

TREITSCHKE

M. A. MÜGGE

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HEINRICH VON TREITSCHKE



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HEINRICH VON TREITSCHKE

BY MAXIMILIAN A. MÜGGE

AUTHOR OF 'FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE' IN 'THE PEOPLE'S BOOKS,' ETC.



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PREFACE

DEALING with one of the wizards who are just now generally held responsible for the intellectual ingredients seething in the cauldron of the Unjust Cause, this small volume does not profess to be an exhaustive exposition of Treitschke's doctrines. Nor has any attempt been made to give the full genesis of the Thinking-shop of which he was a disciple. To do so would necessitate a compendious work. The Unjust Cause, "the first that contrived how to speak against both law and justice," is shown to be inferior in argument; but certain good points in Treitschke have not been left unmentioned. "The wise learn many things from their enemies!" said Aristophanes.

The shortcomings of this book are caused by the difficulty of condensing the vast and complex subject-matter within the scope of a few short chapters, and by the writer's inability to devote a great deal of time to its production.

I have to express my indebtedness to Professor Carruthers, of the University of Toronto, and to J. Charlton Hipkins, Esq., M.A., for their kind assistance in reading the proofs. Thanks are due to Mr. F. Lawrence, Barrister, of Lincoln's Inn, for translating some extracts; and acknowledgments must be made to Messrs. Allen and Unwin for a few passages taken from their book *Heinrich von Treitschke and His Work*.

For the guidance of those readers who may desire to make a more detailed study of Treitschke's line of thought, a bibliography is appended.

M. A. M.

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HEINRICH VON TREITSCHKE

CHAPTER I

TREITSCHKE'S LIFE

Name.—Although the derivation of the name "Treitschke" is rather uncertain, there is little doubt that it is a Czech name. May-be it has something to do with the Bohemian village Trzek; or perhaps it is a variation of the name of the counts Trzka, that family to which the count Terzky belonged, who was Wallenstein's loyal friend. Schiller's fine trilogy has made the name Terzky familiar to students of literature, and the words the poet puts into Terzky's mouth are interesting if we take them as spoken by one who was possibly an ancestor of Treitschke:

"Well, well, it shall content me; let but something
Be *done*, let only some decisive blow
Set us in motion
Fortune, we know, can ne'er forsake the Duke!
And only under Wallenstein can Austria
Be conqueror."

Origin.—Soon after the battle of the Weiszer Berg (near Prague, November 1620), a Treitschke, or Treschky, left Bohemia on account of his religious beliefs. He settled in Saxony. His descendants were industrious and well-to-do people. One made a certain reputation as an entomologist and poet, and is responsible for the libretto of Beethoven's *Fidelio*. Another one, Karl Friedrich Treitschke, was a well-known jurist in Dresden where he died in 1804 as a King's Counsel.

Parents.—Treitschke's father, Eduard Heinrich von Treitschke, son of the jurist just mentioned, was born 1796. He was of a cheerful temperament and, without being a pietist, had a steadfast confidence in God. Eduard Heinrich was to study medicine, but after the battle of Leipsic had been fought he could stand the routine and studies no longer, and joined the army. The next year he became lieutenant and, thanks to his perseverance and thoroughness, he rose steadily in spite of the small chances of advancement during the long years of peace. It took the young lieutenant of hussars twenty-three years to become a captain of infantry, but he died a general and commandant of Königstein, that huge fortress which has been called "the key to Bohemia."

The title of nobility was conferred upon him, not for any merit on his part. His elder brother was a tutor to the young counts of Schönburg. The parents of these boys thought it would be much nicer if they had not to mix up with a commoner. The Schönburgs' influence moved the necessary wheels and the two Treitschkes were ennobled.

Treitschke's mother was Maria von Oppen, the daughter of a distinguished Saxon noble family, which counted the famous Franz von Sickingen amongst its ancestors. Her parents died early. Maria was of a rather serious nature which was partly due to a joyless youth and frequent illnesses. She was fond of natural history and liked starting all sorts of collections. Her unselfishness, her clear commonsense, and her deep devotion to her husband were the outstanding features of her personality. She married Eduard von Treitschke, who was fourteen years her senior, in 1832, and when she died in 1861, her husband was inconsolable.

Birth.—Heinrich Treitschke, the future historian, was born on the fifteenth of September 1834 in Dresden, in a house of the "Weisze Gasse," which is situated behind the Kreuzkirche. He was a big and healthy child, with black hair and brown eyes. The strong nose and the sharply delineated mouth made him appear

really ugly. The child at three years of age was described by his mother as "a little wild foal, but a really obedient, good boy."

Besides Heinrich there were three children, two girls and a boy.

Childhood.—The first years of his childhood Heinrich spent partly in Dresden, partly in the country. When but four years of age he received his first lessons together with his elder sister Johanna. Already then the astonishing ease with which he assimilated knowledge was noticeable. He was very fond of his father's horses and all things military. At Easter 1842 the boy entered a small private school in Dresden and soon he was a shining light in his class. During the same year he suffered from chickenpox and later on from measles. Through carelessness on his part he caused a very dangerous relapse when he was almost well again and the result was a bad inflammation of the glands, which, by the narrowing of the Eustachian tubes, brought about the first symptoms of his deafness. Although the boy had inherited the sunny nature and strong faith of his father, the martyrdom of his illness depressed him sometimes.

Greek became his favourite language and with his playmates he fought the Homeric battles over again, picturesquely draped in an old hussar's mantle of his father's. The latter was his best friend and absolutely in the confidence of the boy, who did not take quite so kindly to his mother. He was a soldier's child. Nothing delighted him more than to go camping with his father and mix up with the soldiery. He knew his partial deafness barred him from going in for the military career, but he never quite lost his interest in technical matters that concern the soldier.

At the Grammar School.—In April 1846, the boy was sent to the famous Grammar School at Dresden, the Kreuzschule. It had then about three hundred scholars on its rolls. Latin and Greek were the chief subjects of the time-table, which allowed very little time to any subject outside classical studies. The staff comprised

fourteen men, all really good, some quite excellent teachers, and one or two distinguished by their published works.

The year 1848 brought rapid advancement to Heinrich's father, who had won the trust and confidence of his king. In the absence of his father, due to the troublous times, the turbulent year made a deep impression on the boy's mind. Judging by his letters, an almost uncannily matured mind prompted Heinrich to take a most serious view of politics and the general state of affairs and to approach them with an insight quite beyond his age.

The turbulent year naturally excited the boy and stirred his enthusiasm, but his academical republicanism was looked at askance by his people, and the further developments of the movement, especially the revolution in Dresden later on, estranged Heinrich from it.

The almost exclusively classical character of the Kreuzschule underwent some considerable changes when Dr. Klee became headmaster in 1849. The teaching of German subjects gained in importance, and not a little of Treitschke's extreme patriotism is probably due to these changes.

In April 1849 the Confirmation of the boy took place, and the ceremony made a deep impression upon him, for at that time, at any rate, he was still cherishing deeply religious feelings.

The brilliantly gifted boy, who during the greater part of his years at the Kreuzschule easily beat all his rivals in learning, passed the leaving examination with the highest distinctions in 1851. His certificate states that he intended to study history, that in all subjects he had attained "*in primis idoneam scientiam,*" but with regard to history, "*ad illud studium in academia inchoandum in primis maturum judicavimus.*" On the last speech day he recited a long poem which he himself had composed :

"O fools! naught is so lasting as when a nation's soul feels shame!

Well may we raise our prayer to Him who is our fathers' God.

What other strength could else remain beneath the foeman's scorn?

And ours it is to wrestle for glorious manhood's strength,
Lest we should weakly perish in feebleness and woe.

That, when the great hour for us dawns, it finds us fully armed

With ruthless sword of vengeance to extirpate the shame.

Ay, rage ye billows, rage and roar, dash wildly on our keel—
We bring it yet to issue, we yet shall reach our goal!"

At the University.—With this noble aspiration of German unity and German greatness, the boy of seventeen left the famous old Kreuzschule in March and towards the end of the next month he set out for Bonn University. He attended the lectures on middle-high German grammar and German mythology by Simrock, and on Roman Law by Böcking. The historian Dahlmann gave the young student a very friendly reception on the strength of the excellent letter of introduction which Dr. Klee had written. Treitschke liked the treatment of history by Dahlmann. The almost fanatic faith Dahlmann had in the future of a United Germany fascinated him, and Dahlmann's clear and simple language pleased him. Unfortunately Treitschke's weakness of hearing hampered him very much. Many lectures of his professors were absolutely lost for him. But his faith in God, and his love for German ideals cheered him in the dark hours of despondency.

Following Dahlmann's directions, Treitschke worked out for his own use a history of the English Constitution, about which he said, "The subject gives me great pleasure, because it is one which necessarily arouses admiration and enthusiasm." He read English jurists like Russell and Blackstone, and soon managed them without even a dictionary.

In February 1852 Treitschke joined the Students' Association Franconia. His brilliant conversational gifts, his unassuming manners and cheerful camaraderie, soon made him the favourite of all. He shared his fellow students' merry carouses, but he did not neglect his work. Several friendships were formed here which

lasted till death. There is a record of an excursion of the Franconia up the Rhine, when the old members, for that day once more the guests of their Association, grew young again with the young, when the wine was foaming in crystal glasses, when the eyes of the fair ladies shone with happiness, and the hills on the banks of old Father Rhine resounded with the echoes of the students' song. Treitschke had to recite, for he possessed some talent as a versifier, and several of his songs have been preserved. One or two of them have a decided swing and simply bubble over with the joy of life.

His father, who would have liked to see Heinrich one day Professor of Saxony's History in Leipsic, prevailed upon him to leave Bonn. The young undergraduate would rather have gone to Heidelberg or Berlin, since his ideals were already no longer identical with the narrow particularism of a small state like Saxony. It was Prussia and the whole of Germany that mattered to him. However, he complied with his father's request and in August 1852 he left Bonn, where Dahlmann, Abel, Simrock and Ernst Moritz Arndt had done so much for him.

In Leipsic he found out that his hearing made it impossible for him to follow the professors' lectures at all, and he was therefore quite dependent on notes and the libraries. He rarely went to lectures now. His fellow-students in Leipsic were not very much to his liking. The only bright spot in his studious and monotonous life there was the fact that he could easily and frequently visit his father's house in Dresden.

After a time he went back to Bonn, where he studied various branches of law, political history, statistics and agriculture. He became acquainted with Rochau's *Realpolitik*, a book which said, "The State is Power." Then he went for some time to the university of Tübingen, where the curse of the narrow-minded spirit that prevails in small states again became visible to him. In Freiburg, where he spent two months, he completed

his doctor-dissertation, and on November 20, 1854, the University of Leipsic granted him the doctor's diploma.

From Freiburg he went to the University of Heidelberg in order to come into contact with Kieszelbach, who had announced a course of lectures on the History of Political Economy. Although these lectures were never given, yet for the first time Treitschke found a teacher who personally and permanently helped him in his studies.

He fought a duel with pistols, and had to suffer a week's arrest since it was he who had sent the challenge. But there is no doubt that he was acting under severe provocation. On March 15, 1855, Heinrich Treitschke came back to Dresden. His student's days had come to an end.

Years of Indecision.—Many changes had taken place at home. Both sisters were grown up and had been presented at Court. The father had become the Military Governor of Dresden. Wisely everybody at home avoided political discussions, for the old general naturally was a loyal servant of the Saxon king, whereas the young scholar believed already in a great united Germany under the leadership of Prussia. Speaking about some of the tiny States then to be found in Germany, he once wrote to his father, "I have admired in Bückeburg and Detmold how the government, from lack of occupation, exercises all its imagination to find out new ways to dress its soldiers as oddly and queerly as possible, to keep going the most old-fashioned coinage and to fix warnings and prohibitions at every street corner."

Since the life at Dresden was not particularly congenial, Treitschke went to Göttingen, where he spent a year and a half preparing himself for the career of University teacher, and especially in collecting material for his inaugural dissertation. This took up most of his time. During this period he lost the child-like faith of his fathers, and a freer conception of religion, one akin to that of Lessing, grew up in him. He also published in 1856 a volume of poems, *Vaterländische Gedichte*. With decided talent, though not a genius, Treitschke

expresses in these poems his fervent wish for a powerful and united Germany :

“They yet will dawn, those golden days
 For which in rage and grief we yearned ;
 When like a gloomy legend old
 The tale of German shame shall sound.
 And though but our descendants reap
 That bliss whose seed we *now* have sown ;
 We, who in righteous combat fight,
 We ask not after *our* reward.”

Knowing that his father had different views about the future, when sending a copy to him Heinrich wrote : “ As a whole, Germany is powerless and a mockery for foreigners.” Another volume of poetry entitled *Studien* was published in 1857. He was then even wavering between the career of a poet and that of an historian, and he spent much time and enthusiasm on an historical play *Heinrich von Plauen*, the plan of which has been preserved.

Financially he was still dependent upon his father, and though his allowance was not inadequate, it was scarcely sufficient to meet the young Doctor's expenses. Several times he had to induce his father to pay some small debts. He made a little money by writing articles for newspapers, and since the professors thought that his increasing deafness would be a stumbling-block in his career as a University teacher, Treitschke considered the possibility of becoming a journalist. Yet, on the other hand, he revelled in the idea of becoming a famous teacher.

Tired of Göttingen, he went to Leipzig to finish his inaugural dissertation and also to be nearer his parents. His father was appointed Lieutenant-General about that time.

Two offers of the editorships of papers came to Heinrich, and he would have obtained the esteemed and lucrative post as editor of the *Preussische Wochenblatt* in Berlin had he not been too young according to Prussian law to “ understand the legal responsibility

for a paper." Henceforth he dropped the idea of a journalistic career.

At last he had finished his inaugural dissertation: "Die Gesellschaftswissenschaft. Ein kritischer Versuch"—"The Science of Sociology. A critical study." The faculty approved, the Ministry of Education gave its consent to Treitschke's appointment as an academical teacher, and shortly after, on the 10th of December 1858, he delivered his first lecture, "Über den Charakter der Hauptvölker Europas in Bezug auf ihr Verhältniss zum Staate"—"On the character of the chief nations of Europe with reference to their relationship to the State." The University teacher, Heinrich von Treitschke, had entered upon his life's career.

University Lecturer at Leipsic.—Some doubts were raised whether it would not be wiser to preclude from the academic chair a man whose opinions were anything but specifically Saxon, and the rumours reached the old general. He had just been appointed Governor of Königstein—a post he had long coveted—and he wrote to his son, pointing out that an official must be loyal above everything else. The boy answered in a courteous and dignified letter that he would do everything to spare his father any grief, but that he would "serve Truth before the Government."

Treitschke's was a striking personality. We possess a description of his appearance in 1864. He was then a handsome, tall and broad-shouldered man; his hair was dark; his complexion showed the same colour and his dark eyes at times were dreamy as those of a poet, but sometimes would flash with the lightning of the warrior. He wore a powerful moustache. Owing to his deafness he could not judge the effect of his voice, which therefore was rather loud. On the whole, the Slavonic type was unmistakable in Treitschke's appearance. There was something of the Hussite preacher about him.

After a few terms the University authorities had to give him a larger lecture-room. His extraordinary oratorical gifts, his thoroughness, his enthusiasm, his

broad philosophical treatment were acting like magnets. A student who once attended one of his lectures never missed them. When in the summer of 1860 he announced a series of lectures on "The History of the Prussian State," more than eighty students attended. But his older colleagues did not very much like such lectures to be given on Saxony's soil and some friction and talk were the outcome.

