in these matters, as in so many others, the question of degree is all-important.

§ 4. IS IT EVER RIGHT TO RESIST THE LAW?

If the injustice of a law is small, while the need of common action is very great, no wise citizen would dream of resisting. But if the injustice were exceedingly great, he might feel bound in conscience either, without using force, to refuse his obedience—or even, in the last resort, to take up arms against the law. The ultimate question for a conscientious man is whether he believes that the injustice commanded by the law is greater than the harm done by breaking up the whole government. If it is really greater, then, in the interests of the nation itself, the government of the nation might have to be resisted. It is the same between nations. War is always an evil, but there may be greater evils than war, and in the interests of humanity another nation may have to be resisted. A man has to ask himself or his nation whether the evils done by breaking the peace are greater than those he allows to go on by submitting. Of course honest mistakes may be made in answering such questions, and the most tragic struggles in history have sprung from cases where both sides have honestly thought that they were doing right. It was thus that

Jerusalem defied Rome, and Rome destroyed Jerusalem: it was thus that Athens and Sparta wounded each other mortally. Within the nation, again, during the religious persecution in England, Queen Mary Tudor thought she did God service by burning the heretics, but those who opposed her for this were equally sure that they were right and she was wrong, although she was as honest as they. Charles I. thought he was right in demanding money without allowing the citizens to share in deciding that it was to be raised. But his opponents were equally sure that they fought for a righteous cause when they fought for the principle "no taxation without representation." Many, if not most, historians would agree with them now and justify their rebellion under the circumstances. But the historians who justify them do not justify the Jacobites who tried to overthrow the new government in England, and bring back the old. But they would admit that the Jacobites were conscientious. Thus we see that we cannot consider an action entirely justified unless we think it not only conscientious but reasonable and for the good of others. Again, when Britain took over the government of India, it was found that many Indian devotees felt it a matter of conscience to compel a widow to be burnt on her husband's funeral-pyre. The British Government determined that this should not be done,

and for a time some of the Indians resisted. Almost all Indians would now approve the action of the British Government, because they think that the action of the devotees was not reasonable. But many Indians of that day did not think so. We must face the fact, therefore, that there may be a deep division of opinion in a country as to what is right and reasonable, and this division may lead to armed conflict. The hope of peace lies in the hope that men by thinking things out together may come to agree, and meanwhile may make some arrangement by which neither side need be forced to do what it considers wrong and unreasonable.

As a rule, in a modern nation such as Britain where most people have the same ideas about great questions of right and wrong, it is possible to make such arrangements, and to do so is the glory of statesmanship. English law, as it stands, makes such attempts. For example, even where military service is compulsory for the majority, it can be arranged that men, such as the Quakers, who may think it a crime to fight however just the cause, need not be forced to carry arms. And just as a wise government respects the consciences of its subjects, and wise subjects respect the ordinary law, so will a wise nation respect other nations and refrain, wherever possible, from interfering in their concerns by force. It will do its best to make

up for the lack of international law-courts and international councils by cherishing a spirit of fair-play and always trying to understand another country's point of view, allowing for honest differences of opinion, as fellow-citizens should among themselves.

§ 5. LAW, FORCE, AND THE CRIMINAL

But beside honest differences of opinion, there are, of course, in every country, men and women who are opposed to the law, or to the current system, not in the least because they think it bad, but because they are bad themselves. Within the nation it is for such people above all that some compulsion is necessary, and some punishment, and for compulsion and punishment force is necessary. No nation has ever been able to protect its weaker members against its criminal classes without restraining the criminals by force. And there are others in every country, certainly not criminal, but certainly not nearly so good as they ought to be, who would not do their part of the common work at all unless they knew that they would be punished if they held back. If all the taxes were left to voluntary effort it is not likely that many taxes would be paid. Punishment and compulsion have often been too severe, but it does not follow that it is possible to give up both entirely. Only we should remember the

object of both and the danger in both. If we compel a man by the threat of force, we run the risk of making him act from the wrong motive, act because he is afraid, and not because he sees the action to be right. Now no true society can be built up on a basis of fear alone. If the law only caused fear and only sprang from fear, it would not help us to build up the State. The highest use of punishment is to correct and cure the criminal. Punishment is of comparatively little use unless there is also an appeal to the conscience of the man punished, and for that appeal to be successful there must be education and sympathy. The laws must not only be just, but men must be helped to see that they are just, if they are ever to reverence the true "majesty of the law." Under these conditions punishment may do a useful work. In a good school punishment, or the possibility of it, can be used to bring home to children the true nature of their thoughtless or selfish conduct, and the nearer punishment in the nation, or between nations, could approach to the punishment in a well-managed school or an affectionate family, the better it would be for the world. The German Hegel said, "a man had a right to his punishment." But in all punishment, clumsy and heartless methods can easily turn that right into a wrong. A punishment that is felt to be cruel does more harm than good. It took men a long while to

realise this, even when dealing with criminals in their own nation. Most laws have begun by being too severe: not so long ago in Britain itself men used to be hanged for small offences such as stealing sheep. When these drastic punishments were given up crime did not increase; it decreased. Persuasion is always better than punishment, if it can be made effective. For if a man is really convinced by persuasion, the true end is reached not only without suffering, but without appealing to low motives. And it is well to remember that where the motive of the action is very important, more important than the action itself, it can scarcely ever be wise to employ compulsion. For instance, there is no good in a man's going to church unless he goes willingly. In old days there were devout believers in religion who did not see this, and tried to make men religious, at least outwardly, by force, but we have come to realise that "compulsory religion" is not genuine religion at all, and that it is better not to have a religion which is a sham. On the other hand, if it is very important that the action should be done whatever the motive, then we may use compulsion with less misgiving. It was no doubt right, for instance, to force factory-owners to release the children who worked for them all day long, even though the factory-owners doubtless submitted not from love for the children but from fear of

the law. Again, some people even now would not send their children to school unless they were compelled, and the schooling of children, whatever the motive of their parents, is of great importance.

§ 6. THE GOAL OF LAW AND OF FORCE

But if men should grow, as we hope they may grow, more and more reasonable through the experience handed down to them from the strange and varied history of the Past, with all its glories, blunders, tragedies, and triumphs, then gradually force would come to be less and less needful, until a day might even dawn when it would not be known. Plato, when he planned his Ideal State, thought that before every law there should be a preface, explaining its object and trying to persuade men to follow it of their own free will. Perhaps, one day, the preface would be enough.

Force might then be described as the scaffolding necessary for building the great House of Man: the house cannot be built without the scaffolding, but still the house is not based on the scaffolding, nor could it be built by scaffolding alone. On the contrary, a day comes when the scaffolding is taken down, and the house stands firm.

Even to-day there are numerous men and women in every country who are never punished by the law and never need to be.

And as between different countries, even to-day we see places such as Canada, New Zealand, and Australia acting separately for the majority of their affairs and uniting willingly for others, but never using force against each other or arming against each other. They live in peace side by side because they have agreed not to interfere with each other's rights and to abide by common rules. True, these countries are inhabited by men of kindred stock, but what has been done between them might one day be done between nations less akin. Meanwhile, and so long as we do need force, it should always be remembered that both men and nations, even while acting wrongly, may yet be honestly convinced that they are acting rightly, and that to inflict suffering on those who think they are doing right is a very different thing from punishing those who know that they are doing wrong. Wise governments have always been ready to give a pardon for "political offences," although they would not pardon ordinary criminals. This is because most political offences are committed by persons who believe that they are doing right.

§ 7. NATIONS IN CONFLICT

And this applies especially to nations and their behaviour towards each other in war, and after war. For probably no great nation

has ever gone to war for any cause, whether right or wrong in itself, without a vast number of its people being convinced that they were doing right. Men do not die in myriads for a cause that they believe to be wrong. Therefore, it may be even more important between nations than between individuals that either side in a dispute should try to understand the point of view of the other. And even when the majority in one nation has been consciously tyrannical, it is necessary to preach moderation to the other, especially if the other be victorious. For at the best, nations find it hard to be as fair to each other as fellow-citizens can be, and in war the sufferings are so terrible that many men become too exasperated to retain any fairness at all. *But wrong can never be stopped, if those who set out to right the wrong become as unfair as the original wrong-doers.* That is one of the many reasons why war should not be waged at all unless the wrong that is already being done is intolerable. A victorious nation, even when its cause is just, is apt to go much too far and demand a punishment greater than the original offence. Then the defeated country is left smarting under a sense of injustice, and little but further evils, and further wars, can arise from such a triumph of "the right cause."

Matters are still worse if "the right cause" is not wholly right (and it seldom is) or if the

side with most right does not win (and sometimes it does not). Yet even then, generosity and time can heal the wounds of war. In 1870, when France and Germany last went to war, there is no doubt both sides were to blame, though Germany more so than France. France, it is true, had often in the past, especially under Napoleon I., attacked and injured the German states, and in 1870 her then ruler, Napoleon III., was not a man to be trusted. On the other hand, it was Germany, under Bismarck, who did most in the end to bring about the war, and did this by underhand methods. But the important thing to notice is that even so, when Germany won, after a short six months' campaign, if she had only been content with moderate terms, France might have been fully reconciled to her, and Europe, possibly, grown to be happier and more peaceful than it has ever been. France knew that she herself had faults, and so she could make allowance for others. All nations that are truly great have the power of criticising themselves and admitting that they have done wrong, and they will use this power if they are not exasperated by injustice. Many of France's greatest writers, then or afterwards, blamed Napoleon III. and his followers. But the military party in Germany was flushed with sudden success and furiously angry with France. The result was that Germany not only imposed a heavy indemnity, but tore

FELLOWSHIP OF NATIONS 25

two of France's fairest provinces away, Alsace and Lorraine. These provinces were on the frontiers of the two kingdoms, they had once been counted as German, and most Germans (though not Bismarck himself) thought it would be safer for Germany to possess them entirely. It was really less safe. Germany was still left with a frontier to defend, while she was saddled with two provinces to govern, both of which hated being under her government. The provinces were rich, but Germany would have been better without them. It was not a wise "patriotism" that made Germany so harsh to the fallen foe, and so grasping for territory as "security." For France felt the action of Germany to be unfair, and the sense of unfairness increased the distrust in Europe. And distrust means the impossibility of friendship, even when otherwise it might be possible.

