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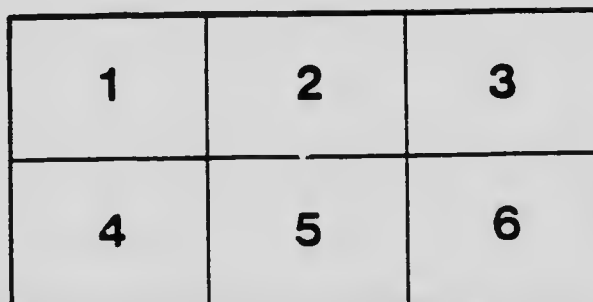
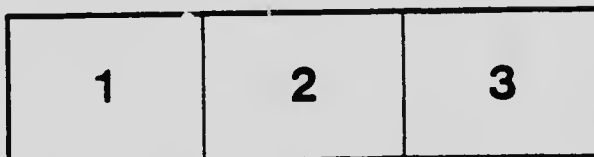
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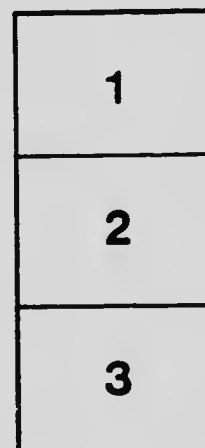
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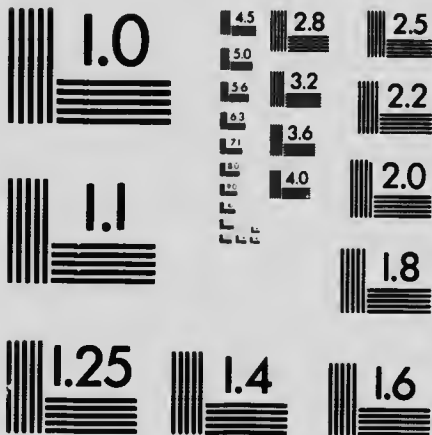
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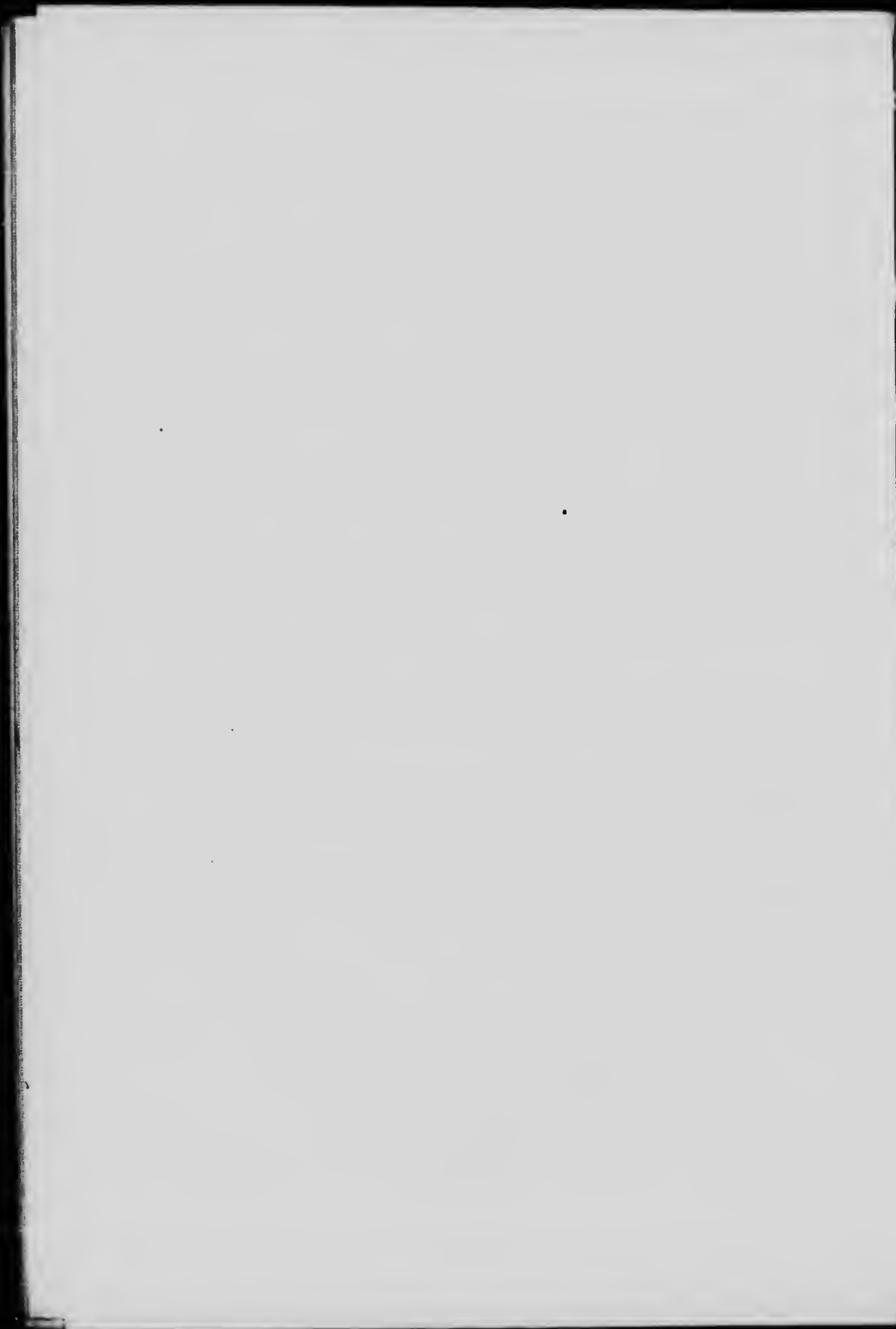
CONCERNING TRUE
WAR

