

POLITICS

BY

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TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY
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IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I

NEW YORK
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
1916

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INTRODUCTION

UNTIL the late Professor Cramb published his *Germany and England*, Treitschke was scarcely even a name to the British public. Even now his name is much better known than his books. This is partly due to the fact that his main work was an unfinished history of modern Germany, and that much of this dealt with the period which began with the peace of 1815, and ended with the Bismarckian era,—a period rich in scientific, philosophical, and musical achievement, but politically barren and, to the foreigner, dull. It is also due to the fact that the full significance of the political theories to which the following lectures are devoted has only recently been made plain. Political theories, from those of Aristotle downwards, have ever been related, either by harmony or contrast, to the political practice of their day : but of no theories is this more glaringly true

than of those expounded in these volumes. They could not have been written before 1870. Nothing quite like them will be written after 1917. They bear somewhat the same relation to Bismarck as Machiavelli's Prince bears to Caesar Borgia:—though no one would put Treitschke on a level with Machiavelli, or Borgia on a level with Bismarck.

Their author, born in 1834, and twenty-seven when William I. became King of Prussia, with Bismarck as his Minister, is thus qualified by age to represent the generation which, in its youth, sought in 'Liberal principles' the means of furthering its national ideals; found them utterly impotent and ineffectual; and welcomed with patriotic fervour the Bismarckian policy of 'blood and iron.'

It is permissible to conjecture that if the political creed of Treitschke's youth had borne the practical fruit which he so passionately desired, the subsequent history of the world would have been wholly different. If 'Liberalism,' in the continental sense,¹

¹ It is hardly necessary to observe that I use the words 'Liberal principles' and 'Liberalism' in their continental, not in their British, meaning. We borrowed them from abroad, and have used them to designate a particular party, or, rather, a particular section of a par-

had given Germany empire and power, militarism would never have grown to its present exorbitant proportions. The greatest tragedy of modern times is that she owes her unity and her greatness not to the free play of public opinion acting through constitutional machinery, but to the unscrupulous genius of one great man, who found in the Prussian monarchy, and the Prussian military system, fitting instruments for securing German ideals.

The main interest then of these lectures to me, and perhaps to others, lies in the fact that they represent the mature thought of a vigorous personality, who, in early manhood, saw the war with Denmark, the war with Austria, and the war with France, create, in violation of all 'Liberal' principles, that German Empire for which German Liberals had vainly striven. War, it was evident, could be both glorious and cheap; absolute monarchy had shown itself the only effective instrument for national self-realisation; a diplomatic and military policy, carried through in defiance of public opinion,

particular party, But 'Liberalism' as used in its original home is a name for principles of constitutional liberty and representative Government, which have long been the common property of all parties throughout the English-speaking portions of the world.

had performed in months what generations of debaters had been unable to accomplish.

It is useless, of course, to look for impartiality in the political speculations born under such conditions. Forty or fifty years ago the ordinary British reader sought in German historical research a refuge from the party bias so common among British historians. Hume, Lingard, Alison, Macaulay, Carlyle, Froude, Freeman, all in their several ways looked at their selected periods through glasses coloured by their own political or theological predilections. Mitford and Grote carried their modern prejudices into their pictures of classical antiquity. But the German historian, though his true course might perhaps be deflected by some over-ingenious speculation, was free (we supposed) from these cruder and more human sources of error. He might be dull, but he was at least impartial. With the development of German unity, however, German impartiality vanished. To Ranke succeeded Von Sybel and Mommsen. Political detachment could no longer be looked for; learning was yoked to politics; and history was written with a purpose. In no one does this patriotic prejudice produce more

curious results than in Treitschke. His loves and his hates, his hopes and his fears, his praise and his blame, his philosophic theories, his practical suggestions, all draw their life from the conviction that German greatness was due to her military system, that her military system was the creation of Prussia, and that Prussia was the creation of Hohenzollern absolutism.

Consider, for example, his abstract theory of the State which colours all his more important political speculation. An English writer who wished to set forth his views on Education, Local Government, Military Organisation, and so forth, might perhaps regard an abstract theory of the State as a superfluous luxury. But then, as Treitschke explains in another connection, the English are shallow, and the Germans profound, so that this difference of treatment is natural; and certainly the English reader has no ground for regretting it. For though the theory itself is neither very profound, nor, indeed, very coherent; though its appeals to history are unconvincing; it gives the key to all that follows; it explains and justifies modern Germany. The State, says Treitschke, is Power. So unusual is its

power that it has no power to limit its power; hence no Treaty, when it becomes inconvenient, can be binding; hence the very notion of general arbitration is absurd; hence war is part of the Divine order. Small States must be contemptible because they must be weak; success is the test of merit; power is its reward; and all nations get what they deserve.

A theory of politics entirely governed by patriotic passion is not likely to be either very impartial or very profound. Even the most dexterous literary treatment could hardly hide its inherent narrowness. But Treitschke, to do him justice, attempts no disguises. He airs his prejudices with a naïveté truly amazing. I will not say that he wanted humour. Many things struck him as exquisitely comic;—small States, for example, and the Dutch language. He occasionally enlivened his lectures, we are told, by a satirical imitation of a British ‘hurrah.’ He clearly, therefore, possessed his own sense of fun, yet he remained sadly lacking in that prophylactic humour which protects its possessor against certain forms of extravagance and absurdity.

In nothing does this come out more

clearly than in his excessive laudation of his own countrymen, and his not less excessive depreciation of everybody else. Partly no doubt this was done for a purpose. He had formed the opinion, rather surprising to a foreigner, that the Germans, as a nation, are unduly diffident;—always in danger of “enervating their nationality through possessing too little rugged national pride.”¹ It must be owned that very little of this weakness is likely to remain in any German who takes Treitschke seriously. Nevertheless, it should have been possible to explain to the German people how much better they are than the rest of the world without pouring crude abuse upon every other nation. If the German be indeed deficient in ‘rugged pride,’ by all means tell him what a fine fellow he really is. But why spoil the compliment by lowering the standard of comparison? It may, for example, be judicious to encourage the too diffident Prussians by assuring them that they “are by their character more reasonable and more free than Frenchmen.”² But when the Prussian reader discovers that in Treitschke’s opinion the French are excessively unreasonable and

¹ I. 19-20.

² I. 66.

quite incapable of freedom the effect is marred. If, again, it be needful to remind the Germans of their peculiar sensibility to the beauties of Nature, is it necessary to emphasise their superiority by explaining that when resting in a forest they lie upon their backs, while the Latin races, less happily endowed, repose upon their stomachs?¹

Inordinate self-esteem may be a very agreeable quality. Those who possess it are often endowed with an imperturbable complacency which softens social intercourse, and is not inconsistent with some kindly feeling towards those whom they deem to be their inferiors. But it must be acknowledged that with Treitschke this quality does not appear in its most agreeable form. With him it is censorious, and full of suspicion. Unlike Charity it greatly vaunteth itself; unlike Charity it thinketh all evil. Rare indeed are the references to other nations which do not hold them up to hatred or contempt. America, France, Austria, Spain, Russia, Britain are in turn required to supply the sombre background against which the virtues of Germany shine forth with peculiar lustre. The Dutch, we are

¹ I. 206.

told, have "deteriorated morally and physically."¹ Americans are mere money-grabbers. The Russians are barbarians. The Latin races are degenerate. The English have lost such poor virtues as they once possessed; while their "want of chivalry" shocks the "simple fidelity of the German nature."² Cannot the subjects of the Kaiser realise "the simple fidelity of their German nature" without being reminded how forcibly that "simple fidelity" is impressed by "the want of chivalry in the English character"? But, when Treitschke allows his statements of fact and his moral judgment to be violently distorted by national prejudice, his errors become more serious. We need not quarrel over these opinions. They are made by a German for Germans, and doubtless they suit their market.

Nor do I here refer to his wider generalisations, though I often disagree with him. I think, for example, that he exaggerates the absorption of the individual by the community in the city States of antiquity; and his classification of various forms of government has not much to recommend it. On such questions, however, judgments may

¹ I. 50.

² II. 395.

differ, but what are we to say of the mis-statements of bare historical fact in which he indulges without scruple? Some of these no doubt are mere slips, as, for example, when he places the activities of Titus Oates in the reign of James II.¹; others are unimportant exhibitions of ignorance, as when he assures his readers that in England there are no Crown lands²; others, again, are mere exercises of the imagination, as when he tells us that, "after Henry the VIII.'s hymeneal prodigies, it was enacted by Parliament that its assent was necessary to the validity of any Royal marriage."³

These blunders are presumably due to want of memory or want of care. But others are the offspring of invincible prejudice. When he tells us that England "turns a deaf ear on principle to generous ideas,"⁴ the judgment may to an Englishman appear absurd, and, in the mouth of a German, even impudent. Yet it must to a certain extent be a matter of opinion. Character cannot be tested in retorts or weighed in balances. But what excuse can there be for such a particular historical statement as that "England's first thought

¹ II. 473.² II. 490.³ II. 165.⁴ II. 614.

in abolishing slavery was the destruction of Colonial competition,"¹ for there was not, and could not be, any possible competition between British manufacturers and the producers of slave-grown sugar, so that the charge is not even plausible.

Again, there is something peculiarly absurd in the statement that "no sooner had the French Revolution broken out than Pitt eagerly began to urge a reform of the Franchise."² This is not merely a mis-statement of fact. It is a mis-statement of fact which shows an utter want of comprehension of English political history at the period referred to. There is no reason why even a Professor of Modern History at the University of Berlin should know the details of Pitt's abortive efforts at Parliamentary reform; but he ought to know enough of the subject to prevent him mistaking the whole significance of the facts to which he refers. Treitschke's blunder is not merely one of chronology; it shows a complete misapprehension of the true relations between the French Revolution and English constitutional development. So far from the outbreak of the French Revolution having

¹ I. 162.² II. 157.

very midst of his envious indignation, he cannot shake off the ambition to follow in their steps ; he must imitate those whom he affects to despise.

I do not know whether there is anything in real life corresponding to this fancy picture ; but in the commonwealth of nations the part is aptly played by the German Empire as Treitschke would have it. Consider, for example, his views on colonisation. It is not easy to see why colonial possessions appeal so strongly to his imagination ; for he dislikes new countries almost more than he dislikes every old country except Germany. The notion, for example, that the culture of the new world can ever rival the culture of the old seems to him absurd. He observes, though not in these lectures, that a German who goes to the United States is "lost to civilisation"—an amiable sentiment which seems hardly consistent with the passion for acquiring new countries. But the real reason for these ambitions becomes plain on further examination. While Germany was in the throes of the Thirty Years' War, or slowly recovering from its effects, England, the detested rival, was laying the foundations of

the English-speaking communities beyond the seas ; and while Frederick the Great was robbing his neighbours, and his successors were struggling with the forces let loose by the French Revolution, the hold of English-speaking peoples upon regions outside Europe increased and strengthened.

This was quite enough for Treitschke. What Britain had must be worth having. If there was something worth having and Germany had it not, this must be due to the bad luck which sometimes pursues even the most deserving. If Germany had it not and England had it, this must be due to the good luck which sometimes befalls even the most incompetent. But such inequalities are not to be tolerated. They must be redressed, if need be by force. The "outcome (he tells us) of our next successful war must be the acquisition of Colonies by any possible means."¹

It would seem, however, that Treitschke was dimly aware that even to a German audience such a doctrine might seem a trifle cynical. He therefore advances a subtler motive for these colonial ambitions. Germany, he tells us, should bear a part in the

¹ I. 119.

improvement of inferior races. She should become a pioneer of civilisation in savage lands. To outside observers, indeed, it does not appear that either the practice of his countrymen, or his own theories, suggest that Germany has any particular qualifications for this missionary enterprise. What is likely to be the fate of coloured races under German domination, when men like Treitschke frankly avow that "in Livonia and Kurland there is no other course open to us (the Germans) but to keep the subject races in as uncivilised a condition as possible, and thus prevent them becoming a danger to the handful of their conquerors."¹

Here we come back to the fundamental thought of Treitschke, the State as Will to Power, and to his patriotic corollary that a Prussianised Germany under a Hohenzollern dynasty should enable that thought to be realised. In supporting this view there is no extravagance, historical or moral, from which he shrinks. He tells us, for example, that Frederick the Great was the "greatest King who ever reigned on earth."² He accordingly finds in him the most unexpected virtues. Frederick's dominating

¹ I. 122.² II. 68.

motive towards the end of his life was, it seems, "the desire to execute ideal justice."¹ A noble desire truly; but surely not one which would find any sufficient satisfaction in the first partition of Poland. Do you ask the reason for this extravagance of laudation? The answer is that Frederick was the greatest of the Hohenzollerns, that the Hohenzollerns created the Prussian State and the Prussian Army, that the Prussian State and the Prussian Army created Germany. Treitschke positively gloats over Prussian supremacy. "The Will of the German Empire," he observes, "must in the last resort be the will of Prussia."² All small States are ridiculous, but the most ridiculous of small States are the Kingdoms of Bavaria, Saxony, and Württemberg. "The German Army, not the German Parliament, is in Germany the real and effective bond of national union."³ And the German Army is a Prussian creation.

He does not, of course, pretend that a Hohenzollern can do no wrong. He goes the length, indeed, of accusing one of them, Frederick William IV., of "deadly

¹ II. 69.² II. 375.³ II. 390.

crime.”¹ And what was this deadly crime? It was, that after sending in troops to assist the Kings of Bavaria and Saxony to restore order, he withdrew them without destroying the independence of the States he had gone to protect. He behaved like a gentleman, but he sinned against the law of force.

But in spite of this lapse from patriotic virtue, and notwithstanding that it is difficult to say much in favour of any of Frederick the Great's successors until we come to William I., Treitschke holds firmly to the belief that the Prussian Monarchy is a thing apart, and that Hohenzollern royalty is not as other royalties. Sometimes, indeed, this sentiment shows itself in a somewhat ludicrous fashion. For example, Treitschke vigorously defends the use of classical studies in the education of youth. There is no way, according to him, in which intellect and taste can be more successfully developed than by a thorough study of Greek and Latin.² So far, so good. But a little further on the lecturer has to deal not with the education of ordinary mankind, but with that of a German Prince, and we find to our

¹ I. 95.² I. 375.

surprise that in the case of a German Prince the marvellous advantages of classical study are quite unnecessary. He must learn French and English. Why should he do more? “Why on earth should he be bothered with Latin, let alone Greek?”¹ We rub our eyes and ask what this outburst can mean. Are intellect and taste of no value to a German prince? Or is a German prince privileged by the Grace of God to acquire these gifts without education, or by an education inapplicable to the common herd? We may be sure that none of these alternatives represent Treitschke's considered views. I hazard another guess. I suggest that the lecturer must have known some young Hohenzollern Prince well acquainted with modern languages, but with no pretensions to classical scholarship.

From these brief criticisms the reader will be able to form some conjecture as to what he may expect to find in the following pages. He will find many acute observations forcibly expressed, and presumably accurate, upon German history, contemporary and recent. He will find many observations forcibly

¹ II. 72.

expressed, but certainly inaccurate, upon foreign history, contemporary and recent. He will throughout find himself in the presence of a vigorous personality, with clear-cut views about the future of his country and the methods whereby they are to be realised, but he will not find breadth of view, generous sympathies, or systematic thought. In Treitschke there is nothing profound, and his political speculations are held together not so much by consistent thought as by the binding power of one ruling passion.

The result is curiously interesting. Treitschke was a man of wide, although not apparently of very accurate, knowledge. Fragments of Christianity, of Ethics, of Liberalism, are casually embedded in the concrete blocks out of which he has built his political system; but they are foreign bodies which do nothing to strengthen the structure. Power based on war is his ideal, and the verdict of war not only *must* be accepted, but *ought* to be accepted. The sentimentalist may regret that Athens fell before Sparta, that Florence dwindled before Venice, but the wise man knows better. Art and imagination do not contribute to

Power, and it is only Power that counts. On it everything is based, by it everything is justified. It even supplies a short cut to conclusions which reason may hesitate to adopt. It required, as Treitschke observes, the battlefields of Bohemia and the Main to 'convince' the German people that Prussia should control their destinies.¹

It is not surprising that a man who held these views should regard with something like disgust and dismay the attempts of well-meaning persons to bring peace on earth. The whole tribe of pacifists who would substitute arbitration for war fill him with loathing. Like them he has his ideals, but they are of a very different order. His Utopia appears to be a world in which all small States have been destroyed, and in which the large States are all either fighting, or preparing for battle. "War," he says, "will endure to the end of history. The laws of human thought and of human nature forbid any alternative, neither is one to be wished for."²

Deeply as he despised those who, in his own phrase, "rave about everlasting peace," there are transient moments in which he

¹ I. 66.

² I. 65.

almost seems to fear them. Even the most robust faith will sometimes weaken; for a moment even Treitschke trembles at the thought that men may cease to cut each other's throats. "What," he pathetically asks, "if war should really disappear, and with it all movement and all growth?"¹ What if mankind should deliberately deprive itself of the one remedy for an ailing civilisation?

The thought is terrible, but, supported by religion, Treitschke's confidence remains unmoved. "Are not the great strides civilisation makes against barbarism and unreason only made actual by the sword?"² Does not the Bible say that "greater love hath no man than to lay down his life for his friend"? Are we then going to be seduced by the "blind worshippers of an eternal peace"?³ No. Let us reject these unworthy thoughts: being well assured that "the God above us will see to it that war shall return again, a terrible medicine for mankind diseased."⁴

Since these lectures were delivered the longed-for medicine has been supplied in overflowing measure. Even the physician

¹ I. 68.² I. 65.³ I. 65.⁴ I. 69.

himself could hardly ask for more. Yet were he here to watch the application of his favourite remedy, what would he say of the patient?

A. J. B.

March 1916.

AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION

POLITICS must be counted among the Arts. It moves in the world of historical facts, and is continually changing and taking new forms. Every theory must therefore remain incomplete, and there is besides another cause why unbiassed political reasoning is very difficult for us men of the present day. The life of modern peoples has a strong social tendency. Nowadays, unless a man is a Government official, he devotes most of his labour to scientific or industrial interests, and he takes no practical part in the State except by exercising his vote, or at most by administering some unpaid office.

In order to understand the dignity of the State, a modern citizen must free himself from a great many preconceived ideas. What we call political opinions are generally coloured by private interests, either social or economic.

Only in time of war does the importance of politics really come home to us. In a life of peace and quiet most people give little thought to the State, and are therefore willingly disposed to underrate it.