§ 8. NATIONS RECONCILED

For nations, like persons, can make friends, even after fighting, if they are just and generous when the fight is over. Britain and France fought for over twenty years in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars (1793-1815) because Britain thought that France was trying to tyrannise over Europe, and under Napoleon she certainly not only tried to do so, but for a time succeeded. Then, as now, it was a question of the liberties of Europe.

When Napoleon was beaten, however, England did not try to crush France. The Duke of Wellington, the victor of Waterloo, always said, it was to the interest of Europe that France should remain a strong power, and he would not hear of proposals that would have left her utterly helpless. Largely in consequence of that moderation, a long peace followed between ourselves and France, and through that peace, which has lasted ever since, we have grown to be friends. France gradually gave up her Napoleonic dreams. History does really show that if the decision reached through a war is in the main just, and if the conqueror does nothing to provoke bitterness, that decision has a real chance of being accepted, and so wars, now and again, have been the servants of righteousness.

CHAPTER II

THE NATION AND MANKIND

§ I. THE GREATNESS OF NATIONALITY

ONLY by some such combination of resolution and sympathy, active resistance to wrong and wise consideration for the fallen, even for the fallen tyrant, can the House of Humanity be built. To help in building that House is the supreme privilege of us all. We work best at those rooms of it with which we are best acquainted—at the British rooms, for example, if we are British—but we shall be very foolish if we forget that there are other chambers in it beside our own, French, for instance, and Russian, and German: Chinese, and Indian, and Negro, and many more. We should remember this, just as each of us should remember that there are other people in our own room besides ourselves. We are not all exactly alike in England, and dull it would be if we were. But there is a special fellow-feeling between us: we share a stock of intimate traditions, memories, hopes, and ideals; we are bound together by close and dear family ties; we have learnt to take counsel together for our common difficulties. In short, our common life is deep, deeper than any common life could be, as things now are,

between ourselves and foreigners. Thus the thought of civil war fills the good citizen with peculiar horror. He feels that in the nation there is a nearer approach to a free union of men in love and comradeship than has ever yet been reached by any other means. No nation, of course, is all that it ought to be, but in every one this ideal is living and growing.

To unite men thus is felt, and rightly felt, to be so great a thing that a man's nation may claim his life, and the existence of it must be guarded as a priceless inheritance. It is well worth living for, and well worth dying for. France means this to Frenchmen, England to Englishmen, Germany to Germans. To break up such a unity from within by violence, or impose an alien government on it from without, is to undo one of the greatest works of man. This is why nations feel that they are called upon to stand up for their independence to the death, and fight for their native soil as for sacred ground. And thus nationalism can appeal to the noblest side of man and at least always prevent him from being selfish in the lowest way. A nationalist does not value the existence of his nation simply because it makes him comfortable in his own little skin: he values it because he knows it means a place where from generation to generation men can live together in comradeship, developing their gifts in order and in freedom.

Such a comradeship, we repeat, is based on special likenesses which really exist and which it is absurd to ignore. One might as well ignore family likeness and the love of husband and wife. No one could deny the differences between Chinese and Europeans. And the differences between Frenchmen and Germans, between Germans and British, between British and French, are, if not so marked, still most real and deep. One day it may be possible, and we hope it will be possible, for the different nations to unite more closely than they do now. Poets have looked forward to "the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World." But if this union is to be real, it must be brought about willingly, and by respecting the natural differences between the nations. When England tried to conquer Scotland by force it was a miserable failure; but when Scotland joined England willingly, it was a splendid success.

§ 2. THE ADVANTAGE IN DIFFERENCE

Meanwhile, nations, each living a distinct life of their own, go on developing distinct qualities. And this makes the life of humanity richer and more interesting. It would be just as dull if every nation were like every other, as it would be if all men were just the same inside every nation.

Mazzini, the Italian, the founder of modern

Italian unity, the man who inspired the Italians to drive the Austrian oppressors out of Italy, had a sublime conception of the meaning in these differences. He looked on them as planned by God: it was the will of God, so he believed, that every nation should carry out some definite task in the making of the world. "God," he wrote, "has written one line of His thought upon each people." Whether a man let his own nation be destroyed or destroyed another's, in either case he committed a crime against the purpose of the universe. If we are led by Mazzini's spirit we rejoice to recognise the special gifts of every nation: we see, for instance, that no modern nation has done so much for music and learning as the German, none so much for wise popular government as England, and none so much for the daring use of reason as France. We are very foolish, or very ignorant, if we do not see that the French language, the German, and the English, have each peculiar beauties of their own, and could not have been developed except among peoples living their own lives in freedom.

§ 3. THE ADVANTAGE IN UNITY

It should be remembered that Mazzini, one of the most ardent patriots who ever lived, always thought of patriotism as something to be used in the service of humanity. Just

as the great ideal for a nation itself was to combine different classes and different interests in joint service, so all the nations ought to combine in the service of the world. Nationalism, great as it is, is full of great dangers. Men, in the enthusiasm for their own group, forget all about the claims of others. But that is to turn the nation into a selfish tyrant, and no one can really admire or be proud of tyranny and selfishness. But we can easily slip into selfishness and let our nation slip into it without noticing what we are doing, and some good might come out of the evil of this war if it made us realise this. "Selfish Nationalism," it has been well said,¹ "is the real cause of modern war. Selfishness leads to anger, hatred, and quarrels between individuals. It leads to party strife and civil war within the state. It is no less bound to lead to conflicts between states."

"National selfishness," the same writer says, "has taken two forms. On the one hand, it has manifested itself in a pride which is jealous of any rival, which seeks under the guise of patriotism to deny to others all title to the liberty which it claims for itself. . . . In this form, it is the foundation of jingoism, imperialism, and militarism, and the other doctrines which justify tyranny, oppression, frightfulness, treachery. . . . On the other hand, it has manifested itself in a callous

¹ *The Round Table*, December 1915, p. 8.

indifference to the fate of any other people so long as the national interests are not affected thereby. In this form and under the guise of a love of peace, . . . it regards massacre, barbarity, and slavery as lesser evils than war, and leads to . . . the cynicism and hypocrisy which will condone evil rather than make the effort necessary to destroy it." . . . "The real cure for war is to overthrow the idol of selfish nationalism and put in its place the service of humanity."

§4. HUMANITY FIRST

"Humanity is one. It is one great family of which the different races and nations are the members. So long as these members look at one another as rivals and enemies they cannot prosper and be happy. . . . If nations will once honestly set to work to treat international questions from the point of view of humanity, . . . nearly all the issues which estrange them to-day will lose their bitterness."

It is hopeful to read these words written to-day in an able journal devoted to the interests of the British Empire. We need such words, for the actual problems to be solved now are in themselves most complex, and the evil legacy of mutual hatred and mistrust is heavy. All the more important it is that the general principle should be kept

clear. We aim at a family of nations, in which each member should be like a brother and remember the interests of the rest as well as consult his own. Each must resist oppression, and none must oppress in his turn. If it comes to a conflict of interests we ought to ask what would be fair as between all parties, and what would be for the general interest of Humanity. And such conflicts will occur. Many of them, and in modern days some of the worst, occur over trade. But to understand anything of these we must ask ourselves what are the principles of trade and labour in general.