BY
WILHELM WUNDT

TRANSLATED BY
GRACE E. HADOW

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PREFACE

IT would be impossible to find any one pamphlet which could fairly be quoted as representing the German attitude towards the present war. For German opinion is divided ; not indeed as to the righteousness of the war, but as to the exact grounds on which the German Government was justified in taking the initiative. A Bernhardi or a Harden disdains the plea of self-defence ; other German writers insist that Germany took up arms because her existence as a Great Power was at stake. The second school is, however, the more numerous ; and to it belong most of the leaders of German academic thought. The views of this school are forcibly presented in the following address, which was delivered by Professor Wundt at Leipzig in September. It is desirable that the English public should have the opportunity of studying at first-hand the political ideas and judgments which find favour with Germans regarded in their own country as men of moderate and balanced views. Englishmen who are unfamiliar with the German literature of the war may be surprised that a critic, so eminent in his own sphere of knowledge, should throw the critical spirit to the winds when he approaches current controversies. Unfortunately Professor Wundt is, in this respect, entirely representative of the class of German society which he adorns. German professors are as fully convinced as the most credulous readers of the official German journals that King Edward VII was a statesman of superlatively malignant genius ; that

Sir Edward Grey is a converted Tory and has thirsted for the destruction of Germany ever since he came into power ; that Mr. John Burns has denounced the policy of his fellow Ministers in a public speech ; that the British Navy has sunk German ships in neutral harbours ; that the British Army uses Dum-dum bullets ; that England and France were the first to violate the neutrality of Belgium. There are critics who argue that the Germans must have solid reasons for their intense conviction of the justice of the German cause. Such critics would be well advised to study the address of Professor Wundt, and to observe how weak are the foundations upon which he grounds his case.

H. W. C. D.

CONCERNING TRUE WAR

HONOURED FELLOW CITIZENS,

IN the summer of 1813 Johann Gottlieb Fichte, only a few months before his death, addressed an audience in the Eerlin Hochschule on a subject which for us to-day, a hundred years later, has a greater reality than it has possessed at any time during the interval. He spoke on 'The meaning of true war'. What is true war? We can leave on one side those philosophical definitions which for many of us come clothed in too abstract a form. The gist of his answer is as simple as it is clear: true war is undertaken by a people against an enemy which seeks to rob them of their freedom and independence. These two words, however, 'freedom' and 'independence', contain an infinitely deeper meaning than appears on the surface. A nation is free and independent not only when each individual is free, within the limits of the law, to gain and spend as seems best in his own eyes, but when the whole people is free to place its powers at the service of culture for the benefit of universal humanity, undisturbed by pressure from without or by the envy and ill-will of other nations, and is thus able to do the part allotted to it by nature and by history in developing the common culture of the nations. When an attempt is made to cut it off from the sources from which this common work for the highest interests of mankind must draw its inspiration, when it finds that not only the inevitable necessity of holding the balance between need and capability but also the envy and jealousy of its

neighbours narrow the limits within which its proper activities can find scope, then its freedom and independence are in danger, in far greater danger than if some transitory despot deprived individuals of their personal freedom. Individuals pass, nations remain. He who injures a nation, he who would allow her only just so much of the air and light which she needs for her life, as will satisfy the statesmen of other lands, is worse than the worst despot of his own race. He injures not only individuals, not only the present race; he perpetrates an outrage on the existence of the nation, on its vocation now and in the future, and a people which rises in its whole might against such an attack, which arms itself in every class, from prince to peasant, from the great captains of industry to the commonest of their workmen, from artists and scholars to the humblest artisan, wages a war not for any transitory advantage, but for the races of the future, it fights—that is the greatest and most powerful thing in such a national war—for humanity and so also for those who at the moment stand opposed to it. For, if God will, this great world-war shall decide whether ignoble search for wealth and diplomatic intrigue shall continue to incite great nations to bloody struggles one with another, or whether in the not distant future an end shall be made of such sacrilege. Thus considered, the problem raised by the present war is greater than that presented by the War of Liberation, a hundred years ago. It is greater, apart from the fact that in those days the German nation not only went into the war all unprepared but also came out of it unprepared and was thus cheated of the fruits of victory by just that diplomatic art which is to have its limits prescribed once for all by the victory for which we hope. Then it was only a question of freedom from the despotism of a single

man, which, like all individual action, was doomed to pass away.