In addition to his official duties, Treitschke got through a considerable amount of literary work. A number of very able articles for the *Preussische Jahrbücher* came from his pen. Amongst others, the one on Milton is of interest. According to him, the undaunted strength of conviction which has made Milton's character such an admirable one has harmed him as a poet. But he admired Milton as a man and as a statesman, whose prose works he deemed of imperishable value because they insist upon *the eternal truth that the moral excellence of a nation is an indispensable factor for the greatness of that nation's State, the perfection of her art, the purity of her faith.*

The Beginning of the Fight for Unity.—From a letter he wrote early in 1861 we learn that he contemplated writing a *Geschichte des deutschen Bundes*,—"History of the German Federation," in which he wanted to show to "the lazy mob that we are lacking all the fundamentals of State-existence, of law, power and liberty, and that no other salvation is possible but through the destruction of the small states." Hirzel was to be the publisher, and Treitschke thought about two years would be needed to complete that work which was to fight the miserable and petty state-conglomeration of some thirty odd states which constituted the German Federation. When, however, he contemplated leaving Leipsic for a year to collect material in Göttingen or Munich, a petition was signed by 180 students who tried to induce him to stay.

The authorities told the old general that his son's great successes were after all mainly due to a pro-Prussian attitude, that it was impossible to agree with

a lecturer at a Saxon University who stated that it was regrettable that Saxony had not been wholly incorporated with Prussia in 1815. In a pathetic letter to Heinrich, the soldier who had served his king fifty years said that it was a severe blow to him to hear of his son as Prussia's apostle at a Saxon university, but that the father's best wishes and assistance should never fail him. There was no rupture and father and son separated on the most friendly terms when Heinrich departed for Munich.

Treitschke now spent some time in Munich. Here he saw more of the pitiable small-state policy of his time. The famous historian Heinrich von Sybel had to leave the University of Munich because he was a "foreigner," *i.e.*, he was an "alien" from the Rhine!

Amongst Treitschke's short papers for the *Preussische Jahrbücher* written at that time, the one on "Liberty" is remarkable. W. v. Humboldt's idea of the State as an Institution for Public Security; that, according to that writer, the State ought neither directly nor indirectly to interfere with the customs and character of the nation; and that individual man is freest when the State does the least: these propositions Treitschke fights with his "Political liberty is politically limited liberty." The State is an end in itself.

End of his Stay in Leipsic.—In January 1862 Treitschke returned from Munich to Leipsic. His prospects here were better now. The opposition had tackled the Minister of Education with the frequent losses of excellent men at the University, and he had been compelled to make a public statement to the effect that "Dr. Treitschke, who has given historical lectures with great success, has only gone on leave to Munich to make researches." Still, the authorities were determined that the pro-Prussian's path should not be an easy one. The last period of his stay, however, was much more pleasant than the former days of his Leipsic teaching. He mixed with a very interesting and congenial set, in which the most eminent personality was that of Gustav Freytag, the gifted novelist, the author

of *Soll und Haben* and *Die Journalisten*, who, like Treitschke, was a brilliant champion of Prussia's hegemony in Germany.

Another of his Leipsic friends deserves special mention, since he was the connecting link in the relations between Treitschke and Nietzsche. Already in Göttingen Overbeck had been introduced to Treitschke. In 1857, when they both lived at Leipsic, they met again, and a few years afterwards their acquaintance had ripened into a friendship which lasted many years. From 1861 to 1863 they came into almost daily contact and both enjoyed the pleasure derived from the interchange of ideas. Then they had to separate, for Treitschke went to Freiburg and Overbeck to Jena. For years both men corresponded with one another until Overbeck came under Nietzsche's influence. Overbeck had been appointed professor of theology at the University of Bâle. For several years he lived in the same house as Nietzsche. Again and again he tried to interest Treitschke in Nietzsche. There was even some talk of the latter's *Birth of Tragedy* appearing in the *Preussische Jahrbücher*. The *Birth of Tragedy*, however, was published as a book half a year later. Henceforth Nietzsche sent a copy of each of his books to Treitschke, who, for Overbeck's sake, usually acknowledged them with courteous though carefully phrased words of thanks. But in 1874 he wrote to Overbeck: "My dear friend, you ought not to allow your penetrating and clear intellect to be spoiled through mysticism, your modesty through violent arrogance." And in 1881 Treitschke referred to Nietzsche as a crank and a megalomaniac. Nietzsche's influence, however, grew, and Overbeck and Treitschke slowly drifted apart.

The number of his students kept on increasing, and how he managed to get through his official work and his many social obligations and yet keep on writing essay after essay is amazing.

One paper on "August von Wangenheim" was another violent attack upon the ridiculously small "Statelets" of the German Federation, and again he

denied their right of existence. No wonder that official circles in Bavaria and Saxony groaned. Another essay dealing with Byron points out that the cause of the poet's faults and errors was not his hot blood, "it lies deeper, it is genuinely tragic! Nowhere in this rich life do we meet the idea of Duty!"

In the summer term of 1863, his last in Leipsic, he announced lectures on "The History of Europe from 1848-1850." Over two hundred and sixty students attended. During the same term he accepted a call to Freiburg as a professor extraordinarius of History and Politics. His Leipsic students were bitterly disappointed, but when they saw his decision was unalterable they arranged a magnificent torchlight procession, and all his friends and great numbers of the people of Leipsic showed him how beloved he was.

Professor Extraordinarius at Freiburg.—In October Treitschke arrived in Freiburg. Here he spent some quiet years fulfilling conscientiously his official duties as assistant professor of Politics, and devoting all his spare energy to his literary work. The Roman Catholics in Freiburg, a benighted and superstitious lot of people, of course did not like him. Here Treitschke the Liberal, the Protestant, learned that the abyss separating Catholicism from his own Creed was deeper than he had thought, and we read "it is not the question of the difference between a few dogmas, no, it means the opposition between servility and spiritual liberty."

Hirzel, the publisher, had waived the contract for the delivery of the planned *History of the German Federation*, and published instead in volume form a number of the various essays and papers that had appeared in the *Preussische Jahrbücher* and the *Grenzboten*. Treitschke greeted with delight the Danish defeat in 1864 and—although till now he had never agreed with Bismarck's home politics and unconstitutional administration, which ran counter to his own most cherished liberal ideals—he welcomed the Iron Chancellor's action. The liberal in Treitschke gave way momentarily to the "Unionist," whose one aim was the Unity of Germany.

In such a mood he finished the most comprehensive and effective of his politico-historical papers, the essay, "Bundesstaat und Einheitsstaat," "The Federal State and the United State." According to its size, one might almost call the essay a book. On every page it shows the detailed thoroughness of the author's studies and the wonderful power of his gripping style. But its thoroughness and style do not constitute the great importance of this essay. Written during a time of hesitation and uncertainty, it meant the political deed of a fearless man who with a clarion voice and without regard for any interests called into the turmoil of quarrelling parties: "What ye believe is error; what ye desire, Foolishness!" He disregarded the rights of the Duke of Augustenburg, he demanded that Prussia should annex Schleswig-Holstein, and again he pronounced the sentence of death on all the tiny "statelets." In order to create a United Germany, the leadership of Prussia must be acknowledged. If necessary, the power of the greatest State must *break* the power of the silly "Statelets."

That which Treitschke demanded in 1864 he was destined to see fulfilled not many years later. Schmoller characterises this essay of our historian as "the acme of the whole publicistic and historico-political school, *without the help of which the German Empire would not have come about.*"

Treitschke expressed the same view in a paper he sent in January 1865 to the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, the "Lösung der Schleswig-Holsteinschen Frage," "The Solution of the Schleswig-Holstein Question."

Treitschke could say things which Bismarck, for obvious diplomatic reasons, dared not suggest yet! The positive rights of the Duke of Augustenburg were acknowledged, but were declared "to run counter to all the best interests of Germany. Therefore only one decision remained possible, a decision revolutionary, but revolutionary in a good sense: one must simply forsake the realms of law and right." The paper made an enormous sensation. The authorities in Saxony natur-

ally blamed Treitschke, to the greatest grief of the old general, who wrote: "Leave off this partisan scribbling and become an exact historian." But Bismarck, on the occasion of a request from Treitschke for admission to inspect the documents of the Berlin Archives, wrote a very fine letter to the author.

1866.—Returning from his archival studies to Freiburg, two events of importance happened. He became engaged to Emma von Bodman, whom he loved sincerely and whom he had known for three years.

Then the growing war clouds and the certainty of Baden taking Austria's side, made it impossible for Treitschke to hope long to remain in Freiburg.

The more noble and admirable is his refusal to come to Berlin, there to assist the politics of Prussia with his pen. He was offered a full professorship with excellent remuneration. Twice Treitschke refused Bismarck's requests, because, he says, "I did not wish to lose the reputation of an independent man and to serve a government, the home politics of which I fight." And to his friend, Freytag, he wrote, "In such a serious time, surrounded by foes that are almost mad in their fanaticism, I often feel the need of having a chat with my old friends. The uncertainty and instability of the present position has had considerable influence on my life. I have passed through some very hard days. Bismarck wanted me to come and stay at his headquarters. I was to write the war manifestos, work for the German policy of the government, &c. A professorship in Berlin, the aim of my wishes, was assured for me; the proclamations against Austria and for the German Parliament I could write with a good conscience. In short, the temptation was very great, the more alluring, since life here has become almost unbearable. But I had to refuse; I could not pledge myself to a policy, the final aim and end of which only *one* man knows, the sins of which I have no power to make up for; I could not risk my honourable name for the sake of a very doubtful success. According to my political ethics, it is true one must be prepared to

sacrifice even one's good name for one's country—but only for one's own country ; that is to say, when one is in possession of power and has the right to hope that one is really benefiting the state by actions which the masses would call wicked. But I am not in that position."

Pamphlets and threats against Treitschke appeared in Baden. His house had to be guarded by the police. When finally Baden joined Austria's cause, Treitschke, in a personal letter to the Grand Duke of Baden, handed in his resignation.

In the beginning of July Treitschke came to Berlin, where he began to edit the *Preussische Jahrbücher*. With great insight he said during the war that a unification of the whole of Germany would scarcely result, "Only a closer alliance between the Northern and the Southern German States will go on for some years to live in most uncomfortable conditions and have leisure to think about its present madness." Exactly so it happened.

A paper, "Die Zukunft der deutschen Mittelstaaten," "On the Future of the German Middle States," dealing with the future of Hanover, Kurhessen and Saxony, the most passionate and most merciless essay Treitschke ever wrote, estranged him from his father, who, though no longer on active service, was naturally loyal to his dynasty. The old General published in the Dresden newspaper a bitter protest of indignation and deep sorrow over his eldest son's attack on his beloved king's house, and in a letter to Heinrich said that although it would be very hard, he would have to forego the pleasure of seeing his son again in Saxony unless it had become quite Prussian. But fortunately, for death called away the General in 1867, father and son soon became reconciled, prompted by their genuine affection and esteem for one another.

In October 1866 Treitschke was appointed professor in Kiel. In February of the next year he married.

Professor at Kiel and Heidelberg.—His lectures were well attended and he moved in an amiable and pleasant circle. He liked his students better than those at

Freiburg, who were, in his opinion, "stink-faul," disgracefully idle. His stay, however, was not to be a long one. In spite of his wicked "Future of the German Middle States" he was called to Heidelberg as Professor ordinarius. Again the usual success with his audiences; again the constant references to present-day politics. His lectures to the young undergraduates were "a welcome substitute for politics, philosophy and religion." His chief effect upon his students was not so much in the actual transmission of subject matter, but in the incomparable magnetism of personality and his stirring oratory. Unfortunately his power of hearing went altogether, and he was restricted to reading from the lip movements of those speaking to him, who sometimes had to help him with pencil and paper. His wife too assisted when she was present with the deaf and dumb finger-language.

The whole world had become silent around him like a vast landscape of the snow-clad Alps. He could not hear the sweet voices of his children, two girls and one boy; he who was so fond of children. In the street the traffic threatened him, yet cheerfully and courageously he went about, during his holidays even travelling in Spain, England, Holland and France.

1870.—In 1870 Treitschke published a second collection of his historico-political essays. The war with France broke out in July. At a farewell "Kommers," an official drinking-bout, he made a speech to the undergraduates about to go to the front. Two of his colleagues had spoken before him, well-chosen, appropriate phrases, just such as any good University professor would use. But Treitschke simply carried away, dazzled, intoxicated his audience. "Fichte," he concluded his oration, "dismissed the German youths to the holy war of 1813 with the watch-word 'To die or to win!' but we say: To win whatever the price!"

Shortly afterwards he wrote his excellent little book, *Was fordern wir von Frankreich?*—"What do we demand from France?"—which also appeared as an essay in the *Preussische Jahrbücher*. He demanded Alsace.

Treitschke was furious when Bavaria and Württemberg, on the conclusion of peace, managed to get special privileges granted to them, spoiling his "Unionist" plans of a great united, indivisible Germany.

He spent some very happy years in Heidelberg after the war, with his three children. A fine, sympathetic and distinguished wife made his home a veritable bower of happiness. His students idolised him. So one quite understands why he did not like the pessimistic philosophy of Hartmann, "the philosophy of the *Tabes dorsalis*," as he called it.

Member of Parliament.—In 1871 he became a member of parliament for the constituency, Kreuznach-Simmern, which he represented till 1884. At first on the side of the Liberals, Treitschke joined ultimately the Moderate-Conservatives. Fittingly he chose as the topic of his maiden speech an attack on the Ultramontanists—the Roman Catholic Party—whose hypocrisy and reactionary intentions he revealed. It was soon evident that Treitschke's great successes were not so much due to any particular oratorical gifts—in fact his delivery and voice were not at all pleasant to listen to at first—but to the power of his convictions, his unique faith in his ideals and in himself. Although his deafness prevented him from participating fully in the affairs of the House, yet by sitting near the official shorthand reporters and following their script, he managed to get along. He soon became a power with which the parties had to reckon, and was recognised as the ablest M.P. from the Grand Duchy of Baden. Those who threatened the successful welding together of the component parts of the newly created empire and the Papists were his *bêtes noires*. Not that he was always consistent; he often changed his views and the reproach of a certain inconsistency cannot be withheld from him.

In 1879 Treitschke forsook the national liberal party altogether to assist Bismarck in the passing of the finance bill, embodying a new commercial policy.

As the years passed on Treitschke tired more and more of the "talking shop," and after 1884 he sought

no longer election. In spite of his friends having learnt for his sake the deaf and dumb language, in spite of the constant use they made of scraps from his note-book, his deafness made it extremely difficult for anybody to convey to him subtleties, complex matters, and much of his uncompromising attitude in the intercourse with his fellow-men was simply the inevitable result of his infirmity.

In 1872 the offer was made to him of becoming editor-in-chief of the *Preussische Zeitung*. £1200 was to be paid to him, he was to retain his professorial position; but he said, "I am not a journalist. I like to let things develop until one can think something about them. To write a leading article straight away on any telegram just arrived, and to have to say the opposite a week after is a job for other people."

Professor at Berlin.—The year afterwards Treitschke received a call to a chair at the University of Berlin. He accepted, mainly because the researches for his great German History made it necessary to be near the Archives of Berlin. He led a very busy life; his lectures, the attendances at the House, his editorship of the *Preussische Jahrbücher* tested his energies to the utmost. Fighting for his ideals, which, though often changing, meant more than life to him, waging fierce wars in the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, now with the Papists, now with the Jews, Treitschke reminds the observer of a grim old swordsman. A kind of intellectual Blücher, he simply had to fight regardless of the cost. He was on the side of the government, and whether the latter attacked the Socialists or the Poles, or the Catholics, Treitschke was always in the thickest of the fray.