CHAPTER III

CO-OPERATION IN LABOUR AND
TRADE AND IDEAS

§ 1. EXCHANGE AND THE DIVISION OF LABOUR

IT is fairly obvious that no one could accomplish much in life if each man tried to be everything at once and all day long, surgeon, say, and chimney-sweep, cotton-weaver, farmer, and Lord High Admiral in one. If he lived alone on a desert island, it is true, he might be compelled to something of the kind: needs must when solitude drives. In a primitive kitchen, Aristotle says, a spit must do duty for a candlestick, and a lonely man must be jack-of-all-trades because he has no fellow-tradesmen to help him. But if he has, then he and they soon learn to divide their labour. For they become aware of three facts: first, that it takes time to gain skill in any one trade; next, that some men are naturally better at one kind of work and some at another; and finally, that it is more economical that each man should choose the trade for which he is best suited, make himself skilful at that, and then exchange the results of his labour with others, than if he

should fumble along, trying to make everything himself and so making most things badly. Suppose, for example, that doctoring, and weaving, and farming are all needed, and that there are three men with diverse gifts, then the man of most scientific skill ought to become the doctor, the man with the most nimble fingers the weaver, and the man with the best eye for land the farmer. The farmer will raise the crops and meat for the company, and the weaver make the cloth, while the doctor will prescribe should any of them fall ill. Better crops can be raised by this plan, better cloth be woven, and better doctoring be available, while each man can share in the greater benefit by getting greater help from his neighbour in return for the greater help he gives. These are the simple principles on which all commerce depends, the principles of co-operation, division of labour, and exchange. Buying and selling bring mutual benefit just because different men and different classes and different nations concentrate upon special lines of work, achieve in this way a larger total result, and then divide that result, each trying to get what he wants most for himself, while supplying his neighbour with what his neighbour most wants. In this way men, and nations, can help each other to the best advantage. All paid work, as well as all "trade" in the narrow sense, is nothing at bottom but exchange or barter of this kind. "Money"

often passes from hand to hand in the matter, but that does not make any real difference. The great use of "money"—whether in the form of coins, or shells (as in savage countries), or cheques and postal-orders and bank-notes (as in a highly-developed system)—is simply to act as a convenient sign for the amount of goods or services that the man who possesses it is entitled to claim. Gold has some little value in itself, but cheques and bank-notes have none whatever apart from their use as a "medium of exchange." Even in primitive countries men find it necessary to have some such medium. The medicine-man when he doctors the cattle-owner may find it practically impossible to carry off his pay then and there, in the form of a good-sized ox. He prefers to take it in the more convenient shape of a cowrie-shell. Afterwards he can, if he likes, hand the cowrie-shell to the weaver and receive in return a fixed amount of cloth, and the weaver will give the shell back again to the cattle-owner and get the ox in exchange. So it goes on: always in the end it comes back to an exchange of services or of goods.

§ 2. FOREIGN TRADE

All the complications of trade at home or abroad should not hide this simple and fundamental fact from us. But they often do. English traders, for instance, though they are

always delighted if the foreigner buys from them, are apt to be annoyed if the foreigner sells in his turn, forgetting that the foreigner cannot go on buying if he makes no money himself.

It is natural to want a good price for one's own goods, but it is foolish to suppose that any one can "get something for nothing," and a pity to quarrel so much over exchanges that there is nothing left to exchange. It is one thing to guard against being treated unfairly, and another to talk of destroying the enemy's trade for good and all, as though trade were a goose that would really lay golden eggs after it had been killed, as though all trade were not co-operation in some form or other, or as though it were certainly better for a man to work without helpers than with them.

Many wars have been fought for the sake of "trade" which would never have been fought at all if statesmen, though they had forgotten the command of God, "Thou shalt not kill thy innocent brother," had even remembered the command of common-sense, "Thou shalt not kill thy best customer." The truth is that we need, both at home and abroad (other things being equal), all the people to work with us whom we can persuade to do so. Nearly everything that civilised men require has to be made by man himself. Nature, though she has given man brains to think with, hands to work with, and raw materials

to work on, has not given him ready made all the goods that he wants. Pigs do not run about ready-roast, as in Kingsley's delightful story, with a knife and fork stuck into their ribs, crying aloud, "Come and eat me!" Man has made great advances since Adam's day, but it is still true that in the sweat of his brow he must eat his bread.

At the same time, we must admit that so long as wars are possible between nations it may be necessary for a country to keep certain industries in its own hands, if these industries are indispensable for war. Only, if it does this, it should realise what it is doing, and that it is accepting the certain loss of helpers in peace because in war it may have to rely upon its own help alone. This is one of many instances that show how war may hamper the development of man.

§ 3. THE NEED FOR FULL PRODUCTION AND FAIR DISTRIBUTION

The resources of man may be large, but as yet they are undeveloped and the need for more help and more products is pressing. There is still very little to go round.

If all the yearly wealth (the National Dividend, as some like to call it) were divided up equally in Great Britain—and Britain is one of the richest countries in the world—no individual would have more than what, if

measured in money, would be represented by about £40 a year, and that means less than a pound a week. In this calculation children are counted as "individuals," so that a family of five would have something over £200 a year; but out of this they would have to pay for every single thing, rates and taxes, food, lodging, clothes, firing, and medicine, not to speak of higher education and all forms of amusement, high or low. Several conclusions follow from these figures. Better distribution alone would not give us all we need. Wages might rise to some extent, but unless this was followed by greater production, and production of really useful goods, they could not rise far, nor go on rising. On the other hand, when there is so little to be divided, it is all the more important that it should be divided fairly and without waste. When supplies are short, the distribution should above all be both just and economical. We sin against economy whether we remain idle ourselves, or prevent others from working, or follow clumsy methods, or use up goods before we really need them, or injure our health through carelessness, or direct work where it only benefits a few people when it might benefit a great many. A gentleman lounging all day in his club sins against economy; so does a tramp by the roadside: the drunkard, rich or poor, sins doubly, he does not need the drink and the drink destroys his health, perhaps his life.

The employer sins who sets fifty men to work waiting on his personal needs, when the same men might be employed helping to build a bridge where a bridge was badly needed. And the workman sins when he opposes labour-saving machinery.

The just division of wealth must be difficult in any case, for the matter is complicated, but the greed of man makes it more difficult than it need be. The main interests of us all are the same: we all need helpers so much that we cannot do without working together, and our helpers will work better if they have enough to live on. But our minor interests are not always the same. When the helpers come to be paid, some men are chiefly anxious to get all they can for themselves, or their class, or their nation. They do not care if the others outside their own group go short so long as they can make them work as hard as ever at the common task. The problem can never be solved in that spirit. The result is discontent, unrest, and finally, as a rule, if the oppression is great, rebellion or war. But for a time the oppression may succeed, if we can call it success. For a time it is quite possible within the nation for powerful individuals or powerful classes to prevent others from obtaining a fair share of the National Dividend. And it is also possible, though seldom so easy, for one nation to make another its tributary, by taxing it directly perhaps, or

refusing to let it trade freely elsewhere. Nations, and classes, and persons, have often done, or tried to do, such things, and, of course, it has been easier to do them when the oppressed groups have been disunited or weak. Within the nation, for instance, there was much oppression of the wage-earners until they learnt to combine, and trade-unions came into being to resist the oppression, the trade-workers combining in a refusal to sell their labour except for what they thought a fair price. But trade-unions in their turn may, and sometimes do, become oppressive themselves, refusing to allow others to work because they want to keep a high price for their own labour and are afraid that if there is competition the price will come down.

So between nations: in the old days, for example, England treated Ireland very harshly by refusing to allow her to trade freely in wool. She feared the Irish competition, and Ireland suffered terribly. England's action was very short-sighted, for in the end the prosperity of Ireland would have meant gain to herself, but selfishness often is short-sighted.

§ 4. SOME PROBLEMS OF FAIR DISTRIBUTION

The task of fair distribution is made harder still by the changing conditions of modern life. When weaving-machinery suddenly took the place of the old hand-loom, what were the

old hand-weavers to do? Scarcely any one wanted their kind of labour any longer; and no one would give them so much for it. In the long run the new machinery was likely to do them great good, because it was going continuously to increase the total output, and so leave more to divide. But meanwhile? In the short run? It did not matter for those who were quick enough to learn the new methods. But some were old and slow—and for them things were hard. Others were lazy, and did not like the effort of learning new ways. Many of the workers in their fury smashed the new machinery, and there was something like civil war on a small scale. Gradually things settled down. But it is a prime task of government to prevent such conflicts, while encouraging that advance towards further production which is so greatly needed. We have to guard against pandering to the lazy and yet do something for those who lose their work through no fault of their own. Old-age pensions, schemes for insurance against unemployment, may do much. But more still may be gained by that scientific education which will train a man to learn new methods readily. Such a man will not fear the new methods. Other things being equal, he will welcome them. He knows they will increase his chance of a bigger share, and although fewer men may be needed at his old job he will not greatly dread being turned out of it, if

he knows that he can adapt himself to another. Some division of labour is an excellent thing, and indeed, as we saw, necessary for economic production. But it should not be carried so far as to make a man only good at one tiny bit of work. Train a man only to point pins without understanding what he is doing, and when a pin-pointing machine is invented that man will be stranded. But give him a sound knowledge of steel and the process of treating it, and when the pin-pointing has been handed over to the new machinery, he can begin, let us say, to make barbed wire instead. And he might be better paid for the barbed wire than he was for the pins, just because there would be more goods produced in the world and, therefore, more wealth to pay him with. It does not follow, of course, that he *will* be better paid, for other things might interfere to prevent it, but he might be. No society, indeed, can be considered satisfactory until such a possibility becomes an actuality, and the "might be" is turned into a "will be," but it is important to remember the possibility.

Thus scientific education is one of the best defences that we can give to our own people against the difficulties of competition and change. That, and the spirit of sympathy and fair-play, of which we can never have enough. Some of us forget sympathy. When a new labour-saving mechanism is introduced the employer is often tempted simply to turn

away the men he does not need, pay the rest no higher than before, and keep all the new profit for himself. Naturally this embitters the men, who feel it only fair that they should share at once with the employer in the general increase of output without having to force their way by the costly and tedious method of a strike. The nation would be far more truly a nation, far more of a united whole, if employers always gave a rise in wages as soon as it was possible. On the other hand, there is a real danger of those who sympathise with the wage-earning classes, or who belong to them, shutting their eyes to the faults in a labouring group, and speaking as though all wages were well-spent, and all labourers worked hard, and the rich alone were to blame for anything that might be amiss.