Once more, as in the days before the Battle of Leipzig, we are engaged in a war of nations. But this time the united nations of Europe are not rising against the despotism of a conqueror. This war is truly a war of the nations. Nation stands against nation ; Germany and Austria-Hungary, which is closely bound to her by so many ties of culture and of history, stand against the rest of the Great Powers of Europe, led, to our bitter sorrow, by the English, who are so near akin to us, but whose statesmen will be branded by history as the chief instigators of this unparalleled world-war.

But how different is the prize of victory held forth by this war from that of a hundred years ago ! Then the German could dream that when once the yoke of foreign domination was shaken off, he would be free to plant his cabbages in quiet, and pass a peaceful life in friendly intercourse, village with village, town with town, undisturbed by the world outside German boundaries. Fichte himself, who preached war against the foreign conqueror as a holy duty, had, only a few years before, written a work on the state in which he had extolled as the ideal a country shut up in itself, in its own business and occupations, its own rights and customs, whose citizens have no part in international commerce and intercourse except for a certain rivalry in art and scholarship. To-day these ideals, which reflect the narrowed life of the German people of his time, have gone for ever. In each one of us has developed a consciousness that the individual is a citizen not only of the state but of the world, not indeed a citizen of the world in the old sense in which men so readily granted us Germans a world-citizenship which embraced all common human ideals and considered as

valueless and trivial the worth of the individual people and individual state. To-day we know that the true citizen of the world must above all things be firmly rooted in his own earth, must belong to his own race and nation if he is to do lasting work in and for the world. For to-day the life of a people lies in international trade and intercourse, in production and exchange, in material no less than in spiritual things. Therefore art and scholarship no longer, as in the time of our great poets and thinkers of the past, stand alone as the symbols of world-intercourse, but life and property, law and custom, industry and technique have thrust their roots into the whole national life just as deeply as creations of the spirit. The great contribution of our poets and thinkers of the last centuries lies in this, that they first won in the realm of spirit and intellect that position which necessarily for the German people leads to supreme command in all those spheres of life where thought and action are united in the same sense as body and spirit. Kant and Schiller, and in the depths of his heart, Goethe, greatest of our dead, foresaw this, although history alone could clearly reveal the goal of German culture as we see it to-day.

It may be said that no one by means of this war wished to dispute Germany's present place in the world, and, great results springing as they often do from little causes, that this terrible world-conflagration arose because the Serbian Government could not accept the threatening language of the Austrian Note after the murder at Serajevo, and because Germany violated the neutrality of Belgium. Or it may be thought that the rivalry in armaments of the Great Powers was bound to lead to war eventually. As if those armaments had not been so many preparations for war on the part of our opponents, though merely a

necessary means of protection on our part, necessary if we were not to throw up our case. That the German Emperor, the German Government, the German nation desired peace has been shown by such obvious proof that even our enemies cannot deny it. According to reliable information the Paris street-boys were singing jeering songs about our Emperor's love of peace. It is the more incomprehensible that one hears such empty arguments as these in conversation with otherwise friendly disposed foreigners, especially with Americans, who, it is true, get no small part of their political wisdom from English newspapers. Certainly the murder at Serajevo may have decided the moment at which war should break out. A somewhat later moment would probably have suited our opponents better. But that this war had long been planned, that the object of the three Powers who so significantly called their robber alliance an *entente cordiale* was to isolate Germany, to weaken her power, to cut her off—and this was the chief point for the predominant partner of this Company of common interests, for England—from commerce with the world at large, and to send her back to the condition of a mid-European state dependent on the will of the three Allies, cannot possibly be doubted by any one who has followed the history of the last few years. How France's desire for revenge, England's envy and jealousy, and Russia's dream of power through Panslavism worked together in an unhealthy mixture of national instincts need not here be discussed. These instincts might not perhaps have kindled the world-conflagration had it not been for a man whose sole work this war cannot indeed be said to be, but yet from whom there can be no doubt emanated the plan by which it was prepared and by which it finally came to a head. This man is not Sir Edward Grey.

He is only the executor, and perhaps we might add the subordinate tool of this man who with great political craft and, as his life and actions often showed, with entire lack of scruples of any kind, prepared the way for this war: King Edward VII of England. His saying was well known: 'Germany must be ringed round.' She must have enemies all round her. She must be forced back within the boundaries before 1870, and she must be debarred from appearing on the great world-stage of colonial work among the nations, on which the British Empire rules. That was the plan hatched by Edward VII, which Edward Grey sought to carry through by all means great and little—but chiefly little—from the moment when, in 1906, he took over the direction of the foreign affairs of the island empire, up to the moment of the famous proposal with which he ushered in the present war: the proposal that the ambassadors of the Great Powers should meet in London to discuss, after war had become unavoidable, how it could be avoided—of course in reality simply to gain time for France and Russia, who were not quite ready with their mobilization. The conferences of ambassadors which had given such glaring proof of incompetence during the Balkan troubles would doubtless have been useful just at that inconclusive moment until it suited the *entente cordiale* of Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Russians to fall upon us.