Interesting is his slow change from a free thinker to a Christian conservative after 1880. Religion, according to him, ought to be the chief subject in elementary schools. Almost reactionary tendencies appeared in his articles, and finally (1889) he had to give up his post as editor of the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, since the owner wanted to keep them in the service of the Liberal Party.

Many a friend and admirer he lost, but on the other hand, of course, he gained many. The Jews hated him; the South German democracy loathed him. They abused his great work on *German History in the Nineteenth Century* as full of exaggeration, biassed judgments, as a mixture of truth and fiction.

Treitschke's *German History in the Nineteenth Century*, his finest achievement, is, however, more than "Wahrheit und Dichtung." Next to Bismarck's speeches, it is one of the greatest monuments of the historical literature of the German nation. It is true it is full of unfair judgments and too partial in the treatment of matters and men the author disliked; it is not so bright as some of the essays Treitschke has written, its arrangement leaves much to be desired; but it is nevertheless an inspiring, a magnificent work, full-blooded, full of deep thought. It does not pretend to be the work of an objective historian. If Ranke was wise and objective, a kind of Göthe amongst modern historians, then Treitschke, in his passionate, subjective attitudes, was a kind of Schiller. He was a German Macaulay.

For eighteen years he had worked and collected material before he brought out the first volume in 1879. At intervals of about three years, the other volumes followed. Volume five appeared in 1894 and brought the story up to the threshold of the year 1848.

Overwork and too much smoking threatened the poor man, who had to suffer so much already through his deafness, with a worse affliction. In 1892 his eyesight began to fail. The evening of his life was as an unutterable sad adagio movement concluding a Concerto that opened with the ring and the swing of a martial Alleg-rissimo. His wife was in an institute for nervous disorders; his only son had died when only fourteen years of age. His married daughter did not live in Berlin. Bismarck's fall in 1890 embittered Treitschke, who, with the resignation of his post as editor and his seat in Parliament likewise withdrew more and more from public life. Only his lectures and his great historical work were left to him. Worldly honours, how-

ever, were showered upon him. On Ranke's death Treitschke, the greatest panegyrist Prussia ever had, was appointed Historiographer of Prussia. On Sybel's death Treitschke became editor of the *Historische Zeitschrift*. In the same year (1895) he was elected a member of the Academy of Sciences. During the summer of this year he visited England, and came back more convinced than ever that England was a decadent country, a colossus with clay feet.

Fortunately, an improvement in his eyesight set in, and in 1894 the fifth volume of his life-work, *German History in the Nineteenth Century*, appeared. He began working at the sixth volume, but he was not to finish it. Nor could his plan of a crowning achievement, a work on "Politics," be realised. Two years afterwards an incurable kidney disease attacked him, and soon dropsy was added. On April 28, 1896, he died. The German nation mourned him, and the Kaiser sent a telegram.

CHAPTER II

WAR

Outlines.—Göthe's saying : " I have been a man and that means a fighter," is a fine comment upon an incident which Treitschke gratefully records in his *History*. The Secondary Schools of East Prussia presented the famous old castle, the Marienburg, with a costly painted window, and the inscription they chose was : " He who is not a fighter shall not be a shepherd." It is a trifling but significant incident.

The ancient idea of an everlasting contest as the essence and meaning of existence has had its adherents during all ages and in most nations, but Germany during the last century has had more than her average share of war's apologists. They scorned Kant's dreams of an ultimate rule of reason and of permanent peace. They quoted Göthe. They referred to Schopenhauer's Will expressing itself as a Struggle. They brought forward scientific evidence that strife and conflict are the very life of Nature.

Others, like Treitschke, indulged in futile vague statements as to some mysterious mythical transcendental force behind war.

To Treitschke as well as to Cramb, war is a Something that all the pacifists from Aristophanes to Angell cannot possibly UNDERSTAND.

Of course, if there is any truth in Treitschke's phrases about " the moral majesty of war," " the greatness of war," " the moral magnificence of war," mankind has wasted all those years during which individuals fooled away valuable time and precious energy in building cathedrals, carving statues or composing music, or writing a *Midsummer Night's Dream*.

mythical
element
war

But fortunately these apologists of war, Clausewitz, Moltke, Treitschke, Von der Goltz, Bernhardi, are all *absolutely* mistaken.

The devil can quote Göthe. Schopenhauer's self-fighting Will is a metaphysical nightmare, and the old pessimist with his nice little private income—he loved life, and never took poison, as an honest pessimist ought to do. And the scientists, especially the biologists with their instances and parallels, neglect reason. It is this power alone that has raised man from the hopeless outlook and perilous position of the savage to the noble perspective of a Plato, an Aristotle, a Bacon, a Newton, and a Kant. Reason, by other methods than war, will overcome the difficulties of a surplus in the birth-rate of this nation or the limited food supply of that nation.

There will always be war, but one day it will be a *divine* contest between men, a mental or a spiritual struggle for supremacy, and not the useless body-killing horror of to-day. Man, the cosmic rebel, certainly has worthier foes than his fellow-men! And even if war, the bloody body-eating Moloch of our day should still remain enthroned for a few centuries until Reason rules over human stupidity and passion, and makes gory battles avoidable, there can be but one opinion about Eulogists and Apologists of War as a General Proposition; men who speak about the "majesty of war," about the "moral magnificence of war." They belong to the Stone-Age of mankind.

Some Predecessors of Treitschke.—Few people have fired the imagination, roused the enthusiasm, and excited the hatred of their contemporaries to such an extent as the Prussian King Frederick II, who, by the force of arms raised Prussia, till then a comparatively small and insignificant State, to a mighty European Power. His grateful subjects called him "The Great." For the first time after many centuries German poets again had a real hero. "Arma virumque cano." A Lessing, a Gleim, a Kleist, sang him. Even abroad the deeds of Frederick stirred up writers to emulate the

feats of the sword with their pen. Carlyle spent years on his great work of a million words.

Frederick the Great laid the foundations of that stronghold, which Scharnhorst strengthened, which Moltke expanded, and of which Treitschke was a panegyrist and a watchman on the Keep.

The fame of the author of the *Ars Amatoria* never allowed Frederick's ambition to sleep; for the king-warrior did not think much of his conquests and feats of arms, but the king-author, the sometime friend of Voltaire, was extraordinarily conceited. So he wrote a lengthy poem, *The Art of War*. On the whole it is very dreary reading. But the following passages are interesting :

“First of the arts was War in earliest times,”—
 “For if for glory's meed your deeds would call
 Encamp like Fabius—march like Hannibal!”— —
 “Advance!—Bellona, clad in martial state,
 Armed with her sword, now opes the brazen gate,
 Which ever hides, from vulgar souls confined
 The secrets yielded to the accomplished mind :
 Secrets within the sanctuary enclosed,
 And but to Mars's favourites e'er exposed—
 Deep in the temple, from his splendour bright,
 The god of battle shines with beaming light ;
 High in the air, while genii's wings sustain
 His throne, he's seen where martial glories reign ;
 This dreadful god, amid an awful host
 Of military virtues holds his post :
 First Valour's noble form is near him placed,
 There tranquil Courage bares his dauntless breast,
 There watchful Toil, whose eyelids never close,
 Is seen—there Artifice, who overflows
 With well-judged methods to deceive the foe,
 And gain the time to strike a certain blow ;
 In troubles still a borrowed form he wears,
 Like Proteus vanishes and reappears.
 But see where fair Imagination shines,
 Her sparkling eyes implying great designs,
 The fire divine that glows within her breast
 Gives not the ethereal form a moment's rest,
 A thousand brilliant schemes she soon conceives,
 And to Minerva wise direction gives.

With downcast eyes and face composed, is seen
 Dumb Secrecy's impenetrable mien ;
 Her finger resting on her lips appears,
 She speaks not, but all Mars's notions hears,
 Eternal laurels flourish round his throne,
 The just rewards of valour's sons alone :
 To these, earth's demi-gods, with hands divine
 He gives his wreaths, as they approach his shrine
 Those brilliant souls, who victory can enchain,
 And lead her, bound by genius, in their train !
 Unfading wreaths ! for you the heroes dare,
 The arm of death, the horrid front of war :
 Their other passions yield to glory's charms,
 And to enjoy her smiles they rush to arms !
 Within this temple, graced with trophies round,
 Whence, as he pleases Mars can man confound,
 The statues of the children of the god
 Are placed in niches of the bright abode ;
 Between its brazen columns is their seat,
 The realms they conquered lying at their feet."

As said above, it was not enthusiasm and admiration alone which the warrior Frederick aroused. A whole literature of bitter and hostile pamphlets and books exists. Most of them are as ephemeral as war books usually are. A few, however, are worthy of notice and one decidedly deserves mention here. It is *The Mornings*, a work generally attributed to Frederick himself but apparently spurious. In this book, a mixture of Treitschke and Macchiavelli, instructing his successor à la Lord Chesterfield, the king says :

"I revisited my treasury and there was a sufficient surplus to enable me to double my army. It was natural I should not limit myself to preserve what I already possessed, so I very soon decided to profit by the first occasion which presented itself.

"As it is universally admitted by all men that to dupe one's equal is a cowardly act, a term has been chosen which modifies the act, and this word is policy."

A reference to these *Mornings* seems the more justifiable in connection with Treitschke, and in view of the present war, if it be mentioned that an American edition of them was published in 1870 under the title,

Origin of the Bismarck Policy or The Hohenzollern Doctrine and Maxims, and an English edition in 1914 under the title, *Origin of Von Bernhardi's Gospel of Inhumanity or The Confessions of Frederick the Great*. There is not the slightest doubt that Frederick the Great is the father of Modern Militarism. If his immediate successors had been gifted with genius and courage equal to his own, who knows whether Prussia would not have expanded more than a hundred years ago, and whether Napoleon would not have shattered big forces against the rock of Prussia long before he wasted them in the deserts of Russia? As it was, Frederick's successors had fallen asleep on the laurels won by him. Arrogance and inefficiency were rampant in the Prussian Army. With one or two exceptions the commanders of the fortresses were cowards. When Napoleon came, the State of Prussia collapsed like a house of cards, and the army was all but disbanded by decree of the Emperor.

Then came Scharnhorst, a fervent patriot, a military and administrative genius. Scharnhorst, though he had to deal with the crafty and all-powerful Napoleon, though he received little assistance from his weak king, resuscitated the Prussian army. How this Prussian minister in face of the most awful odds refounded and reorganised the Prussian army shall be told in Treitschke's words: "In September, 1808, Napoleon forced on the Treaty of Paris by virtue of which the ill-treated Prussian State had to bind itself to have no more than 42,000 troops. The only course, therefore, that remained was to outwit the conqueror, to evade the treaties, and to create in addition to the standing army a reserve, a militia, or territorial force, for the chances of war. But the straight course even to this goal was barred. Scharnhorst recognised at once that the simplest plan was to make the territorials pass through the school of the standing army, to form the reserve out of discharged soldiers. And yet this was for the moment impossible. The enlistment of so large a number of recruits would have at once aroused the suspicion of Napoleon, and, moreover, a territorial force thus formed

would not attain a considerable strength for some years, while men expected the renewal of the war every month. Therefore they must content themselves with a militia which had no visible connection with the standing army, and was intended apparently only for the maintenance of internal order; but, being schooled by repeated military trainings, and provided with adequate arms and munition, should come forward as an army of reserve immediately upon the outbreak of war. Four times during the period 1807-10 did Scharnhorst bring forward these plans for a militia, and discuss them with the Sovereign. His first scheme he completed, all alone, on July 31, 1807, long before the Austrian militia existed.

“The older plans had for their main object to prepare for service in war the sons of the well-to-do classes, who could arm and clothe themselves; these were to be trained in peace under the harmless name of a Civil or National Guard. In the summer of 1809 the restless statesman gave his plans a far larger form which already showed the main features of the organisation of 1813. He thought highly of the heroic force of an angry people, but he also prudently foresaw how much time was required before an armed crowd could become an efficient military force. His plan was this: the standing army begins the attack; meanwhile the reserve-army is being formed of discharged and supernumerary soldiers, and of all the younger men liable to be called out; the well-to-do come in as volunteer sharpshooters. This territorial force undertakes the defence of fortresses, and the siege of places occupied by the enemy; as soon as it is efficiently trained, it joins the army, and in its place comes the Militia or Landsturm, which has been collected meanwhile, and which includes all the others liable to service. Scharnhorst knew what a bitter memory that of the struggles in La Vendée was to Napoleon, and how he dreaded a popular rising; he hoped to begin the struggle for liberation with a little war which could be limited to some fortresses or entrenched positions, and he had the terrain of the North

German plains, which are so unfavourable for such a purpose, carefully reconnoitred. Gneisenau, indeed, thought of making little Spandau into a Torres Vedras of the Plains when he heard of Wellington's successes in Portugal.

“But all these hopes were doomed. As soon as Napoleon heard of a new scheme for a Prussian territorial force, he burst forth into masterful threats; not a step should the hated enemy take beyond the engagements of Paris, only for himself he reserved the right to transgress them. Men had to admit that the formation of a territorial force was absolutely impossible as long as Prussia was not in a position to declare war against France. The only thing that could be done until then without arousing the distrust of the Emperor was the more rapid training of the men of the standing army. The legal twenty years' service of those liable remained unaltered, but they levied as many of them as possible, and discharged these moderately trained men after a few months. With this, the numbers of the army prescribed by the treaty were not adhered to too strictly; the guard-regiment at Berlin for years used to have part of its strength in barracks when it went out for field-service, in order that Napoleon's spies might not observe the strength of the battalions. Of course many of those liable to service evaded this stricter levy by flight; but, on the other hand, many conscripts from the Confederation of the Rhine fled across to Prussia; there were constantly small disturbances on the borders, as the poor became quite confused in that dreadful time. On the whole the Prussian people showed devoted fidelity to the King; once, indeed, some peasants of the district stole a cannon from the ramparts of the Westphalian fortress of Magdeburg, and carried it off in a boat to Spandau: their hereditary Lord, they said, needed arms against the Frenchmen. By means of this system of half-trained men Scharnhorst gradually and with great difficulty created 150,000 soldiers. It was a tragi-

comedy to see how the great man year by year sought by a thousand tricks and pretences to escape the notice of the all-seeing enemy. His soul yearned for the joy of battle. That Germany might again be free, he would sacrifice the last breath of man and horse, every male in the country; but the watchful foe always destroyed his plans for mobilisation. Only when the hour of open combat struck could that which had been prepared by five years of consuming toil and indescribable anxiety, burst into life all at once.

“Scharnhorst and no one else is the father of the Army of 1813.”

If Scharnhorst was a man of action, his contemporary Fichte was to him what Treitschke was to be to Bismarck later on.

Fichte discontinued his lectures on February 19, 1813, after he had stirred up the nation by his *Reden an die deutsche Nation*, and after he had worked up the patriotism of his students to fever-heat. He it was who, long before Treitschke, expressed the wish that in Germany there might grow and mature “the character of war,” and it was he who said, “to have character and to be German means the same thing.”

The Bernhardi of that period was Clausewitz, with this difference, that Clausewitz was a scientific expert whose works are still classics, whereas Bernhardi, our contemporary, has too much of the publicist about him and his importance has been unduly exaggerated by the gallery. To quote Clausewitz would be a thankless task within the limited space of this small book. Suffice it to say that war, according to Clausewitz, is an unalterable fact in the scheme of things, with which fact the statesman has to reckon; it is part and parcel of politics, the execution and fulfilment of a given policy by force. Clausewitz already preached “frightfulness” in war.