More than a generation ago Disraeli wrote of the "Two Nations" in England—the Rich and the Poor—and though the phrase was exaggerated, it pointed to real facts. The feeling that makes a group think its members the best in the world, appears in the class as it appears in the nation, both for good and for evil. On the good side, there is the desire for independence, the hatred of unnecessary coercion, the enthusiasm for justice, and the instinct that the domination of any one group over another is usually the worst thing for both. On the bad side, there is selfishness, tyranny, a readiness to resent the faults of

others rather than correct one's own, and an all-consuming desire to grab everything for one's own party.

Anything that unites the classes in a common work and makes them realise their common interests is greatly to be desired, and many thoughtful persons look for good results from the system of "profit-sharing," where the wage-earners are given a direct share in the gains of any business.

§ 5. FAIR DISTRIBUTION BETWEEN NATIONS

But unless a nation, or a class, is prepared sometimes to make a sacrifice of its immediate interests for the sake of the future and the larger whole, peaceful progress will be impossible. Sometimes, for example, a great discovery might for the time take away the special advantage of one nation, as we saw that it could take away the special advantage of one class (§4 *init.*). Venice, for example, before the discovery of the mariner's compass, was one of the richest cities in the world. At that time ships did not care to go out of sight of land, and, therefore, Venice, at the head of the narrow Adriatic, was on the main route from the East to the West. Goods from the East to France and to England had to pass through her port. Thus her men and her ships could find easy employment on their own terms. But when the compass was discovered, it was

quicker and cheaper for such goods to go round by long-sea. Thus a Venetian lost his chance of making money in the old easy way in his own city. Now supposing it had been possible for Venice to suppress the discovery of the compass, ought she to have done so? Certainly not. It was clearly to the interest of Humanity that the compass should be widely known. But had the suppression been possible, the temptation to Venice would have been great. Her unique advantages of position were sure to be taken from her by the use of the compass, and though she stood to gain by that use in the end (since the wealth of the world would be largely increased, and with it the chance of her share), yet she was never likely again to win any more than other nations. Her special privilege was gone. And for the immediate future, when her sailors would fall out of work, the prospect was rather a gloomy one. But, be it observed, even in this extreme instance, what Venice stood to suffer was serious only for a time, and only until her sons could adapt themselves to other work. Once they did that, there was no reason why she should not be, if not richer than other nations, still richer than she had been before the compass was discovered. And, indeed, something like this actually occurred. The buildings of Venice were so well made and so beautiful that they have lasted to this day to be the wonder of the world, and men come

now from over the ocean, through the help of that very compass, to see them and to pay Venice for the sight.

In fact the modern world needs so many and such varied goods and services that it is almost impossible for one nation to grow rich without another benefiting by it, if that other chooses to work. Thus it is safe to say of nations, as we said of persons and of classes, that, as a rule, their main interests, their lasting interests, are the same; it is only their lesser interests, their temporary interests, that diverge.

But even if it were not so, a nation would be very selfish and unworthy if it were not ready on due occasion to put first the interests of the larger whole, the whole of mankind. If there were ever a clear case in which an increase to the wealth of Humanity at large meant a permanent loss to the wealth of one particular nation, that particular nation, if it wished to respect itself, ought to accept that loss and bear it as proudly as it would bear a loss in war for the sake of some great ideal.

A man does not live by bread alone, nor a nation by wealth alone. Those who wish us to fix our eyes only on the commercial interests of our own nation are not the truest patriots. There is nothing to be proud of in money-grubbing, even for a nation, if it were in opposition to the interests of mankind. And

the true patriot wishes to be proud of his nation. None the less, we must repeat, it is practically impossible, under modern conditions, for such a lasting conflict of economic interest to arise between those nations that take a wise and large-minded view of business matters and show energy in adapting themselves to the new needs of the world. And to remember this is to do a great deal towards lessening the bitterness of commercial rivalry between them, and preventing inconsiderate action due to jealousy and fear.

§ 6. PROTECTION AND FREE-TRADE

A nation, for instance, may be annoyed at finding that a foreign country is underselling it in its own home-markets. It may be disposed, in consequence, to shut out the foreign goods by putting a tax on imports, adopting, as we say, a system of Protection. But if it is wise it will remember that in so far as such a policy succeeds, it must, at least for a time, check trade between itself and the foreigner, and yet such trade always brings great advantages to itself as well as to its rival. There is much dispute, however, as to the respective merits of Protection and Free-Trade, and it may be well to indicate the chief arguments on either side.

The Free-Traders point out that in a country such as Britain, a little island thickly popu-

lated and placed right between the Old World and the New, the advantages of trade are enormous. Even when the trade is between other nations and not with herself directly, it is of great benefit to her. For she helps to carry the trade of the world and is well paid for this. Other things being equal, the bigger any other nation's trade, the better chance for her. Suppose she could put a stop, permanently and in times of peace, to trade between the United States and Germany, she would suffer terribly herself. Not only would Germany have far less money with which to buy goods from Britain, but the British merchant-ships would lose an immense amount of work, and it is hard to see what could make up for all this loss. In the old saying, Britain would have cut off her nose to spite her face. Of course in war matters are different. Then, in order to win the war, it is necessary to forgo the advantage of trading with the enemy. In war we have often to injure ourselves in order to injure the enemy more. But in peace it seldom benefits either party to injure the other.

And within limits, it should be remembered, competition is a very good thing. There can be no doubt that before the war the trade-rivalry between Germany and Britain stimulated each country to greater exertions. Each country, moreover, learnt from the other and benefited by the other's goods. The Germans,

for example, learnt the art of dyeing from us, and then improved on it so that we could now learn from them. Thus not only was each country an excellent customer to the other, but each was a better producer than it would have been alone. No doubt there was some hardship for a time in isolated trades, where some business passed across the seas and men were thrown out of work, but that hardship was more than counterbalanced by the general increase of wealth caused by the increase of the general activity. There is no doubt of the fact that the increase of wealth in Germany was accompanied by an increase of wealth in Britain. Germany's wealth made her a splendid market for many of our goods. Moreover if an industry did pass to Germany, it was because the Germans made the goods either better or more cheaply, and by importing such goods freely we were able to benefit by their skill or by the cheapness of their wares and use the wares for industries of our own.

For example, though the beetroot-sugar of Germany interfered with the sugar-cane industry in parts of our Empire, yet the free purchase of cheap sugar made it possible for Britain to make jam more cheaply than any other country, and cheap jam has been excellent both for our export-trade and the health of our own people. Both countries, then, were wealthier than they had been before because both were co-operating to advantage. The

problem was being solved not by stopping the Germans from working, which would have impoverished the world, ourselves included, but by setting our own people to make what the Germans would buy most readily, and ourselves buying from them what they made best and most cheaply. Englishmen are good enough men of business to understand this, and the idea current in Germany that England started this war in order to cripple German trade only shows that Germans have mistaken the foolish utterances of certain extremists for the deliberate opinion of the whole country. We have been called "a nation of shopkeepers," and we certainly understand how to keep shop better than that. But we have taken some time to learn the art, and it is to be hoped that panic and passion will not make us forget what we have learnt, the great principle, namely, of turning to fresh work when some change has made it better for the old work to be done by other people and other methods.

The importance of this principle was learnt at the time of the Corn Laws, more than half a century ago. When the virgin wheat-fields of the New World and of Russia were opening, and the English population was rapidly increasing and asking for bread, English farmers and landowners tried hard to shut out all the foreign corn. They thought they could meet the demand themselves from their own less fruitful land, and get high prices for their goods.

High prices they got, far too high, prices that meant great hardship to the poor. Yet for fear that loss to the farmers would somehow mean loss to the country as a whole, statesmen "protected" the farmers by the Corn Laws and would not allow foreign wheat to be imported except at a prohibitive cost. At last it was evident that the gain to the farmers could not possibly out-weigh the widespread suffering for the rest of the people. And when the Corn Laws were repealed and foreign wheat was let in free, it was found that not only were the poor fed, but the prosperity of the whole country increased, and the farmers shared in it. For men had the sense to turn from trying to grow wheat on poor land, and take to factory work instead, earning good money with which to buy good bread, and working the better because they were fed better.

§ 7. THE CASE FOR PROTECTION

The Protectionists, on the other hand, point out, first, that under a purely Free-Trade system it may be exceedingly difficult to prevent certain industries from going abroad, and yet these industries may be exceedingly important for special reasons. In war, for example, as noted above, it may be essential for a country to make its own munitions. Some countries, again, when at war, could

not well supply themselves with food from abroad. Therefore it might be well for them to secure that the food should be raised regularly at home, even though the cost of doing this might be greater.

Again, a nation may deliberately choose to make a great many things for itself so as to be as independent as possible, and have as many varieties of employment as possible, rather than grow as wealthy as possible and as quickly as possible, if the wealth could only be got under unsatisfactory conditions. Suppose, for example, a nation could make great wealth by selling nothing but coal, would it be well to turn the whole country into a huge coal-mine? It might be better to "protect" the farmer in such a case, if only to secure an outdoor life for the bulk of the nation. This, of course, is a fanciful case, but there are cases that resemble it.

Again, young countries might feel that their young industries needed the help of protection for a start, and that the expense of this would be more than counterbalanced by the gain in the end from the industries when once established.

§ 8. SUMMARY

Thus, we see, there is something to be said on both sides. Both Protection and Free-Trade have advantages and disadvantages

for any particular nation. Broadly speaking, Protection guards against foreign competition, but makes all materials dearer, while Free-Trade allows full competition and trusts to the cheapness of material to make up for the drawback. Free-Trade, therefore, is likely to be of greatest advantage to an old country which needs, first and foremost, a large and varied supply of different materials. And, between countries, Free-Trade seems far less likely to cause jealousy.