Just as Art and Science only renewed their truth and greatness through plunging into the life-giving streams of classical antiquity, even

so must we, abandoning the social outlook of our own time, grasp as the Ancients did the true meaning and grandeur of the State. He who wishes to gain a right conception of politics must steep himself in the spirit of the time which produced the *Politics* of Aristotle, that greatest masterpiece of political theory. In the light of its author's genius we see ourselves to be mere bunglers. We must, moreover, learn to understand the Ancients' conception of the State. In so doing we run no danger of making their mistake and overestimating the value of public life. The different circumstances of our lives prevent this, and above all that recognition of our undying personality which Christianity has brought us, through which we realise that man can never be merely a member of the State, when he is free to think as he will of God and the Kingdom of God. Being therefore without fear of lapsing into the conception which looked upon men only as citizens, we may strive to grasp that genuine theory of Politics which enabled the Ancients to deal with political problems primarily in the interest of the many, and secondly in that of the individual.

To them Politics meant simply the science of government, and they included in this both the department of political economy and of constitutional law. The task of Politics is three-fold. It must first seek to discover, through contemplation of the actual body politic, what is the fundamental idea of the State. It must then consider historically what the nations have desired in their political life, what they have

created, what they have accomplished, and how they have accomplished it. This will lead on to the third object, the discovery of certain historic laws and the setting forth of some moral imperatives.

Thus understood, Politics becomes applied history. No further explanation is needed as to why it lags to-day so far behind the other sciences. The descriptive historian feels little inclination to extract a theory from his facts, and on the other hand the historical sense has penetrated slowly to the minds of jurists and philosophers. This is the reason why no work upon politics exists at present which in any degree fulfils the requirements of the historian. The best is Dahlmann's *Politics*, a book already more than fifty years behind the times. Scientific politics itself, as Bluntschli represented it, is still hampered by the old theory of Natural Law.

It was Herder who first taught the German nation to think historically. The historic sense was innate in the Greeks, and what we call doctrinairism was unknown to them. It was for this reason that the theory of politics was brought by them so early to such a height. But in contrast to the splendid bloom of this branch of knowledge we find that the attainments of the Hellenes in the region of Natural Science are quite insignificant, indeed almost childish. The explanation of this remarkable fact is that the simplest scientific experiments require instruments whose manufacture demands a high degree of technical skill. A second reason for

it lies deeper. We perceive that all noble-minded nations are, and always will be, idealistic by nature. We can recognize this character in a people when its Art develops earlier than its luxury.

The early and brilliant development of political science among the Hellenes was followed by a long period of apathy. The pure historic sense cannot flourish under a doctrine which is narrowing, be that doctrine theological or philosophic, and the whole of the Middle Ages was cramped by its theology. Men no longer investigated into the things essential to the State, but tried instead to bring it into subjection to the Church. Martin Luther broke its bonds, and men began once more to realize its sovereignty.

But immediately upon this followed the search for a Law, especially for one which should define the ethical limits of international intercourse, and this gave rise to a philosophical idea of the State, the theory of Natural Law, so-called, which was believed to exist somewhere in the universe.

The State was conceived of as conforming to this Law of Nature, and treated accordingly.

This theory was first scientifically overthrown in Germany in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, after Herder had pitted himself against it. Herder was unsurpassed as a stimulator of thought, and his ideas were taken up, shaped, and worked out by others. The way was opened for the historical science of Law of Eichhorn, Niebuhr, and Savigny. By them Law was

treated as a living thing, developing with the Nation's development. According to Savigny, the State is the form of political life which a people has given to itself in the course of its history.

Every living thing has its own individuality. Just as there is no such thing as language in itself, but only various concrete languages, and no religion in the abstract though positive forms of it have always existed and always will exist, and philosophic systems which have grown out of those forms, even so there is no form of government derived, as the teachers of the Natural Law would have it, by deduction from certain philosophical phrases and applicable without qualification to all conditions. Such a view as this is absolutely unhistorical, for nowhere in the whole range of history do we meet with any State whose development has been along the lines laid down in the books of the advocates of the Natural Law theory, from Grotius to Montesquieu.

Such assumptions must be once and for all dismissed. Theory must retire to the background, and must show, if it really wishes to attain positive results, how the logic of facts is exhibited in the various existing forms of State, which are even to some extent contradictory to each other. Then it will be recognized that even barbaric States generally possess those forms of government which are suited to their intellectual powers and requirements.

The unnaturalness of the Natural Law is acknowledged now by most men of science ;

only the extremists, the Ultramontanes and the extreme Socialists, still hold by it. The former still take the standpoint of the Scholastics of the Middle Ages, and construct a Natural Law in favour of the Papacy. The sequence of their ideas is perfectly logical, although untroubled by scientific considerations. But in the system of the Radical Communists, which starts by presupposing the natural equality of men, philosophical doctrinairism appears naked and unashamed. Among reasonable, scientific, and thinking men, however, these ideas have practically disappeared. In theory it is commonly acknowledged that science must, by the process of induction and deduction, trace back various phenomena to a common cause. In practice, however, this method does not invariably prevail.

The student of politics, therefore, must follow the methods of scientific history and draw deductions from empirical observations. But these methods are far more complicated than the simple straightforward manner of reaching conclusions which is proper to the Natural Sciences. The time will soon come when the absurd rivalry between the moral and physical sciences will be at an end. The former have the higher and more ideal office to perform, and for that very reason must always remain inexact. They can never do more than approximate to truth. The scientific historian must work backwards from results, which are indeed the very elements of his craft. Here lies his great difficulty. In his narrative he

must make the later appear to follow upon the earlier, whereas in reality the process is reversed. He is neither able nor willing to set down all the events which have actually happened, therefore before he undertakes the description of a period he must be clear in his own mind which of its occurrences have importance for posterity, a meaning for time to come. If history were an exact science, the future of governments might stand revealed. But this can never be, for the riddle of personality always remains unsolved. It is individual men who make history, such men as Luther, Frederick the Great, or Bismarck. This great heroic truth will endure for ever, and how it happens that the right man appears at his appointed time will always be a mystery to our mortal minds. The period moulds the genius, but does not create it. No doubt there are certain ideas at work in history, but the power of impressing them ineffaceably upon an age is only given to the genius of some particular man appearing at a particular time.

It is misapprehension of this truth which leads to so many false conclusions, whose folly is the less apparent because many of them have already become commonplaces.

To take an example. Certain combinations of outward circumstances lay at hand for Prussia. She was favoured by her geographical position, extending from East to West. Moreover, she had within her borders the extremes of religious opinion. She was thus especially fitted to be the champion of spiritual freedom for the whole of Germany. One might therefore look towards

her to put fresh vigour into the Holy Roman Empire, but one must not argue further that from Prussia that new life must inevitably spring. That it did happen so was no fore-ordained necessity, but due to the men of genius who directed the course of political events. Any attempt to base a system on a case of this sort would immediately lead to mistakes.

Again. He who conceives of the State as a rigid organization, modelled upon a definite theory, cannot help concluding that France is under a despotism to-day in consequence of the organization of Napoleon I. A despotic Government was created, and accordingly there must be a Despot at its head. But in arguing thus he forgets the one essential, the personal element in history. To a Monarchy should appertain a princely House, which has grown together with the nation through the course of their common life. Only such a ruling family as this is able to rise superior to parties. After the Revolution France was left with no Dynasty which could take this position. The spectacle was at once presented, therefore, of a Monarchy seeking a Monarch and unable to find one.

It is because we so easily forget the incalculable force of personality that it is so very difficult to systematize the facts of history. There is no word which the historian should use so cautiously as the word "necessity." Doctrinairism is for him the worst of errors. He must never twist the facts of history to suit his own theories. The number of its laws that we are in a position to lay down is very limited, and

their correctness only approximate. The moral sciences can only discover ethical principles, and the Natural Law, obstinately inflexible, can never govern this free world.

In statistics we have, to be sure, one branch of political knowledge whose results can be reduced to formulae. They show that certain social peculiarities in the life of nations are marvellously constant, and some imperfectly trained philosophers have tried to derive from this some theory of a natural necessity working blindly among men. Thus Quetelet in his book *Sur l'homme* quotes a whole string of facts—for instance that the number of marriages in certain countries remains always the same; that on an average the people of one country marry much earlier than do those of another, and more at one particular age than earlier or later; and that a remarkable regularity is displayed in the statistics of crime; and he argued from this that there is no such thing as free will in the proper sense of the word. But the followers of this teaching fail to detect this fallacy in it, that there is no incompatibility between free will and necessity, but only between free will and chance, which may prove the stronger in the end. It is absurd to place free will and necessity in opposition to one another. It is exactly when a man is acting most in obedience to the necessity of his own nature that he is most fully exercising his capacity for freedom. If I do something which makes all my friends exclaim, "That is like him! Only he could and must act so," then I have behaved in a way

rather in spiral lines. Great gains are paid for by heavy losses. To suppose that progress consists in what concerns the comfort of outward existence is so gross and contemptible an error as to be hardly worth contradiction. The truth in the idea of human progress can no more be proved by theoretic reasoning than can the existence of God, or the justice of an optimistic or pessimistic conception of the world. In these things conscience must pronounce the final judgment. Only the pressure of conscience towards self-fulfilment can bring home the conviction that all mankind is urged forward by the same pressure. This is the only convincing proof that practical reasoning can muster.

Like the assertion of human progress, the doctrine of compensations in history must be very carefully handled. There may be grounds for assuming it, but in innumerable cases our mortal eyes are not able to perceive its existence. Moreover this very doubt has its advantages, for if we always saw the rewards of our dealings in this world every virtue would sink to the level of cold calculation, and lose all the merit which lies in disinterested renunciation.

If, after all this, the historian finds himself constantly compelled to admit that truths are only relative, he finds also that there are, fortunately, a few absolute truths on which he may rely. Thus he can deduce from political history that power resides in the State, that in the civil community there must be distinction of classes, etc. And just as we have been able to find some absolute scientific formulae, so also we

have verified the truth of some ethical ideas. Thus mankind discovered very soon the absolute ethical standard of marriage. Here again the *ne plus ultra* has been reached, and the divine command of Love as Christianity has proclaimed it is perhaps the greatest forward step which the human race has made into that region where pure Ethics holds its sway.

The matter of which we shall treat in these pages falls naturally into five principal divisions :

I. The Nature of the State : its underlying idea and the consequences thereof.

II. The social foundations of the State : the Land and the People : Division of Classes and diversity of aims.

III. Varieties of political Constitution.

IV. The State considered in regard to its influence upon rulers and ruled : Government.

V. The State considered in relation to international intercourse.

FOREWORD TO AMERICAN EDITION

SO MUCH has been said about the influence of Professor Heinrich von Treitschke on German contemporary political thought that this translation of his "Politics" will be welcome to English and American readers,—more especially, perhaps, to the latter, because they are probably, as a rule, less familiar with the principles it asserts. With them the most interesting part of the book will be the first three chapters and the last two, wherein the author discusses the idea of the state, its aim, its relation to the moral law and to other states, and gives his ideas of recent European history.

Other parts of the book are interesting also, particularly those that deal with the German constitution. Here von Treitschke explains his views

of the German Empire as a single state, with the Emperor as its sovereign, rather than a federation—although, as in some other cases, he does not carry his doctrines to their logical conclusion.

But it is in the opening and closing chapters that the reader will see Treitschke's peculiar views that have influenced German political thought, or in which that thought has found its expression. The disciples of a political thinker habitually carry his doctrines farther than the master himself; and this is the case with von Treitschke. His theories have limitations imposed by common sense. His state must to some extent observe a moral code independent of itself. Nevertheless in these chapters he expounds very forcibly his fundamental doctrine that the end of the state is power. From this he draws many startling conclusions; and his disciples have drawn even more.

(Signed) A. LAWRENCE LOWELL,

President, Harvard University.

FIRST BOOK
THE NATURE OF THE STATE

I

THE STATE IDEA

THE State is the people, legally united as an independent entity. By the word "people" we understand briefly a number of families permanently living side by side. This definition implies that the State is primordial and necessary, that it is as enduring as history, and no less essential to mankind than speech. History, however, begins for us with the art of writing; earlier than this men's conscious recollection of the past cannot be reckoned with. Therefore everything which lies beyond this limit is rightly judged to be prehistoric. We, on the other hand, must deal here with man as an historical being, and we can only say that creative political genius is inherent in him, and that the State, like him, subsists from the beginning. The attempt to present it as something artificial, following upon a natural condition, has fallen completely into discredit. We lack all historical knowledge of a nation without a constitution. Wherever Europeans have penetrated they have found some form of State organization, rude though it may have been. This recognition of the primordial character of the State is very

widespread at the present day, but was in fact discovered in the eighteenth century. Eichhorn, Niebuhr, and Savigny were the first to show that the State is the constituted people. It was indeed a familiar fact to the Ancients in their great and simple Age. For them the State was a divinely appointed order, the origins of which were not subject to inquiry. The constitutional doctrines of the Philosophers were in complete accord with the naïveté of the popular beliefs. For them the citizen was in his very nature no more than a fragment of the State; it therefore followed that the whole must have been anterior to the parts. This massive conception of the State as a whole, and its citizens its parts, can of course form no standard for us moderns; we say that a man belongs not only to this one community, but rather that he is essentially capable of forming part of many, without identifying his whole personality with any one of them.

Not till the decline of their commonwealth, when doubts of the soundness of the existing order began to arise, did the Ancients abandon their time-honoured conception. In a passage of the *Annals* (iii. 26), which by no means represents the characteristic spirit of Rome, Tacitus, that typical figure of the age of Roman Decline, declares that men originally lived in a condition of innocence, without legal institutions. Then force supervened, and thus the necessity for the State arose.

When the Pope and the Emperor, the ancient and visible pillars of the mediæval *civitas*

Dei, had lost their authority by Luther's act, political speculators aimed above all at tracing authority back to some source superior to the will of the rulers. They sought after a Natural Law, whose sanctions were to be read among the stars. To provide a basis for this theory it had to be assumed that the State was a creation of human caprice and was preceded by a natural condition in which there was no State. Moreover, the arbitrary methods of government in the eighteenth century were intolerable to free spirits, and led them to conclude that this condition of things was unnatural; the idealism of this century, the mighty impulse towards the emancipation of individuality, co-operated to promote the notion of a natural condition anterior to the State. The Jesuits, moreover, assiduously elaborated this doctrine. Since the *civitas Dei* no longer existed in fact, fresh justification must be found for it in reason, and thus the temporal State was called a realm of evil and of lust, morally unsanctioned, and only acceptable to God when it proffered to the Church the support of the secular arm. The remarkable book of the Jesuit Taparelli presents this ancient doctrine in all its crudity, and yet dates only from about the year 1860.

Thus the Jesuits and the champions of Natural Law agree at all events in regarding the State as something not inherently necessary. Once the borders of reality had been overstepped fancy had free play. Hobbes relegated the *bellum omnium contra omnes* to the origin of human development. Rousseau, on the other

hand, who amongst the so-called philosophers of the eighteenth century was undoubtedly both the most unpolitically minded and the greatest lyricist, has defined the Natural State in accordance with this his lyrical temperament. Human existence was imagined in its beginnings as inconceivably innocent and blissful, so that the question must arise, How could it be induced by a contract to emerge from this Paradise into a world of constraint?

If we probe this conception of a State-contract more closely, the historical fact which we have already perceived is seen to be irrefutable—that all human communities which we know of have enjoyed some form of political constitution, however primitive it may have been. The isolated man is not permanently conceivable; he must have a mate, if only for the sake of propagation. Let us assume what after all is possible, and appears to be supported by the latest ethnographical researches—the descent of mankind from a primeval couple; then the aboriginal family must be allowed to be the original State, for already we discover in the family the political principle of subordination. The father is the Chief; he wields the authority. Homer thus describes the Cyclopes as constituted only in families, and not as a State. There each chief pronounces judgment within his own family, upon wife and child. On such matters, of course, no absolutely decisive verdict can be uttered. The greatest riddles of History lie at its beginning and its end. How is it possible, under such conditions, for men to bind themselves

by a contract? The answer is that it can only be done where a State exists; where it does not, there can be no contract. The strength of the State is founded solely upon positive Rights. Its aim is to endow certain expressions of the will with the binding force of agreements. If, then, we regard as the cradle of the State a contract whose validity is derived from the State itself, we are obviously putting the cart before the horse.

We cannot found the State upon a contract which in its turn can only be conceived within that State.

Moreover, we must take into consideration that the idea of stateless humanity is not only without historical warrant, but also contradicts the general laws of reason. If the State were a machine—as Justus Möser still took it to be—artificially created and developed—it might equally well not have arisen at all. We can imagine humanity without a number of important attributes; but humanity without government is simply unthinkable, for it would then be humanity without reason. Man is driven by his political instinct to construct a constitution as inevitably as he constructs a language.

“Why cannot apes speak?” asked Blumenbach nearly a hundred years ago, and himself supplied the apt reply, “Because they have nothing to say.” Speech is the expression of reason; unreasoning creatures cannot speak. It is one of Wilhelm Humboldt’s finest sayings that man must have been already man in order to have invented language. In like manner

political capacity is one of those fundamental gifts without which we should not be men at all.

The human race was once for all created with certain innate qualities amongst which speech and political genius must undoubtedly be counted. Aristotle says truly that man is φύσει, that is to say in his very nature and essence a ζῶον πολιτικόν. A being who feels no need for a constitution, he proceeds, must either be a god, and thus superior to man, or a beast, and his inferior.

How these gifts have been implanted in man from the beginning is nothing less than the Divine secret, which Natural Science has never yet fathomed. The body is indeed the instrument through which the spirit works, but it is not identical with the spirit. Conscientious science must halt here and humbly admit its limitations, and history cannot be conceived at all without postulating a creation.

The innate gregariousness of the savage, however, does not embrace mankind as a whole. The general love of his fellows is unknown to him, and the gregarious instinct is balanced by a desire to repel the unknown. More closely examined, the wish for companionship is thus perceived to be merely a tendency to form into groups conditioned by blood relationships. It may be assumed that in primitive societies the family is an extension of the tribe. Such tribes confront the stranger (ἀλλότριος φῶς) with suspicion. It is well known that "hostis" and "hospes" were originally synonymous.

The assertion that mankind in the beginning looked upon itself as one, is the opposite of the truth. Humanity at the first cannot be otherwise conceived than as constituted in small groups; that is the primitive form of small State.