The Prussian army decayed during the forty years after the days of Frederick the Great. It needed a Scharnhorst to rejuvenate the army so that it could

beat Napoleon. Again followed a peaceful period of forty years and once more decay set in! It needed a Bismarck to repeat the work of Scharnhorst. The Iron Chancellor, with the help of Von Roon and Moltke, reorganised the army and defeated Denmark, Austria, and France. Treitschke was to Bismarck's policy what Fichte had been to Scharnhorst's.

In order to bear fruit the policy of both statesmen required war; war, therefore, was preached by Fichte, Treitschke preached war.

Reichstag
The Blessings of War.—"Without war," says Treitschke, "there would be no State. It is through war that all States that we know of have originated. It is the essence of the State that it can realise its will and wishes with physical force." Treitschke, the M.P., once said in that debating society which, under the name Reichstag, passes in Germany for a Parliament: "The Germans love their army, they are proud of its deeds because it has raised Germany from a thousand years' dissension to a strong nation." Referring to the Southern German States which he wanted to see welded together with Prussia, Treitschke wrote to his friend Freytag: "Only the sword of the conqueror can weld these countries together with the North."

These are not isolated statements of Treitschke's. There are many passages in his books which tell us of war as a wholesome medicine against decay, an efficient stimulus for waning patriotism. "War is the *examen rigorosum* of the States. In war nations reveal their genuine strength, physically, morally, and intellectually speaking. War is an institution ordained of God. War is the great international law-suit."

We find some of Treitschke's ideas, though differently expressed, in the writings of our hostile contemporary Von der Goltz. He says:

"Through the sharpness of our sword, not through the sharpness of our mind, was the dream of all Germans finally realised. Our material development is taking place on so rapid a scale that it must cause misgivings,

for it increases the sense of security and the lust for enjoyment. Both have invariably proved perilous to a nation. Only so long as the cultivation of the warlike spirit keeps pace with general cultural development has a nation been able to maintain its place in history." vd

Treitschke's dictum that all States known to us are children of war unfortunately applies to almost all our present-day States. Someone has classified States into (1) States based on robbery, (2) States based on law, (3) States based on professions. Leaving alone the third class, which appeals to the adherents of the Guild-system, there can be little doubt that the majority of the fifty States on our planet originated through force.

The more civilised States among them, however, are now a peculiar mixture of power and law. *Within* these civilised States the tendency to make law supreme is apparent. There are already a few State communities, e.g. Switzerland, who owe their very existence to law. Why should we not hope for a supremacy of law between the States such as prevails within each of them? Treitschke and Von der Goltz keep back mankind with their narrow-minded parrot-cry: "War ever shall be, as it was in the beginning and is now. Amen!" There were slaves in antiquity who built the pyramids. *The New Zealander* on the ruins of Panama might similarly argue: Slaves built the Panama Canal.

Since war is the founder of States, the State compels the individual to sacrifice himself for it. Treitschke has of course never missed an opportunity of pointing out reason after reason why the individual should do so. "The State is a purpose in itself as every other living thing; for who dares to deny that the State leads just as real a life as each of its citizens." So the State, in Treitschke's opinion, is a person. But it is not an "organism." "The State is sovereign and cannot acknowledge any authority above itself. The State is Power. The State is also a moral community, aiming

* State a person but not an organism

at the education of the human race." There are some other definitions to be found, a few contradicting one another, even more than those given above.

moral
 "The State is Power." "Let us remember that the essence of the State is power, therefore the highest moral duty of the State is to care for power." For this purpose all means are justified. Spying, lying, and bribing. Says Treitschke in his paper on "Cavour": "The statesman has not the right to warm his hands by the smoking ruins of his country with the comfortable self-praise: I have never told a lie; that is a monk's virtue."

"The State is a will, a personality." This definition contradicts the alleged absolute sovereignty of the State. No individual can exist perpetually in isolation. That applies to the corporate person, the State too, at any rate nowadays. Therefore no one State can claim to be sovereign. Individual man, though he may pursue personal culture, must ultimately take his proper place in a higher order. A State must do likewise. Treitschke dimly guessed it and so he contradicts himself when he says: "If the state wants to be solely and exclusively physical force without reason and conscience, then it can no longer keep itself in a state of security." "A State which on principle would despise faith and honour, loyalty and truth, would be constantly menaced by enemies and would simply not be able to realise its purpose of being physical power." "For the final object of the State's existence is not physical might; it embodies might only in order that it may protect and develop the nobler aspects of mankind. The unadulterated doctrine of Might is Right is absolutely senseless and is immoral because it cannot justify itself."
Treitschke

Treitschke's State tells the poor individual: "It is a matter of utter indifference to me what your feelings are as long as you obey me!" Yet he acknowledges that, when a young professor, he adhered to the doctrine that it is the right of every subject to resist uncon-

stitutional decrees of the government, and even later on in life he accepts conditionally the truth of *Salus populi suprema lex*. After reading these various statements of Treitschke's it is difficult to escape the feeling that, however noble his aspirations may have been, Treitschke cannot be counted amongst those political thinkers who take supreme rank owing to their clear intellect and cool judgment. Treitschke disagreed with Hegel and yet believed in Hegel's god: the STATE.

War v. Peace.—"Scarcely was the independence of Holland assured when the curse of peace began to influence the nation. Misfortune contains a steeling force for noble nations; in prosperous times they run the danger of becoming slackers."

Treitschke naturally will use this cheap historical argument. Nations, with some exceptions, have decayed, not so much on account of their experiencing too long and prosperous times of peace, but from many other more weighty and usually very complex causes, either inherent in them or slowly accumulated through environmental influence.

Here is another pæan of war, elaborated on the catchwords decay, sacrifice, glory:

"War is not only a practical, but also a theoretic necessity, a requirement of political logic. In the idea of the State the idea of war is included, for the existence of the State depends on power. The State is the people organised into a sovereign power, and its first business is self-preservation, defence against foreign and internal enemies. It may, as it develops, impose upon itself other, higher aims; but without tribunals for the disturber of internal order, without arms against the foreign foe, no State can exist. A State which renounces war, which subjects itself absolutely to an international tribunal, gives up its sovereign power, that is, gives up itself. The hope of driving war out of the world is not only senseless, it is deeply immoral. It would, if realised, cripple many essential and splendid forces of the human soul, and would turn the world into a temple of selfish-

ness. I am not repeating in this the well-known and by no means unreasonable proposition that it is a good thing for the energy of a race that is ever sitting in factories or counting-houses to be led out at times into the noble strife of arms ; for vigorous habits will ensure the hardening and good condition of the body in time of peace. We must rather touch upon a main point of political economy, so closely is war entangled with the existence of the State.

“ Two fundamentally different conceptions are at all times fighting about the existence of the State, the social and the political. Civil society, the sum of the individuals, sees in the State only a means of making its objects easier : the hard politician recognises in the claims of civil society only greed, and wishes to subject all its activity to the State. In the eyes of historical knowledge and of the real statesman both conceptions appear to be equally justified and equally partial. For since State and society are connected by mutual rights and duties, they cannot stand to each other simply as means and end. Society does not merely serve the greed of the individual, its activity extends beyond the State, it tries to win the wide earth to civilisation by means of the complicated machinery of economic and intellectual labour, and by the side of this exalted task of the human race the State appears to be but a means. The State, on the other hand, is right when it regards itself as end, because it knows that its own existence has first made possible the wealth of social life. This eternal contradiction is adjusted in quiet times by the free peoples of to-day by the fact that the individual, while he devotes his best efforts to social ends, yet keeps some of his time over for political duties. If this quiet life lasts long, then his own individuality with its finite objects will infallibly become dearer than the fatherland to the average man.

“ Every nation—and most of all a highly cultivated people—runs a danger of falling away into selfishness during a long peace. To such a race it is a blessing

when Fate sends it a great and just war ; and the more pleasantly the comfortable habit of social life has crept into men's hearts, the more terrible is the reaction. I say : Fate sends the war ; because the value of this cruel remedy is very seldom understood, since no physician among men will have the courage to prescribe war as a healing draught to a sick nation at a fixed time.

“ As soon as the State cries out : ‘ Now it is a question of me and my existence,’ then wakes up in a free people that highest of all virtues which can never flourish so largely and greatly in time of peace, the spirit of sacrifice. The millions meet in the one thought of the fatherland, in the common feeling of love unto death, which once known is never forgotten, and ennobles and consecrates the life of a whole generation. The strife of parties and classes yields to a holy sacrifice ; and the thinker and the artist feel that, if the State goes under, their ideal creation is but a tree without root. ✓

“ Among the thousands who march to the battle-field, and, without will, obey the will of the whole body, everyone knows how absurdly little his life is worth compared with the glory of the State, and feels about him the influence of inscrutable powers. Hence the inwardness of the religious feeling in every earnest war ; hence the grand phenomenon (incomprehensible to the dull mind) that hostile armies pray to the same God for victory. The grandeur of war lies just in those features which weak-minded enlightenment regards as wicked. These men kill each other who have never done each other an injury, who esteem each other as chivalrous enemies ; they sacrifice to duty not only their lives, they sacrifice what weighs still heavier, natural feeling, the instinct of human love, the dread of blood. The little Ego with all his noble and mean impulses, is swallowed up in the will of the whole body. ✓

“ Whenever the State recognises that existing treaties are no longer the symbols and expressions of the actual power, and actual relations, if the State in such a

case cannot by peaceful persuasion induce its neighbour to yield, the international law-suit sets in—War.”

The limitations of State sovereignty, already mentioned, which the close network of interrelations and communications in our modern civilisation has brought about, make the claim of any one State to be its own and other nations' judge and jury simply ridiculous, and to speak of war as an “international law-suit” is on the same level as calling a drunken brawl a “civil law-suit.”

The concept of national honour and glory is one that underlies Treitschke's numerous diatribes against peace. “That State which will not be untrue to itself must possess an acute sense of honour. It is no violet to flower unseen. Its strength should be seen signally in the light of open day, and it dare not allow that strength to be questioned even indirectly. If its flag be insulted, it must ask satisfaction; if that satisfaction be not forthcoming, it must declare war, however trifling the occasion may seem.” “Wars are not really waged to protect the life and property of the citizens, but for the sake of honour.” “Unless a people overrates itself it will never know itself.” “Without proper self-esteem, which a nation usually possesses, it would also lack the feeling of common interests.”

The last two remarks are exceedingly interesting because they are very human. Already Fichte stated: “A nation simply cannot do without self-conceit.” Of course there is a grain of truth in it. Individual man could not bear existence without a certain amount of self-conceit. It is the old story of the beam and the mote in the eye. But we, the community, have put limitations on any tendency of the individual to allow his self-conceit to grow to such an extent that the other individuals suffer by it considerably. We have our law-courts. The Germans still allow the duel. War is nothing but an international duel. Ever so many obstacles will have to be removed, almost insuperable difficulties to be overcome, the character of the majority

of men to be almost changed before we can finally abolish war. War, as things still are nowadays, may be just at times, but it is always regrettable. But to come along and tell us: "Declare war, however trifling the occasion may seem," that is *lèse-humanité!*

Political idealism, according to Treitschke, demands war, political materialism rejects it. Besides, peace is very often only a sham. "There may exist between two countries, nominally at peace, a latent state of war, as now is the case between France and Germany." Books on permanent peace he calls "mad books"; the defenders of permanent peace, "weak minds." "War is just and moral, the ideal of eternal peace is both unjust and immoral and impossible." "The mere fact that there are many States proves, of itself, that war is necessary." Treitschke also said: "Anyone who desires to become imbued with a genuine political spirit must steep himself in the rejuvenating fountains of classical antiquity, which produced the finest work of political philosophy—the *Politics* of Aristotle—in the light of which we all seem amateurs and muddle heads!" We shall leave it at that. Let us only remark that Treitschke does not seem to have been presented by the spirit of antiquity with its best gift: Moderation.

The Army.—Treitschke defines the army as: "The nation in arms, the great school of courage, of discipline, of moral devotion to the finest assets of the nation."

"The State is Power, and it is only natural and sensible that a great nation should realise and increase such Power in a well-organised Army." "Every State ought to look out for guarantees of its safety nowhere but within itself." "Trade, Science and Art belong to all nations in common. But a really national army unites all the citizens of the country in question. If the army means the nation in arms it will restrain the latter from plunging into wanton war."

Conscription, which is implied by the term "the nation in arms" is, of course, defended by Treitschke.

He agrees with Scharnhorst, who introduced conscription, that "military service ought to be considered an honourable distinction of the free citizen as it was amongst the Romans."

In a speech in the Reichstag he said: "Without this army that fought in Bohemia, in France—where should we be, where the Empire, where this House? Therefore I desire that once for all the peace-establishment should be numerically fixed and Parliament should have only the right of annually passing any supplementary estimates. With that will be pronounced clearly and unmistakably the great principle that the army is a permanent, essential, legal institution of the State."

"In war, however important technique may be, it never turns the scales unaided. Economic considerations such as skill in engineering or in systematic collaboration can never help one to determine the value of an army. We know now that moral factors in warfare weigh more heavily than technical excellence."

"It is legitimate to carry on the war in the most drastic manner. A warring nation may call to its fighting line the whole of its troops—whether barbarian or civilised. If the soldier coming through a hostile country does not know whom to regard as soldier, and whom to look upon as robber and highwayman, he is driven to show himself cruel and heartless."

Germany and War.—Acknowledging in a speech in the Reichstag that "the Germans are chiefly responsible that Europe is an armed camp," Treitschke was of the opinion that "Germany's strong armaments are the only means to keep the peace of the world."

"In the short time since the establishment of the empire the population has increased by a full eighth, and this rapid growth, in spite of all the misery which it involves, is nevertheless the characteristic of a healthy national life, which, in its careless consciousness of power, does not trouble itself with the warnings of the 'two children system.'—Just as little as prudential counsel could restrain the Crusaders from their sacred

enterprise, so little can considerations of reason prevail against the vague longing for the West. It is easy to calculate that our population, provided its growth continues as before, must in no distant future rise to a hundred millions and more ; then their fatherland will be too narrow for the Germans."

CHAPTER III

ENGLAND

“ And with him he has taken
The Empire's golden crown.—
One day he will awaken
To bring those ravens down ! ”

Outlines.—These insignificant lines from Rückert's poem embody all the imperial aspirations of Germany.

The German Emperor Frederick I, called Barbarossa by his Italian subjects, was much beloved. When in 1190 he was drowned whilst on a Crusade and the news reached Germany, no one would believe in his death. The story sprang up that he had retired into the Kyffhäuser mountain and fallen into an enchanted sleep. Every hundred years he awakens to see whether black ravens are still flying around the Kyffhäuser. The ravens are the internal and external foes of German unity. It was this story which Rückert told in his well-known poem, written in the middle of last century. And in it he expressed the hope of all Germans that Barbarossa one day might return to restore the grand German empire of the Ottonides and Hohenstaufen. Some German poets in 1871 said that Barbarossa had then come forth. But he did not then restore the grand Old Empire in its full splendour. It has been reserved for this generation to witness the bloodshed, the horrors, the misery wrought by the Teutonic legions led by the ghost of Barbarossa on the quest for World-Empire.