Twice in recent years Sir Edward Grey had shown himself ready to carry out that policy of the isolation of Germany to which he believed himself called: over the Agadir incident, and over the negotiations concerning the French cessions in the region of the Congo. On the first occasion the British were unready for war, on the second the adventure struck the French as too dangerous. Now the moment seemed to have come to crush Germany

in an iron embrace. In Russia the brutal Muscovite party had gained the ascendancy. France had at the helm a Government which, under the guidance of M. Poincaré and M. Delcassé, shrank from no adventure which came surrounded by the halo of revenge.

But the chief guilt of kindling this world-conflagration lies with England. Without the instigation of England, without English money and the English fleet, the war would at least have been confined within limits in which an honourable trial of strength had always seemed possible. England first made it into a world-war, and her clearly recognizable desire to destroy the power of Germany, or—what comes to the same thing in the present isolation of state and nation—to remove the German nation from the Council of the Peoples, can no longer be concealed by pretexts and phrases. It is this which to-day fills us with bitter grief but also with just anger against our English kindred whose constitution we regarded, only a short time ago, as a model of free citizenship, and whose great poets and thinkers we prize even now as our own, blood of our blood, soul of our soul. When our Emperor gave back into the hands of the King of England those emblems of admiralty which he had received in earlier days, it seemed to us therefore, not only a natural but an obviously inevitable expression of our own feelings. And no less do we understand how numerous German scholars and artists have declared that they renounce the badges and honours which have come to them from England.

Yet, heavy as is the responsibility which Sir Edward Grey and his colleagues in the Ministry have taken upon themselves, this war would not have been possible if the English people had not desired it. For unlike her ally, Russia, England is not governed by an autocracy.

England is governed by Parliament, and, what is more, England is a land in which freedom of expression in word and in writing knows no bounds. But where are the men in England who raised their voices against this war? Where are those who had already protested against this bond between a free and highly civilized nation and Russia with its despotism, and—in spite of its great poets—its barbarism? Had it not been foreseen long years ago that no good could ever come of this unnatural alliance? It is true that at the outbreak of hostilities certain distinguished scholars, whose names are highly honoured in Germany, declared themselves against the war. But what are half a dozen professors, chiefly from Oxford and Cambridge, against the rest of educated England? They are but a dwindling minority among their own colleagues. And what of the organs of public opinion, of the English newspapers? When once war was declared, the *Daily News*, usually the paper of all others most friendly to Germany, expressed its opinion that the war should be brought to as speedy a conclusion as possible by the annihilation of the German fleet, when a just peace could be concluded. A just peace! Naturally, for if the German fleet is annihilated England can dictate the terms of this peace, and the intentions of the English statesmen towards us leave no room for doubt as to what they would be. Of a truth such good wishes are hardly to be distinguished from the ill wishes of Messrs. Grey and Churchill. There was indeed one member of the English Cabinet who would not consent to this war, and resigned when war was declared: that was the Secretary of the Board of Trade, the labour leader, John Burns; and only recently John Burns made a speech in which he accused Edward Grey of being the instigator of this war, accused him of having gambled

with the existence of England, for it was but a blind dream to think that this treacherous alliance with France and Russia could ever destroy Germany. But why did not John Burns make this speech earlier? Why did he wait until the hoped-for conquests of the English land army had been turned into so many defeats? And why did he not protest, years ago, against the ominous alliance with Russia? Why did he not call up his troops of artisans before the war broke out, so that they might have declared themselves against it with one voice? He did not do so, and if he had done it his voice would have been listened to by few. If the feeling of the masses in England, or even of the educated and leading classes, had really been against the war, no individual and no Cabinet would have been able to oppose the express will of the people of England. When, some years ago, the Conservatives gave place to the present Liberal Government, Sir Edward Grey was the very man whom the Liberals took over from the Tories with Mr. Winston Churchill, the present First Lord of the Admiralty. Where a foreign nation, and especially where Germany, is concerned there are no party distinctions in England, and in such a case Parliament has behind it the vast majority of the whole nation, so that the few who are opposed to this flood of public opinion do not venture to raise their voices. One man indeed there has been in England who would not have kept silence, but from the outset would have raised his voice against this ton war, but he—whom we Germans, too, honour—is no longer among the living. I speak of Thomas Carlyle.