In classical antiquity every people held itself to be the chosen race. Only isolated thinkers had grasped the idea of humanity as a whole; Christianity alone made it universal, and even to-day it has to be assimilated through doctrine and education. Undoubtedly even at present a man feels himself primarily a German or a Frenchman, and only in the second place as a man in the wider sense. This is stamped upon every page of history. It is then both historically and physiologically untrue that human beings enter upon existence first as men, and afterwards as compatriots. It was the teaching of Christ which first brought home to them that all men are brothers. They are dissimilar in their concrete peculiarities, alike only in being created in God's image. In the actual circumstances of their lives they are thoroughly unlike. This is clearly perceived when we reflect that a man does not even remain identical with himself during his own life; the adult thinks differently from the youth, and takes a different standpoint. If we pursue this thought further it works like a deadly poison upon the theory of Radicals who speak of the natural equality of men. Rather must all political thinking postulate their natural inequality, for only thus is the subordination of some groups to others to be explained.

If, then, political capacity is innate in man, and is to be further developed, it is quite inaccurate to call the State a necessary evil. We have to deal with it as a lofty necessity of Nature. Even as the possibility of building up a civilization is dependent upon the limitation of our powers combined with the gift of reason, so also the State depends upon our inability to live alone. This Aristotle has already demonstrated. The State, says he, arose in order to make life possible; it endured to make good life possible.

This natural necessity of a constituted order is further displayed by the fact that the political institutions of a people, broadly speaking, appear to be the external forms which are the inevitable outcome of its inner life. Just as its language is not the product of caprice but the immediate expression of its most deep-rooted attitude towards the world, so also its political institutions regarded as a whole, and the whole spirit of its jurisprudence, are the symbols of its political genius and of the outside destinies which have helped to shape the gifts which Nature bestowed.

We must, however, guard against the abuse of this parallel between speech-construction and State-construction. The great historical jurists have often erred in this respect. They have too often failed to see that the conscious will co-operates in the building up of a State in far greater measure than in the formation of a language. The life of the latter is much more naïve, direct, and natural than that of the former. Every single person who lets his tongue

wag contributes unconsciously and imperceptibly to its development.

In the State, however, especially when it has become highly civilized, the influence of conscious will is indispensable, and every people reaches a stage at which a standard of justice, not necessarily desired by itself, is found to exist. Here it is important to take a wide view, and when we do so we find we can regard the political history of a nation as the necessary consequence of its characteristic disposition as well as of its international status and destiny. Schiller says, "The world's history is the world's verdict." It is a true saying, but it must not be interpreted in too crudely material a fashion, for it often happens that the law of retribution seems to be in abeyance, at least over short periods, and many a crime goes unexpiated. The life of nations is counted by centuries, and judgment can only be pronounced when some definite stage in their history is relatively concluded. If we take particular instances numerous riddles appear which we are unable to solve. If it had been said of the Italians in 1858, or in 1868 of the Germans, that they had got what they deserved, it would have been proved false at once; but in the course of the world's history a Divine ordinance is perceptible. In Austria to-day the German population groans under their fathers' sins; the whole country was evangelized, but the Reformation was choked by the brutal force of arms, not by superior spiritual power. A people must above all things have the grit

to maintain firmly what it has recognized as right and true. Thus far it is true to say that the Germans of Austria have received their deserts, for they failed to maintain the principles of Protestantism with the same energy as the Germans of the North.

France always fluctuates between bigotry and a false Liberalism. When Louis XIV. revoked the Edict of Nantes and exiled the Huguenots he deprived the French of the power of remaining both God-fearing and free. The Huguenot persecutions are still bearing their evil fruits. The saying "the world's history is the world's verdict" is hard to understand precisely because he who executes the sentence is himself always a litigant in the cause. No people was ever more justly annihilated than the Poles, and yet in considering this event no one will feel the emotions which a tragedy by a great artist would inspire, for the nations which consummated this annihilation were themselves neither innocent nor impartial. Moreover, there is the law of numbers which must be given its due even in political life. We may say with certainty that the evolution of the State is, broadly speaking, nothing but the necessary outward form which the inner life of a people bestows upon itself, and that peoples attain to that form of government which their moral capacity enables them to reach. Nothing can be more inverted than the opinion that constitutional laws were artificially evolved in opposition to the conception of a Natural Law. Ultramontanes and Jacobins both start with the assumption that the legislation of a modern

State is the work of sinful man. They thus display their total lack of reverence for the objectively revealed Will of God, as unfolded in the life of the State.

When we assert the evolution of the State to be something inherently necessary, we do not thereby deny the power of genius or of creative Will in history. For it is of the essence of political genius to be national. There has never been an example of the contrary. The summit of historical fame was never attained by Wallenstein because he was never a national hero, but a Czech who played the German for the sake of expediency. He was, like Napoleon, a splendid Adventurer of history. The truly great maker of history always stands upon a national basis. This applies equally to men of letters. He only is a great writer who so writes that all his countrymen respond, "Thus it must be. Thus we all feel,"—who is in fact a microcosm of his nation.

If we have grasped that the State is the people legally constituted we thereby imply that it aims at establishing a permanent tradition throughout the Ages. A people does not only comprise the individuals living side by side, but also the successive generations of the same stock. This is one of the truths which Materialists dismiss as a mystical doctrine, and yet it is an obvious truth. Only the continuity of human history makes man a *ζῶον πολιτικόν*. He alone stands upon the achievements of his forebears, and deliberately continues their work in order to transmit it more perfect to his children and children's children. Only a creature like man,

needing aid and endowed with reason, can have a history, and it is one of the ineptitudes of the Materialists to speak of animal States. It is just a play upon words to talk of a bee State. Beasts merely reproduce unconsciously what has been from all time, and none but human beings can possess a form of government which is calculated to endure. There never was a form of Constitution without a law of inheritance. The rational basis for this is obvious, for by far the largest part of a nation's wealth was not created by the contemporary generation. The continuous legalized intention of the past, exemplified in the law of inheritance, must remain a factor in the distribution of property amongst posterity. In a nation's continuity with bygone generations lies the specific dignity of the State. It is consequently a contradiction to say that a distribution of property should be regulated by the deserts of the existing generation. Who would respect the banners of a State if the power of memory had fled? There are cases when the shadows of the past are invoked against the perverted will of the present, and prove more potent. To-day in Alsace we appeal from the distorted opinions of the Francophobes to Geiler von Kaisersberg and expect to see his spirit revive again. No one who does not recognize the continued action of the past upon the present can ever understand the nature and necessity of War. Gibbon calls Patriotism "the living sense of my own interest in society"; but if we simply look upon the State as intended to secure life and property to the individual, how comes it

that the individual will also sacrifice life and property to the State? It is a false conclusion that wars are waged for the sake of material advantage. Modern wars are not fought for the sake of booty. Here the high moral ideal of national honour is a factor handed down from one generation to another, enshrining something positively sacred, and compelling the individual to sacrifice himself to it. This ideal is above all price and cannot be reduced to pounds, shillings, and pence. Kant says, "Where a price can be paid, an equivalent can be substituted. It is that which is above price and which consequently admits of no equivalent, that possesses real value." Genuine patriotism is the consciousness of co-operating with the body-politic, of being rooted in ancestral achievements and of transmitting them to descendants. Fichte has finely said, "Individual man sees in his country the realisation of his earthly immortality."

This involves that the State has a personality, primarily in the juridical, and secondly in the politico-moral sense. Every man who is able to exercise his will in law has a legal personality. Now it is quite clear that the State possesses this deliberate will; nay more, that it has the juridical personality in the most complete sense. In State treaties it is the will of the State which is expressed, not the personal desires of the individuals who conclude them, and the treaty is binding as long as the contracting State exists. When a State is incapable of enforcing its will, or of maintaining law and order at home and prestige abroad, it becomes an anomaly and falls

a prey either to anarchy or a foreign enemy. The State therefore must have the most emphatic will that can be imagined. Roman Law was not fortunate in its development of the conception of legal personality, for in spite of their marvellous legal acuteness the Romans lacked the talent for philosophical speculation, and this is most disastrously displayed in their doctrine of legal personality. Roman Law assumes that a person in the legal sense must be merely an individual citizen.

That is crude materialism. Rather should all associations possessed of legal will be considered as legal persons. Now it was laid down by the Romans, who also felt this imperfection, that the State should attribute this juridical personality to monasteries, churches, etc., to enable them to transact legal business, and to stand in legal relationship with individuals. Thus the preposterous assertion is made that a human being has a legal personality because he has two legs, while the State has to acquire it, not having it by nature. But the will of the State is not fictitious. It is the most real of all. Moreover, what is the meaning of attributing to the State a personality which is not inherent in it? The aim of knowledge is truth. Knowledge must not invent facts but must state them. A legal fiction is therefore not scientific. It is not scientific for me to pretend, when the State fixes a prescriptive period for certain offences, that no offence has been committed, for there has actually been one, and the State acts thus on grounds of expediency only. How is it

possible, in treating of the fundamental fact of all constitutional and political life, to assert, and to act upon, this legal fiction, that the great collective person, the State—the most supremely real person, in the literal sense of the word, that exists—is first of all obliged to endow itself with a personality? How can we deny this attribute to the very source of all authority?

As our Germanic public life was always very rich in all manner of corporations, our German jurisprudence was the first to abandon the theory of Roman Law which regarded the conception of personality as bound up with the individual, and it defined legal personality by competence to act in law. In this way the dictum becomes applicable to the State as well, for the State is the people's collective will. This does not imply that it is the mere mechanical total of all individual wills, for the individual is able to belong to several corporate bodies at the same time. Rousseau has aptly said, in one of the few maintainable passages of his *Contrat Social*, "La volonté générale n'est pas la volonté de tous."

The State, then, has from all time been a legal person. It appears to be so still more clearly in the historico-moral sense. States must be conceived as the great collective personalities of history, thoroughly capable of bearing responsibility and blame. We may even speak of their legal guilt, and still more accurately of their individuality. Even as certain people have certain traits, which they cannot alter however much they try, so also the State has characteristics which cannot be obliterated.

Pindar's warning words apply as much to the State as to the individual: "Pawn all thy goods to one, and debt will overtake thee."

We cannot imagine the Roman State humane, or encouraging Art and Science. It would be an implicit contradiction. Who cannot discern, in the course of German history, that excess of individual strength and violence whose centrifugal tendencies have made it so hard for us to establish a central authority? The State would no longer be what it has been and is, did it not stand visibly girt about with armed might. Sallust said truly that there is nothing more dangerous for a State founded by arms than to discard this essential principle of its strength.

If, then, we regard the State as the great collective personality, it is obviously misleading to look upon it as an organism, as many theorists do. This conception had a certain justification as against the mechanical view which prevailed earlier. In order to emphasize the doctrine that the State develops naturally, as an automatic product of the people's will, it became customary to speak of it as a natural organism. But it is dangerous to import the terminology of one science into another. Besides, the nature of an organism has become so problematical to the Natural Scientists themselves that Helmholtz once told me that he no longer dared to define the term. The boundary between organic and inorganic life has begun to fluctuate. Above all, the phrase does not in any sense express the nature of the State. There are countless organisms without conscious will, but will is the

State's essence. The talk of organic development in the body politic has too often served as the excuse for indolence. Every one who had no will to will, contented himself with the dictum that these things would "develop organically." We must not eliminate will, that most precious quality of public life.

Treat the State as a person, and the necessary and rational multiplicity of States follows. Just as in individual life the ego implies the existence of the non-ego, so it does in the State. The State is power, precisely in order to assert itself as against other equally independent powers. War and the administration of justice are the chief tasks of even the most barbaric States. But these tasks are only conceivable where a plurality of States are found existing side by side. Thus the idea of one universal empire is odious—the ideal of a State co-extensive with humanity is no ideal at all. In a single State the whole range of culture could never be fully spanned; no single people could unite the virtues of aristocracy and democracy. All nations, like all individuals, have their limitations, but it is exactly in the abundance of these limited qualities that the genius of humanity is exhibited. The rays of the Divine light are manifested, broken by countless facets among the separate peoples, each one exhibiting another picture and another idea of the whole. Every people has a right to believe that certain attributes of the Divine reason are exhibited in it to their fullest perfection. No people ever attains to national consciousness without overrating itself. The Germans are always in danger

of enervating their nationality through possessing too little of this rugged pride. The average German has very little political pride; but even our Philistines generally revel in the intellectual boast of the freedom and universality of the German spirit, and this is well, for such a sentiment is necessary if a people is to maintain and assert itself.

Since in so many nations the race becomes exhausted, and since various types of national culture exist side by side, single peoples can refresh themselves from the sources of other countries' intellectual vigour after a barren period of their own, as the Germans did from the French and English after the Thirty Years' War. The daily life of nations is founded upon mutual give and take, and since Christianity has brought this fact to universal recognition we may lay down that modern civilizations will not perish in the same sense as those of the ancient world, which lacked this knowledge. But it is no mere kindly interchange which takes place; the supreme need is to preserve what has been won. Historical greatness depends less on the first discovery or invention than on forming and keeping. The terrible saying, *Sic vos non vobis*, is once more vindicated. How tragic is the fate of Spain, which discovered the New World and to-day can show no trophy of that mighty civilizing achievement. Her one remaining advantage is that Spanish is still the language of millions beyond the seas. Other nations advanced and snatched from the Iberian races the fruits of their labour, first the Dutch and then the English. The

features of history are virile, unsuited to sentimental or feminine natures. Brave peoples alone have an existence, an evolution or a future; the weak and cowardly perish, and perish justly. The grandeur of history lies in the perpetual conflict of nations, and it is simply foolish to desire the suppression of their rivalry. Mankind has ever found it to be so. The Kingdoms of the Diadochi and the hellenized nations of the East were the natural reaction from the world-empire of Alexander. The extreme one-sidedness of the idea of nationality which has been formed during our century by countries big and small is nothing but the natural revulsion against the world-empire of Napoleon. The unhappy attempt to transform the multiplicity of European life into the arid uniformity of universal sovereignty has produced the exclusive sway of nationality as the dominant political idea. Cosmopolitanism has receded too far.

These examples show clearly that there is no prospect of a settlement of international contradictions. The civilization of nations as well as of individuals tends to specialization. The subtleties of personal character assert themselves proportionately to increase of culture, and with its growth even the differences between nations become more sharply defined. In spite of the increased facilities of communications between different countries, no blending of their peculiarities has taken place; on the contrary, the more delicate distinctions of national character are far more marked to-day than in the Middle Ages. Then the clergy of Europe, united by

Latin speech and culture, felt itself to be one body, as against the several peoples. Before the walls of Jerusalem the European chivalry evolved that peculiar and universally accepted code of gallantry and knightly custom which bound the German, English, and French nobles so closely together that they took the side of their foreign compeers against the cities of their own country. Further, the cities were only too often inclined to ally themselves with strangers against the native nobility. In short, the Middle Ages present a greater uniformity of class feeling and intellectual standards than is perceptible to-day. How profoundly different is the modern French ecclesiastic from the German, even when both are Catholics. No conclusion can be drawn from the superficial circumstances of life and fashion and similar things. Since the classic literatures of distinctly national type emerged from the old Latin ecclesiastical culture the individual characteristics of the nations have been strengthened by their own powers of literary expression. The rational task of a legally constituted people, conscious of a destiny, is to assert its rank in the world's hierarchy and in its measure to participate in the great civilizing mission of mankind.

Further, if we examine our definition of the State as "the people legally united as an independent entity," we find that it can be more briefly put thus: "The State is the public force for Offence and Defence." It is, above all, Power which makes its will to prevail, it is not the totality of the people as Hegel assumes in his

deification of it. The nation is not entirely comprised in the State, but the State protects and embraces the people's life, regulating its external aspects on every side. It does not ask primarily for opinion, but demands obedience, and its laws must be obeyed, whether willingly or no.

A step forward has been taken when the mute obedience of the citizens is transformed into a rational inward assent, but it cannot be said that this is absolutely necessary. Powerful, highly-developed Empires have stood for centuries without its aid. Submission is what the State primarily requires; it insists upon acquiescence; its very essence is the accomplishment of its will. The terrible words *βία βία βιάζεται* permeate the history of all governments. A State which can no longer carry out its purpose collapses in anarchy. What a contrast to the life of the Church. We may say that power is the vital principle of the State, as faith is that of the Church, and love that of the family. The Church is an essentially spiritual force, having also an external life, but appealing first of all to conscience, insisting above all upon the willing mind, and standing high in proportion to its ability to give profound and intense expression to this its vital principle. Therefore it is said, "He that eateth and drinketh unworthily eateth and drinketh judgment to himself." But if the State were to hold this view, or, for instance, to require from its soldiers more than the fulfilment of their military duties, it would be unbearable. "It does not matter,"

says the State, "what you think, so long as you obey." It is for this reason that gentle characters find it so hard to understand its nature. It may be said roughly that the normal woman first obtains an insight into justice and government through men's eyes, just as the normal man has no natural aptitude for petty questions of household management. This is easily understood, for undoubtedly power is a stern idea, and its enforcement is here the highest and only aim. For this reason the ruling nations are not so much the races rich in mental endowment, but rather those whose peculiar gift is force of character. In this the thoughtful student of the world's history perceives the awful nature of justice. The sentimentalist may bewail the overthrow of cultured Athens by Sparta, or of Hellas by Rome, but the serious thinker must recognize its necessity, and understand why Florence for all her refinement could not withstand the rivalry of Venice. All these cases took their inevitable course.

The State is not an Academy of Arts. If it neglects its strength in order to promote the idealistic aspirations of man, it repudiates its own nature and perishes. This is in truth for the State equivalent to the sin against the Holy Ghost, for it is indeed a mortal error in the State to subordinate itself for sentimental reasons to a foreign Power, as we Germans have often done to England.

Therefore the power of ideas in the life of the State is only limited. It is undoubtedly very great, but ideas by themselves do not move

political forces. If they are to influence public life effectively they must find support in the vital economic interests of the people. The *ancien régime* was not shattered by the ideas of the French Philosophers, but by the mutual interaction of various classes which resulted from the spread of these ideas.

A disturbance of social conditions followed; a middle class had arisen before which the old divisions disappeared, and here the egalitarian notions of the Philosophers received support.

Undoubtedly the genuine creators of the German Empire were Bismarck and the Emperor William; not Fichte or Paul Pfizer, or other pioneers. The great political thinkers have their meed of fame, but the men of action are the real heroes of history. In political life will power is the first essential of creative work, and therefore many builders of Empire find no place in the ranks of genius. The salient characteristic of the Emperor William was not the originality of his mind, but his calm, cool determination, a much rarer quality than is commonly supposed. Therein lay his strength.