In any case, Protectionists as well as Free-Traders should remember that, other things being equal, the wealth of another country increases the wealth of their own, that trade is good for both parties, and that the object of all wealth and all trade ought to be the benefit of all mankind, the fair distribution of goods and equal opportunities, so far as possible, for all. A great empire, controlling colonies rich in stocks of raw materials, would be acting very selfishly if it denied to other nations the chance of buying these stocks on even terms. For the supply of raw material in the world is limited.

It is fair to say that, during the last fifty years, Britain has not forgotten these principles. She has kept her doors open, she has not shut out the foreigner nor been afraid of foreign commerce, and both the world and herself have gained in prosperity.

§ 9. THE EXCHANGE OF IDEAS

Nor has she been afraid of commerce in ideas, or of letting foreign nations profit by her discoveries.

She had been tempted to do so. It has been pointed out¹ that "in 1774 an Act was passed to prevent spinning machinery from being exported. . . . Skilled artisans were forbidden to leave the country." The effort was never very effective, and it was found that when the protection was removed and English scientific ideas were allowed to benefit other groups, the demand for English machinery made England wealthier than she could possibly have been if she had kept her ideas to herself.

Here again, then, selfishness and short-sightedness were found to go together, and the generous policy was also the "paying" one. But here again, apart from all questions of payment, we can see that we ought to cultivate a generous spirit in our nation. The writer just quoted has also pointed out that there are certain discoveries, such as those in surgery, which are of enormous benefit to Humanity at large and which, at the same time, if confined to one nation might give it a decisive advantage in war. But for the sake of that advantage no great nation would thus injure the world. Our own Lister, for

¹ *The Morality of Nations*, by C. Delisle Burns, p. 93.

example, discovered how to keep wounds and cuts of all kinds free from the infection of microbes, and Simpson showed us how to operate under chloroform. Both Lister and Simpson were patriots. But they would have been horrified if it had been proposed to confine the secret to British doctors so that our nation in time of war might cure its own wounded while others perished. In every civilised country all great doctors act on this humane principle. The French Pasteur communicates his cure for hydrophobia to the whole world, and the German Ehrlich his wonderful drugs. Those discoveries, and those only, are kept secret which are merely of use for military purposes, such as inventions in the making of guns. What can benefit Humanity and not destroy it is felt to belong to Humanity. And, as a matter of fact, the whole great fabric of modern science has been built up by the combined efforts of European scientific men, French, German, British, Italian, Russian. There is not a single branch of science which has been developed in France alone, or Germany alone, or Britain alone, or which has not depended for its advance, and does not still depend, on the combined effort of all. "Give, and it shall be given unto you," is as true in science as it is in conduct.

And what is true of science is true of literature and art. We have only to look back for the last hundred years in order to

see this. Intercourse with other nations does not check the distinct powers of any vigorous land: on the contrary, it can, and does, promote them. Germany had no national literature worthy the name until the German Goethe welcomed the inspiration of the English Shakespeare. And then, in turn, the masterpieces of Goethe inspired our own Carlyle.

A British "patriot" would have indeed a poverty-stricken conception both of life itself and of British capacity if, in order to "protect" British music, he tried to shut out the music of the German Bach, and Mozart, and Beethoven, and Wagner, or if in order to "protect" British art he refused to look at the great series of French pictures painted since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Rather we ought to welcome all the treasures of the human spirit wherever we find them, and of whatever kind. If they are like our own, we understand them readily; if they are different, they give us something we could not otherwise have got. And always they are both alike and different, simply because there is a common spirit running all through Humanity, and yet no human being is an exact copy of any other. "All souls are mine, saith the Lord." "He hath made of one blood all the nations of the earth."

Britain, we like to think, has been one of the first countries to recognise this. But the

other nations have had their share in the work. Britain was the first to put down the slave-trade, but France won true glory for herself, at the time of her Revolution in 1793, by proclaiming the principles of brotherhood among all mankind. The Italian Mazzini, as we saw, held the life of each nation to lie in the service it rendered to humanity, and the German Goethe always believed that national hatreds only existed at a low level of culture and that the truly civilised man mourned over the sorrows of another nation as he would over the sorrows of his own. And in late years there has been no preacher of brotherly love to be compared for force and genius to the Russian Tolstoi.

§ 10. FOREIGN IMMIGRATION

As regards the practical application of this principle a word or two should be said about foreign immigration. In past days Britain has opened her doors wide and won a noble reputation for wise hospitality. There may, of course, be special reasons, or reasons of special times, for restricting immigration. In time of war it may not be safe to have thousands of an enemy nation left at large in the country. And it is very doubtful if it is wise to encourage two races of widely different types to mingle closely together in large masses, wherever their union in marriage does not

produce a good stock. Such seems to be the case between the Negro and the White races, and we may well ask whether it would not have been wiser for America and better for the Negroes if she had never introduced them into her Southern States.

But immigration is feared by some people for other reasons. It is sometimes thought unpatriotic, for instance, to allow Europeans into England when there is any fear that they may wish to work at a lower rate of wages than our own men, or interfere with their business in any way. Objection is raised, for instance, to Russian Jews in the East and London. There may be temporary difficulties here, but it is easy to exaggerate them. Suppose first that the new workers interfere simply by underselling the old. The best way of guarding against this danger is surely that Englishmen should encourage the new-comers to become good members of their own trade-union and stand out with them for the regular wage. This they are likely enough to do, for it is largely the good wage that has attracted them to England in the first instance. Certainly the problem will not be solved simply by turning the strangers out. For they will only be forced to work somewhere else at the old low wages, and thus they will still be able to undersell Englishmen, and indeed for a longer time, since they are likely to be underpaid longer.

But sometimes, of course, the new-comers may be really better craftsmen than the people of the country. If this is so, the fact had better be faced at once, without irritation and with energy. A fair field and no favour is a good motto in business as elsewhere. The old native workers may then learn from the new just as the Spitalfields weavers learnt from the Huguenots who came over from France, and so be all the better for the stimulus of competition. But even if the new competitors should win in any particular race, it is a great mistake to suppose that this must mean a real loss. Other things being equal, it is always best that the people best suited to a particular bit of work should do that work. For, once more, in this way the total output is increased, and it is on the output that all of the workers, new and old, have to live. In this respect the danger involved in new and better workers ousting the old is like the difficulty caused by new machinery. There may be an awkward time of change while the former workers are looking about for as good a job as the last, but in the end things are likely to be much better than they were before. Once again, the right remedy is to encourage that spirit of enterprise that makes a man turn to a new job when the old one has grown unsuitable. The State may help the man to find a fresh job, but it should not encourage him to think that the old job must always be kept open

even when some one else would do it better and more cheaply. So many things are needed in this world that there are always plenty of jobs, if a man can be helped find them and if there is money enough to pay for them. And money comes from output and output is increased, other things being equal, by an increase of workers.

Suppose a high-spirited lad loses his place as waiter in a hotel, because of cheap foreign competition. He may do very well as a fisherman, because the hotel-keeper will now have money to pay for more fish, and the lad may never regret his lost place. He might catch the fish while a French cook might cook it and a Swiss waiter serve it, and all of them be better off than if the English boy had insisted on being nothing but a waiter, and there had been no one to catch the fish.

Moreover, to shut out all foreigners would be to shut our own selves out from half the knowledge and mental richness of the world. We do not want to build a solid wall round ourselves and live a narrow little life, like modern cave-dwellers. And further, we must remember that if we exclude foreigners we make them all the more anxious to get into places which we do not control, and that is only too likely to make them desire to conquer places which do not belong to them.

Now the desire for land and more land may

be one of the greatest dangers to the peace of the world. It comes next to questions of trade and is closely connected both with them and with questions of nationality. Let us look into it a little more closely.

CHAPTER IV

NATIONAL SECURITY AND NATIONAL EXPANSION

§ I. THE NECESSITY FOR SOME LAND

IN the first place, of course, the possession of some territory is necessary for any independent national life, simply because men must live somewhere, and if they are to manage their own concerns they must have a place where they can control property and live in safety. The first thing a State has to do, therefore, is to protect the life and property of its citizens. In this respect land is like other material possessions; a man is very apt to over-estimate the value of great material possessions, but without the use of *some* material he cannot live. But the supply of territory is limited: the earth is only of a certain size, and, therefore, while it behoves every nation to guard what it really needs for itself, it must also be most careful not to demand so much that it can leave none for its neighbours. Still less should it take away what any nation has long possessed.

Let us think for a moment of what the Island of Great Britain means to the British,

and remember all the dear and sacred associations from the past that make the fields and the hills, the villages and the cities, homes of history and romance, full of sustainment and inspiration to those who are born among them and who love them. Apart altogether from the great advantage of the Island's position for trade and for intellectual commerce, can we begin to estimate what the loss of English soil would mean to Englishmen?

It is well to put such questions if only to realise two things. One is the imperative duty, as things now are, of providing for national defence, and such defence means, for Britain, a strong Navy. For she is a little Island, thickly populated, and must be able not only to guard her shores from invasion, but secure her food from over-seas. The other—and this may be far more easily forgotten—is the depth of the suffering that has been undergone by other nations, small and weak, who have not been able to defend their own country. The greater part of Poland, for example, has been enslaved for years, so that her people could only choose between submission to alien and oppressive Powers, or emigration to lands where they might possibly be treated better, but where they would still be foreigners. The Poles have been far worse off than even the British would be in the gloomy case we were imagining: for the British have free colonies of their own where they might find a refuge

and renew their national existence, but the Poles had no other country where they could live in liberty. It would be the same with Belgium if Belgium were left in the power of the conqueror, and with Serbia.