What makes this war so hard and painful for us is that it is above all things a war against England; England which is of our race, and which, in spite of all the changes of character which have taken place—in our opinion not

to her advantage—since the days of old, yet is nearest akin in spirit to us Germans. Of what consequence in comparison with this are the Belgians, who in their reckless blindness began this war merely to prove to the world their complete inability to exist as a state? And who is there amongst us who does not feel a just pity for the fair land of France, the great mass of whose people did not desire this war which has sprung from the unscrupulous ambition of a handful of political adventurers? We will not judge too harshly even the blatant journalists who have sought to wipe out the humiliation of France—for which she alone was responsible—by foolish abuse of Germany. How does it hurt us if M. Henri Bergson, whom no reputable philosopher in Germany has ever taken seriously, calls us barbarians? We know that this philosopher has stolen such of his ideas as have any value from us barbarians, in order subsequently to dress them up in tinsel phrases and pass them off in the world as his own discovery. And as for Russia! What else could we expect from a nation which, incapable of a culture of its own, found its *métier* in the suppression of the culture of the races subject to it, but that it should succumb to the temptation to share at the expense of its neighbour in the new partition of the world suggested by its two friends in the West? Therefore France and Russia are alike guilty, but, in consideration of their circumstances, and the greatness of the temptation presented to them by the English scheme, are almost excusable. England is and will always be the chief offender. The diabolical plan for the destruction of Germany is England's: the monstrous Triple Alliance of the two countries which, next to Italy, possessed the oldest culture in Europe, with barbarous and despotic Russia was suggested by England. When first the war broke out

it might have been thought that educated England would be against it. Unfortunately the further course of events completely disillusioned us. Except for a few scholars, whom personal relations with German friends have taught to know our fatherland better than the vast mass of their countrymen, the whole of literary England is opposed to us. Beside the vulgar insults of Bernard Shaw, an author who is much read in Germany, the 'barbarians' of M. Bergson seems almost like a harmless want of breeding. And Bernard Shaw is echoed by various other literary celebrities among the poets of England, including Rudyard Kipling and Robert Bridges, the present poet laureate. 'Barbarians' is not enough for Mr. Kipling, he calls us the Huns of modern Europe. And finally what shall we say of the voices of the general public which make themselves heard in the newspapers, which vie with one another in giving advice as to the quickest and most thorough method of annihilating us? And yet in the face of these open facts there are here and there soft-hearted Germans who talk of a reconciliation with England before we hold reckoning with our other opponents. As if a lasting reconciliation with England, such as we all hope for, could be possible until we have compelled her once and for all to abandon her accursed policy of isolating Germany, the German nation and German culture. Not until this has happened will the day have come on which we can once more think of working hand in hand with a newborn England at the great task to which the Germanic peoples have been appointed in this world.

It is true that we have sometimes felt a difficulty in the way, in that while the individual Englishman, the English gentleman as the old phrase has it, is an honourable and reliable man, the English as a nation lack those

very qualities which we prize above all others in the individual. But this difficulty may be said to be less real than apparent. The spirit of a people finds truest expression in its philosophy, not of course in every philosophy which it has brought forth, but in that which has become popular and dominant.¹ We all look up to the great English philosophers of the past with respect and gratitude. We consider Bacon, Locke, Shaftesbury, Berkeley and Hume as ours, just as we consider the great naturalists and historians our own. But the popular philosophy of the England of to-day is not that of these men. The ideal with which England is inspired at the bottom of her heart—from statesman to quite unphilosophical man-of-business—is that of utility, or as it is more clearly expressed, the ethics of well-being. Its truest philosophical exponent is one of the most famous English lawyers of the last century, Jeremy Bentham ‘Let every one do what benefits himself,’² so runs the fundamental axiom of this system of ethics. But this axiom is to be observed with the necessary prudence, and this is done by him who obeys it only so far as it is compatible with the similar interests of his neighbour. But only Englishmen are in the first place considered as neighbours. As regards relations to other

¹ ‘In a journal intended, not for the general public, but for a narrow circle of theologians, we may venture to say that the old German idealism threatens gradually to disappear, and to be replaced by a nobbishness and by a half-material, half-aesthetic search for pleasure.’ Prof. Baumgarten in *Evangelische Freiheit*, Aug. 1914.

² ‘What concerns every man in the first place are his duties towards himself; after that his duty towards his family; next his duties towards his nation; and only after this, in the end, his duties towards humanity . . . in case of a conflict the first duty must always go before the second, the latter before the third, and the fourth can but follow in the very rear.’ From *Ostasien und Europa*, by the German Inspector of Missions, Herr von Witte; quoted in the *Guardian*, Nov. 19, 1914.