The State's capacity for justice and impartiality lies in its stern and drastic nature which touches only the exterior of men's lives. As it aims only at forming and directing the surface of human existence, it can everywhere take up an attitude of indifference towards the conflicting schools of thought in Art, Science, and Religion. It is satisfied so long as they keep the peace.

Now if we imagine the Church organized like

the State we see at once why she could never remain impartial. She feels herself compelled to combat what she holds to be sin; she cannot be tolerant of it.

We have described the State as an independent force. This pregnant theory of independence implies firstly so absolute a moral supremacy that the State cannot legitimately tolerate any power above its own, and secondly a temporal freedom entailing a variety of material resources adequate to its protection against hostile influences. Legal sovereignty, the State's complete independence of any other earthly power, is so rooted in its nature that it may be said to be its very standard and criterion.

The State is born in a community whenever a group or an individual has achieved sovereignty by imposing its will upon the whole body.

We must not be misled on this point by new-fashioned teaching. Since, like all federated legal systems, the jurisprudence of the German Empire recognizes certain fictions from motives of expediency and courtesy, the senseless doctrine of first-rate and second-rate States has latterly made its appearance. This makes it salutary for us to analyse the meaning of the word "sovereignty." It is typical of the French and of their constitutional principles that they have never created any method of self-government, because they neither knew nor wished to know what it meant in practice. On the other hand they have maintained the unity of the State with spirit and determination, and it was a Frenchman who found the proper term for this idea. No doubt

the Italians had already at an earlier date spoken of "Sovranità," but without connecting the word with any very definite meaning. For them "Sovrani" meant persons in high place, as distinguished from those below them. It was first of all in France during the Huguenot Wars, when the crown had become the shuttlecock of parties, that Jean Bodin formulated the dictum, "The State is a plurality of families *avec puissance souveraine*." He was the first to use the expression in the sense in which it is now indispensable to us. Now it is the right and the duty of learning to express certain notions of universal validity in the terms of that nation's language in which they were first generated. Therefore the word "sovereign" is, and will remain, characteristic of the nature of the State, since the temporal power cannot tolerate a co-ordinated, and still less a higher authority in its own sphere.

Human communities do exist which in their own fashion pursue aims no less lofty than those of the State, but which must be legally subject to it in their outward relations with the world. It is obvious that contradictions must arise, and that two such authorities, morally but not legally equal, must sometimes collide with each other. Nor is it to be wished that the conflicts between Church and State should wholly cease, for if they did one party or the other would be soulless and dead, like the Russian Church for example. Sovereignty, however, which is the peculiar attribute of the State, is of necessity supreme, and it is a ridiculous inconsistency

to speak of a superior and inferior authority within it. The truth remains that the essence of the State consists in its incompatibility with any power over it. How proudly and truly statesmanlike is Gustavus Adolphus' exclamation, "I recognize no power over me but God and the conqueror's sword." This is so unconditionally true that we see at once that it cannot be the destiny of mankind to form a single State, but that the ideal towards which we strive is a harmonious comity of nations, who, concluding treaties of their own free will, admit restrictions upon their sovereignty without abrogating it.

For the notion of sovereignty must not be rigid, but flexible and relative, like all political conceptions. Every State, in treaty making, will limit its power in certain directions for its own sake. States which conclude treaties with each other thereby curtail their absolute authority to some extent. But the rule still stands, for every treaty is a voluntary curb upon the power of each, and all international agreements are prefaced by the clause "Rebus sic stantibus." No State can pledge its future to another. It knows no arbiter, and draws up all its treaties with this implied reservation. This is supported by the axiom that so long as international law exists all treaties lose their force at the very moment when war is declared between the contracting parties; moreover, every sovereign State has the undoubted right to declare war at its pleasure, and is consequently entitled to repudiate its treaties. Upon this constantly recurring

alteration of treaties the progress of history depends; every State must take care that its treaties do not survive their effective value, lest another Power should denounce them by a declaration of war; for antiquated treaties must necessarily be denounced and replaced by others more consonant with circumstances.

It is clear that the international agreements which limit the power of a State are not absolute, but voluntary self-restrictions. Hence, it follows that the establishment of a permanent international Arbitration Court is incompatible with the nature of the State, which could at all events only accept the decision of such a tribunal in cases of second- or third-rate importance. When a nation's existence is at stake there is no outside Power whose impartiality can be trusted. Were we to commit the folly of treating the Alsace-Lorraine problem as an open question, by submitting it to arbitration, who would seriously believe that the award could be impartial? It is, moreover, a point of honour for a State to solve such difficulties for itself. International treaties may indeed become more frequent, but a finally decisive tribunal of the nations is an impossibility. The appeal to arms will be valid until the end of history, and therein lies the sacredness of war.

However flexible the conception of Sovereignty may be we are not to infer from that any self-contradiction, but rather a necessity to establish in what its pith and kernel consists. Legally it lies in the competence to define the limits of its own authority, and politically in the appeal to

arms. An unarmed State, incapable of drawing the sword when it sees fit, is subject to one which wields the power of declaring war. To speak of a military suzerainty in time of peace obviously implies a *contradictio in adjecto*. A defenceless State may still be termed a Kingdom for conventional or courtly reasons, but science, whose first duty is accuracy, must boldly declare that in point of fact such a country no longer takes rank as a State.

This, then, is the only real criterion. The right of arms distinguishes the State from all other forms of corporate life, and those who cannot take up arms for themselves may not be regarded as States, but only as members of a federated constellation of States. The difference between the Prussian Monarchy and the other German States is here apparent, namely, that the King of Prussia himself wields the supreme command, and therefore Prussia, unlike the others, has not lost its sovereignty.

The other test of sovereignty is the right to determine independently the limits of its power, and herein lies the difference between a federation of States and a Federal State. In the latter the central power is sovereign and can extend its competence according to its judgment, whereas in the former, every individual State is sovereign. The various subordinate countries of Germany are not genuine States; they must at any moment be prepared to see a right, which they possess at present, withdrawn by virtue of Imperial authority. Since Prussia alone has enough votes on the Federal Council to be in a

position to prevent an alteration of the Constitution by its veto, it becomes evident that she cannot be outvoted on such decisive questions. She is therefore, in this second respect also, the only truly sovereign State which remains.

In such matters one must not be guided by historians, but by statesmen. When Bismarck once pointed out to the Emperor William I. that the consent of the Empire would not be forthcoming for a certain political step, the latter exclaimed irritably, "Rubbish! The Empire is after all only an extension of Prussia." This was certainly a crudely military point of view, but it was correct. As history knows of no case in which the conqueror has not strengthened his own organization, so it has come to pass by means of treaties that the might of Prussia has been indirectly extended over the whole Empire; and under these conditions we have prospered, for even the Kings of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Saxony have not lost but rather increased their effective influence through the creation of the German Empire. They have had to abandon a military power which only existed upon paper, and which 1866 had proved to be illusory, but they have gained a channel, through the formation of the Federal Council, by which they can exercise an influence on the collective will of the Empire at large. This influence is so considerable that the actual power of these rulers is at present greater than formerly, since it depends on realities rather than on titles.

Over and above these two essential factors of the State's sovereignty there belongs to the

nature of its independence what Aristotle called "*αὐτάρκεια*," *i.e.* the capacity to be self-sufficing. This involves firstly that it should consist of a large enough number of families to secure the continuance of the race, and secondly, a certain geographical area. A ship an inch long, as Aristotle truly observes, is not a ship at all, because it is impossible to row it. Again, the State must possess such material resources as put it in a position to vindicate its theoretic independence by force of arms. Here everything depends upon the form of the community to which the State in question belongs. One cannot reckon its quality by its mileage, it must be judged by its proportionate strength compared with other States. The City State of Athens was not a petty State, but stood in the first rank in the hierarchy of nations of antiquity; the same is true of Sparta, and of Florence and Milan in the Middle Ages. But any political community not in a position to assert its native strength as against any given group of neighbours will always be on the verge of losing its characteristics as a State. This has always been the case. Great changes in the art of war have destroyed numberless States. It is because an army of 20,000 men can only be reckoned to-day as a weak army corps that the small States of Central Europe cannot maintain themselves in the long run.

There are, indeed, States which do not assert themselves positively by virtue of their own strength, but negatively through the exigencies of the balance of power in Europe. Switzerland,

Holland, and Belgium are cases in point. They are sustained by the international situation, a foundation which is, however, extremely solid, and so long as the present grouping of the Powers continues Switzerland may look forward to prolonged existence.

If we apply the test of *αὐτάρκεια* we perceive that, as Europe is now constituted, the larger States are constantly gaining influence in proportion as our international system assumes a more and more aristocratic complexion. The time is not yet very distant when the adhesion or withdrawal of such States as Piedmont and Savoy could actually decide the fate of a coalition. To-day such a thing would be impossible. Since the Seven Years' War the domination of the five great Powers has been necessarily evolved. The big European questions are decided within this circle. Italy is on the verge of being admitted into it, but neither Belgium, Sweden, nor Switzerland have a voice unless their interests are directly concerned.

The entire development of European polity tends unmistakably to drive the second-rate Powers into the background, and this raises issues of immeasurable gravity for the German nation, in the world outside Europe. Up to the present Germany has always had too small a share of the spoils in the partition of non-European territories among the Powers of Europe, and yet our existence as a State of the first rank is vitally affected by the question whether we can become a power beyond the seas. If not, there remains the appalling prospect of England and

Russia dividing the world between them, and in such a case it is hard to say whether the Russian knout or the English money bags would be the worst alternative.

On close examination then, it becomes clear that if the State is power, only that State which has power realizes its own idea, and this accounts for the undeniably ridiculous element which we discern in the existence of a small State. Weakness is not itself ridiculous, except when masquerading as strength. In small States that puling spirit is hatched, which judges the State by the taxes it levies, and does not perceive that if the State may not enclose and repress like an egg-shell, neither can it protect. Such thinkers fail to understand that the moral benefits for which we are indebted to the State are above all price. It is by generating this form of materialism that small States have so deleterious an effect upon their citizens.

Moreover, they are totally lacking in that capacity for justice which characterises their greater neighbours. Any person who has plenty of relations and is not a perfect fool is soon provided for in a small country, while in a large one, although justice tends to become stereotyped, it is not possible to be so much influenced by personal and local circumstances as in the narrower sphere. French centralization is an alarming example. The incurable nuisance of our examinations is unluckily of Prussian origin, for a country with hundreds of *Gymnasien* cannot give a free hand to the teachers, and with our uncontrolled freedom of domicile and frequent

change of employees it will be hard to find a better method of selection for the mass of Government posts which have to be filled than that afforded by the routine of examinations, which have verily become the curse of Germany. Red tape is an inevitable evil in the administration of big States, but it may be sensibly diminished by the increased autonomy of Provinces and Communes.

Everything considered, therefore, we reach the conclusion that the large State is the nobler type. This is more especially true of its fundamental functions such as wielding the sword in defence of the hearth and of justice. Both are better protected by a large State than a small one. The latter cannot wage war with any prospect of success. There is, however, nothing mechanical in the administration of justice, it must be constantly modified by the daily practice of the Courts, which is nourished by experience of life as well as by the science of law, and it is only when the practical experience of numberless Law Courts is continuously accumulating that the administration of Justice can be really effective. There neither is nor ever can be a Swiss jurisprudence; French, German, Italian law exists in Switzerland, but a national code can never be evolved; Swiss jurists continue to develop our German law.

The economic superiority of big countries is patent. A splendid security springs from the mere largeness of their scale. They can overcome economic crises far more easily. Famine, for instance, can hardly attack every part of

them at once, and only in them can that truly national pride arise which is a sign of the moral stamina of a people. Their citizens' outlook upon the world will be freer and greater. The command of the sea more especially promotes it. The poet's saying is true indeed that "wide horizons liberate the mind." The time may come when no State will be counted great unless it can boast of territories beyond the seas.

Another essential for the State is a capital city to form a pivot for its culture. No great nation can endure for long without a centre in which its political, intellectual, and material life is concentrated, and its people can feel themselves united. London, Paris, Rome, Madrid, Stockholm, Copenhagen are the towns where the political life of the respective countries has culminated. Such capitals are necessary, their sins and their crimes notwithstanding, but it was not until the nineteenth century that we Germans possessed such a city.

Examining closely, we find that culture in general, and in the widest sense of the word, matures more happily in the broader conditions of powerful countries than within the narrow limits of a little State. When Holland was the predominant naval Power, Sir William Temple, in his book upon the United Provinces, asserted that in a small State there must be some hidden quality favourable to maritime commerce. A no less meaningless generalization is apparent in the favourite German theory that the peculiarities of our culture arise from our system of petty States. It must be obvious that the

material resources favourable to Art and Science are more abundant in a large State; and if we inquire of history whether at any time the fairest fruit of human culture has ripened in a genuine petty State, the answer must be that in the normal course of a people's development the zenith of its political power coincides with that of its literary excellence. In this England affords us an enviable example. Chaucer, the poet of the Canterbury Pilgrimage, is contemporaneous with the Black Prince and the other heroic conquerors of France. Then follows another era of political power under Elizabeth, and of literary splendour culminating in Shakespeare. Later, side by side with Cromwell, we find the no less unique figure of the poet Milton. The contemporaries of the War of the Spanish Succession are Addison and the prose writers, who gave to modern English literature its peculiar characteristics, and directed it towards the novel of manners and the study of realism in fiction. During the struggle with the French Revolution, England produced Walter Scott and Byron as well as Nelson. It is apparent from all this that the development has been a remarkably happy one.

Such good fortune, however, falls to the lot of few nations. The incalculable individual forces in the history of Art and Science have a very robust life of their own, and so long as they have something to say they express it boldly, recking little of the State's attitude towards them. The State may build universities and academies, but it must leave the cultivation of Arts and

Sciences to the spirit which presides over these foundations. In periods of political decay Italy has produced masterpieces in all the realms of Art, so we must not argue from, but rather guard ourselves against, the great delusion that United Germany must henceforward enter upon a period of literary greatness. Some national conflicts absorb so much of a people's nervous energy that an intellectual exhaustion is almost unavoidable. It was with the Italians as with us; their unity was achieved with the same suddenness, and where shall we find great champions of Art and Literature in the epoch of Cavour? So much of our national strength was expended in the throes of our struggle for unity that the nation needs time to recoup.

We must guard against pedantic theorizing from single instances, but in taking a comprehensive survey of history we see that all the true masterpieces of Poetry and Art have originated in the atmosphere which belongs to great nationalities. The cosmopolitan relations of Venice and haughty Florence were so world-wide that the ordinary Philistinism of a petty State was out of the question with regard to them. Their citizens had a pride in their own destinies which recalls the temper of ancient Athens. The poet and the artist require a great people to respond to their genius, for when did a small nation ever generate a great work of Art? The *Lusiads* belong to a date when Portugal had discovered half the world. Thorwaldsen was no Dane; he was born on board a ship bound for Denmark from Iceland, and

he went in early life to Rome. Nothing in his works discovers a trace of Danish spirit. He was a modern Hellene, and when questioned about his birthday, he answered, "I do not know it; it was on March 8th, 1797, that I first saw Rome."

It is always the rule that the true classics are brought into being with the subconscious assent of a great nation, the one notable exception being the German literature of the eighteenth century. At that time the very pettiest of the petty States were for a short while centres of culture.

No doubt great Prussians like Kant and Herder contributed towards this result, but, broadly speaking, the impression is that in the eighteenth century Prussia was still the Sparta of Germany, while its Athens was to be sought in the smaller States. This condition of things only ended with the foundation of the Berlin University.

The facts are undeniable, but the question is whether the life of the little principalities promoted our literature, or whether its influence was merely negative. What had Goethe and Schiller in common with the spirit of Weimar and Eisenach? It is a confusion of thought to assert that these great men were reared and inspired by Saxe-Weimar, which no doubt afforded them material protection and security, but certainly contributed nothing to their personality. The little Courts neither produced nor educated our men of letters. It was they, on the contrary, who educated the Courts, till

then dominated by French manners. At last a new world of ideas burst upon our people (the nation who, after the Italians, are the most idealistic in Europe) and asserted its right under the most unfavourable conditions. Was not Lessing compelled to do lip service to many a fetish and convention, and do we not feel in Goethe's *Tasso* how often the poet has inwardly struggled with cramping circumstances for which he was too great ?

Even to-day one cannot look without vexation at the fine twin statues of Goethe and Schiller, standing in a bare and narrow space in the town of Weimar, in front of an ugly yellow barrack, which one learns is dubbed the National Theatre. The handful of Chamberlains and Bedchamber Women of the Court of Weimar were not an audience from which a great poet could derive inspiration. It was in spite of provincialism then that our classic authors achieved their mighty work, because in all the narrowness of their environment, and surrounded as they were by poverty and Philistinism, they knew themselves to be representatives of a great people with a glorious past. With the exception of Kant, all our great writers wandered from home, yearning to belong to greater Germany. We may maintain, then, the broad principle that large States are more adapted than small ones to promote the development of intellectual culture.

We come now to consider the last point which arises out of our definition of the State as the people legally united as an independent

entity. Rightly to understand this proposition we must tackle the conception of civil society. That society is the whole range of the conditions of mutual interdependence which are implied in the natural inequality of man and the unequal division of property and attainments ; which are daily reshaped by human intercourse into unending manifestations which include family relations, economic conditions, and class rivalries, to say nothing of all the groupings which spring from ecclesiastical, artistic, and scientific life. Among all these the economic conditions are of the chief importance to the State, inasmuch as they, like itself, belong to the sphere of external existence, while religion, art, and science lead a more intimate life, and therefore are less dependent on the State.

When we examine more closely the whole fabric of these conditions of mutual interdependence which we call society we find that under all its forms it tends naturally towards aristocracy. The Social Democrats imply in their very title the absurdity of their aspirations. Just as the State pre-supposes an irremovable distinction between those in whom authority is vested and those who must submit to it, so also does the nature of society imply differences of social standing and economic condition amongst its members. In short, all social life is built upon class organization. Wise legislation may prevent it from being oppressive and make the transition from class to class as easy as possible, but no power on earth will ever be able to substitute a new and artificial organiza-

tion of society for the distinctions between its groups which have arisen naturally and automatically.

It is a fundamental rule of human nature that the largest portion of the energy of the human race must be consumed in supplying the primary necessities of existence. The chief aim of a savage's life is to make that life secure, and mankind is by nature so frail and needy that the immense majority of men, even on the higher levels of culture must always and everywhere devote themselves to bread-winning and the material cares of life. To put it simply: the masses must for ever remain the masses. There would be no culture without kitchen-maids.