There is no doubt whatever that the dazzling splendour of the first German Empire has during the last century exercised a great influence on the mind of the German

people. Till about the time of Napoleon I, but a few scholars and poets troubled themselves much about the period of a Charlemagne, an Otto I, a Frederick I, a Barbarossa. After the overthrow of Buonaparte national consciousness, roused during the wars of liberation, began to grow considerably and soon asserted itself. A whole school of poets, the Romantiker, extolled the formerly so neglected and despised dark middle-ages. The magic wand of their fancy turned anything and everything mediæval into pure gold. The song of the Nibelungen came into its own again. Uhland extolled Walther von der Vogelweide. Germanic philologists and historians of literature began to speak of *two* golden ages of German literature, one that period during which Göthe and Schiller wrote, the other that during which Wolfram von Eschenbach and Gottfried von Straszburg and the Minnesänger flourished, seven hundred years ago. Wagner's *Ring* and *Parsifal* are amongst the latest artistic yearnings after that long past glory.

Gothic architecture, though sporadically extolled during the eighteenth century, now became again a national art. Cologne Cathedral was at last completed. A historian like Giesebrecht fascinated his readers with finely painted pictures of past grandeur. Novelists like Dahn showed how almighty Rome collapsed before the onrush of united young Germany. Gustav Freytag in his *Ahnen* tried to link together the last two thousand years of German life and history.

Then came 1871. A new German Empire was founded. Barbarossa "arose," defeated the French foe, and chained internal discord and dissent. The New Empire grew rich and strong. Soon it was one of the mightiest of the Great Powers.

Charlemagne ruled over almost the whole of the continent, and German historians speak of their Old Empire as the "Holy Roman Empire of German Nationality." (Das heilige römische Reich deutscher Nation.)

Sentiment counts for much in politics. It is one of those disturbing imponderabilia that upset the finest

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calculations of the diplomatists. The historic sentiment of the Germans, pining for the loss of their first Empire, and longing for the establishment of an Empire as great as, if not greater than the one they possessed a thousand years ago, has been one of the most powerful factors in bringing about the present hostility between England and Germany. The Old German Empire was only possible on the ruins of the Imperium Romanum, and this time it is England that stands in the way!

“For us,” said Bernhardi, “there are two alternatives, and there is no third—World Dominion or Ruin.” And the Germans, according to Cramb, have drawn up an indictment of the most formidable kind against “perfidious Albion,” to show that Germania ought to rule the world instead of unworthy Britannia :

- (1) England has acquired one-fifth of the habitable globe, not by any merit of her own, but by violence and theft. England is the great robber-state.
- (2) British Imperialism has had no elevating but rather a bad influence on humanity ; it has been a failure in India and will fail in Egypt.
- (3) The Church of England is the most provincial of all the creeds born of the Reformation.
- (4) English Universities are inferior places of learning.
- (5) The English army is a mercenary army whose “soldiers on the march chained Boer women together in order to form a screen to protect themselves from the bullets of outraged husbands and fathers.”
- (6) English women, like suffragettes, are loud-voiced, coarse-minded.

Cramb quite rightly says “the accuracy or inaccuracy of the various counts in this indictment is irrelevant here ; *what concerns us is that, now on this point, now on that, it is accepted by thousands of Germans at the present day as a fair portraiture of England and the English.* All Germans do not subscribe to all these counts ; few Germans do not subscribe to some.”

Of course there are other points of view from which any two warring nations may be judged. For after all such indictments as the one given are just as one-sided as the generalisations of some halfpenny papers on our side. Burke already has said, "*You cannot indict a whole nation.*"

Philosophically speaking, a serious conflict between any two great nations is a tragedy—tragedy in a finer sense than that of the melodrama-conflict between virtue and vice! To avoid on the one hand the sensationalism of the modern stage with its cheap victory of virtue and, on the other hand, the over-awing influence of the classical stage, with its inexorable fate, we may rather define such a tragedy as a conflict not between good and evil, not between right and wrong, but between right and right. Here is one nation, just as much an environmental product as any other, which, forced by its geographical position, becomes a great land-power; and there are sea-bourne nations which simply must insist on naval supremacy. On the one side preaches Treitschke, on the other side teaches Mahan. If there existed a philosophical or historical stand-point from which the whole of humanity's development could be surveyed in its entirety from beginning to end, then one "right" would probably turn out to be a "wrong." With the limitations of our present human perspective, however, there is but one way open to us; to denounce men like Treitschke and Professor Delbrück, his successor in the chair of History at the University of Berlin, who indirectly assist in bringing about such a tragedy, and to pray for the Rule of Reason over the masses.

Biologically speaking, there are certainly, behind all this antagonism, some of those influences at work which cause intertribal marriages to be declared taboo, which cause near relatives like dog and cat to hate one another. Even amongst human beings relatives, if they once begin to hate one another, are credited with a greater venom than strangers.

From the point of view of political economy, a cause for Germany's hatred of England may be sought in the

fact that after 1871 the Germans began to object to what they called the exploitation of their country by English capitalists. Treitschke states that the Phoenix Insurance Company was almost a monopoly. Also a great many gas-works, asphalt-works and tram-lines had been founded and were managed by the English.

Sociologically some reasons for such an enmity as that between Germany and England may be found in the utter lack of international co-operation for the regulation of the birth-rate of all countries, for the computation and distribution of the earth's products ; may be found in the wasteful competition during the production, manufacture and transport of goods. Although yet apparently a hopeless Utopia, until some such kind of planetary co-operation comes about there will always be vested interests and greed ; there will be slander and lies about some hated rival-nation and finally—War.

English Civilisation.—Already in his student days Treitschke showed great interest in everything English. He read Gneist's *English Constitution*. In the *Preussische Jahrbücher* he published a paper, "The Foundations of English Liberty," which made quite a sensation and was considered by many as Mommsen's work. But as the years passed by the young idealist and liberal became more and more an Anglophobe ; and the scathing remarks he made to his friends about England after he had spent a holiday there can only be explained by the assumption that he was suffering from a species of spleen akin to that which some decades ago caused English travellers to look down upon those "funny" foreigners.

The following extracts from Treitschke's writings are but a few of the more important passages. It will be observed that occasionally Treitschke grudgingly admits some good point in matters English, but invariably follows it up with the assertion that the thing would never do for Germany. In the historical passages he, the pleader for "superior" Germany against presumptuous decayed Albion, naturally with all the perversity of a lawyer picks out and marshals all the black spots,

without which the history of neither an individual nor a nation is to be found in this imperfect world.

Treitschke puts English civilisation above that of America. "England has a culture based on classical education, America has not." "But," he says, "among the other States there is one—I mean England—which is fundamentally averse to being schooled by noble thoughts." It is an "awful prospect, that of England and Russia dividing the world; and one really does not know what would be the more immoral and horrible, the Russian knout or the English purse."

English Poetry.—Treitschke's essay on *Milton* is one of the best papers ever written about the author of *l'Allegro*, and, in an article on Lessing, the great Antagonist of England writes: "We can never sufficiently envy the Britons for that finest symptom of their health and harmonious strength, their art, matured on the firm soil of political greatness. If an Englishman reads the verses from the *Faerie Queen*, there rises up before his eyes the picture of the great Elizabeth, he sees her riding on a white palfrey in front of that army to which the invincible Armada yielded, and behind the warrior-hosts of the angels in Milton's *Paradise Lost* he beholds Cromwell's God-trusting Dragoons." Not to be unfair to his own tongue Treitschke, however, says: "We all hope that our language side by side with the English will be ruling the world's commerce."

English Liberty.—"The world-historic importance of Milton consists in this, that more daringly, more insistently than any one before, he championed Liberty as the inherited privilege of nations."

Treitschke speaks of "the much envied liberty of the Britons." "No all-powerful State determines there the policy of the remotest village; even the smallest county retains its self-government." But "in the freest great States of modern times the yoke of public opinion is heavier than anywhere else."

English Government.—Treitschke's attitude towards the English governmental system is not altogether unfriendly, although of course it goes without saying that "to

set up the English monarchy as a model for us Germans means to advise a healthy man to have a leg amputated in order that he may strut along with a wonderfully constructed artificial limb."

Yet our great antagonist envies these "modern Romans" whose greatness was made possible by the favours of an almost too friendly "Fate." "This England whose isolation, the very loss of her French possessions, made a uniform development possible, whose very limitations made it possible that just here already in the earliest times was solved the first task of young nations—political unity."

"The Britons had maintained their ancient constitution against the wanton arbitrariness of an alien princely race in two revolutions, when the free will of the two aristocratic parties gave the Crown to a foreign usurper. Then followed another foreign ruling house, princes who became English only in the third generation, and in all generations down to the last distinguished themselves by an astonishing hereditary incapacity, a dynasty without hereditary right, which for a long period lived only by the grace of the Whigs. Such a monarchy deserved to be only a costly, though otherwise harmless capital on the pillar of the State.

"This Court afforded no centre even for the social life of the dominant aristocracy. As George I did not understand English, the rule obtained that the Cabinet should not deliberate in the presence of the Sovereign: then—not before 1739—came into being the principle that the wish of the Sovereign should never be mentioned in Parliament. George II ventured upon the foolish attempt to bend the aristocratic parties under the Crown; and since then the monarchy has been systematically pushed aside step by step. The first Georges enjoyed the liberty of choosing, not indeed their own policy, but the members of their Cabinets. To-day the Sovereign nominates only the First Minister, who then himself chooses his colleagues; and even the right of the Crown is a mere fiction, since after the resignation of the Ministry no one except the leader

of the Opposition would venture to form a new Cabinet. The old prerogatives of the Crown fall into disuse one after the other, down to the harmless right of creating life-peers.

“The whole construction of the life of State and Court is calculated to educate those royal nonentities which parliamentary government requires. The heir to the throne grows up in a Court, the important positions of which are held by the party in office; he never fills any post in the Army or Civil Service, and becomes acquainted with public life only at the opening of bridges or railways. The English parliamentary system needs great Ministers, and has, up to now, been successful in forming them; but a King who was a really gifted ruler would either work badly, or would disturb the accustomed course of State-life in England. Parliamentary government could endure at most a Prince Consort who knew how to control his political powers carefully.

“A strict monarchist, Alpheus Todd, defines the ‘division of power’ in England to-day thus: ‘The Lower House contains in itself the authority of the Crown, the conservative strength of the Peerage, and at the same time the motive power of the Democracy.’ And James Lorimer says drily: ‘The power of the Commons is supreme.’ Now all the world knows what a great and free political life the aristocracy of England has secured for her people under this unnatural Monarchy; and that even the maimed Monarchy has always formed an indispensable feature of the artistic edifice of the State, nay, that in our days the example of an honourable Court has tended to refine and form the social life of the upper classes.

“But the natural purpose of political institutions is after all to live and work, and to effect their best through able workers. To set up the English Monarchy, which can harm nothing and can create nothing, as a model for us Germans, who possess a vigorous Crown unprofaned by Stuart-crimes or Guelph-follies—means to advise a healthy man to have a leg amputated in order that he

may strut about with a wonderfully constructed artificial limb.

“Is the English division into two parties a necessary condition of parliamentary life, or a result of the peculiar forms which this parliamentary system has adopted at the hands of the English aristocracy? As a matter of fact the House of Commons is in possession of the highest power of the State. Parliament passes the laws, directs part of the administration directly through private bills, all the administration indirectly through the Cabinet which is the Government Committee of Parliament created by the majority of the Lower House. An English minister has, before attaining office, to undergo three tests: he must be elected to Parliament; he must next be distinguished by talent or by family connections, in the majority of the House; and finally he must be called into the Cabinet by the Crown—that is to say, by the leading statesman of his party.

“The leading Minister is necessarily at the same time the leader of the majority in the Lower House; he must either practise the arts of corruption, of ‘management,’ and ‘oil the wheels of the parliamentary machine,’ like Sir Robert Walpole, or he must control the majority by his intellect. The Government here possesses, as Macaulay well says, something of the essence of a representative body, and Parliament possesses something of the essence of a Cabinet. Parliament and Cabinet are so inseparably connected that Todd says: ‘The Ministers are the real guardians of the rights of Parliament.’

“Such a Government, equipped with all the powers of the State and with all the dignity of popular representation, would infallibly fall into despotic tyranny, were it not opposed in Parliament itself by a strong Opposition—united, led by one chief, purposely spying out and combating all the weaknesses of the Government, ready at any moment to upset the Ministers, and to take their places. In such relations a strong Opposition is really a corner-stone of liberty, ‘the proper lever of a government,’ as all Britons say, especially as large

bodies are usually more disposed to misuse power than individuals are.

“Nothing, therefore, is more deserved than the high consideration enjoyed by the two ancient aristocratic parties, who have so long restricted, watched, and supplemented each other; but also nothing is more foolish than the attempt to introduce this aristocratic party-system into monarchical Germany. German Ministers are not made by Parliament; on the contrary they are created by the free will of the King. They do not stand in Parliament, but by the side of it as bearers of an independent power of the State, bound to seek free co-operation with the equally independent representative body. People may disapprove of this if they will not admit that the Crown of the Hohenzollerns cannot satisfy itself with the modest position of English royalty; but only a fool will endeavour to deny the fact.”

Queen Victoria's Reign.—“Queen Victoria used to speak fluently about all details of the administration: she would tell General Natzmer, who listened ironically but respectfully, of the improvements which she had introduced into the army, and liked to hear herself called a ‘second Elizabeth,’ though the Guelph had nothing in common with the less virtuous but great daughter of the Tudors except feminine obstinacy. Thus through the Prince Consort royalty learned to bear its nothingness with dignity: and in return the wearer of the Crown everywhere received the homage of words of the deepest devotion. The word ‘subject,’ the constitutional cant of the Britons, flourished as never before; if anyone was honest enough to think that the young queen was not beautiful, he ran the risk of being considered mad by good society.

“Such a comedy of inward peace could not fail to fill the moderate German Liberals with admiration. Disappointed by the intrigues of the monarchy of July they began to turn away from the French theories of liberty in the thirties, and now found the constitutional ideal realised in Queen Victoria's State. Only a few

remarked how the aristocratic foundation of the old English Parliament was crumbling since the Reform Act, how the decisions of the Lower House were gradually falling into the hands of the Scots and Irish and new democratic changes were thus being prepared.

“At the same time England was going through a period of unprecedented economic growth. Her industry grew so strong that she believed that she controlled all the markets of the world, and therefore set up the banner of Free Trade. A mighty emigration conquered for her vast colonies, which, even if they would perhaps one day shake off the supremacy of the mother-country, would yet remain true to her doctrine, and would thus secure to the Anglo-Saxon race a great start ahead of the Teutonic race; and it was not long before there was in every corner of the globe a region that bore the happy names of Victoria and Albert.

“Occupied by their party-quarrels and their mutual jealousy the nations of the Continent scarcely noticed how the greatest realm in the world’s history was thus silently growing up. Nay, the German Anglomaniacs were wont to praise England as a model peaceful Power, for which in its harmlessness a small paid army sufficed; and yet this new Carthage was the only State in Europe which was continually—oftener even than Russia—carrying on wars—wars, it is true, in which gold was of more importance than iron.

“At the side of the Sovereign of such a world-empire a small German prince could not but fall into the same position as a princess married abroad; he could not maintain his nationality. Prince Albert soon became quite English, although he generally spoke German in his family-circle, and his amiable consort, to the horror of all pious British hearts, even allowed him to eat fish with a silver knife. When he revisited Germany some years after his marriage, he adopted English customs ostentatiously, and reviewed the garrison of Mainz in a grey summer overcoat, so that the Prussian generals asked angrily if this young Saxon no longer knew that

German princes were accustomed to honour their country's colours in uniform. In the cold, joyless English life he lost that friendly cheerfulness which marks the educated German, and became stiff, pedantic, harsh and unkind in his judgments, so that his labours in the education of his children, which he exercised with great zeal, were only partially successful, and with the heir to the throne not at all.