The free use of some territory, wide enough and rich enough to support an independent community, is, therefore, necessary if a nation is to be free, able to manage its own affairs in its own way. All who care for liberty must insist on so much for every full-grown nation. And nothing great is ever attained by a nation, or by an individual, without a real share of liberty. Men are not machines, good enough if they *go* right under the handling of a master; they must *do* right under their own handling.

§ 2. THE ADVANTAGE OF A VARIED COMMONWEALTH

The British, however, as we said a moment ago, are not limited to their original territory of Great Britain. They have the colonies. And this union with the colonies confers real advantages. In the first place, since the colonies are in countries where white men can live and bring up their families, it removes for long years to come all anxieties as to what Britain should do if her population grew too fast for the conditions at home. The territory of Great Britain cannot grow itself with the

growing population, and it is possible that without colonies the nation might one day have had to choose between limiting her population, or accepting a lower standard of comfort, or sending out men to live under the rule of other nations. For if all the men stayed at home in the one little island it might have been impossible to find work there under as favourable conditions as before. It is true that there is always work enough to be done somewhere in the world (and always will be, unless the whole world became overcrowded), but it by no means follows that there is always enough in the same little corner and in the same pleasant fashion for an increasing number of men.

It is true also that the choice between emigration and actual cramping has never yet been forced on any modern nation. Things have never been so bad as that. Great Britain herself has so far nothing like exhausted her own possibilities. The land alone has not yet been used to anything like its best advantage, and until that be done no Briton need say that he is forced to ask for more elbow-room. And as regards actual food no civilised nation need fear shortage so long as there is peace, for we must remember all the marvels of modern invention and modern transport. Supplies can now be brought from the furthest ends of the earth. So long as there is peace, no European nation has to choose between

starvation of its children and annexation of territory. None the less plenty of elbow-room is an advantage. It is far easier for a workman to find scope in a varied Empire if only because of the variety. One man will do best on the wide ranches of Canada; another in the crowded streets of Liverpool. A world-wide Empire gives an opportunity for every man, and that within his own nation. Thus by sending men out to new territories under the old government it is possible to relieve any pressure at home, and yet the colonists need not break the old dear ties nor give up their nationality nor change their language. They can have the new interest and adventure of a young country, new opportunities for work and wealth, and still keep in close touch with what was most sacred to them in the past. But this advantage is not a necessity, and to go to war simply for the opportunity of such an advantage would be as wrong as for a shopkeeper to kill his rivals simply because he found their competition inconvenient.

As a matter of fact, Great Britain, even without war, has had this opportunity in full measure. For when she began to colonise, many of the most suitable lands were still unoccupied. Other nations have had reason to envy her, and she should remember this when she is surprised and indignant at their envy. Britain's own pride in her colonies ought to make her ready to understand the

desire of others to emulate her. For the links of affection that bind the colonies to the mother-country are real and beautiful. They give play to that unity in difference which is one of the finest things in a nation. The more variety that can be got into a country without breaking up its harmony the better: we want no dead monotony, but a living and varied growth: the more that men can care about other men's interests the better: we want men to care so much that they will be ready for mutual sacrifice. And men in the mass seldom care intensely about the interests of others unless they are united to them by blood or by special political ties. If Australia, New Zealand, and Canada had been as much divided from Great Britain as the United States now are, there would scarcely have been the depth of feeling between them that has made so many Colonials ready to fight for a land they have never seen. These natural ties should be cherished; they are links by which we may hope to build up a chain of Humanity: there is enough to separate us in this world; let us guard and strengthen what unites us. And nothing is likely more to strengthen unity than common work. This common bond of sympathy is the real gain in the existence of what we call "the British Empire," though the name is not altogether a happy one, and "the British Commonwealth" might be better. For the great Colonies govern

themselves as much as Great Britain governs herself, and the word "Empire" might imply that they were subject to Britain's rule, to her "imperium."

§ 3. ADVANTAGES IN COLONIES FOR TRADE AND INVESTMENT

But there are other advantages also, advantages for trade and for the investment of money. And this is true not only of the self-governing Colonies, but also of the countries such as India and Egypt, which are British Protectorates, countries managed in the main not by men elected from the natives, but by men appointed in Britain. Now these advantages have often been exaggerated, but the exaggeration is an exaggeration of real facts. A comparison of trade-figures will show that to some extent trade does "follow the flag." And this whether the mother-country is Free-Trade or Protectionist. Great Britain, for example, is Free-Trade, yet she does as a rule get the largest share of the commerce with her Colonies and Protectorates.

For example, in 1911 she got about half of the Indian trade, nearly all of the New Zealand, about half of the Australian, about one-third of the South African, and about one-quarter of the Canadian. (The proportion for Canada is naturally lower because so much of Canadian commerce must inevitably be

with her next-door neighbour, the United States.)

But on the other hand it is true that while Great Britain controls about a quarter of the world's habitable surface, her whole trade with her colonies and dependencies is not much more than a quarter of her total trade. This is partly, no doubt, because her colonies and dependencies (even including India) are not, on the whole, so thickly populated nor so wealthy as the other countries of the world. The colonies are as yet too young, and India too undeveloped. Moreover, while the greater proportion of the trade is in favour of the mother-country, that proportion is not enormous. Therefore, taking the figures all together, what they show is that we must be careful not to exaggerate the advantage for trade given by the political union, but that we must admit that some real advantage does exist. This is just what we might expect. So long as the political union continues, and the sympathy and close intercourse that are involved, the Colonies and the Protectorates have special opportunities for learning the mother-country's special needs and products. Other things being equal, they will trade with her more readily.

And besides trade there is the question of investments. In the development of a young and fertile country capital is needed, and can be employed to great profit. Now (again other things being equal), a man with money to lend

will lend it where he knows the people and has confidence in them, or where he can trust his own government to get at least as favourable terms for himself as for foreigners. He will be influenced in all this, partly by natural sympathies, and partly by the mere desire to make money. It is fine to invest money where it will most help the men in whom one most believes, and it is tempting to invest it where one thinks there is most likelihood of pulling strings for profit. Thus, for good reasons or for bad reasons, Colonies which are united to the mother-nation, or Protectorates which are controlled by her, are likely to afford the most attractive field for investment. It is natural that a nation, in the race for wealth and power, should try to secure such fields. She realises that so long as the ties of affection hold or the ties of control, these countries will treat her trade and her commercial interests at least as favourably as they treat those of other nations. It is possible, no doubt, and indeed it often happens, that Colonies, in their desire to protect their own young industries from the competition with the long-established businesses of the Old World, may tax all imports of manufactured articles from any country whatsoever, including the mother-country, but they would hardly tax those of the mother-country alone and let in the articles of foreigners free. On the contrary, there is always a party urging that the

foreigner's articles should be taxed and the products of the mother-country go free. Therefore the nation with Colonies and Protectorates has a well-founded sense of security, and the nation with few or none will be likely to envy her.

§4. THE TEMPTATIONS OF JEALOUSY

It is obvious from this that any system of what might be called Imperial Preference, any artificial arrangement by which the colonies and the mother-country try to keep the trade as much as possible between themselves and exclude the foreigner, is bound to increase the reasons for jealousy. If all nations and all colonies were Free-Trade, there would be much less reason for any one nation to grudge another its gains in unoccupied or undeveloped territory. And we must remember once more that, while trade and colonisation are good things, and sometimes essential things, and do help in many ways to unite men, yet men are very apt to quarrel over them. The value of trade, as we saw, rests upon an exchange of goods and services, but it is not easy to ensure that the exchange should always be fair. It is just conceivable, for example, that one powerful nation might get possession of all the richest parts of the earth, and then, if its members united in a close commercial company and refused to trade with foreigners

except on fixed terms, it might force the others to pay it a famine-price for its products. Or it might behave like a dog-in-the-manger, keeping hold of territories which it could not develop itself. There has been a great temptation to such behaviour in the past. The country that acted in such a way did not really benefit itself by doing so, but for the time it seemed to win a superiority over other nations. That is where the temptation lies, in wanting not simply to be better off, but to be *better off than other nations*, even though it means that all are less well off than they might otherwise have been. And it is this instinct of sheer selfish domination, this mere desire to be first, this demon of envy, that leads a nation into destroying its own wealth by trying to limit the wealth of others.

Spain refused to allow her colonies to trade at all with any one except herself. This was a real dog-in-the-manger policy because the colonies could not prosper if they had only one country to trade with, and Spain by trying to keep all the benefit to herself prevented their growth in wealth. Thus they were too poor to help her, and in the end she suffered and declined when she might have prospered under a more generous system. Britain for years has allowed all other nations to trade as freely with her colonies as she does herself, and her prosperity is largely due to this. She has tried also, though so far with scant success,

to persuade other nations to follow her example. And doubtless, as we said, if Free-Trade could be adopted throughout the world it would be a most desirable thing. But it would not, by itself, do away with all trade-jealousy. In Germany, for instance, there was more jealousy of England than of America or of Austria-Hungary or of Russia, and yet England was Free-Trade while America, Austria-Hungary, and Russia were all Protectionist. We must repeat: whether there is Protection or whether there is Free-Trade, in any case to a certain extent trade follows the flag and investment follows the flag. In any case, a nation whose possessions are at once the largest, the most fertile, and the best situated for trade has, other things being equal, a natural advantage over others. Her people have more opportunities of getting what they need and of raising what others need. In short, they can be wealthier with less effort. Britain has for long been one of the richest countries in the world in proportion to her population, and there can be little doubt that this is due not only to the energy and intelligence of her people, but also to the fact that her citizens do, as we saw, control about a quarter of the world's habitable surface.