Obviously education could never thrive if there was nobody to do the rough work. Millions must plough and forge and dig in order that a few thousands may write and paint and study.

It sounds harsh, but it is true for all time, and whining and complaining can never alter it. Moreover the outcry against it does not spring from love of humanity but from the materialism and modern conceit of education. It is profoundly untrue to regard education as the essential factor in history, or as the rock on which human happiness is founded. Would it not be monstrous to maintain that women are less happy than men? Does the superior learning of the savant place him on a higher plane than the labourer? Personally I am not imbued with this arrogance of learning, and truly great natures have never been tainted with it. I have

always felt a deep respect for the homely virtues of the poor. Happiness is not to be sought in intellectual attainments, but in the hidden treasures of the heart, in the strength of love and of an easy conscience, which are accessible to the humble as well as to the great. Goethe has often proclaimed that it is the moral forces which distinguish human beings from other creatures:

Edel sei der Mensch,
Hülfreich und gut,
Denn das allein
Unterscheidet ihn
Von allen Wesen,
Die wir kennen.

A man must be noble, kind and good at need, for that alone raises him above all other beings that we know of.

Again he says, "High thinking is not vital."

It is precisely in the differentiation of classes that the moral wealth of mankind is exhibited. The virtues of wealth stand side by side with those of poverty, with which we neither could nor should dispense, and which by their vigour and sincerity put to shame the jaded victim of over-culture. There is a hearty joy in living which can only flourish under simple conditions of life. Herein we find a remarkable equalization of the apparently cruel classifications of society. Want is a relative conception. It is the task of government to reduce and mitigate distress, but its abolition is neither possible nor desirable. The economy of Nature has here set definite limits upon human endeavour, and on the other hand man's pleasure in life is so overwhelming

that a healthy race will increase and spread wherever there is space for them.

We are told indeed that the innumerable inventions of a highly developed commercial community will make the supply of the primary necessities of life increasingly easier, but this is a delusion, for needs and desires lie so near the root of human nature that every material want which is satisfied generates another in endless succession. When the first railway was built it was generally assumed that a great number of horses would in future be superfluous, since the mail-coaches would cease to run upon the high-roads. Exactly the contrary has happened, because more horses are now used on the bye-roads which lead to the railways than were formerly required in the whole of Germany.

So it will remain true that the great mass of humanity is always labouring for the elementary requirements of the race. Nor can any one seriously wish that everybody should receive a highly intellectual education. We have already overstepped the limits of prudence in this direction and it would be a disaster if still more Germans wished to matriculate. The modern Greeks have squandered away their future by developing two characteristics with an appalling one-sidedness: firstly by cultivating an appetite for information which has raised the number of students in Athens to more than 3000, whose highest ideal is that of the schoolmaster, and secondly by neglecting their army. They cannot strike, and therefore it has become doubtful whether they will ever possess Constantinople, however much

it is to be desired that they should. There are then nations who, to their great detriment, are over-cultured, and there is still truth in the old saying about the hallowed soil of manual work.

Let us hear no clap-trap about the disinherited. No doubt there have been times when those in possession have grossly abused their power, but as a rule the social balance is kept.

There must be give and take between the higher and the lower grades of society, and in fact there is. The artisan can only pursue his craft by means of the upper classes, and it is the wholesale contractors who virtually direct labour.

From all this a result emerges which closer examination will verify: that there is in fact no actual entity corresponding to the abstract conception of civil society which exists in the brain of the student. Where do we find its concrete embodiment? Nowhere. Any one can see for himself that society, unlike the State, is intangible. We know the State is a unit, and not as a mythical personality. Society, however, has no single will, and we have no duties to fulfil towards it. In all my life I have never once thought of my moral obligations towards society, but I think constantly of my countrymen, whom I seek to honour as much as I can. Therefore, when a savant like Jhering talks of the ethical aim which society is supposed to have set itself, he falls into a logical error. Society is composed of all manner of warring interests, which if left to themselves would soon lead to a *bellum omnium*

contra omnes, for its natural tendency is towards conflict, and no suggestion of any aspiration after unity is to be found in it.

Bastiat expresses an illusion of the old Free Trade School when he affirms that a natural harmony of interests exists between the various groups constituting society and that this harmony could finally be established by a right understanding of the common good, and that the farmer for instance would have to recognize that his own prosperity depended upon that of industry. This hypothesis rests upon the self-contradictory conception of an egotism which looks beyond itself. The origin of this error can be traced back to the empirical Scottish philosophy of the eighteenth century which only took into account the animal impulses in human nature and set up the crazy contention that the brute in man would raise man above the brute. Self-interest, it was contended, properly understood, would lead men to perceive that their interests were inseparable from those of others, and therefore that a¹ harmony does in fact exist between the heights and depths of society. But how can it be supposed that men could arrive at overcoming egotism by egotistical reasoning? The purely selfish man, be he never so acute, can never penetrate the tangle of human affairs. Are not passion and stupidity to be counted among the great powers in all economic life? No doubt it would be very nice if rogues and assassins were sensible enough to see that¹ they would be much more comfortable if they did not stab or rob their neighbours, but these

members of society are more lacking in goodwill than in perception.

Passion and stupidity after all only emphasize a contrast already existing in nature. The landlord aims at getting the highest possible rent—the tenant at living as cheaply as he can. The most terrible of all wars are those provoked by social differences. This is taught by the Slave Wars of Rome, by the Peasant Wars of the Middle Ages, and in our own times by the conflagration of the Commune. Social passions once let loose are always appallingly fierce and foolish, and no class can boast of being superior to another in this respect.

It is then clear that society takes a thousand forms, and consequently that social science cannot be separated from political science. We can indeed treat the science of economics as an intellectual abstraction, but if we survey society with its struggles and its groupings, including those which are not economic in their nature, we find ourselves once more in presence of the State. For that is the legal unity which counterbalances this multiplicity of interests, and it is only playing with words to speak of political and social science as two separate things. Law and peace and order cannot spring from the manifold and eternally clashing interests of society, but from the power which stands above it, armed with the strength to restrain its wild passions. It is here that we first get a clear idea of what we may speak of as the moral sanctity of the State. The State it is which brings justice and mercy into this struggling world.

If we inspect more closely the mutual relations of State and society we find a continual interaction between them, involving the subtlest scientific problems. The ideal aim is that the two should be commensurate, and that every living social force should find that place within the constituted order of things, which its importance demands. But this ideal can never be realized because society always lives and grows faster than the State. The formation of commercial companies must first have arisen out of trade before the State can contemplate legislation with regard to them. A natural inclination to become identified is discernible both in the State and in society, but it can never be quite carried out. Every force which arises in society struggles to acquire a corresponding weight in the State, and conversely the State seeks to utilize every such force for its own ends. Hence there is an unceasing ebb and flow, a constant give and take. The power of a newly arisen class may long remain unnoticed by the State, until it suddenly becomes apparent that the social centre of gravity has shifted. During the eighteenth century the nobility in France had gradually ceased to be the dominant class, the bourgeoisie had become more and more powerful through its wealth and culture, so that the aristocracy little by little lost its claim to pre-eminence. But such processes must have nearly run their course before the State can take cognizance of them; and to discern these really vital movements of society is one of the most difficult tasks which it has to perform, because in the

constant flux of daily life they are so often unseen upon the surface, and because it is very hard for reflective thought to penetrate the secret heart of the masses. Further it is plain that the State may influence society by organizing and controlling it, but can rarely do so by creative effort. By enfranchising the serfs in 1807 Prussia enabled them to make themselves self-supporting, but it is to their own energy, and to the use they have made of the opportunity thus afforded them that we owe the boon of our free peasant community. Identical legislation would not have transformed Russian or Polish serfs into the stalwart yeomen which ours afterwards became. The State can only interfere to protect or promote.

Further there is a natural distinction between the social and the political conception of the State. It may be regarded from above from the point of view of government, and the question asked, "What safeguards its authority?" In pursuing this political train of thought the question of individual happiness is relegated to the second rank. On the other hand the social point of view looks upon the State with naïve egotism, and points clamorously to the new social forces for which it has not yet legislated. Everything which our century terms Liberalism tends towards the social view of the State. Were it the only one, were it not confronted by a stern political conception, the framework of our nationality would simply collapse, and Germany be disintegrated by the warring of innumerable social groups.

There are peoples whose entire existence is coloured and shaped by their relation to the State, others again in which the social outlook predominates. Broadly speaking, modern nations fall into the latter category, in contradistinction to the politically-minded communities of the ancient world. The difference between the two attitudes is very marked, even within a given epoch, and it is very curious to observe how the excess of either tendency may ruin a people. Thus did the gifted Spanish race drain its life-blood for the political idea of the supremacy of the Church. We cannot contemplate such stupendous political idealism without a kind of horror-stricken admiration. The moral dignity of labour was repudiated on principle, and thereby the country was ruined to such an extent that the catastrophe was instantaneous.

In modern history we more often see the momentous results of the exclusively social attitude of mind. The nation which lives only to justify those social appetites, whose only wish is to grow richer and to live more comfortably, must inevitably fall a prey to the lowest propensities of nature. What a glorious people were the Dutch in the days of their struggle against the power of Spain! But scarcely was their independence secured before the corroding influence of peace began to eat into their hearts. Misfortune is a tonic to noble nations, but in continued prosperity even they run the risk of enervation. In this way the once courageous race of Holland have deteriorated physically as well as morally by becoming mere money-

grubbers. That is the Nemesis of a people which spends itself entirely in social life and loses the sense of its political greatness.

Both the Italians and the Germans have been under this same curse. Their idealism took an exclusively literary and artistic form, and thus the Italians became a nation of dilettantes who found beauty only in the ankle of a ballerina or the throat of a prima-donna. We Germans have never known a more contemptible period than the slothful interval of peace after the religious compact of Augsburg. This instance plainly proves that a dead calm is not wholesome for a people. Its result was a belated War of Religion, which unfortunately inherited none of the passions of the days of Luther except their hatreds, for the truly idealistic spirit of the Reformation was gone. Here the one-sidedness of the purely social outlook took a terrible revenge. In the eighteenth century literary and artistic preoccupations were uppermost, and not till then did our people gradually begin to descend from Heaven to Earth. In our own time the preponderance of social forces is beginning to assert itself again in the form of a slavish observance of the platitudes of Natural Science.

A certain balance between political and social activity is the ideal. A people generally takes care of itself in this respect, and at intervals which defeat calculation reconstitutes itself by war. War is Politics *κατ' ἐξοχήν*. Again and again it has been proved that it is war which turns a people into a nation, and that only great

deeds, wrought in common, can forge the indissoluble links which bind them together. But the same reinvigorating force which war from time to time carries with it, is brought into daily life by a liberal Constitution, and here it is especially noteworthy that local self-government maintains better the balance of social and political activity than a Parliamentary activity can do. Self-government enlists the best elements in the community in the daily service of the State, and is thus of infinite value. Self-administered local bodies prepare the community, which would otherwise be disintegrated by the egotism of purely social activities, for political work towards a common end.

The interaction between State and society is infinitely complex, illogical and intricate. Human existence is not adapted to being woven by theorists into a flawless system. There are social forces which embody the idea of beauty or devote themselves to the search for truth, but however exalted the aims of these social efforts may be it is the common characteristic of them all to remain unsatisfied with the attained, and to be filled with the spirit of overweening, the *πλεονεξία*. None of them, not even the Church, have the instinct of a mathematical equality in their conception of justice. The State alone can be universally and genuinely just, and this because it concerns itself with external order alone. Under primitive conditions it frequently happens that a particular class absorbs the governing power to such an extent that the State never attains to the consciousness

of its duty to stand above social antagonisms. This is undoubtedly true of the Middle Ages. It was at a very late stage that the State began to realize that it was something more than the tool of a particular class. The conception of the theory of High Treason is a symptom of this awakening. Already in 1352 the idea of it was formulated in England, and marks the State's dawning consciousness of its own majesty. The more the conditions of its power make it independent of any social class, the more capable will it be of meting out justice to every one of them. All civil society is, as we have seen, aristocratic by nature. A monarchy as well as an aristocracy becomes part of this naturally ordained aristocratic division, while all democracy is rooted in a contradiction of nature, because it premises a universal equality which is nowhere actually existent. It is not to be discovered in any of Nature's organisms: no animal is the exact replica of its fellow, and this rule stands good in far higher degree for the human race. Civil society exhibits the same inequalities, which the State can never remove.

When we draw our conclusions from all the foregoing we shall not follow Hegel in pronouncing the State to be absolutely the people's life.

In the State he saw the moral idea realized, which is able to accomplish whatever it may desire. Now the State, as we have seen, is not the whole of a nation's life, for its function is only to surround the whole, regulating and protecting it. When the Hegelian Philosophy

was at its zenith, a number of gifted men tried to make out that the State, like the Leviathan, should swallow up everything. The modern man will not find this idea easy to accept. No Christian could live for the State alone, because he must cling fast to his destiny in eternity. Out of this arises a youthful error of Richard Rothe's, when, in his work on the history of the Christian Church, he develops the idea that if the State would in the future take over the Church's civilizing duties, the two might amalgamate. This can never be, nor can any one seriously wish it. The State can only work by an outward compulsion: it is only the people as a force; but in saying this we express an endlessly wide and great ideal, for the State is not only the arena for the great primitive forces of human nature, it is also the framework of all national life. In short, a people which is not in a position to create and maintain under the wing of the State an external organization of its own intellectual existence deserves to perish. The Jewish race affords the most tragic example of a richly gifted nation, who were incapable of defending their State, and are now scattered to the ends of the earth. Their life is crippled, for no man can belong to two nations at once. The State, therefore, is not only a high moral good in itself, but is also the assurance for the people's endurance. Only through it can their moral development be perfected, for the living sense of citizenship inspires the community in the same way as a sense of duty inspires the individual.

All historical study, therefore, must return finally to consider the State, for there can be no Will without a being capable of willing, and where is that to be found in the life of history? Where are the collective personalities who struggle with one another upon its stage? To speak of the soul of a people is the error of the scientist; it has become the fashion, but it will vanish like last year's snow, for how is it possible to say that some decision has, at some given moment, been arrived at by the soul of a people? Macaulay was the first to assert that the era of political history was ended, and its place taken by the history of civilization, but he refrained from acting up to his own principles. Whoever recognizes that continuity is the very essence of history, will also understand that all history is primarily political. The deeds of a nation must indeed be chronicled, statesmen and generals are the heroes, scholars and artists also have their place, but the true life of history is not exhausted by the study of these inspiring figures. The further we stray from the State the more do we lose sight of that true historic life.

Moreover, when our century claims that the study of social conditions is a new thing in the writing of history, it exhibits a strange self-conceit. The Father of History, Herodotus, devotes quite half his attention to it. The second great historian of the Greeks, whose relations to Herodotus are as those of the full-grown man to the simple child, writes purely politically and ignores social history altogether. Herodotus describes a strange and mysterious

world, unfamiliar to his hearers, but deeply interesting to all Hellenes. He had seen it with his own eyes, and in order to make the events of Persian and Egyptian history generally comprehensible, he first of all depicts the ordinary manners and customs of the time. Thucydides was not obliged to do this, and would have made himself ridiculous by attempting a detailed description of Greek society, for he was concerned with contemporary history played upon a stage with which every one was well acquainted. Here we have a striking proof of how the social element may sometimes be absent from the representation of history, but the political never can be. No historian who lacks the political mind can penetrate to the heart of history, for all his philological learning cannot give him the political insight to perceive how the ideas of the age influenced the State for good or evil. There is always an incompleteness in those historical works, which treat only of the mere study of national character and ignore the State and the world of action. Jacob Burckhardt's splendid book, *Cultur der Renaissance in Italien*, is one of the finest historical works existing, but nevertheless every one feels the want of something in it, and that something is living personalities. To understand the Italian Renaissance at all it is first necessary to understand the blossoming of the Italian States.

Moreover, technical achievement and invention have much less historical importance than is nowadays claimed for them. Were it not so we should have to revise our collective judgment

of the history of the world. In the whole course of that history we can hardly find a people whose actions have had so lasting an influence as those of the Romans, and yet they were not outstanding in Art or Literature, nor especially distinguished for their inventions. Horace and Virgil wrote Greek verse in Latin, but we must not expect from them the originality proper to the Greek poets. Yet this Roman people became, through their actions, one of the most productive in the world's history. They impregnated the German races with their genius for State construction, and we will not forget that the Roman Church owes its form essentially to the Roman State. No doubt the Romans did make many advances in the realm of science, but on the whole their genius here also lagged behind that of the Greeks.

Reflection convinces us that it is the first and oldest inventions which have done the most for civilization, and have had the greatest influence on the life of the nations. Writing was undoubtedly the most important of all human inventions, for with it historic life began. Likewise the discovery of the use of manure was the most ancient in agriculture and produced the greatest effect, for when the tribes attained that knowledge they became stationary, and their whole way of life was changed. It is evident that these two ancient discoveries did more for the progress of mankind than either printing or the telegraph. Writing lifted the human intellect to a new level, but printing had no such effect.

A summary of all this leads us again to the definition of history as a representation of the *res gestae* and of the statesmen who brought them to pass. The historian must have unhampered political insight in order to understand the gifts and specific peculiarities of each of those men. Every great statesman is characterized by will-power, strong ambition, and a passionate desire for success. He is no statesman if he takes no joy in results. Frederick William IV. had the artistic nature. He was satisfied to revel in some fine political theory, and its practical working out interested him less. No doubt the statesman also must possess imagination, but it is imagination dealing with reality, and differently constructed from the artist's. And in spite of his delight in mere success, in spite of his recklessness in the choice of men and methods, in spite of all the harshness and brutality which his nature must acquire, the true statesman displays a disinterestedness which cannot fail to impress.

"May my reputation be shattered and my name forgotten," exclaimed Cavour, "but let Italy become a nation."

At the present time there are two tendencies which work against this political conception of history. One is the over-subtle, artistic, literary trend of thought, introduced by Hermann Grimm. He finds the real inwardness of history in Art and Literature, and forgets that millions of men are left untouched thereby. But a far greater danger than this aesthetic one-sidedness lies in that modern and suburban view of life

which prizes money-grubbing above the productivity of Art or even of the effective Will.

Against this we must hold to the living idealism of the historian which does not underrate hard facts, but rather seeks to discover through them the dominating idea.