"In 1840 the Continent was once more in that condition of skulking discord which England needed for her plans, and never did the old truth, that commercial policy is the most immoral of all, show itself more clearly than at this time. Undisturbed by the squabbling Great Powers, Palmerston was able in his cowardly way to let British insolence loose upon the weak. He began strife with Naples about the Sicilian sulphur-trade, with Portugal about the victims of the last civil war, a war which England had carefully fanned. With Servia he made a commercial treaty, and tried, at the same time, to force Prince Milosch into abolishing the constitution. In the midst of peace in 1839 the rock-nest of Aden, the key of the Red Sea, the Gibraltar of the East, was seized. Immediately after this the opium war began, the most abominable of all wars that any Christian nation ever waged; the Chinese were compelled to put up with the smuggling of opium from India; and while England poisoned their bodies, she sought to save their souls by the conversion-sermons of her missionaries.

"Stronger opponents Palmerston fought with the weapons of cunning only. Everyone guessed that neutral England was secretly supporting the Circassians in their struggle against Russia; the secret became known when the Russians seized on the Caucasian coast the ship *Vixen* laden with arms. The occupation of Algiers, the last and best legacy of the French Bourbons, caused the Court of London still greater anxiety. According to English ideas all Africa belonged to the Britons of right. Even the peaceful Lord Aberdeen

said mockingly to the Prussian ambassador: 'The French have united Algiers to France "for ever"; this "for ever" means until war is declared, until the first English battleship appears in the harbour of Algiers.' To destroy this fair and promising plantation of the French was the heart's wish of every Briton; therefore France's dangerous foe, the heroic Abdelkader, could always count on England's secret support."

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The English Army.—"England has an army of mercenaries. That the English have no universal military service is one of the shortcomings of English culture. This fault is in some measure atoned for on the one hand by the extraordinary development of the Fleet, and on the other hand by the never-ending little wars in countless countries which occupy and keep alive the virile forces of the nation. The fact that great physical activity is still to be observed in England is partly due to the constant wars with the colonies. But a closer inspection will reveal a very serious want. The lack of chivalry in the English character, which presents so striking a contrast with the naïve loyalty of the Germans, has some connection with the English practice of seeking physical exercise in boxing, swimming, and rowing, rather than in the use of noble arms. Such exercises are no doubt useful; but no one can fail to observe that this whole system of athletics tends further to brutalise the mind of the athlete, and to set before men the superficial ideal of being always able to carry off the first prize. Since duelling was abolished in England moral coarseness in the army has been on the increase, and officers have been known to come to blows in railway carriages in the very presence of their wives.

"So far as physical capacity goes the English soldiers are very efficient; they are trained to box, and are fed on an incredibly liberal scale. But even people in England are realising more and more strongly that there is something wrong with their army, and that it cannot be compared with a national army because the moral

energies of the people are excluded from it. The world is not as materialistic as Wellington supposed. Wellington used to say that enthusiasm in an army could only produce confusion and other ill effects. } not
so
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“Never was any son of Britain so imbued with the old national idea: ‘My country, right or wrong’ as Wellington. When he undertook the chief command in Portugal, he was from the first full of quiet confidence in his success. ‘I shall maintain my position,’ he said dryly. The theatrical display of the new French mastery in war made no impression on this sober head. He never doubted of the fall of Napoleon.

“During the six years of the Peninsular War he trained his hirelings into masters of the arts of old traditional war. Of innovations and sweeping improvements he thought nothing. He never favoured merit, never suggested a promotion outside the seniority list. Independent, thoughtful generals he disliked, though his broad-minded brother, the Marquess Wellesley, allowed gifted subordinates to rule in undisturbed freedom; he needed reliable, clever tools, and he found them with unerring knowledge of men. His aides-de-camp were mostly young lords who punctually delivered the orders of the Commander-in-chief, on the best horses in the world, and dutifully abstained from all opinions of their own.

“He knew his own value, and said openly to his friends in the Tory Cabinet: ‘You have no one except me,’ and he had himself equipped with extraordinary (never abused) full powers, so that he could suspend and send home any officer without enquiry. His generals might do whatever they thought good in their assigned positions during a battle, but the nearest obstacle in their front was their limit under penalty of loss of rank. His officers had little love for the strict leader, who never thawed into hearty comradeship, never betrayed a sign of goodwill or generosity, not even when the Service could lose nothing by it. The piercing look of the cold eyes, the haughty features with the

eagle-nose, the immovable firmly-shut lips, and the sharply commanding tone of the voice forbade any approach to friendliness. But all obeyed, all felt proud to satisfy one who was hard to please. Censure—or even an opinion—of the measures of the commander, his officers never ventured to utter even in the most intimate conversation. They followed his orders blindly as the inscrutable decrees of Fate. Rarely did he even deign to address them; and when he did, he explained his views in slow, heavy and awkward, but distinct and clear language.”

The English Navy.—Long before the German Naval League, a Von Koester, a Von Tirpitz induced the German nation to believe in their Emperor’s dicta: “Germany’s future lies upon the water” and “The trident must be in Michel’s hands”; long before that time Treitschke in a letter to his friend Freytag wrote, “I hope to see in my life-time the breakdown of the English naval predominance which obviously belongs to the last century.”

“The really national weapon of England is the Fleet. The martial enthusiasm of the country—and it is far stronger than is usually supposed on the Continent, because *the idea of a British Universal Empire is very general among the people—must be sought on the men-of-war.*”

Although he graciously acknowledges so much, Treitschke never wearies of pointing out “the disastrous influence of English naval power on universal culture and justice.”

“We have not as yet obtained a ‘balance of power’ at sea, and Schiller’s melancholy dictum, therefore, still holds good :

‘Among the waves is chaos,
And nothing can be owned upon the sea.’

“England alone is to blame, for England is so immensely pre-eminent at sea that she can do whatever she

likes. All the other powers would be prepared to allow free circulation, under certain conditions, to merchant ships in the time of war. England alone maintains the principle that no distinction is to be made at sea between the property of the State and that of private persons. And as long as this one Power insists on carrying out this principle all other nations must travel on the same barbarous road."

"At the beginning of the Congress of Chatillon (1814) England used the financial needs of her Allies to carry out a masterstroke of her commercial policy. If any of Napoleon's schemes were justified, it was certainly his struggle for the freedom of the seas. That Balance of Power which the exhausted world required was not secured as long as a single State ruled over all seas at its own will and caprice, and as long as naval war, to the shame of mankind, bore the character of privileged robbery. Prussia and Russia had ever since the League of the Armed Neutrality represented the principles of a humane Law of the Sea that should not injure the trade of neutrals: they now hoped to see these ideas of Frederick and Catherine recognised by a resolution of united Europe.

"But England felt herself threatened in the foundations of her power by this. Lord Cathcart roundly declared: 'If we had ever recognised the principles of the Armed Neutrality, French commerce would not have been destroyed, and Napoleon would be still reigning over the world. Great Britain will never recognise any other law on the seas than the universal rules of the Law of Nations.' As matters stood, other questions were for the moment of more importance for the three continental Powers; in addition they all needed further sums of money for the war, and the wealthy ally (Great Britain) was ready to pay another five millions sterling in the form of subsidies. Hence England in the first sitting of February 5 carried a resolution that no discussion of matters relating to the Law of the Seas would be allowed. Caulaincourt raised no objection:

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he too had more immediate cares. Thus it came about that during the long peace-negotiations at Chatillon, Paris and Vienna, the blackest spot in the Law of Nations to-day was not so much as touched. Public opinion, blindly enthusiastic as it was for glorious Albion, saw nothing wrong in all this."

*Human
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"In face of the utterly conscienceless, everywhere wearing-out and worrying commercial policy (of England in 1840), all other civilised nations would seem to be natural allies. England was the shield of barbarism in the Law of Nations. It was the fault of England alone that Naval Warfare, to the shame of humanity, still remained organised piracy. It was incumbent equally on all nations to restore on the seas that Balance of Power which had long existed on the land, that healthy Balance which prevented any State from doing whatever it liked, and so secured to each State a humane international law.

"As soon as the Eastern question was again in full swing a far-sighted policy ought to have aimed at least at limiting the crushing foreign domination which England's fleets exercised from Gibraltar, Malta and Corfu, and at restoring the Mediterranean Sea to the Mediterranean nations. But the Prussian State had as yet no fleet, it could not, it dared not, rise to so free a view of those far distant disputes, so long as it was itself scarcely able to give necessary protection to the crushed German world, and no Italian Great Power yet existed."

Colonies.—Treitschke's greatest grievance was that England possessed so many colonies which she had "acquired by theft, robbery and treachery," which she is utterly "unable to govern satisfactorily." His attitude may be summed up in Cramb's words: "How is the persistence of a great unwarlike Power sprawling Fafnirwise across the planet to be tolerated by a nation of warriors?"

Already when a mere boy Treitschke wrote a poem about one Ambrosius Dalfinger who in 1529 tried to

conquer Venezuela's coast for his native town, the mighty Hansa-town, Augsburg :

“Tears must in very truth bedim my eye !
 Our sons at that time went not out as beggars,
 Exiled by the misery of their Fatherland,
 And scorned by haughty foreigners
 As stupid children, as notorious thieves—
 No! Dalfinger's victorious host came to those shores
 Bringing destruction, death ! but also mighty deeds.
 Resplendent standest thou before my eyes
 Dalfinger, a German Cortez, magnificent and proud !”

In a paper on “The Future of German Secondary Education” we read : “Is it possible to provide this nation with its over-flowing forces, with its antagonism to the cowardly doctrine of the two-children-system, is it possible to provide it with a place where they have sufficient elbow-room, without being lost to the Fatherland ?”

In a speech of 1885 Treitschke said : “Who would have dreamed only twenty years ago that our German banner would be flying to-day in three-quarters of the globe ? Yes, we will be there too, we will guarantee that Germany has her proper share in ruling the heathen world by European Christianity, in order that at last what has already been accomplished on land may be attained on the sea—a real Balance of Power, in order that the world wide sway of One Power on the sea, with its memories of the barbarism of earlier centuries, may be broken.”

Colonies, according to him, enable the State to provide for its surplus population without losing the working power and the capital of the emigrants, which in the past only enriched America and other countries. But not only for mere materialistic reasons are colonies an absolute necessity. Colonies are not only an economic necessity but also a moral necessity for a powerful expanding nation which can claim to be a missionary of civilisation. Treitschke, to give him some credit,

*missionary
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had in view with that probably only savage and semi-civilised countries. But it is England, England all the while! "In this world of ours a thing that is a sham through and through cannot last for ever. It may last for a time, but it is doomed to fall; in a world which is governed by valour, by the Will unto Power, there is no room for such a sham!" Thus spake Treitschke, the apostle of the religion of valour!

Germany and England.—In order to "explain" this unfortunate conflict between the descendants of those men whom a Tacitus admired and a Cæsar respected there have been on both sides the most frantic efforts to find scape-goats. The Emperor William II and Sir Edward Grey are amongst the favourites. No insinuation is sinister enough, no adjective vile enough but it will be applied to them by certain sections of the public and the press. Then here in our country Treitschke and Bernhardi are easy seconds, and poor old Nietzsche gets the third place. Of course this scape-goat business is ridiculous. Nietzsche despised the Germans, and if a certain enterprising bookseller in London with his big window-placard "The Euro-Nietzschean War" imagines he has solved the problem he is mistaken. The spirit of Nietzsche's philosophy may have contributed to some extent to counteract Christian influences in Germany, and thus have facilitated the catastrophe, but really Nietzsche is read very little now in Germany in spite of Gerhart Hauptmann's opinion.

Bernhardi too is much over-rated. Hundreds of German books on war are published every year, and Bernhardi is just a fortunate author whose books were borne on the crest of the wave. Treitschke himself is but one of many. His successor Delbrück is just as bad. Delbrück too objects to "other Powers" dividing up the world, and insists on a share for Germany. He calls Britain "our inveterate enemy."

The real immediate causes of this world-conflict are much more complex and cannot possibly be simplified

into the comfortable formula of a few names or catch-words.

There is the absence of an international law which commands obedience. There are vested interests. In Germany men like Krupp, Gwinner, Rathenau, Ballin, Thyssen and others are by the very nature of their business compelled to be intensely "patriotic." There are men like that here in our country too. Now such men, at least most of them, are "all honourable men," but they are unconsciously foes to the comity of nations. Then there are the aspirations of rulers and politicians; there is the greed of international financiers; there is the lauded ambition of the soldier.

Finally, there is the incredible ignorance about one another that estranges the nations. The "literary" output of war books in Germany as well as here is a proof. Gentlemen who have not the slightest knowledge of the opponents' history and traditions, often not even of their language, write the most unspeakable vitriolic nonsense about the "treacherous English," "the modern Huns"; German scholars, may-be great scholars in their line—whose knowledge of England, and English character, is based on an intimate acquaintance with the English spirit, English home-life, and the English countryside, an acquaintance acquired in Bloomsbury during their three months' reading at the British Museum—prove us to be "decadent," "materialists," "shopkeepers." And even the late Mr. Gladstone, a fine classical scholar, was so ignorant of some things modern that he condemned Göthe as an immoral writer.

It is only if we keep in mind the vastness and complexity of even direct causes, the slow poisoning influence of indirect causes like ignorance and stupidity, that we can judge Treitschke rightly and allot to him his proper share and proportion of guilt. Then, perceiving him to be only one of the growths from the teeth of the dragon Hate, only one of the giants whom Law, another Theseus, will slay—we may, though we cannot forgive Treitschke,

yet perhaps better understand his point of view when he says :

“ Our last reckoning, that with England, will probably be the most tedious, and the most difficult ; for here we are confronted by a line of policy which for centuries, almost unhindered by the other Powers, aims directly at maritime supremacy. How long has Germany in all seriousness believed this insular race, which among all the nations of Europe is undoubtedly imbued with the most marked national selfishness, the greatness of which consists precisely in its hard, inaccessible one-sidedness, to be the magnanimous protector of the freedom of all nations !

“ Now, at last our eyes begin to be opened, and we recognise what clear-headed political thinkers have never doubted, that England’s State-policy since the days of William III has never been anything else than a remarkably shrewd and remarkably conscienceless commercial policy. The extraordinary successes of this State-policy have been purchased at a high price, consisting in the first place of a number of sins and enormities. The history of the English East India Company is the most defiled page in the annals of modern European nations, for as the shocking vampirism of this merchant-rule sprang solely from greed, it cannot be excused, as perhaps the acts of Philip II, or Robespierre may be, by the fanaticism of a political conviction.

“ England’s commercial supremacy had its origin in the discords on the Continent, and owing to her brilliant successes, which were often gained without a struggle, there has grown up in the English people a spirit of arrogance for which “ Chauvinism ” is too mild an expression. Sir Charles Dilke, the well-known Radical member of Mr. Gladstone’s Cabinet, in his book *Greater Britain*, which is often mentioned, but, alas ! too little read here, claims, as necessary acquisitions for “ Greater Britain,” China, Japan, Chili, Peru, the La Plata States, the tablelands of Africa—in short, the whole

world. In spite of the outrageous ill-usage of Ireland, and the bestial coarseness of the London mob, he calls Great Britain the land which from the earliest time exhibits the greatest amount of culture and insight, together with the least intermixture of ignorance and crime. He looks confidently forward to the time when Russia and France will only be pygmies by the side of England. In only three passages does he deign to make a cursory mention of the Germans.