There are nations who have thought that her possessions are far too many. But at this date there is every reason for thinking that it would do more harm than good if she were

to surrender any considerable extent of them in order to make the distribution more even all round. The distress and dislocation so caused would be too great. The self-governing Colonies would simply refuse to be cut off, and the mere suggestion of it is hateful. No wise statesman will neglect the affections of any land, and, indeed, it ought to be a maxim in all politics that every full-grown nation should be allowed to choose the government under which it wishes to live.

CHAPTER V

THE PROTECTORATES AND THE
BACKWARD RACES

§ I. THE NEEDS OF THE BACKWARD RACES

As regards the other parts of the British Empire—the great Protectorates such as India and Egypt—the case is more complex. At present it seems that they are too backward in development to be left to themselves. It would mean either stagnation or anarchy or possibly both. And if they have to be under some alien government there seems to be no government under which they would live so willingly or from which they could learn so much as that of the British. Without undue boastfulness we may say that Britain has brought justice and law and education and prosperity into places where, without her help, they would have been slow in coming. None the less, it ought frankly to be admitted that we obtained control over many of these territories by methods that we cannot justify now. Some of the lands were gained simply by wars of conquest; and conquest, by itself, gives no moral right to a country. To speak of the “right of conquest” is to preach the

doctrine that "Might is Right." The moral right only comes if, after conquest, the government brings real benefit to the conquered land. It is well for us to remember these faults of our own if we are ever to be fair to other countries in their own desire to win the control of territory.

It may be asked, it often is asked, why these backward races should ever be under the control of the more advanced. Why not leave them to themselves? The answer is twofold. First, simply because they are backward. There is no doubt that they need instruction in law and government, and they can hardly learn it for themselves, except at immense cost and waste of time. Secondly, because, as a rule, they are in possession of resources which are not developed as they should be. Especially is this so in tropical and sub-tropical countries. When we come to think of it, it is astonishing how many things the world needs that can only come from the Tropics. Rice, rubber, tea, coffee, cocoa, sago—these are only a few of the most important. In other more temperate places there are vast stores of petrol, as in the milder districts of Russia, Mexico, and Persia, or of iron ore, as in Morocco, or of gold, as in Rhodesia. Now the world is in great need of wealth, and it does not seem right, other things being equal, that this wealth should be left undeveloped simply because the men

living there are too idle or too ignorant to develop it. Moreover if the responsible governments do not undertake the work, it is done by the irresponsible trader. Drawn by the thirst for power and gain, the white trader will go to undeveloped countries and with the help of modern fire-arms force the unwilling natives to supply him with their products. Terrible cruelties have happened in this way. It must be admitted, alas! that terrible cruelties have also been perpetrated under responsible governments, but the experience of history has shown that there is more hope of the native inhabitants being fairly treated under the government of a great nation than if they are left to the tender mercy of individual merchants. And in these days of universal traffic it is impossible to keep the individual merchant in his proper place unless some strong government is set up in the land.

Moreover, it should be remembered, and there is some comfort in remembering it, that the native rule in backward countries has mostly been cruel and incompetent itself. It is not, as a rule, into a primitive Paradise that the Western Powers have come. The problems of "the white man's burden," the problems of treating the backward races fairly, training them and teaching them how to use their wealth, and yet not oppressing them, are, in short, huge, but not hopeless. Once more, such problems need sympathy as well as

resolution in order to solve them. A good test for purity of motive is to ask ourselves, "Are we governing this province with the wish that, whenever possible, it should govern itself?" What we desire for ourselves we ought to desire for others, and all men desire to reach such a position that they may be fit to govern themselves. Men do not mind submitting to training if it will fit them for that, but they object to the prospect of being kept in subjection for ever. Therefore, every generous statesman and every wise statesman will aim at training backward races so that one day they will not need his training. He will take for his model the schoolmaster who looks forward to his schoolboys growing up and becoming his friends. And he will be glad when another nation, such as Japan, never needs to go under training at all, but can meet his own nation on an equality from the first. While even with the most backward races he will follow the great example of Livingstone who laboured all his life among the natives of Africa for their good and not his own.

§ 2. THE CO-OPERATION OF OTHERS IN THE WORK

And like Livingstone he will welcome the co-operation of other nations in this work. Livingstone toiled unceasingly to stop the

slave-trade, and on his tomb in Westminster Abbey are written his own words—

“ All I can add in my solitude is
May the blessing of Heaven rest on any man,
English, American, or Turk,
Who may help to heal
This open sore of the world.”

It is a great mistake to think that only one nation, the British, has the power to colonise or to train others. A wise schoolmaster knows that there are many methods of education, and some methods suit one set of scholars and some suit others. It is interesting to quote here generous words of recognition used by Sir Harry Johnston of the work done in Africa by the nation with whom we are now at war. He admits grave faults in German colonial rule, but says roundly, “ Far more will lie to the credit of Germany than to her discredit.”¹ One German in particular, von Wissmann, he calls “ one of the most splendid white men that ever entered Africa ” (*ibid.* p. 279). Von Wissmann, Sir H. Johnston says, “ resolutely put down the bad side of the Arab power in German East Africa, and completely suppressed the slave trade. His feelings on that score were as strong as those of Livingstone and as disinterested. He not only did this first of all as conqueror and Governor of German East Africa, but subsequently he turned his attention—quite disinterestedly—

¹ *The Geographical Journal*, vol. xlv. No. 4, April 1915, p. 280.

to what was going on in the northern part of British Central Africa and the south-east part of the Congo basin. He, or his officers after him, unhesitatingly placed at my disposal, and I believe also at the disposal of the Belgians, such forces as they possessed by land or water for the crushing of Arab revolts and the extirpation of the slave trade. I should not be here addressing you to-night, nor would Sir Alfred Sharpe be listening, had it not been for the unstinted help afforded by gallant Germans—by generous Germans I might even say—in our six years' struggle with the Arabs in Nyasaland."

So ought the civilised nations to behave towards each other and towards the less developed. So, we may hope, in spite of the war and the just indignation raised by it, they will one day behave again. A nation, like an individual, does wrong and has to be stopped by force, but it does not follow that it is never to be allowed a chance again. And the chance of working among the backward races is certainly keenly desired by Germany, just as it is desired by England and by France. We all desire it, and not only in order to secure wealth. It is also for the sake of influence, and that means both for the possession of power and for the opportunity of work. Free-Trade without the opportunity of control would not give us what we want. For Free-Trade alone could only give us wealth. Sup-

pose a Briton knew that he and his nation would be just as wealthy as before, but that all the undeveloped countries in the world were to be under the control of, say, Russia alone, or France alone, or Germany alone—would he be just as pleased as before? Certainly not. He would feel that he had lost something, and that the world had lost something, by the loss of British influence in government and management. And other nations feel the same about their influence. In dealing with them we must remember this, and remember how needful it is that there should be many different influences in the world. He is very narrow-minded who thinks there is only one influence worth considering, and that one his own. "God," the poet says,

"fulfils Himself in many ways,
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world."

§ 3. MILITARY ADVANTAGES IN PROTECTORATES AND COLONIES

Beside these advantages for population, for trade, for investment, and for the chance of a career, there may be great military advantages in the union with Colonies and Protectorates. In the first place, they provide reserves of men and supplies for the mother-country to draw on. In the next place, the geographical position of certain territories may be of decisive importance. Held by the enemy, they might

form dangerous bases for hostile operations, or their possession might be indispensable to a nation for its own defence. Britain, for instance, could not maintain her Navy in its present force unless she could count on coaling stations and harbours in all parts of the world. A ship cannot sail the seas without putting in for fuel and food and repairs. And there are places, such as the Suez Canal, which could not pass into the full possession of any other single Power without a most serious threat to Britain's lines of communication. But so long as there is any chance of war, it is, as we saw, of prime importance for Britain to possess both a strong Navy and a reasonable chance of guarding her communications. And here it must be remembered that great military advantages imply great responsibilities toward all weaker nations. The British Empire, for example, if it misused its naval powers, might be one of the greatest tyrants on the face of the globe. For its arm reaches almost everywhere. The stations which it needs for its own Fleet give it opportunities for interfering with almost all international trade. What is necessary for its own safety might, therefore, prove most dangerous to others, unless superiority in strength were limited by deference to right.