peoples the axiom states baldly : ' My country is my world.' In connexion with other nations utilitarianism is therefore the most base and inconsiderate egotism. With this egotism England treats her colonies, so far as they are not inhabited by Englishmen. First and foremost are sought their own profit and advantage. If, in addition to these, something happens to be done for the culture of these lands that is at best but a lucky sequence and as far as the Britons themselves are concerned it is a matter of indifference. Seldom do they say anything of the great human responsibilities undertaken first of all by a state which founds colonies. Yet another saying of Jeremy Bentham's is significant in connexion with England's foreign policy. To win and to retain possessions is, according to the teaching of the English utilitarian, the only goal, secret or open, of all human endeavour. But which possession to prefer among many, when the need for choice arises, says Bentham, is a difficult question ; and it can be answered with some degree of certainty only if one takes money, the universal means of exchange, as a standard. That is better which costs more. It is true that by no means all the English utilitarians agree with this axiom, but the average Englishman lives according to this rule, and the English Government evidently shares his belief when, for instance, as is now reported in the newspapers, by Lord Kitchener's advice the pay of their mercenary troops is to be raised in order to heighten their patriotism. We Germans have no mercenaries, our sons and brothers, our people themselves wage this war which has been forced upon us, and we do not wage it like the English as a matter of business, more serious than usual but needing the same eye to the main chance. We do not wage it in order to remove a rival from the market of the world, but to

protect ourselves against an attack which threatens to block our path to the fulfilment of our national vocation. Therefore is this war, in the truest sense of the words, what in that storm of the War of Liberation, which we now see to have been the prelude to this great struggle of the nations, Fichte, in the phrase he coined, called 'a true war', for unless we would be untrue to ourselves it is a necessary, and since it includes our highest duty, a holy war.

A German philosopher, who was a plain man of the people, a man who was no utilitarian but, like most German philosophers, an idealist, Jacob Böhme, the cobbler of Görlitz, said something, three hundred years ago, which may be applied to this war. 'Everything', says Jacob Böhme, 'has its opposite close beside it: light has darkness, good has evil, and evil is ordained that it may change to good.' That holds with regard to 'true' war. Beside it lies untrue, fraudulent, lying war, war waged by a nation not to save its existence but out of lust of conquest, out of revenge, or in which one nation attacks another because it is grudged its peacefully won successes, and attempts to cut it off from the sources of strength whereby it may be enabled to take its share in the nations' work of spreading culture. Just because true war aims merely at self-defence against an oppression from outside, it is necessarily an untrue war on the part of the oppressor. What war could more clearly bear the marks of an untrue, lying war, an act of aggression, than this which our enemies are now waging upon us? It was a lie from the beginning. A lie, Russia's intervention on behalf of Serbia, which served to cloak the mobilization prepared for an attack on Austria and Germany. A lie, the protest of England against the violation of the neutrality of Belgium,

a neutrality long ago violated in fact by the conspiracy between Belgium, France, and England herself, who had planned a landing on Belgian territory. A lie, the peace-conference of ambassadors in London, which England suggested, and whose sole object was to enable surer preparation to be made for the attack which had been planned. And if we go further back we find a lie in the whole *Entente cordiale*, that 'friendly understanding' which professed to assure peace and really made ready for a world-war. For what other foundation could have made possible an alliance between nations by nature opposed to each other in culture and in history? And a fitting adornment of these lies is found in false news of French and Russian victories and of alleged acts of violence laid to the charge of our gallant soldiers.

But what are all these lies to 'the cunning wherewith the English lion (which in this case shows all too clearly that it comes of the cat-tribe) has whetted the Japanese against us! Or is any one to-day naïve enough to believe that this robber-attack has been the spontaneous impulse of this clever and industrious people, which has us Germans to thank for a large part of its rapidly won culture? We university teachers have convincing evidence of the contrary in our hands. We know these friendly smiling inhabitants of the distant island empire, who have seldom failed to express their gratitude to us at the end of the term. This year it fell out differently. Not one of the little gentlemen showed himself. They took French leave, as the saying is. One after another they vanished towards the end of term, leaving no trace. Evidently they obeyed a secret command from their Government, many of them leaving some debts behind them. No doubt they thought: what are these trifling debts which we owe to our German hosts, in face of the great debt to

Germany with which our country is burdening herself. No, the attack made by the Japanese was no flibustering expedition of their own; the stage-manager on the banks of the Thames, Sir Edward Grey, introduced this Satyr-scene into the Folk-Tragedy which he was placing on the stage. Yet even this piece of trickery fades into nothing beside the scornful manner in which, not only contrary to all the laws of humanity, but contrary to all the laws which civilized nations recognize as protecting the rights of the people in war, our enemies, and England especially, have conducted this war. Let us say nothing of the atrocities perpetrated by the Belgians,¹ which, at least in part, are due to the bestial fury of individuals, even though there is evidence enough that murderers in civil dress were conspiring with the Government and with the leaders of their army. Let us say nothing of the ill-treatment of Germans and Austrians in France. England wages this war in a yet more evil fashion. Since Grotius wrote his famous work on the laws of war and peace, in 1625, it has been an axiom accepted by all

¹ 'The conquered land feels the fist of the conqueror. Even if everything is paid for with IO U's, still the inhabitants must be starving in many places, when the necessities of life are bought by force, and very many of our men take what they find. On the other side of the Maas several villages have simply been blown to pieces because the inhabitants murdered some of our soldiers from behind. . . . The pigs run about half-cooked, just as they escaped from the burning farms.' (Extract from the letter of a German theological student to his Professor, published in the *Evangelische Freiheit*, Aug. 14, 1914.)