“Thus, then, the manifold glories of the world’s history, which commenced with the empire of the monosyllabic Chinese, are to conclude their melancholy cycle with the empire of the monosyllabic British !”

CHAPTER IV

UNITY

Outlines.—One of the best stories that Kipling ever told us is that of *The Ship That Found Herself*. The *Dimbula* had just had a bottle of champagne cracked over her bow and looked very fine indeed. Said the skipper: "She's no so bad. But she's just irons and rivets and plates put into the form of a ship. The parts of her have not learned to work together yet, and nothing but a gale will do it." And on her first voyage the *Dimbula* went through a gale. The deck-beams grumbled at the capstan, the weight of which had suddenly become doubled owing to a big wave sitting on it. The stringers grumbled at the deck-beams and threatened to chuck work. The frames and thousands and thousands of little rivets talked at the stringers. The screw had a brawl with the thrust-block, and the screw-shaft with the screw. The high pressure cylinder, the garboard-stroke, the sea-valve and all the hundreds of plates of the outside skin, everybody complained about his neighbour's wrong-doings, everybody thought himself the one indispensable part of the ship and there was a frightful hubbub. But at last, especially owing to the wise counsels of their friend Steam the Philosopher, all the rebels began to work together, even cheerfully. Everybody had learned the wisdom of the give-and-take policy. The clamourings and squeakings and shriekings of the turbulent folk had died down and only a deep humming note was to be heard! It was the voice of the ship. "For when a ship finds herself, all the talking of the separate pieces ceases and melts into one voice, which is the soul of the ship."

The Society of Nations is like Kipling's *Dimbula*. Only that this planetary ship of ours, we might name it *Harmony*, has not found herself yet. It is in the midst of a violent gale and the voice of reason—our friend Steam from the *Dimbula*—is still unheeded. There are still discontented plates and beams and stringers—some of our nations—who want to shift or are swollen with the ridiculous conceit that they are the one indispensable part of the ship.

An even worse state of affairs existed a little more than a century ago on that ship of State called Germany. There were, besides a few larger state-communities, 285 small principalities absurdly self-conceited and all warring and quarrelling with one another. Napoleon the First made a clean sweep of a very great number of them. But there were still too many. One cannot read the story about Knyphausen in the second volume of Treitschke's *History* without smiling. There they were, these powerful potentates, like a Knyphausen, swaying vast realms quite equal in size to the borough of Kensington, with mighty armies of a few dozen picturesque clowns. And woe if anyone dared to curtail their sovereignty! Did not Hanover patriotically intend calling in the aid of France rather than sacrifice part of her sovereignty for the benefit of a Prussian Central Government? Did not Knyphausen, that important member of the family of European sovereigns, harass for ever so many years, his minor cousins the Emperors of Russia and Austria, the King of Prussia, because his "empire" had been taken from him; and because the flag of Knyphausen's fleet was no longer to be seen on the Seven Seas, nor could he any longer maintain a special chargé d'affaires who might add lustre to the crowd of loafers haunting the antechambers of the European courts and proud to represent the hundred-and-one German Lilliputian principalities?

Keeping this in mind, one can understand why Treitschke is considered in Germany as one of the Makers of the New Empire. Men like Dahlmann, Droysen,

Sybel and Treitschke are the intellectual forerunners and collaborators of Bismarck's policy of "Blood and Iron" that welded all those jarring and jostling principalities into a powerful whole.

Considered from the point of view of international unity, Treitschke is a reactionary, almost a savage. His knowledge of foreign nations was scanty and superficial. His national conceit blinded him and he did not see all the short-comings of his own people, and lacked the sense of proportion, forgetting that his nation, after all, represents but a mere fraction of mankind. Treitschke blamed England for its "barbarous views regarding maritime law," but his own opinion regarding international law and faith respecting treaties and war would, if strictly and generally acted upon, result in a war of all against all.

As a German, Treitschke certainly deserves the admiration of his own nation, for he has done for them within the realm of thought exactly the same thing which the authors of the various Acts of Union have done for Great Britain, and his aspirations after empire are, from the German point of view, but parallel to those of a Chamberlain and a Cecil Rhodes. As a member of human society, from the point of view of the comity of nations, Treitschke is an arch-enemy of the progress of reason and law. We are toiling painfully towards the establishment of a satisfactory international law which will be obeyed. Treitschke, however, scornfully denies the possibility of international harmony and unity, the possibility of an international tribunal. He would bid us tear up the "mad" books on permanent peace written by "weak minds," and change the palace at the Hague into a mansion for Lamachus, "the boaster with the mighty plume."

A. TREITSCHKE AND GERMAN UNITY

"The Apostle of Prussia."—Against the parochial and provincial patriotism of the numerous small principalities

which threatened to disintegrate Germany entirely, Treitschke raised his ideal of national patriotism. Against the argument of the particularists that the variety and diversity of German political life were more beautiful than the deadly monotony of a highly centralised State, and that Germany was the promised land of Decentralisation, Treitschke pointed out the pitiable political weakness of such a collection of samples. It is their weakness for which he never forgave the small States. On account of their weakness he condemned the small States. And for that reason he, the "Apostle of Prussia" worked for the establishment of a Prussian hegemony. Throughout his *History*, his historical papers, his essays and pamphlets, this is the key-note, there is but one Salvation for us, Prussia!

How, even centuries ago, Prussia and her rulers worked for the future unity of Germany, Treitschke tells us in his *History*:

"Prussia, the born foe of the old European system, which was based on the weakness of Germany, stood in a world of enemies, whose mutual jealousies were her only safety, without one natural ally, for the recognition of this new Power had not yet dawned on the German nation. And this in that period of hard State-logic when the State meant power only, and regarded the destruction of its neighbours as its natural duty. As the house of Savoy forced its way through the superior power of the Habsburgs and Bourbons, so Prussia, though far more heavily oppressed, had to make herself a way between Austria and France, between Sweden and Poland, between the Sea-powers and the slothful bulk of the German Empire, with every resource of absolute selfishness, ever ready to change her front, ever having two strings to her bow.

"Brandenburg felt to the marrow of her life, how deeply foreign conditions had eaten into Germany. All the undisciplined strength of provincial rights, which were hostile to the stern regularity of the new monarchy, relied on foreign support. Dutch garrisons were

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quartered on the Lower Rhine, and helped the struggle of the Diet of Cleves against their German lord; the provincial Assemblies of Magdeburg and Kurmark counted upon Austria; the Pole-favouring nobility of Königsberg called in the Polish feudal lord to their aid against the tyranny of the Mark. The State-unity of these scattered districts, and the importance of their Sovereign were founded on the struggle against foreign rule. Frederick William destroyed the barriers of the Dutch in the German North-west and drove their troops out of Cleves and East Friesland; he freed East Prussia from the feudal vassalship to Poland, and curbed the provincial council of Königsberg under his rule. Then he shouts to the deaf nation his word of warning: "Remember that you are Germans," and endeavours to push the Swedes off the soil of the Empire. Twice the opposition of France and Austria succeeded in cheating the Brandenburger of the reward of his victories, of the sovereignty over Pomerania: they could not rob him of the glory of Fehrbellin. At last, after long centuries of humiliation, a brilliant triumph of German arms over the first military power of the time taught the world that Germany was again venturing to be mistress in her own house."

It is only natural that Treitschke in his *History* should fondly dwell on that period, when Germany under the leadership of Prussia shook off the yoke of Napoleon. Here speaks the enthusiastic historian, whose force and incisiveness Lord Acton compared with that of Mommsen, here speaks the patriot, whose brilliancy and partiality certainly equalled that of Macaulay. His pen weaves magic glamour around the chief actors of that time. Fichte, the Treitschke of that period, especially interested him and exercised considerable influence over the foe of the small States, the champion of Unity. We read how even then there existed vague longings for national unity, German unity:

"It was fateful for our political life, and clings to us to this day, that the thought of national unity did not

ripen with us slowly through the centuries as it did in France, was not the fruit of a constant monarchical policy always directed to the same object, but woke up suddenly out of a long slumber, in angry tears and dreams of past times. Hence that touching ideal enthusiasm, that true-hearted inspiration, which makes the German patriots of the generations immediately after Napoleon appear so amiable. Hence their morbid bitterness; for even after the fierce hatred of the French of that awful time had cooled down, a deep resentment against the foreigner remained behind in the hearts of the inspired Teutons; people could not dream of Germany's future greatness without vituperating the foreign nations who had so often and so deeply sinned against Central Europe. Hence, too, the wonderfully confused indistinctness of the political hopes of the German.

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“An enthusiasm, heated by indefinite historical pictures, intoxicated itself with the idea of a great fatherland in the clouds, that was to renew somehow the splendour of the Ottonides and Hohenstaufen, greeted everyone who shared the same lamentations and the same longings, men of the most different political views who were ready to become comrades, and scarcely noticed the living strength of the real German unity, which was stirring in the Prussian State. Hence, finally, the unstable weakness of the German national feeling, which has not attained to this day the infallible certainty of a simple popular instinct.

“The dream of German unity percolated very slowly through from the educated classes into the masses of the people; and even then the great name of the Fatherland remained for the common man an indefinite word, a mysterious appellation, and the honourable love of United Germany was quite compatible with a narrow, obstinate separatism. In Prussia the old loyalty stood too firmly for the hopes of the patriots to vanish so utterly in the illimitable. It is not by accident that the publicist and popular orator who showed the most

sober and solid political insight at that time was Schleiermacher, the born Prussian; when he spoke of the Liberation of Germany, he presupposed always the restoration of the old Prussian power. When Schenkendorf preached in inspired verse of the Emperor and the Empire, when Heinrich Kleist implored the Germans to march to the holy war, 'the Emperor at their head,' they silently assumed that Prussia must maintain a worthy place under this new Empire. In the gymnasium, in the circles of Jahn, Harnisch, and Friesen, one heard the confident prophecy: 'Prussia has always wielded Germany's sword, and must wear the crown in the new Empire.' Fichte, on the other hand, only accepted these Prussian views very gradually; and not before 1813 did he recognise that 'only the King of Prussia can achieve Germanism.'"

The German Confederation, 1815-1866.—To improve the deplorable hotch-potch of petty principalities a compromise was made between the two biggest States, Prussia and Austria, both jealous of one another, both contending for the hegemony in Germany. The result of this compromise was the German Confederation. From the very beginning it was a failure. Its constitution was an absurdity and its position with respect to foreign powers stamped it a nonentity. Treitschke made a special study of the history of the German Confederation. In spite of several short-comings of his work he has left very little for the future historian to do, as far as the period goes which he covered. For months at a time Treitschke buried himself in the archives of various States, and he became better acquainted than any other man with the miserable reactionary policy that swayed Germany for many decades after the magnificent years of the War of Liberation. He became convinced of the necessity of German Unity under Prussian leadership. He became convinced of the futility and weakness of small states.

Austria, of course, would have to be eliminated from the community of German States, and with delight

therefore Treitschke hailed the establishment of the Customs Union which was a step in that direction :

“ While the constitution of the German Confederation could be held upright only by the friendship of the two great Powers, and the Prussian Ambassador in Vienna, to the great delight of the old King, expressed the main idea of Prussian policy in the phrase : ‘ Not under, but always with, Austria, ’ the King had already entered upon a path which was bound to lead to a separation from Austria. The proud work of this newly adopted Frederician policy, the Customs Union, was already so firmly established, the mutual labour of the Germans outside of Austria appeared already so indestructible, that Michael Chevalier, after a tour through Germany, said admiringly : ‘ In European politics, I know of nothing more wonderful than the restoration of the Unity of Germany. What a grand spectacle, that of a great People, the fragments of which are being reunited, which returns to nationality, that is, to life. ’

“ The sharp contrast between this youthful and vigorous economic life, and the formality of the stiff law of the Confederation, which laughed at any improvement, could not but confuse public opinion. Some were still dreaming away in the quietude of an unthinking localism, which was already overcome by the grand scale of the new national market ; others were still repeating, as ten years before, the catchwords of radical world-citizenship ; but in the best classes of the people was awakening gradually a passionate, sensitive, national pride. They felt that now a monstrous popular force was being artificially bound down by a thousand knotted and distorted political considerations. Bold claims, such as only isolated dreamers had ventured on, became objects of newspaper discussion. People began to ask why this young Customs Union did not, as formerly the Hansa did, unfold its flag upon the ocean, and protect it with its warships, why it did not take its part in the conquest of the transatlantic world.

“ The yearning looks of patriotic writers were turned

to all the estranged daughterlands of our people, to Flensburg, to Riga and Reval; and when in this summer of vicissitudes, the Rhine-frontier seemed to be threatened once more, there rose with elementary might a storm of national anger which showed clearly enough that the spirit of the war of Liberation was not dead, that the time of fulfilment was at last drawing nigh for our struggling people. With national pride grew also the hopes of freedom. After so many combats and disappointments the Liberals now began to form for themselves the theory of the Parliamentary State, which they held firmly henceforth, until in the year 1866 the monarchical idea again gathered strength. One of their leaders, Steinaker of Brunswick, now declared plainly, 'The Government in a Representative State is always the creation of the majority in the State.' The thoughtful, well-meaning man never suspected that with this doctrine he was robbing the monarchy of every independent power, and smoothing the path only for the republican ideas, which were getting the upper hand among the exiles, and among the excited young men."

Poets like Hebbel, who extolled the Germanic religion of valour in his *Nibelungen*, like Uhland, who was full of

"The yearning, that a Germany might be established—
Free in its laws, powerful and undivided in its people,"

were naturally lauded by the historian of German Unity, and in the completion of Cologne Cathedral he saw a favourable omen:

"When Görres once said that the unfinished gigantic Cathedral of Cologne was a legacy which the grand old Imperial times had bequeathed to the new liberated Germany for completion, only a few listened to him. In 1842 everybody spoke in the same strain; here on the long-contested left bank of the Rhine we would show the foreign nations what the might and the agreement of the Germans could do. As the half-forgotten legend of Kyffhäuser won new life in those years through

Rückert's poem, so now antique-sounding Cathedral legends were circulated of which the Middle Ages would never have dreamt, all productions of the patriotic yearning of the last generation. The old crane on the stump of the tower was a "gigantic note of interrogation," a symbol of the divisions of the fatherland; only some day when it had vanished, and the two towers rose, completed, into the air, then would the dream of centuries, the unity of Germany, be fulfilled.

"And now happened what Schenkendorf had prophesied. The architect Zwirner, a Silesian of Schinkel's school, handed to the King a well thought out plan for the completion of the whole Cathedral, a gigantic undertaking that even Boisseree had formerly thought impossible. Meanwhile the citizens of Cologne combined to further the work. At first they could not agree, because many zealous Catholics thought that as long as the Throne of the Archbishop in the choir remained empty, no one could stir a hand. Then the young Reichensperger stepped forward, himself a strict Churchman, but at the same time a good Prussian, and a warm admirer of ancient Rhenish art; he warned his countrymen in an eloquent pamphlet to forget all misunderstandings, and to use the favourable opportunity of a new King's accession.