CHAPTER VI

THE FUTURE

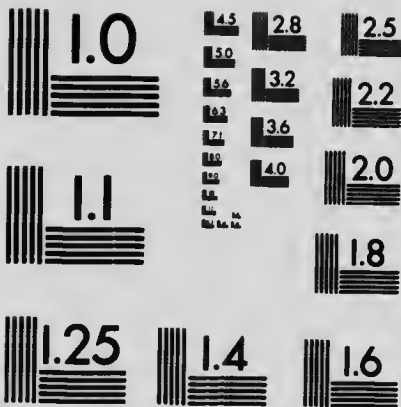
§ I. THE TEMPTATION OF TERRITORY

THUS from our own history and circumstances we can see how much there may be to make a nation desire increase of territory. There are disadvantages, it is true, in great possessions. Wide territory means wide responsibilities, and it may be too hard a task to combine all the different interests of the different parts into one harmonious whole. Again, a wide Empire, especially a widely-scattered Empire, may offer so many points for attack that a smaller country would really be the safer. But an ambitious nation, especially a nation with a growing population, is inclined to make light of all these difficulties and dangers. The prospect of more wealth than others, of greater power and influence, allures it, till it sees little else, and exaggerates the value of what it does see. The means it takes too often defeat its own end. But it does not see this till too late. We may be staggered when we think how readily governments have gone to war in order, as they say and believe, to get scope

for their people when they could have got far more scope simply by developing their own possessions in peace. If one hundredth part of the effort and sacrifice of war had been spent in working at conditions within the nation, every land might have become a paradise with the widest opportunities for all within its borders. But a nation in the excitement of rivalry overlooks all this. It overlooks also, and only too easily, the claims of others, and the danger to the peace of the whole world. Yet it is obvious, the moment one stops to think, that several nations cannot go on "expanding" indefinitely without coming into conflict somewhere. There is only a certain amount of land on the earth, and if every one wants more and more of it there is sure to be trouble.

There is only one way to avoid a series of devastating wars and that is for all of us to be moderate in time. It is a comfort to remember that all civilised nations are not possessed by this craze for expansion. Norway and Sweden among small nations, the United States among large, seem content with what they have. And among the great nations of Europe it ought to be easy for Britain to show the better way. She needs no more territory for herself. Some nations, indeed, have thought, as we said, that her possessions are far too great already. This opinion was freely expressed in Germany before the war,





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and did a great deal to create bad blood between the two countries. The Germans said, "Look at that old nation! She has seized on a quarter of the whole earth and claims to keep it for ever, though her white population is no larger, indeed not so large, as our own. Is that fair?" Britain answered, and her answer was just: "Whatever our sins in the past, we cannot re-write our history now. As it is, the countries now united with us would rather remain with us than come under any other rule, and it is our duty to protect them from being conquered against their will."

§ 2. THE DUTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

But if it is Britain's duty to guard what she possesses already, it is also her duty, seeing that she already possesses so much, not to be always claiming more. Her best statesmen have seen this. Sir Edward Grey, our Foreign Minister, laid down as the aim of his Office:¹ first, "to prevent political changes or combinations capable of threatening the safety of the Empire from without," but secondly, "not to increase the territorial responsibilities of the British Empire, which are already sufficiently great, and to confine its efforts to the maintenance and development of England's present possessions." And

¹ No. 108, *Belgium and the European Crisis*. Diplomatic Documents, Berlin. Mittler & Co.

lastly, "to place the influence enjoyed by the nation in the world at the service of humanitarian ideals."

Let us bear this in mind through all the difficult problems of world-politics with which Britain has to deal. She will deal with them the better and be the better trusted if it is plain that she is single-minded and not grasping. This war has come about because the different nations have all been grasping for power at each other's expense, and have had no court to judge between them. Ambition is at the root of the trouble. "By that sin fell the angels." Ambition, and the fear of others' ambition, and the absence of any organised law between nations by which ambition might be warned in time. Yet ambition is only the excess of an energy that in itself is good and desirable. "To curb aggressive nationalism," it has been well said, "is the root-problem of the present war."¹ But none of us wish to destroy any nation anywhere. And, if we are wise, we can understand the temptations of nations even while we blame the crimes to which temptation leads them. To understand is not to condone. In this war, for example, Austria was afraid, and with reason, that Serbia might stir up rebellion in provinces under Austrian rule, but it was none the less a crime for Austria to attack Serbia first. Germany may

¹ *The Unity of Western Civilisation*, edited by F. S. Marvin.

have feared that France might advance through Belgium, but that fear could not free Germany from the guilt of marching through innocent Belgium herself, still less from the guilt of the ruthlessness with which she struck down the Belgian resistance. But while we blame Germany for her present action and temper, let us look well to our own, now and in the future. We say that this particular war would never have come about if Germany had been fair. But other wars might easily have come about, may come about still: other nations have been unfair and cruel before now, and will be unfair and cruel again. Let us try to be fair ourselves.

§ 3. THE NEED OF SOME LIMIT

Whatever advantages there are in power, let us remember that these advantages ought, so far as possible, to be shared equally among nations that are equally civilised and humane. It is not good for any nation to have too much power—and it is not fair for any to be left powerless for ever.

We must, of course, accept many things as they stand. Certain nations, owing to a long series of historical events, possess special advantages. We cannot, as we said, always be re-distributing the earth and re-writing history. And we must consider, of course, the peculiar needs of each country. Some need

one advantage, some another. Some need sea-ports, others the control of land-routes. But remembering all this, we can aim at much greater fairness in the future than we have ever done in the past. And as the world grows more thickly peopled so does the need for fairness grow. For the problems become more and more complicated. A nation with a huge and growing population needs more land than a nation with a small and a stationary one, and it might reasonably ask for some by the way of fair purchase or exchange. But certainly it ought not to grab the land of its weaker neighbour and leave the poor neighbour with no resting-place on earth. Sooner than that, it would be the strong nation's duty to encourage its own citizens to leave its own borders.

§ 4. THE TEMPTATION OF POWER IN WAR

Again, as we saw, Britain needs a powerful fleet for her own protection. But a powerful fleet means the power of interfering directly with almost every country in the world. For almost every country has a seaport, and even if it has not, a large part of its trade is sea-borne and its citizens need to travel by sea. How far-reaching and how terrible can be a misuse of power at sea is shown by the action of Germany in torpedoing liners and merchant-ships. The whole world outside Germany re-

probates this action, and we may believe that the next generation in Germany will reprobate it also. But in other ways as well great sea-power might be used with great cruelty. It is conceivable that a Power with the command of the sea might be able literally to starve out another country and bring death to thousands of non-combatants without offering to any a chance of escape. We may draw up laws and declarations to guard against such things, but laws and declarations will be of little use unless we cultivate a general spirit of kindness and reason, and recognise that other nations have a right to exist on this earth as well as our own. In war as in peace, this is the one great safeguard. We may have to fight another nation, but if we remember that they are human we shall remember that they are capable of becoming our friends one day. That is one reason why we know we ought to have real care for the women and children of our opponents, not only because we wish to avoid unnecessary suffering, but because at bottom we believe that every nation can learn its lesson and the next generation profit by the suffering of the past.

§ 5. THE FAMILY OF NATIONS

And in peace we shall keep for our ideal, not the poverty-stricken idea of one single race dominating over subject-races, but the

much richer conception of a Family of Nations where the Elder Brothers train the younger and all agree so to divide the goods of the world that there is enough for all to live on. It will not follow from this that all are to have exactly equal wealth and equal power. There can be little doubt that it is better for the world that those who have greater gifts should have greater opportunities, but while we may arrange for this we should never push the matter so far that the less gifted races have no opportunities at all. Once more, it is with races as it is with persons. We may think it right to allow some persons more scope than others, but there is a minimum which we must insist upon for every person whatsoever. If we are true servants of Humanity we must insist upon something of the same kind for every race.

§ 6. AN INTERNATIONAL COURT

In such a task of fair distribution, we ought more and more to settle matters by consultation and agreement. This war at least ought to show the world the horror of war. And many thoughtful men are now discussing the possibility of a League of Nations to provide a better way. The nations, it is urged, should promise in the first instance to refer any matter in dispute between them to an impartial Tribunal for peaceful settlement. If

any nation should break its word and go to war before the Tribunal had given a decision, the other nations should combine against it, and, if necessary, fight it. In this way, it is hoped, we might gradually build up something like an International Law-Court, an International Council, and an International Police. In war, as we know it now, there is no judge except the parties fighting. Yet no man, we say, can be a good judge in his own case. Can a nation be any better? We have learnt, within the nation, to submit our private disputes to the general judgment. Now we must learn to apply this to disputes between the nations. Already some beginning has been made. A Court for voluntary Arbitration was sitting at the Hague even before this war broke out. And indeed it is one of the sins of the Germanic Powers that they would not accept the proposals of Britain and France and Russia to settle the dispute by a European Conference. They say they believed that the Conference would not be fair. And it is quite true that unless there is a reasonable spirit of fairness, even a reasonable system will not avail. But spirit and system may grow up together and help each other. It has been so within the nation. Nor has reasonable submission to law ever meant any loss of personal vigour or spiritual independence. Britons to-day are as vigorous and independent as they were before the Assize of Clarendon.

And as we think of what has been accomplished within the nation there is much to encourage us in the tremendous task that lies before us, the task of building up law and sympathy to take the place of brute force between the nations.

And for this we need, not merely, nor even chiefly, legal formulas and restrictions, but the clear and loyal acceptance in all nations of the principles that every nation, the backward as well as the weak as well as the developed and the strong, has a right to be considered, and that none should dare live to itself alone.

The bitterness, it is true, that this war must leave behind it is more than man can reckon. It may not be possible to introduce at once any better system. But later on a time may come for that, and late or early, it is always time for a better spirit. That better spirit will fortify us for what we have to do, and be itself the first beginning of better things. There is a great work to be done, a work that needs all our powers and is worthy of all our efforts. Let us remember that true Patriotism means love, and that true love is never narrow-hearted. Let us never forget that the crown of a Nation would be to serve in its day and hour the Fellowship of Nations.

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