II

THE AIM OF THE STATE

WHEN we begin to consider the aim of the State we are immediately confronted with the old vexed question which has needlessly fretted both the learned and the ignorant, namely—Should we look upon it as a means towards the private ends for which its citizens strive, or are those citizens means towards the great national ends of the State? The severely political outlook of the ancient world favoured the second alternative; the first is maintained by the modern social conception of the State, and the eighteenth century believed itself to have discovered in it the theory that the State should be treated only as an instrument to promote the aims of its citizens.

But, as Falstaff would say, this is “a question not to be asked,” for ever since it has been considered at all, it has been universally agreed that the rights and duties of the State and its members are reciprocal. There can be no two opinions on that point. But parties which are bound together by mutual obligations and rights cannot stand to each other in the relations of means to an end, for means only

exist to serve an end, and there can be no reciprocity between them. The Christian point of view has destroyed the ancient conception of the State, and the Christian would be false to himself if he did not reserve that immortal and intransitory something, which we call conscience, as his own private and peculiar possession.

In one of his greatest books, *The Foundations of the Metaphysics of Ethics*, Kant logically develops the principle that no human being may be used merely as an instrument, thereby recognizing the divinely appointed dignity of man. Conversely, to regard the State as nothing but a means for the citizens' ends is to place the subjective aspect too high. The greatness of the State lies precisely in its power of uniting the past with the present and the future; and consequently no individual has the right to regard the State as the servant of his own aims but is bound by moral duty and physical necessity to subordinate himself to it, while the State lies under the obligation to concern itself with the life of its citizens by extending to them its help and protection.

When we conceive the State as a personality, we see clearly that it must seek its own goal within itself. This truth was first pointed out at the beginning of the nineteenth century by Adam Müller and the Romantic School of political thinkers. It is impossible to discover what the ultimate aim of any living personality should be, without putting the further question, What is the moral task of that personality? Let us in the same way ask the State what is its

appointed work in the civilized world,—and, firstly, what are the natural boundaries of its activity?

It then becomes evident that we cannot and must not attempt to lay down any theoretic maximum of such activity, nor define the boundaries within which the State may display it. Since the State is power, it can obviously draw all human action within its scope, so long as that action arises from the will which regulates the outer lives of men, and belongs to their visible common existence. Historical experience—examined fairly and without prejudice—teaches us that the State can overshadow practically the whole of a people's life. It will dominate it to the precise extent in which it is in a position to do so. There have been States which have embraced and directed it entirely. Communistic forms of society do this. Moreover, the degree of independence desired by different nations varies very much. Some only feel themselves at ease when all the circumstances of their lives are guided by a compelling power above them. A theocracy, of all forms of government the most immature, is also the most interfering. We know of no State in history which has mingled more with the life of its members than the remarkable Jesuit State in Paraguay. It existed for centuries among the Indians, and they thrived under its sway. In this case Church and State were one. These savages, converted to the Church of Christ, were ruled by a practical Communism such as no other people have ever consistently experienced. The clang of the Church bell

summoned them to their work, their food, and their slumbers. Such a theocratic omnipotence may shock us, but we cannot deny to this State its claim to the title.

Theoretically, therefore, no limit can be set to the functions of a State. It will attempt to dominate the outer life of its members as far as it is able to do so. A more fruitful subject for speculation will be to fix the theoretic minimum for its activity, and decide what functions it must at the least fulfil before it can be given the name of State. When we have set this minimum we shall come to the further question of how far beyond it the State may reasonably extend its action. We then see at once that since its first duty, as we have already said, is the double one of maintaining power without, and law within, its primary obligations must be the care of its Army and its Jurisprudence, in order to protect and to restrain the community of its citizens. The fulfilment of these two functions is attained by certain material means; therefore some form of fiscal system must exist, even in the most primitive of States, in order to provide these means.

No State can endure which can no longer fulfil these elementary duties. It is only in abnormal circumstances that we find any exception to this rule, as when an artificial balance of power protects the smaller States which can no longer protect themselves.

The functions of the State in maintaining its own internal administration of justice are manifold. It must firstly, in civil law, place

the prescribed limit upon the individual will. It will nevertheless proportionately restrict its own activity in this sphere, since no individual is compelled to exercise his own legal rights. Here the State will issue no direct commands, but merely act as mediator, leaving the carrying out of its decrees to the free will of the contracting parties.

In civil law the rule that purchase supersedes hire is not necessarily observed in each individual case, but only when the parties concerned have made no other arrangement, and the State only enforces it in order to provide a fixed legal standard if dispute arises.

The interference of the State is more active in the domain of criminal law. Here it exercises compulsion in order to protect its legal ordinances against the invasion of evil design, and here it lays down what the rights and duties of its citizens should be. In sharp contrast with the principles of civil jurisprudence, the individual is here given no choice whether he will or will not act in full accordance with the law. The principles of common law are so absolutely binding that they are synonymous with duty.

The State decides the measure of the citizen's share in the Constitution. Public servants have no option in the extent to which they will exercise their functions. For instance, if the State refrains from imposing universal suffrage as a duty, it does so only upon grounds of expediency.

The next essential function of the State is the conduct of war. The long oblivion into which this principle had fallen is a proof of how

effeminate the science of government had become in civilian hands. In our century this sentimentality was dissipated by Clausewitz, but a one-sided materialism arose in its place, after the fashion of the Manchester school, seeing in man a biped creature, whose destiny lies in buying cheap and selling dear. It is obvious that this idea is not compatible with war, and it is only since the last war that a sounder theory arose of the State and its military power.

Without war no State could be. All those we know of arose through war, and the protection of their members by armed force remains their primary and essential task. War, therefore, will endure to the end of history, as long as there is multiplicity of States. The laws of human thought and of human nature forbid any alternative, neither is one to be wished for. The blind worshipper of an eternal peace falls into the error of isolating the State, or dreams of one which is universal, which we have already seen to be at variance with reason.

Even as it is impossible to conceive of a tribunal above the State, which we have recognized as sovereign in its very essence, so it is likewise impossible to banish the idea of war from the world. It is a favourite fashion of our time to instance England as particularly ready for peace. But England is perpetually at war; there is hardly an instant in her recent history in which she has not been obliged to be fighting somewhere. The great strides which civilization makes against barbarism and unreason are only made actual by the sword. Between civilized

nations also war is the form of litigation by which States make their claims valid. The arguments brought forward in these terrible law suits of the nations compel as no argument in civil suits can ever do. Often as we have tried by theory to convince the small States that Prussia alone can be the leader in Germany, we had to produce the final proof upon the battlefields of Bohemia and the Main.

Moreover war is a uniting as well as a dividing element among nations; it does not draw them together in enmity only, for through its means they learn to know and to respect each other's peculiar qualities.

It is important not to look upon war always as a judgment from God. Its consequences are evanescent; but the life of a nation is reckoned by centuries, and the final verdict can only be pronounced after the survey of whole epochs.

Such a State as Prussia might indeed be brought near to destruction by a passing phase of degeneracy; but being by the character of its people more reasonable and more free than the French, it retained the power to call up the moral force within itself, and so to regain its ascendancy. Most undoubtedly war is the one remedy for an ailing nation. Social selfishness and party hatreds must be dumb before the call of the State when its existence is at stake. Forgetting himself, the individual must only remember that he is a part of the whole, and realize the unimportance of his own life compared with the common weal.

The grandeur of war lies in the utter annihilation

of puny man in the great conception of the State, and it brings out the full magnificence of the sacrifice of fellow-countrymen for one another. In war the chaff is winnowed from the wheat. Those who have lived through 1870 cannot fail to understand Niebuhr's description of his feelings in 1813, when he speaks of how no one who has entered into the joy of being bound by a common tie to all his compatriots, gentle and simple alike, can ever forget how he was uplifted by the love, the friendliness, and the strength of that mutual sentiment.

It is war which fosters the political idealism which the materialist rejects. What a disaster for civilization it would be if mankind blotted its heroes from memory. The heroes of a nation are the figures which rejoice and inspire the spirit of its youth, and the writers whose words ring like trumpet blasts become the idols of our boyhood and our early manhood. He who feels no answering thrill is unworthy to bear arms for his country. To appeal from this judgment to Christianity would be sheer perversity, for does not the Bible distinctly say that the ruler shall rule by the sword, and again that greater love hath no man than to lay down his life for his friend? To Aryan races, who are before all things courageous, the foolish preaching of everlasting peace has always been vain. They have always been men enough to maintain with the sword what they have attained through the spirit.

Goethe once said that the North Germans were always more civilized than the South

Germans. No doubt they were, and a glance at the history of the Princes of Lower Saxony shows that they were for ever either attacking or defending themselves. One-sided as Goethe's verdict is, it contains a core of truth. Our ancient Empire was great under the Saxons; under the Swabian and the Salic Emperors it declined. Heroism, bodily strength, and chivalrous spirit is essential to the character of a noble people.

Such matters must not be examined only by the light of the student's lamp. The historian who moves in the world of the real Will sees at once that the demand for eternal peace is purely reactionary. He sees that all movement and all growth would disappear with war, and that only the exhausted, spiritless, degenerate periods of history have toyed with the idea. Three such periods have occurred in modern history.

The first was the dismal time after the Peace of Utrecht and the death of Louis XIV. The world seemed to be taking breath, but Frederick the Great pronounced acutely that this was a period of universal demoralization in European politics. The Holy Roman Empire occupied a ridiculous position, Prussia was unprepared and faced with the problem of expansion or destruction—yet these indefinite conditions were pronounced by the apostles of reason to be fraught with good. The elder Rousseau, the Abbé Castel de St. Pierre, and others came forward and wrote their insensate books about the banishment of strife.

The second period, when the nations eagerly

passed round the pipe of peace, began under like circumstances after the Congress of Vienna. Its treaties were looked upon as *ratio scripta*, and it was held to be right and reasonable that two great nations, the Germans and the Italians, should be cramped for all eternity.

We are living in the third period to-day. A great war seems to have destroyed idealism in Germany. Does not the braying laughter of the vulgar echo loud and shameless, when any of those things which have made Germany great is thrown down and broken? The foundations of our ancient and noble culture are crumbling; everything which once made us an aristocracy among the nations is mocked and trodden under foot. Certainly this is a fitting time to rave once more of everlasting peace.

But it is not worth while to speak further of these matters, for the God above us will see to it that war shall return again, a terrible medicine for mankind diseased.

Despite all this it is not denied that the progress of culture must make wars both shorter and rarer, for with every step it renders men's lives more harmonious. Even as the alternation between asceticism and sensuality which was characteristic of the Middle Ages is no longer natural to us to-day, so does war strike us as appalling, because it involves a complete break with our accustomed conditions. The highly cultured man realizes indeed that he must slay the antagonists whose bravery he honours, and he feels that the majesty of war lies in the absence of passion from the slaughter, therefore it is a

far greater effort to him than to the savage to enter upon such a conflict.

Furthermore, civilized nations suffer far more than savages from the economic ravages of war, especially through the disturbance of the artificially existing credit system, which may have frightful consequences in a modern war. Terrible indeed would be the results of the entrance of an invader into London, where the threads which bind the credit of millions are gathered together, and where a conqueror as ruthless as Napoleon might wreak a havoc of which we can form no conception. Therefore wars must become rarer and shorter, owing to man's natural horror of bloodshed as well as to the size and quality of modern armies, for it is impossible to see how the burdens of a great war could long be borne under the present conditions. But it would be false to conclude that wars can ever cease. They neither can nor should, so long as the State is sovereign and stands among its peers.

There are then no two opinions about the duty of the State to maintain its own laws and protect its own people. For this purpose every State must have an Exchequer. The machinery of the law, the upkeep of the army, and some system of finance are their first duties. Up to this point no argument need be entertained, for it is of no importance to science whether a truth be accepted quietly, or with wailing and gnashing of teeth. The dispute concerning the aims and business of the State only begins over the question of its ability and vocation to assume other duties towards the human race. No such question was

admitted into the political conceptions of classical antiquity, for where the citizen is nothing but a member of the State the idea of its undue interference with his concerns does not arise. It never occurred to Aristotle to inquire whether the State was exceeding its prerogative when it appointed an official to superintend feminine morality. It acted within its rights, and he did not consider whether in so doing it did damage to family life. In the same way it did not strike the Ancients as possible that the State could legislate too much. The words of Tacitus, *in pessima republica plurimae leges*, which are so often and so willingly quoted in this context, simply mean that when the morals of a State are bad it may seek in vain to remedy the evil by a multitude of laws.

The modern theory of individualism, decked with its various titles, stands as the poles asunder from these conceptions of antiquity. From it the doctrine emanates that the State should content itself with protection of life and property, and with wings thus clipped be pompously dubbed a Constitutional State.

This teaching is the legitimate child of the old doctrine of Natural Law. According to it the State can only exist as a means for the individual's ends. The more ideal the view adopted of human life, the more certain does it seem that the State should content itself with the purely exterior protective functions. William Humboldt sets forth this belief in its most alluring and intelligent form in one of his early writings, *Suggestions for an Attempt to define the Boundaries*

of the State's Activity ("Ideen zu einem Versuch die Grenzen der Wirksamkeit des Staates zu bestimmen"). The State, he says, should defend the lives and goods of its citizens, and for the rest ensure to them the greatest possible freedom. Without liberty there is no morality; therefore a State-enforced morality is worthless, and the State must abstain from interference in the free life of its members. Such was Humboldt's opinion, and it fascinated many, for it was redolent of the spirit of Weimar and Jena—the time when men were intoxicated with beauty, and looked upon the State only as a necessary evil. Their demand was not so much for freedom within the State, as for freedom from it. We cannot wonder at this teaching, for it was a product of the prevailing system of little States. Humboldt himself did not abide by his youthful convictions, for when the time of need came he too supported the power of the State to compel, and proved thereby that he understood the meaning of liberty within it.

Many years later, when these highly idealistic beliefs of his could be studied in their entirety (1852, in the seven volumes of his collected Works), they were hailed with acclaim by a quite differently minded generation. Aesthetic idealism had given way before the new materialistic economic teaching, whose only root is in the money-bags, and which is still firmly planted in certain circles. It too would fain use the State only as a means, and would make of it no more than a sort of night-watchman for the citizens' security. But when we probe this theory which

has cast its spell over so many distinguished men, we find that it has totally overlooked the continuity of history, and the bond which unites the succeeding generations. The State, as we have seen, is enduring; humanly speaking, it is eternal. Its work therefore is to prepare the foundations for the future. If it existed only to protect the life and goods of its citizens it would not dare to go to war, for wars are waged for the sake of honour, and not for protection of property. They cannot therefore be explained by the empty theory which makes the State no more than an Insurance Society. Honour is a moral postulate, not a juridical conception.

Obviously the theory oversteps its own limits. If the State is to make the law secure, it must be able to prevent, and must therefore take steps to kill the brute in man. Consequently it must to some extent care for the people's education. In 1847 the English were childish enough to scoff at the servile intelligence of the German nation, which welcomed the idea of universal compulsory education. Yet Macaulay, being a man of independent judgment, was convinced that the savagery of the masses must be checked, and he spoke out for the enforcement of school attendance, but he could not quite throw off the old English habit of mind, and he declared that the State must take charge of the upbringing of its citizens if it wished to guard itself against thieves and robbers. The education of the people has a higher, nobler task than the securing of the possessions of individuals.

Ahrens and the followers of Krause have tried

to evolve higher functions for the State out of this theory of the Constitutional State. But this conjurer's trick was not very successful. They defined the State as a combination of all the institutions which make for the perfecting of the human race. Hence it may no doubt be proved that the Constitutional State may discharge all the duties of promoting culture. But all this is mere juggling with phrases. It behoves us to say boldly that the idea of the Constitutional State is not adequate to express the real essence of the State and its functions. The State is a moral community called to positive labours for the improvement of the human race, and its ultimate aim is to build up real national character through and within itself, for this is the highest moral duty of nations as well as individuals. When we have taken this to our hearts we are able to perceive that the Germans are far from having accomplished these great national tasks. National character is exactly what they lack in comparison with their neighbours, for their unity is so young. A sure and certain national instinct is not a universal quality with us, as it is with the French people.

We may, then, shortly call the State the instrument of civilization, and demand of it positive labour for the economic and intellectual welfare of its members. History shows us how the sphere of the State's activity widens with the growth of culture. Everything which we call Government in the strict sense has been created through the progress of civilization. In Homeric times the prince was content with

pronouncing judgment and, when necessary, conducting war. Even in the Middle Ages an administration was still non-existent, and the State only concerned itself with the most elementary necessities. Not until the splendour of the Holy Roman Empire was in German hands did German kingship begin its fuller, richer expansion. Then the growth of the cities forced the State to adopt new aims and wider activities. Experience teaches that the State is better fitted than any other corporate body to take charge of the well-being and civilizing of the people. Briefly put, what was the great result of the Reformation? The secularization of great portions of the common life of men. When the State secularized the larger portion of the Church's lands it also took over its accompanying public duties, and when we reckon how much the State has accomplished for the people's culture since the Reformation, we recognize that these duties fall within its natural sphere. It has accomplished more than the Church performed throughout the whole of the Middle Ages. But here again we must guard ourselves against stereotyped conventions. Everything depends on what kind of official class the State possesses. The German railway system would be unworkable in England or America, for the officials would not be forthcoming. Our Swabian compatriot, Rümelin, who made a comparative survey of Germany and America, pronounced that the German administration was both better and more economical, but that in a newer world the State cannot have yet reached that measure of efficiency.

It savours of barbarism to regard the State's fostering of Art as a luxury. Art is as indispensable to men as their daily bread. Without these stirrings of the spirit we should cease to be a nation, and the State is there to set before Art its great work for the nation's monuments.

This expansion of the State's activity is not absolute, however; rather does it militate against the greater happiness of mankind that its operation should have become increasingly indirect. At the present time the State has very markedly restricted its direct authority; it concerns itself more with exerting a stimulus upon the whole economic system than with directing any one branch of that system. This brings us to a yet more important point, for with increasing culture the respect paid by the governing power to individual liberty increases also. The State feels that its own strength and glory rests ultimately on the freedom of reasonable, thoughtful men. It strives, therefore, only to frame such laws as the best among the people will approve, as calculated to strengthen and not to destroy their independence. It is safe to say that the increasing activity of the State will not swamp the whole of human life, but that the liberty of the individual will grow with the growth of culture. All such increase is a blessing, and approved by reason if it encourages the independence of free and reasonable men; it is an evil if it crushes or infringes upon that independence. Compulsory education is a phrase. It should rather be called compulsory freedom; for here the State exercises force against the

folly and indolence of the conscienceless parents who would leave their children to grow up like mushrooms.