'I do not believe, however, that any attempt was made either in the Shenandoah or elsewhere (except in the case of a man shown to be a spy) to make the absence of a uniform a ground for the execution of the citizen who was using his rifle to defend his home. Still less would it have been possible in our own war for a commander to make such shooting by citizens a pretext for the destruction of a town or for the execution of town officials.' (Extract from Mr. Putnam's letter to *The Times*, Nov. 14, 1914.)

civilized nations that war cannot imply a state of lawlessness, but that it has its own laws as much as peace, and this has more than once been expressly stated by treaties. This law of war is even more strict than that of peace, but in essence it is the same: for since it seeks to confine the unavoidable horrors of war as far as possible within the bounds of absolute necessity, it is actuated by the same spirit of humanity which inspires all law. But what does the England of to-day care for humanity except when it is of use to her? The laws of warfare forbid attacks upon neutral ships and harbours. English men-of-war, untroubled by this rule, attack neutral ships in order to search them for Germans. They destroy German ships which have anchored in neutral harbours, and the English First Lord of the Admiralty praises them for this heroic deed. The well-known Geneva Convention, in which all civilized nations took part, expressly forbade the use of the so-called Dum-dum bullets, since they not only, as ordinary bullets do, put soldiers out of action, but cause needlessly painful and dangerous wounds: England and France use these bullets, whose employment they themselves joined in forbidding. War should only be carried on between recognized military forces, not between unarmed citizens. The English Government not only boycotts German firms, but also firms which have so much as a single German partner, to whatever nation such firms may belong. And England wages this war against every individual German. England, the nation akin to us, does all in her power to turn this into a racial war. Therefore, at least so far as this war is concerned, England lies without the pale of civilized nations, and her Allies strive to keep pace with her to the best of their powers. No, so far as our enemies are concerned this is no true war, for it is a war that has

neither right nor law upon their side. It is a dishonourable, thievish attack, whose means are murder, piracy, and filibustering, not open and honourable armed conflict.

Already many of us have asked ourselves anxiously if we shall succeed in conquering the enemy which employs such means and therefore has the preponderance of power. Experience teaches us often enough that right is not always victorious over wrong. But this question may be answered by the same Englishman, John Burns, who has recently shown Sir Edward Grey the results of his action. 'A people which, like the Germans, stands to defend its rights, absolutely united in spirit, absolutely without distinction of party and such things, which shows as clearly as we have done what it can achieve both in war and in peace, such a people may suffer a passing defeat but it cannot be destroyed. From every defeat it will rise with renewed might until it has overcome the foe.' And to these inspiring words of an Englishman we must add something more. A soldier in the field must never think of the possibility of defeat. He must have victory, and victory alone, before his eyes if he will conquer in reality. Every day as our soldiers pass by, or as we hear of their tireless march from victory to victory, we have proof that they are inspired by this spirit. But we, too, we who remain behind in peace, must be filled with the same spirit. We shall conquer, for we must conquer. We must not allow ourselves to be frightened by the apparently inexhaustible hordes of Russia nor by the sea-power of England. When in 1899, through the instigation of the Tsar—the so-called Peace-Tsar—the first Hague Conference was held, the question came up whether or no air-craft should be permitted in war. The representatives of the other countries

were inclined to for' d their use, but England, and in this case with justice, opposed them. For air-craft use no other weapons than those employed at the time on land or sea. On the contrary they are so far a humane method of warfare that they may materially assist to shorten the period of the war. Truly England cannot have thought of this at the time, since the success of our brave Zeppelin's invention then lay in the future, but she wanted to leave herself free to employ such a method. It might appear as if the country which had at its disposal the largest fleet would naturally also possess the largest air-fleet if such a thing were ever to exist. But things have fallen out otherwise, as we all know. England to-day is still the chief naval power, but we trust in the heroism of our sailors who are afire with eagerness to come to grips with the English at last upon the open sea, and we believe that superiority of numbers alone will not give victory either on sea or land. But we believe also that the next sea-battle—and one need be no prophet to foresee this—will be fought in the air as well as on the sea. But where is the English air-fleet? Perhaps when, in a few days' or weeks' time, the bombs dropped from our Zeppelins fall upon the English Dreadnoughts, English statesmen will think of that first Hague Conference, when England insisted on allowing the use of air-ships, and will call to mind the good old saying: 'He hath digged a pit for another, and is fallen into the midst of it himself.'

But while with firm faith in our might and in our good cause we look to the end of this war that has been forced upon us, and let no thought but of victory—and of no half-victory, but of victory in the fullest meaning of the word—cross our minds, yet the unavoidable question forces itself upon us: what is to be our goal in this victorious war?