"The opposition was overcome, and the great Building Association was founded to collect money and to work for the completion of the House of God. Nothing could be more agreeable to the King. At the laying of the second foundation stone, he expressed the joy of his artistic soul in an eloquent speech: 'Here where the stone lies, and there with those towers, the most beautiful doors in the world are to rise. Germany builds them: let them be by God's grace doors of a new, great time for Germany! The spirit that builds these doors is the spirit of German unity and strength. May the portals of Cologne Cathedral become doors of the most lordly triumph to that spirit. Let it build, let it complete. And let the great work tell the latest genera-

tions of a Germany by the union of its princes and peoples great and powerful, yea, and compelling the peace of the world without bloodshed.'

"And if only a small portion of the King's hearers cherished distinct liberal wishes, all at least believed that he was announcing with his words of promise, a new order of things, a time of fulfilment, which must at length do justice to the nation's impulse towards freedom and unity. The King, however, thought that the united Germany which compelled peace without bloodshed existed already, and he had no thought of ever touching either the Confederation or the sovereignty of the small princes."

In his brilliant and powerful essay, *Bundesstaat und Einheitsstaat*, Federalism and Centralisation, Treitschke is decidedly in favour of the *Einheitsstaat*. He knew too much of the *Staatenbund*, the Confederation, to give it any further serious consideration; he acknowledged the advantages of a *Bundesstaat*, Federal State, but did not think that the American plan would work in Germany; he wanted the *Einheitsstaat*, the Unitary State, brought about, within which the governments of all the smaller States were abolished. As a matter of fact the German Empire born in 1871 turned out to be a *Bundesstaat*—consisting of over twenty individual states—although owing to the overwhelming preponderance of Prussia it is practically an *Einheitsstaat*.

German idealists and doctrinaires tried to bring about German Unity in 1848. The King of Prussia was offered the Imperial crown. A representative German parliament assembled at Frankfort and it sat for six months. Then the beautiful scheme fizzled out. The vested interests of the small dynasties proved to be stronger than mere ideal and intellectual aspirations.

Treitschke, although but a boy then, had lived through those days of disappointment, and he drew the moral that only "blood and iron" would establish German Unity. He knew that there was "very little ground for hoping that the German Federal State can be founded

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peacefully," that the "petty German principalities will have to be abolished." After the war with Denmark, 1864, he objected therefore to the establishment of yet another principality, Schleswig-Holstein, and in 1866 after the war between Austria and Prussia, he demanded that the kingdoms of Hanover and Saxony as well as the Electorate Hesse should be annexed by victorious Prussia. And Hanover and Hesse were annexed.

The North German Confederation (1866-1870) and the Empire.—The result of the war of 1866 was the North German Confederation. This confederation comprised only the North German States. But within this Confederation Prussia was the undisputed leader. A secession of any of the smaller States from the Confederation was an impossibility. Moreover, the three greater South German States, Baden, Württemberg, and Bavaria, had to make alliances with Prussia, and were brought into still closer contact with it through Bismarck's Zollverein (1867), a tariff-union comprising all Germany. The years 1870-71 realised Treitschke's dream. The new German Empire was founded and the King of Prussia crowned Emperor. The Empire was not a Unitary State as Treitschke desired it, but came as near his ideal as was practicable. He, of course, was one of the first to demand the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine.

Henceforth we find Treitschke busy as a publicist, as a professor, as a member of Parliament, to consolidate and strengthen the unity of the new Empire. For that purpose he fought the Socialists, the Jews, the Papists, in short anybody and everybody who, in his mind, was hostile to his ideal. His haughty aristocratic attitude, his stubborn one-sidedness, his unfair methods of warfare in these fights may be explained by a passage in one of his letters to Freytag: "But the patriot in me is a thousand times more powerful than the professor."

Even after the establishment of the Empire, Treitschke, the "Apostle of Prussia," never ceased to point out to the Germans and to the world in general

what Prussia had done for German Unity, that in Prussia alone was to be found the only guarantee for the permanence of the vast edifice of the Empire.

“Prussia has erected our New Empire, and freed us from Austria. Consequently, with regard to the constitution of the Empire, as a matter of fact, however carefully this may be veiled under the wording of constitutional terms, Prussia quite justly occupies an entirely different position to that of the other States. The Prussian State alone has remained a real State. It alone cannot be forced by execution to fulfil its Imperial obligations because only the Kaiser, who is at the same time King of Prussia, can put the execution into effect. The entire Imperial Policy rests upon the silent assumption that the will of the Empire and the will of the Prussian State cannot, in the long run, be in opposition to each other.

*Prussia
artificial* “Before Prussia had attained supremacy in Germany, the world, astounded by the brilliant military success of the little State, was wont to regard the realm of the Hohenzollern as an artificial creation, an error which still prevails among Englishmen and Frenchmen. But since the foundation of our new Empire, it is clear that the progress of National Union in Germany has followed the same historic law as in all other great civilised States. As the Anglo-Saxon State grew out of Wessex, the French out of the Isle de France, the Russian out of the Varangian Principality, so Brandenburg-Prussia formed the firm core to which divided Germany gradually attached itself—only that this development followed in our case later, and in face of greater hindrances than elsewhere, and therefore showed the political will in question with unusual distinctness.

“And as the growth of the Prussian State was natural and necessary, it gave the most considerate treatment to the peculiarity of the small communities which it adapted to its system, and thus manifested its German character. Prussia alone among Great Powers possesses provinces in the full sense, which, while subject to the State-power,

still maintain their independence by raciality and historic tradition. While the rigid centralisation of the French or Russian State could tolerate only administrative bodies, and Austria, on the other hand, for want of a dominating nationality, had to grant a dangerous independence to its Crown-dominions, the policy of the Hohenzollern held a happy middle course. They subjected the provinces to the common obligations to the State, but in other matters acted with such consideration towards the old traditional institutions of the localities that even the useless old provincial councils, though deprived of their powers, were nowhere abolished.

“This characteristic of historic piety, though little recognised, shows itself in everything down to the smallest externals of the Prussian State-system, down to the coat-of-arms of the Kingdom, which is, as it were, a picture of modern German history. In vain shall we look in Prussian annals for that war on objects of stone or metal, which, as waged so eagerly by the French, is a sure sign of political incapacity. In every town of Silesia, the Austrian two-headed eagles still adorn the public buildings, and before the main-guard of Posen the Prussian soldier still stands sentry under a great royal shield of Poland. It never occurred to the State to oppose these old memories, it waited patiently until they had lost their charm over men’s minds.”

B. TREITSCHKE *v.* THE COMITY OF NATIONS

The Philosophy of the “Unconquerable Will.”—The “human intellect” had its vogue, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Everybody swore by it. The Rationalists, the Encyclopædists “knew” everything, and during the French Revolution, Madame Reason was solemnly enthroned. She did not reign long, though. Spinoza had reduced ethics to a kind of mathematics. Kant, philosopher-surveyor of the realms of reason, scoured the heavens and evolved a new “theory.” From the days when Newton pro-

mulgated his laws of gravitation to the days of the theory of Kant and Laplace, very many people were convinced that Reason was the best guide through the lands of the unknown to, if not into, the lands of the Unknowable.

But since the time of Kant—who himself already enunciated the “primacy of the practical over the pure reason”—men began to forsake their idol Reason, perhaps influenced to some extent first by the meteor-like phenomenon of the man of action, Napoleon, then, later on by the wonders of the steam-engine and the electric telegraph. Some became romantic dreamers with their eyes fixed on the glamour their fancy threw over the past, or gazing into far-distant unattainable Utopias of the Future. Others, however, the stronger minds, had found another idol, the human “will.” Fichte, who stirred his students to the depths of their souls asking them to *do* things, to fight Napoleon; he wrote: “Only above, and even beyond Death, with a Will which nothing, not even Death itself, can bend or discourage, does man become of some real worth.” And throughout the century men arose who taught the supremacy of the Will, who preached “Let us then be up and doing!” who relegated Reason to the position of a mere subaltern and made the Will the “Captain of the Soul.” Schopenhauer’s whole philosophy is based on the assumption that the Will is supreme. In fact the Will is his Cosmic Cause. Nietzsche “willed” the superman. James’ Activism is but a philosophical elaboration of “Do noble things not dream them all day long!” The whole school of voluntarism is a protest against enfeebling Hamletian introspection. Of course there were and are thinkers of a different frame of mind; but Treitschke and many others hold, “Sic volo sic jubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas!”

Fichte
the do
thing
man

Fichte.—Although Aristotle and Hegel have coloured Treitschke’s thought, it was Fichte who probably exercised the greatest influence over him. In his paper on Fichte, Treitschke said, “If Kant had found that things appear to us according to our capability of

perception; Fichte his successor goes beyond that, and says: 'things are only created through our own Ego, there is no "being" but only "doing." The moral Will is the only Reality.' Treitschke was influenced by the Greek conception of the State as a purpose in Itself and to a lesser degree by Hegel's creed that the State is the incarnation of the Idea; Fichte, however, with his Will as the only Reality, with his fanatic gospel of the absolute necessity of the individual's self-sacrifice for his country swayed Treitschke completely. If we consider this peculiar "bias" of Treitschke's mind; if we realise that till the Austrian and the Franco-Prussian Wars he never troubled himself much about other countries' rights, since his mind was absorbed with the task of Germany's Unity; if we remember that his knowledge of international law was mainly based upon the study of these two wars which by their vary nature were breaches of law, and that apparently he never made a study of the labours of a Grotius, a Hobbes, a Puffendorf, a Bentham, a Mill; we can somehow understand the incredible crudity of his pronouncement on International Law. Blinded by his belief in the State as a purpose in itself, he would not acknowledge that the Sovereignty of Law is to be held superior to the artificial Sovereignty of the State. Only half-heartedly granting some claims of the Society of States but selfishly always subjecting such claims to those of his own State, the State *par excellence*, Treitschke became the implacable foe of the Comity of Nations.

Contradictions.—The patriot in Treitschke certainly outmatched the professor. Otherwise the great number of palpable self-deceptions and contradictions to be found in his writings would be incomprehensible. Treitschke's attitude is rarely consistent, his fanatic belief in Prussia's mission always excepted.

Now he speaks of "the absolute independence of the State of any other power on earth"; now he admits "the concept of sovereignty cannot be a rigid one; it is flexible, and relative as all political concepts." In

other
rights

one place we read "there will arise the consciousness that each State is bound up with the common life of the States around it" and in another place, "the essence of the State consists in this, that it cannot allow any higher power above itself." One cannot have it both ways, but Treitschke when writing this probably thought of the old proverb: "Qui a compagnon, a maître."

We are told "the State is Power," yet we also hear that "this doctrine of mere power is self-contradictory." Moreover, Treitschke, who says that "in the State the influence of ideas is but of limited importance," could hardly deny that the "Power" of the modern State, based on dreadnoughts, huge howitzers and nimble aeroplanes is mainly the result of ideas.

Again, "even the most oppressive despotism is to be welcomed provided it tends towards strength and unity of the country," but "limitations must be imposed upon the freedom of those in authority." The fact of the matter is, that at times Treitschke, the man steeped in Greek culture has the upper hand, to give way however at once again to Treitschke, the despiser of the idea, the adherent of the philosophy of the Will.

Most of his conclusions are exclusively arrived at by crude empirical methods and he often loses sight of the insignificance of incidental phenomena. Amongst other things he seems to be under the delusion that the present form of State as well as a few forms in the past are the permanent archetypes of human communities for ever and ever, and that "nationality" will always be considered as the highest ideal in collective life.

The Law-Book of Might.—"The doctrinaire exponent of International Law fondly imagines that he need only propound a few aphorisms and that the nations of the world will forthwith, as reasonable men, accept them. We forget that stupidity and passion matter, and have always mattered in history.

"In questions that touch the very life of a State, the other members of the Community of States cannot possibly be impartial. They must take sides just

because they belong to the Community of States and are drawn together or forced apart by the most diverse interests." "All the limitations which States lay on themselves in treaties are merely voluntary, all treaties are concluded with a mental reservation—*rebus sic stantibus*—so long as circumstances remain unchanged. If conditions have been imposed on it which cripple it or which it cannot observe, the nation honours itself in breaking them. hon-
ors
& may

"When a State has been wounded in its honour, the breach of treaty is but a matter of time. England and France had to admit this in 1870. In their arrogant pride at the end of the Crimean War they had compelled their exhausted enemy to agree to remove all her warships from the Black Sea. Russia seized the opportunity offered by the Franco-Prussian War to break the agreement, and she was fully within her rights. The ancient Athenians were therefore obeying a right instinct when they decided to limit the time during which their treaties with other nations held good."

"Positive Law when the common good requires it must be abrogated." "If a State is not in a condition to maintain its neutrality, all talk about the same is mere clap-trap."

"An international tribunal is an impossibility"—
"One cannot lay down the law, but out of the spirit of an individual state."

Treitschke also held that *a distinction must be made between public and private law*. It goes without saying his spirit of scorn for the majesty of Law is not shared by all Germans. But to show that there are disciples of Treitschke at the present day it is sufficient to refer to *The Morning Post* of January 8, 1915 where we read that in a recent issue of the *Vossische Zeitung* Karl Scheffler discredits the doctrine "the State must act like a moral individual" and says, "The principle is false, because, while practical civic morality is rendered possible by the authority of the State and of Law, the State itself has no authority above it. . . . It is, there-

fore, a misapprehension of reality for a people in war-time to be morally indignant."

It is only fair to quote a few words to show that Treitschke, inconsistent as he was, sometimes had a glimpse of the Ship that found herself, the perfect "Society of States": "Every State will nevertheless show of its own accord a real regard for neighbouring States. Prudent calculation and a mutual recognition of advantages will gradually foster an ever-growing sense of justice, there will arise the consciousness that each State is bound up with the common life of the States round it, and that, willingly or unwillingly, it must come to terms with them as a body of States." "It is a crime against the human race to urge the view that force alone governs international law to-day."

not force alone

Outlook.—Treitschke was preaching the Gospel of Valour, the Religion of Force. With all the fanaticism and fervour of a Hussite priest he proclaimed that fortune will favour the strong. The old gods of Walhalla were his tutelary deities. Poet, historian, publicist, and professor, he devoted all his manifold gifts to realise his dream of German Unity. On the altar of his ideal he sacrificed everything; scholarship, judgment and justice were scorned by him if he thought it would benefit that ideal. One of his enemies said: "He has pulled down the Muse of History from her seat of judgment and put her on the battlements of parties." But he lived to see his dream realised.

He was unjust to other nations. His views on international relations and International Law are worthy of a semi-savage. How a man who was acquainted with the spirit of Roman Law could frankly recommend lawlessness is difficult to understand. His teachings, owing to the great influence they apparently exercise over a great section of his people, will remain for some time dangerous impediments in the way of Law's progress.

But all over the earth there exists now a tendency for unification within each nation. And from that point

of view a Treitschke has not lived in vain. He helped to weld together the almost disintegrated German nation, and the smaller the number of States which will one day voluntarily combine to form a terrestrial Federal State Society the better! That State Society will not imply the loss of nationality; there will be no barrack-uniformity; the greatest possible artistic variety of life will still be found, but everybody and everything will be subservient to the common needs of the Great Community. It will come about, although scarcely within this century. But come about it will! The religion of Force will be transfigured and will rouse men to fight the elements and the cruel forces of nature and not their—fellow-prisoners. The religion of Love, hitherto but a badly realised ideal, will find general acceptance and will soothe man's suffering when no knowledge can help him. The religion of Law—Reason's noblest dream—will then sway the earth and the prayer will be answered which more than two thousand years ago Aristophanes addressed to Irene:

“Most august goddess queen, venerable Peace! Put a stop to our over-nice suspicions with which we babble against each other; and blend us with the balsam of friendship and temper our minds with a milder fellow-feeling!”

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