Consequently we must not say, as many intelligent thinkers have said, that with progress of time the influence of the State upon private life will become less, and upon economic life greater. This is not borne out by facts. Our educational system strikes its roots so deep within the individual that through it the modern man is far more closely bound to the State than he was in the Middle Ages. The mediaeval man drew most of his beliefs and sentiments from the Church and the class to which he belonged. To-day there are moral ideas which are common to whole nations, and become so through the common teaching in the schools. Direct pressure upon conscience has been abandoned for the reasons given already, because the State has been wise enough to see that its own real support is only to be sought in freedom for the will. Therefore its activity spreads with civilization in ever-widening circles, but tending always to become less and less direct. It tries to exert influence by guiding and reminding, and by encouraging organizations of which people may avail themselves if they choose. It is only through the exertions of the State that the modern tendency to gather into separate groups for purely social aims is in some degree checked, and the way cleared for the great collective personalities which we call the Nation and the State to build up a national character common to all.

There are, no doubt, colonies not long established where social energies find freer natural scope. In them the untrammelled power of the individual is everything. In America, for instance, society is stronger than the State. The American "self-made man" is the best example of the development of social life in young colonies. Certain natures find satisfaction in the dollar-hunting of American life, but, broadly speaking, we may assert that existence is more human and more intense in Europe, steeped in her ancient culture, than yonder among the Yankees. Bancroft, the American historian, now dead, who had a limitless love for his native land, admitted that it could offer him nothing comparable to the society he found in Berlin. The peculiar thinness of the intellectual atmosphere in young countries is repellent to sensitive natures.

England and Germany are the two countries of the old European civilization in which the activity of the State is at present the most developed, and they are therefore very interesting to science. Sheltered by her insular position from the fear of war, England allows the great machine of her national economy to run with a freedom which we could not permit; but in the foundation and exploitation of her colonies her administration is magnificent, and she has there worked out one of the most complex systems of government that the world has ever seen. In Germany, on the other hand, the complex system exists within her own boundaries.

Our political development is of later growth,

and consequently wider than that of other European countries. We have learnt from our predecessors, as the development of our literature also proves. Germany in the nineteenth century has undoubtedly taken the lead in political science, after having followed the foreigner in this domain for two hundred years. The confused course of our history and the repeated violent interruptions which our development has suffered, have at least had the advantage of keeping us from the traditions and prejudices which have so often obscured the political judgment of other peoples.

The complicated functions of our State arise from our place in the world, our history, and our geographical position, all of which enable us to pursue aims which to other nations seem incompatible with each other. We are the only State which recognizes full equality between the Churches. We can permit a Church which proclaims itself to be paramount to stand peacefully among the others, and the Catholics amongst us have for the most part accepted a culture which is Protestant in its very essence.

Further, we are the most monarchical nation in Europe, and yet we must strive to harmonize with that a highly respected Representative Assembly. We have solved the riddle of how a civilized nation can also be a nation in arms, and we shall solve the yet harder riddle of how a wealthy nation can retain the moral benefits of an army and a military service. We ensure a minimum standard of culture by our compulsory education. Power for the State and

freedom for the people, prosperity and defensive strength, culture and faith are the great antitheses which we seek to reconcile. Such in modern times are the hard political and social tasks which our State has to perform. Her chief stand-by will be the comprehensive character of the German people in the accomplishment of what constitutes a large part of our greatness and our rank among the nations.

III

THE STATE IN RELATION TO THE
MORAL LAW

IF we conceive the State to be a moral community, bound to take its appointed part in the education of the human race, it must indubitably also be subject to the universal moral law. Nevertheless we constantly hear of the conflict between politics and morals, which shows at once that the relation of the two is not perfectly simple and clear.

For us Christians the problem is, in fact, a hard one. It did not trouble the Ancients, who recognized no moral law but in and through the State, and for whom politics were the most important part of ethics. In the judgment of Aristotle the individual could only find his consummation within the State, and its approval constituted the moral right. All Hellenes united in praise of tyrannicide, for whoever threatened injury to the commonwealth must be removed, by legal or illegal means. Nor did the Jews of the Old Testament think differently. To modern poets Judith is a tragic figure, but to her contemporaries she appeared only as a heroine worthy of all fame. To the Jewish

people the State's self-vindication was in itself the moral ordinance. To them, as to the Greeks, it was obvious that the national enemy must be destroyed. Everything, even usury, was permitted against the stranger. As the text runs: "Unto a stranger thou mayest lend upon usury, but unto thy brother thou shalt not lend upon usury." According to Christian standards the Jew and the Pagan of antiquity are alike without conscience, inasmuch that it is not the individual but always the collective conscience of the community which imposes upon each one the inviolable law. It is well known that conscience is never mentioned in the early books of the Old Testament. The word occurs first in the Book of Wisdom, at a date when Judaism was already in its decline. The Sophists were the first among the Greeks to begin to inquire into the relation of the State to the Personal Will, and a long interval ensued before the Stoics spoke distinctly of the existence of conscience.

In such a world of repression of individuality there could be no suggestion of conflict between politics and morals. The Middle Ages were equally free from it. The world was a great Empire, receiving its laws from the mouth of the Vicar of Christ and his representatives. The German State, still immature, was under the leadership of the Church, who laid down for it its moral law. The Pope had the right to endow whom he would with the territory of the heathen, as he did in the case of the Teutonic Order. He appears also as the theoretic possessor of all heathen lands. This carried out the

doctrine that the unbeliever had no legal rights against the Christian, who could enter into no contract with him because he could not ratify his oath upon the Sacrament. Only in the East, where the Christian could not avoid treating with his heathen neighbours, did the peculiar conditions cause an exception to be made to this rule. It held so firm in Western Europe that even in the sixteenth century a universal storm of protest arose when the French king Francis I. allied himself with the Sultan Suleiman against Charles V. The moral ordinances, applied generally to the mass of Christian people, were not inwardly recognized or assimilated by the individual, but imposed upon all alike by the Church. These conditions were only modified to a certain extent by the power of the different classes within the community. The established customs conformed to by the knightly order, and the standards of honour recognized in commerce by the burghers, sometimes softened the law, but could never abrogate it. Under so hierarchic a system no thought of a conflict between morals, customs, and politics had yet been entertained.

The change came suddenly when the old authority collapsed before the oncoming of the Reformation in the Christian world.

Only amongst the ruins of the old order can we begin to understand the mind of the mighty thinker who co-operated with Martin Luther for the liberation of the State. It was Machiavelli who laid down the maxim that when the State's salvation is at stake there must be no

inquiry into the purity of the means employed ; only let the State be secured, and no one will condemn them. Machiavelli, to be comprehended, must be studied absolutely historically. He came of a race which is even now in the act of shaking off the bondage of the Middle Ages for the modern freedom of subjective thought. He saw all around him in Italy those great figures of tyrants who so wonderfully personified the genius of their lavishly gifted nation. Every one of them was a born Maecenas ; every one of them had a great artist's acute sense of his own individuality. Machiavelli revelled in the genius of these mighty men. It will be to his abiding honour that he set the State upon its own feet, freed it from the moral sway of the Church, and above all was the first to declare distinctly that the State is Power. But despite it all he had himself hardly stepped out across the threshold of the Middle Ages. When he tries to liberate the State from the Church, and declares, with the boldness of modern Italian patriots, that the Stool of Rome has plunged his country into misery and woe, he still holds by the idea that morality is an ecclesiastical attribute, and that when the State cuts loose from the Church she also breaks away from the moral law in general. He says that the State should only strive towards the goal of its own power, and that whatever appertains thereto is necessary and right. He tries to think like the Ancients, but fails, because he is a Christian and has eaten involuntarily of the Tree of Knowledge.

It is owing to the transitional character of

the times in which his lot was cast that Machiavelli's conception of the freedom of political morality remains obscure and confused in so many ways. But this must not prevent us from acknowledging ungrudgingly that the brilliant Florentine was the first to infuse into politics the great idea that the State is Power. The consequences of this thought are far-reaching. It is the truth, and those who dare not face it had better leave politics alone. We must never forget our debt to Machiavelli for this, even while we recognize the deep immorality of much else in his political teaching. It is not so much his total indifference to the means by which power is attained which repels us, although everything turns on how it is acquired and defended, but the fact that the power itself contains for him no deeper significance. In his teaching we find no trace of the necessity for power to justify itself after it has been won by its exertions for the highest moral welfare of the human race.

Machiavelli did not perceive how his doctrine of power for its own sake stands self-convicted of inconsistency. Whom did he choose for his ideal of a wise and able ruler ? Cesare Borgia. But is it possible to see in this sinister man the ideal statesman, in Machiavelli's own meaning of the word ? Nothing that he created was enduring. After his death his State crumbled directly. The ruin which it had brought to so many overtook it, and it perished miserably. The same fate must ultimately befall any power which tramples upon law, for in the moral world

nothing can give support which offers no resistance.

Now that Machiavelli's ideas can be seen in their naked uncompromising hardness, most men find the book of *The Prince* downright terrifying; nevertheless it has wielded immense influence up to the present day. Even the *coup d'État* of Napoleon III. was prepared according to Machiavelli's recipe, for the book is practical, and its precepts have been studied over and over again, especially in his own time. William of Orange carried it constantly under his pillow in camp. The whole seventeenth century is permeated by Machiavellism, a political science founded on disregard of the moral law. Towards the end of the century these "Reasons of State" which recked of nothing but political expediency neglected conscience to a point of which we can no longer form any idea. The ugly meaning which the mass of the people so long attached to the word "political" is a product of this period. Machiavelli's book was called the Devil's Catechism, or the Ten Commandments reversed. His name became a byword, and a whole array of writers rose up to oppose him, each one more moral than the last. It is a sad fact that so-called public opinion is always more moral than the deeds of individual men. The average man would be ashamed to confess or justify many of his own actions. It is incredible how far the ordinary man will go in moral vandalism if he can do so in secret. A deep despair from which he can see no escape may, if he listens to its promptings, turn him into

an enemy of mankind. It is natural therefore to all nations that public opinion which must face the light of day is far sterner than men's real secret thoughts.

With one brilliant exception the whole anti-Machiavelli literature is quite worthless. Who have been the chief opponents of the great Florentine? The Jesuits—and it is fairly safe to say that when the Jesuits attack anybody their enemy has been a great and noble man. Their hatred has two causes—Machiavelli's patriotism for greater Italy and the openness with which he preached what they daily practised. The whole of their polemic against him is inherently false, and not worth a farthing, politically or scientifically. Nevertheless Machiavelli fell into universal disfavour in the eighteenth century, which so loved to indulge its visions of universal brotherhood, which practised humanity as a profession, and was for ever smoking the pipe of peace.

It was at this time that *The Prince* fell into the hands of one of Machiavelli's greatest practical disciples. He had read it in a bad translation and with all the prejudices instilled into him by Voltaire. He had been told that it was the great text-book for tyrants. Let us look at the book through Frederick's eyes. Its precepts are written for a daring and courageous man, who has overcome obstacles by favour and fortune, who wields a tyrant's power over diverse governments, and has no scruples as to the means by which he maintains his State thus constituted. Such a tyrant must be especially

upon his guard against enemies who attack him with his own weapons. To a Crown Prince of Prussia, the scion of a royal house reigning over a loyal people, the teaching was bound to seem a diabolical form of folly. It was damaging to his princely pride. "Criminal hands must not steer the ship of state," he said. In addition we must reckon with the naïve pride of birth inherent in the genius of his nature, and possessed by him in fullest measure. It is absurd to speak of Frederick the Great as being free from prejudice. Hardly ever has a Hohenzollern been more imbued with ancestral pride, certainly not in the eighteenth century. This reliance on his blue blood was his inspiration. It nerved him to carry on his great struggle against all the world. It was from these causes that the young Prince arrived at a perfectly natural dislike for Machiavelli's book.

The critic of Machiavelli who is worthy of our notice as throwing light upon Frederick's own reign is valueless in himself, for he failed to pronounce the decisive judgment. It was left for the historical methods of the nineteenth century to rate Machiavelli at his proper value. It was then that the question was urgently raised as to how the State could attain its ends upon the ground of the universal moral law. Richard Rothes was the first to devote a considerable section of his *Ethics* to the subject of political morality. But all theologians suffer from lack of political knowledge, while on the other hand students of politics have seldom given their minds to the subject, from want of

the speculative instinct. Oettingen has done good work in this field, but he, too, is too much of the theologian. Franz Lieber, a German-American, must be mentioned among political writers. His political *Ethics* is unfortunately one of his youthful works, but though rather heavy and diffuse, it contains much sound thinking. More lately (1875) the late Chancellor of the University of Tübingen, Rümelin, included in his *Essays and Addresses* ("Reden und Aufsätzen") one upon the relation of politics to morals. Here is put into a few pages much which is really decisive. But upon the whole the literature upon the subject is poor, and we must attempt to form our own conclusions.

It is at once clear that as a great institution for the education of the human race the State must necessarily be subject to the moral law. There is no sense in the unqualified assertion that gratitude and generosity are not political virtues. Think for a moment of that frivolous and impudent free-booter, Felix Schwarzenberg. When Russia set Hungary once again under the heel of the Hapsburgs, he said with brutal mockery, "Some day the world will be astonished at our ingratitude." The creature was applauded for this political pronouncement—and what followed? When Austria fulfilled the prophecy soon after, in her war with the Orient, and was mad enough to ally herself with France and England, Russia was filled with passionate hatred against her, and has been her deadly enemy ever since.

No State ever made a more magnanimous

peace after a brilliantly successful war than Germany in 1866. We did not deprive Austria of so much as a village (although our Silesian countrymen desired Cracow, at the least, as a junction of highways), and has not our forbearance been politically justified? If a future alliance is possible between two Powers, fresh bitterness must not be added to defeats upon the battlefield. Here generosity went hand in hand with prudence.

Again let us consider the founding of the Customs Union, and how valuable to Prussia was the confidence which the small States reposed in the upright dealing of Frederick William III. Broadly speaking, it is not right to allow the fact of defeat to decide diplomatic relations. The credit which is a veritable source of power is far more readily won by a loyal and honest policy, and a State gains a certain moral strength from the confidence of its neighbours.

Journalistic heroes of the pen are fond of talking of great statesmen as if they belonged to a debased class of humanity, and of seeming to regard deceit as inseparable from diplomacy. Truly great statesmen have as a matter of fact always been distinguished by a noble openness. Before every one of his wars Frederick the Great laid down with the utmost clearness what he hoped to attain. No doubt he did not absolutely disdain the use of cunning, but, upon the whole, candour is one of his leading characteristics. How markedly Bismarck's grand frankness in large matters stands out amidst all his craft in single instances. It was one of his

most useful weapons, for when he stated plainly what he really meant, the lesser diplomats always believed exactly the reverse.

If we run our eye over all human callings, in which of them do we find the most deceit? Indubitably in commerce, and so it has always been. In the pursuit of trade, lying is reduced to a system, and diplomacy is innocent as a dove in comparison. The immeasurable difference between them consists in this. When an unscrupulous speculator is telling lies upon the Stock Exchange he is thinking only of his own profit, but when a diplomat is guilty of obscuring facts in a diplomatic negotiation he is thinking of his country. As historians who seek to survey the whole of human life, we will lay down that the diplomat is far more moral than the merchant. His chief danger does not lie in deceit, but in the spiritual enervation of the atmosphere of drawing-rooms.

The subjection of politics to the universally prevailing moral law is recognized in practice. Treason and unrighteous dealing are carefully provided with pretexts which indirectly acknowledge that dominion. The occasions are rare when a political betrayal has been openly avowed, but in this form of naked cynicism the French have particularly distinguished themselves. Soon after Napoleon III. had brought off his *coup d'Etat*, he held a reception for his generals, and one of the marshals asked the significant question, "Sire, the Army is getting bored. When shall we strike?" But such unashamed impudence seldom occurs in politics. Even

when Philip II. undertook the cruel persecution and expulsion of the Moors he sent assurances to every court in Europe that he had tried every gentle means for their conversion.

We must then admit the validity of the moral law in relation to the State, and that it cannot be correct to speak absolutely of collisions between the two. A closer analysis shows that innumerable conflicts between politics and morals are really only between politics and legal institutions. But these are made by men and liable to error. The German Confederation of evil memory was so unsound in its very origin that its peaceful development was not conceivable. When the unanimous consent of all the so-called States which composed it was required to effect any change in its Constitution, it was obviously too unsound ever to be improved.

Moreover, the lapse of time may so alter a law which once was reasonable that it becomes folly. When changed social conditions turn law into its own enemy then collisions may occur. In the last resort all law is but a formula, and "Summum jus summa injuria" will be true for ever.

Politics will thus be sometimes compelled to fight against the forms of law, and it is unlikely that such a warfare will be one of principle. There are cases when there is in truth a conflict of duties, such as the individual has to face daily on a smaller scale. Here we come to the decisive question of what moral law applies, without qualification, to the State. Alexander von Humboldt built up a theory upon his oft-

repeated axiom that every positive religion contains a geological myth concerning the beginning of the Cosmos, an anthropological myth, and, thirdly, a moral code. In making this assertion he proved his misapprehension of Christianity, for where do we find in that religion the code to which our conscience yields unquestioning obedience? He was thinking of other religions of the East which arose in a theocratic world where the moral and the legal ordinances were one. Such were the majority of the Ten Commandments for the Jews, for with the exception of the injunctions to fear God and honour parents the Decalogue only contains legal commands. Christianity has now adopted the Decalogue, but how has Luther interpreted it in his Catechism, and what is the positive meaning which he has infused into its unyielding juridical formulae? The chief commands of Christianity are love and liberty for conscience. A moral code is exactly what is lacking, and therein its very morality lies. The name of Luther is immortal, because he once more reminded men that good works are valueless without good intention. For this reason also Kant's categorical Imperative was unable to exhaust the content of Christianity, for it did not admit of the element of personal freedom.

Since Schleiermacher it has been universally admitted that every Christian is bound to know himself, to develop his personality and act in accordance with it. The truly Christian ethic has no rigid standard; its teaching is, "Si duo faciunt idem, non est idem." Whoever,

by the grace of God, is an artist, and knows it, has the right to develop his gift before all else, and may put other duties in the background. It is due to the frailty of human nature that this cannot be done without moral conflicts and tragic guilt. It is part of the heavy burden of humanity that because man belongs to several communities at once the duties imposed upon him are bound to clash. It comes at last to this, that he attains the highest perfection possible when he has recognized and developed the most essential part of himself.