Every human action must have an object, and the doer must give a clear reason for it before the final issue. How much more does such an almost superhuman effort as is now required of us call forth the question : what is to be the object of this war ? On one thing we are all agreed : it cannot be ended when the enemy is disarmed, if there is the prospect of his falling upon us a second time when he thinks himself better prepared. And that the millions and milliards of war-indemnity which we shall demand for these weeks of need and misery are only by the way, also goes without saying. The loss of life and property which such a war entails cannot be paid for in money, and a fine could at best do no more than postpone a new attack, it could not make it impossible. The war of 1870 showed clearly enough to those of us who experienced its immediate results that too rich a stream of gold is a doubtful blessing unless fruitful ways of using it are opened at the same time. But we can find such fruitful openings only in the extension of our colonial possessions. Here England has shown us the way : at the very beginning of the war she deprived us of defenceless Togoland. In addition she has recently, of course without a sword being drawn, taken our Samoan possessions. This easy theft cannot of course be called a conquest, but it is a symbolic action which shows us what would happen if England were to win : England would take away all our colonies. That would be a noteworthy result of the programme of the isolation of Germany. What else she would require for herself and her Allies we will leave out of the question. Nor do we wish to repay in kind. Who would not wish poor France, led astray as she has been by certain unscrupulous politicians, to be treated mercifully ? Only *one* thing must, in the interests of European peace, be firmly established : all

thought of revenge must be made impossible for France for evermore. As to England we may well say: 'To whom much is given, of him much is expected.' England bears too heavy a load of colonial possessions for such a little island. She must pay us heavily out of her superfluity if, as a result of this war, a just division is to be made of the work of the nations in spreading culture in the colonies. For the rest we can leave Great Britain to that development of her colonial power which John Burns, who, as a former Minister of the English crown, must know her circumstances, has depicted.

Clearer of all, however, is the goal of this war, with regard to the third of the Allies. Since the time of Peter the Great Russia has been occupied in bringing West European culture into her barbarous lands, and in this task she has specially sought the help of Germany. German statesmen have to a great extent guided her politics. German officers have trained her army. What she has achieved in learning she owes chiefly to German scholars. Not long ago the St. Petersburg Academy was a German Academy, and the German University of Dorpat has become the most important educational centre in Russia. During the last decade Russia has been becoming more and more untrue to this great task which history placed before her. Dazzled by the idea of Panslavism, she has changed round completely. Not the bestowal of culture on her own barbarous land, but making barbarous captive nations which already possessed culture, this is what Russia inscribed on her banner. She has so enslaved the annexed province of Poland that Russian Poland in time of peace is always on a war-footing. She has endeavoured, with mailed fist, to force through the Russianizing of the German provinces on the Baltic. She wishes to stamp out the German language and German

culture by main force, and she has turned the German University of Dorpat into a Russian University. The very name has been taken away, and it is called Juriew in token that that very German spirit to which Russia owes her culture shall be rooted out.

And how has this Muscovite party treated Finland ? The oath which was sworn to the Finnish constitution has been broken ; Russian governors rule the land whose forcible Russianization is only a matter of time. What a victorious Russia would bring Europe is so terrible that we can only turn with a shudder from the contemplation of such an end. All the clearer must the goal of victory over Russia stand before our eyes if it is to compensate for the streams of blood which she has caused to flow. The Russian Pole of to-day will find in union with the German and Austrian Slavs that protection and freedom which the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy extends to all the nations united under its sway, and will be thankful to all those German Slavs who under Austria's flag wage fervent war on Russia. The Germans of the Baltic provinces, whose services have been so ill requited by Russia, will, in just reward for the ill-treatment they have received, once more return to the mother-country, to whom the best among them have always remained faithful. That we are fighting, not only for our own existence as a nation, but for mankind, will be shown, finally, in the gift of a free Finland, saved from the oppression of foresworn Russia, which we shall bring to a Europe united in peace. We do not desire this land for ourselves ; but in restoring it to its own free independence we shall show that on our part this war is a just, a true war.

But also, and chiefly, this war shall be cherished by history as a true and sacred memory because it secured

for countless ages the lasting peace of the world. We have every right to believe that after this war, fought side by side in truest brotherhood, the most lasting fruit of our victory will be the binding together of the German Empire and the Austrian Monarchy with firmer bonds than those of any chance political alliance.

A single state cannot alone create such a lasting peace, but this will be the work of the Middle-European Federation which will spring from the war, which will represent on the continent of Europe what the North American Union represents on the other side of the Atlantic. In this lies the true explanation of the close relations which have been formed for many years between Germany and the United States. Both federations on this side of the ocean and on that, have as their mission the preservation of the peace of the world in order to develop and spread abroad the benefits of culture. But this mission implies for us a hard duty which we shall do well to think of in the moment of victory as well as after it. It is not for us Germans to sit idle with our hands in our laps or to abandon ourselves to the enjoyment of possessions which we have not earned. Peaceful work is the element in which we live. The more powerful our nation becomes, the richer the opportunities for peaceful work which present themselves to each individual, the greater become the duties laid not only upon the state but upon each one of us, that our nation may win and keep that leading place which belongs to it, in the highest path of all, that of culture. Let us therefore, in these grave times, and after them, think of Kant's warning : ' The highest for all men is duty, and the greatest possession in the world is the moral will.'

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