When we apply this standard of deeper and truly Christian ethics to the State, and remember that its very personality is power, we see its highest moral duty is to uphold that power. The individual must sacrifice himself for the community of which he is a member, but the State is the highest community existing in exterior human life, and therefore the duty of self-effacement cannot apply to it. As nothing in the world's history is its superior, the Christian obligation of sacrifice for a higher object is not imposed. We praise the State which draws the sword to fend off ruin from itself, but sacrifice for an alien nation is not only unmoral, but contradictory to the idea of self-maintenance, which is the highest content of the State.

It is necessary then to choose between public and private morality, and since the State is power its duties must rank differently from those of the individual. Many which are incumbent upon him have no claim upon it. The injunction to assert itself remains always absolute.

Weakness must always be condemned as the most disastrous and despicable of crimes, the unforgivable sin of politics. Some weaknesses of character are excusable in private life, but never in the State. It is power, and cannot be too hardly judged if it belies its essence. Consider the reign of Frederick William IV. We have seen that generosity and gratitude are political virtues, but only when they do not run counter to the chief aim of all politics, the maintenance of its own strength. In the year 1849 the thrones of all the little German princes tottered. Frederick William took a perfectly justifiable step when he marched Prussian troops into Saxony and Bavaria, and restored order there. But then came his deadly crime. Were the Prussians there to shed their blood for Bavaria or Saxony? An enduring gain ought to have been secured for Prussia. She held the pigmies in the hollow of her hand. It was only necessary to leave the troops there until the rulers had submitted to the dominion of the new German Empire, but instead the King simply allowed them to withdraw, and was mocked by the princelings he had rescued, the moment his back was turned. That was no less than idiotic weakness, and Prussian blood was shed to no purpose. It is equally part of the essence of the State to uphold and impose its will within its own borders. A State which permits the slightest doubt about the firmness of its purpose and the enforcement of its decrees, shatters respect for law. Recollect the long period of sentimentality when the German princes retained

the right of pardon. Philanthropists had wailed so much over the immorality of the death penalty that the rulers were infected by their ideas, until at length no one was ever executed in Germany. Then, for our salvation, came Hödel's abominable attempt, which stiffened our princes' backs once more. This sentimental retention of the right to pardon was utterly immoral. It was accorded in the first instance in order to adjust the balance between the hardness of the objective ruling of the law and the subjective abnormal circumstances of the individual criminal,—but it was never intended to abolish capital punishment entirely.

It is a further consequence of the essential sovereignty of the State that it can acknowledge no arbiter above it, and must ultimately submit its legal obligations to its own verdict. We must beware of judging a great crisis from the advocates' philistine standpoint. When Prussia broke the Treaty of Tilsit the civil law would have pronounced her wrong, but who would dare assert that she was guilty now? Not the French themselves. This applies to international treaties less devoid of all morality than that which Prussia was compelled to conclude with France. Every State reserves to itself the right to be judge of its own treaties, and the historian must not condemn, without searching deeper to discover whether it is fulfilling its unqualified duty of self-maintenance. It was the same with Italy in 1859. Technically Piedmont was the aggressor, and Austria and her hangers-on in Germany missed no oppor-

tunity of moaning over the disturbance of the eternal peace, but in reality Italy had been in a condition of siege for years. No noble nation can endure such a position, and it was Austria, not Piedmont, which was the aggressor in fact, since for years she had injuriously trampled on the highest rights of the Italian people.

The maintenance of its power then is a task of incomparable grandeur for the State, but lest it should contradict its own nature the goals it strives after must be moral ones. The crude land-grabbing which Napoleon I. practised is not only thoroughly immoral, but unpolitical in the highest degree. France had not the strength to assimilate all its spoils, and, like Napoleon, it aimed at being the leading State in Europe. It was a sin against the spirit of history which strove to turn the rich diversity of nations knit by a bond of brotherhood into the empty form of a single World Empire. This policy of unabashed robbery destroyed itself at the finish. When Napoleon began his career his Army was the best in Europe. It was inspired by the spirit of real enthusiasm and an admirable discipline. What a change had come over it by the year 1812! Napoleon only brought one quarter of his Army back from Moscow, although he had suffered no defeat upon the battlefield. It was moral disintegration which really decided the Russian campaign.

We recognize now that the world-capturing policy of our old German Empire was likewise a colossal blunder. It accumulated provinces whose nature forbade their complete embodi-

ment in the National State. We have been punished for this crime by centuries of passive cosmopolitanism. Likewise it is both unpolitical and immoral for the State to interfere forcibly and oppressively in the religious life of its subjects, for here it trespasses upon their rights. By persecuting and expelling so many of the best of her German subjects during the wars of religion, Austria inflicted a blow upon the Germanic element within her State from which it has never recovered.

Thus the State cannot disregard with impunity the law to which its moral being is subject. Statecraft demands a man of iron nerve, able to carry many inevitable conflicts to a victorious issue. Above all it requires a commanding intellect. Wisdom is not merely an intellectual but a moral virtue in the statesman who is responsible for the fate of millions. He must be able to see things as they really are, and to refrain from laying clumsy hands upon matters beyond his grasp. Likewise the historian must keep his mind perfectly free from bias if he is to rate the world of politics at its proper value. We know at once whether he possesses the true moral instinct, by his reasonable and unprejudiced treatment of great statesmen. The student whose horizon is bounded by his study walls can form no correct judgment of real affairs. Schlosser finds the most fitting and noblest aim of life in an unruffled contemplation. He is more sympathetic than Gervinus, but they are both examples in themselves, in their insupportable learned arrogance, of the evils of

their own theory. When we read the correspondence of Lachmann and Haupt we are appalled to see that such wealth of learning can be combined with such poverty of culture. Every moral judgment of the historian must be based on the hypothesis of the State as power, constrained to maintain itself as such within and without, and of man's highest, noblest destiny being co-operation in this duty. Ethics must become more political if Politics are to become more ethical; that is to say that moralists must first recognize that the State is not to be judged by the standards which apply to individuals, but by those which are set for it by its own nature and ultimate aims. Political life will then appear to them infinitely more moral and more human than heretofore.

Up to this point there will scarcely be any conflict of serious opinion, but the most difficult question arises when we come to consider the extent to which the State, to attain political ends which for it are moral, may employ means which everyday life would reject. No one can deny that the well-known Jesuit proverb contains a modicum of truth, although its expression is too crude and uncompromising. In public, as in private, life there are unfortunately too many cases where it is not possible only to have recourse to means which are absolutely above reproach. Whenever it is possible to attain an end which is moral in itself by methods which are also moral these should be preferred, even when they lead more slowly and more circuitously towards the goal.

We have seen already that truth and frankness have much more power in politics than is commonly supposed. The more modern view is that man's impulse for truth is not innate but artificially introduced into the received standard of right by considerations of expediency. This is not so. An instinct for truth is born within us, and its only variations are those due to time and race. We find it even in Orientals, the most deceitful of all peoples. The Nabobs recognized it in Wellington's elder brother. They knew him for a man who always said what he really thought, and this was the secret of his immense influence in India.

Upon the whole, however, it is clear that the political methods of dealing with races upon a lower level of civilization must be adapted to their capacity for feeling and understanding. The historian who judged European policy in Africa or the East by European standards would be a fool. There coercion by terror is necessary for self-preservation. We must not blame the English who in the imminent peril of the Indian Mutiny bound Hindus to the cannon's mouth, and blew their bodies to the winds. It is evident that the situation demanded such measures, and we cannot condemn them if we accept the English contention that England's rule in India is beneficial and necessary.

The standards of relativity apply to periods as well as places. When we consider how frequently States have lived for decades in a condition of veiled hostility to each other, it is evident that this latent war must give rise to

many diplomatic ruses. Take the negotiations between Bismarck and Benedetti. Bismarck hoped that a great war might perhaps be avoided. Was he not acting morally in the fullest sense when he put off Benedetti's impudent demands with half promises of Germany's agreement? Under the same conditions of latent war we may use the same arguments to defend the bribery of another State. It is absurd to bluster about morality in the face of such circumstances, or to expect a State to confront them with a Catechism in its hand. Before the outbreak of the Seven Years' War Frederick had a premonition of the storm about to burst over his little Kingdom. He bribed two Saxon-Polish Secretaries in Warsaw and Dresden, and received information from them which happily proved exaggerated. When the salvation of his noble Prussia hung in the balance, should King Frederick have boggled over a respect for the incorruptibility of officialdom in the Principality of Saxony? Every State knows what it may expect of the other. There is not one which would not stoop to spying when circumstances require it. It is only important not to overrate the value of the methods which must be permitted to the Foreign Office of every great nation, for the rôle they play is not an important one.

When we turn to the internal Administration of our own State a great contrast presents itself. There morality must be infinitely purer and more lovely, for the institutions of our own State are sacred to us. Where party politics are concerned the seeds of corruption are to be found

everywhere, and they sometimes spring up in our Parliament in secret and indirect ways. Bribery is occasionally practised by those interested in great industrial undertakings, but seldom in proportion to their extent. Let us compare ourselves in this respect with Spain, or with the Parliament of England half composed of Railway Directors!

It is not our business here to enumerate all the possible occasions where collisions between duties may arise, and I can only cite a few to form a standard for historical judgment. There has been a wholesome change in the view held formerly as to the justification of political murder. Except by the extreme and most abandoned sect of Radicals it is now universally condemned by public opinion. When Kotzebue was killed, all the teachers declaimed about Harmodius and Aristogeiton, although it was in fact not only an abominable assassination, but also an act of folly. For what change did the death of the wretched Kotzebue effect in Germany? The deed was senseless as well as immoral. Nevertheless a memorial to the murderer, Sand, stands to this day upon the Friedhof at Mannheim.

Consider upon the other hand how public opinion condemned the attempt of the Russo-German, Becker, upon the life of the Prince-Regent William. It was an equally vile crime, but from Becker's point of view it was certainly not foolish, for if it had succeeded the Radical party would have reaped great advantage. But that no newspaper sought to defend it in the mildest degree bears testimony to the growing

clearness of public opinion. Daniel Manin, in his splendid *Letters from Paris*, denounced assassination, which had become the fashion in modern Italy, and showed that it required an open honourable warfare to put down violence by violence. Yet with all this we dare not talk of the absolute advance of the human race beyond all reach of this moral danger, for when we read of the proceedings of the Anarchists at this present time we understand that it is possible to fall into it again.

The act of Charlotte Corday shows how hard it is to pronounce a moral verdict upon political murder. Although she committed the crime deliberately it is evident that her tragic fate cannot be judged in the same way as that of a common assassin. Then take the period of Napoleon I. when Heinrich von Kleist himself entertained the idea of ridding his country of its oppressor by violent means. Such temptations may assail even noble hearts. And so it goes on. There may be cases even in the life of the individual where the end in view is so lofty that its attainment justifies the injury inflicted upon lower ideals. No man ever went through life with absolutely clean hands and no clashing of duties. In any case there is no walk of life more moral than the statesman's, who on his own responsibility guides his country through quicksands. So Hardenberg once declared. No higher or harder moral task can be set for any man than to spend the whole strength of his personality in the service of his people. We must not belittle or conceal the tragedy of guilt

which sometimes clings to great names, but neither should we examine the leaders of the State with the eyes of an attorney. We are still suffering from the after-effects of the political cynicism which the miseries of the Thirty Years' War brought upon Germany. The statesman has no right to warm his hands with snug self-commendation at the smoking ruins of his fatherland, and comfort himself by saying "I have never lied"; this is the monkish type of virtue.

One more question arises naturally in this context. How far is the individual responsible for the morality of the State to which he belongs? Here the Natural Law, which defines the State as nothing but a collection of small individualities, goes seriously astray. We have already recognized that *la volonté générale* is not the same thing as *la volonté de tous*. The pure individualism of the Natural Law teaching came to the preposterous conclusion that the citizen has the right to desert the State if it declares a war which he holds to be unjust. But since his first duty is obedience, such unfettered power cannot be granted to his individual conscience. For me, the upholding of the mother country is a moral duty. The machinery of the political world would cease to revolve if every man made bold to say "the State should not; therefore I will not." We know of wars which have proved to be absolutely necessary, which have nevertheless been repudiated by the nation and its spokesmen. We have therefore no assurance that the subjective judgment of the individual citizen is nearer the truth than that of the King or the

Minister responsible, who command so much wider a political horizon. I cannot be held responsible for a war which I personally do not approve of, but I am still under the obligation to serve my country if it breaks out. There is no vindicating the step taken by certain Prussian officers in the year 1812. Twenty-five of them, including the future War Minister, von Boyen, and the military writer, von Clausewitz, went over to Russia when Napoleon compelled Prussia to fight by his side against her. They held it incompatible with their honour to continue to belong to a nation which in their over hasty judgment had compromised its own. Sentiment is on the side of these men, but youthful enthusiasms must not blind us to the deeper question of whether their action could be held up as an example for every one to follow. What would have become of us if every officer had gone over to Russia? Yorck had his reasons for his bitter hatred of these seceders, and we are driven to admit that finer moral quality was shown by such men as himself and Blücher and Bülow, who endured beside their king to the end.

The individual should feel himself a member of his State, and as such have courage to take its errors upon him. There must be no question of subjects having the right to oppose a sovereignty which in their opinion is not moral. Cases may arise when the State's action touches the foundation of the moral life, namely, religious feeling. When the Huguenots in France had their religion proscribed, and were commanded to worship their God under forms which their

deepest conviction held to be unchristian, conscience drove them out from their fatherland, but we must not praise the fine temper of these martyrs for religion from the standpoint of the theologian without recognizing the degree of tragic guilt which is always blended with such moral compulsion. The Huguenots who left their homes were gallant men, no doubt, but each of them had a bitter conflict to fight out within himself before he placed his love for the Heidelberg Catechism above his hereditary love for his country and his king. In modern times there have been Radical parties who have in their vanity imagined themselves faced with a similar struggle, which had in fact only a subjective existence in their own exalted imagination. This was the reason why a number of the German-Americans forsook their fatherland. It is foolish to admire them for this. We must always maintain the principle that the State is in itself an ethical force and a high moral good.

IV

THE RISE AND FALL OF STATES

WHEN we speculate upon what were the first beginnings of State construction, we find that Aristotle was not far wrong when he naively defined the State as an emanation of the family. In all probability the first form of organized State was a tribal community, founded upon blood relationship. As we know that the original form of marriage was group wedlock, it is not difficult to understand how kinship was the earliest political bond. Permanent dwelling together in the same place had no great influence upon the formation of the State until much later times. The gregarious instinct is not unconditional in our race, it was strengthened as much by the impulse of hostility to the alien as by the other impulse of adherence to the tribe to which a man belonged. Political history dawns on a world of petty States. The next step brings us to intertribal conflicts and a combination of larger masses into a common organization. Spoliation and conquest actuated the formation of larger States, which did not arise from the sovereignty of the people, but rather were created

against their will, the State being the self-authorized power of the strongest tribe.

There is nothing in this to deplore. Physical force must be the deciding factor under such primitive conditions, and the power of the conqueror is morally justified by its protective and consequently beneficial action. Thucydides has expressed this with penetrating insight in the Introduction to his *History* which contains so many brilliant passages of genius. He describes how the half-mythical Minos captured the lordship over Crete, and how he used his power to sweep the seas free of pirates, and thus made his sovereignty beneficent and tolerable.

We learn from history that nothing knits a nation more closely together than war. It makes it worthy of the name of nation as nothing else can, and the extension of existent States is generally achieved by conquest, even if confirmed by Treaty according to the results of the appeal to arms.

War and conquest, then, are the most important factors in State construction, but not the only ones. In the East we often see the founders of a religion assuming the task in virtue of a Divine Commission. The separation of Church and State makes this impossible in Europe, but many dynasties labour by peaceful methods for the same end. Austria is a very peculiar example, for, as the Italians say, she is no State, only a Family. Here a reigning House has contracted marriages in every possible direction, until by matrimonial treaties and exchanges it has gathered

to itself a collection of provinces which had no common bond of origin.

But History is not after all unreasonable enough to sanction the continuance of States thus formed. It is no accident which has sooner or later wrested its outlying territories from the House of Hapsburg. The progress of civilization has made it ever more evident how important geographical solidarity must be for the State. There is a prevalent desire to round off possessions into a domain capable of supervision, in which one language is spoken. Thus Austria has made herself a Danubian State. In the sixteenth century, under Charles V., her possessions lay scattered over the world; for us, however, he was not the founder of her power, but rather Prince Eugene of Savoy, and Charles of Lorraine, who conquered for her the lands now appertaining to the Crown of Stephen. The kingdom of Hungary was, as a matter of fact, in the hands of the Turks, and it was after it passed into those of Austria that the Empire was founded which has maintained itself for two hundred years.

Voluntary agreements provide another method for State construction, although no State was ever created by contract, for it takes its being from the capacities born in the human race for which it alone provides the proper atmosphere. States already existing can, however, be reshaped by Treaty, and the foundation of the State of California furnishes an example. Mexico had abdicated her sovereignty and the land was without a ruler; without a State it could not exist. Adventurers of every nation poured into

it. The search for gold brought murder and violence in its train, against which the methods of Judge Lynch were unavailing. At last the conditions became intolerable even to those brutal natures, and they constituted themselves into a kind of free democratic assembly, on the North American pattern, and determined to found a State and to beg for its admission into the Union, whose model for a Constitution they adopted. In this manner a State was established by contract, and took its place in the great North American Federation.

This, however, was an exception, and the circumstances were abnormal. States are far more often founded by the sword. We observe an unceasing tendency in modern history towards the building of a great national power from a small centre, which begins with the mere lust for power, and by degrees grows in consciousness, until it draws the strength which unites it from the recognition of its common nationality. A united England grew thus out of Wessex. Then this Anglo-Saxon kingdom conquered Ireland and Scotland and imbued them with its own culture. The development of France was analogous. In this case the Isle de France was the microcosm of the ethnographical conditions in Gaul, and the uniting factor for the whole country. In Spain it was Castile, and in Russia the great Muscovite Empire grew gradually out of the Warangian Kingdom of Rurik.

The course of history in Germany and Italy has apparently been very different, but if we look more closely we see that the development

is really the same, although infinitely slower and more complicated, because the two great cosmopolitan powers of the Middle Ages, the Papacy and the Empire, of which these two nations were respectively the centres, were obstacles to national consolidation, whether consciously or not. In both countries we can detect a peculiar searching and striving for some new pivot for public life. Germany had no capital city. Rome was Papal, and consequently utterly estranged from the national life. Popes like Alexander III. have from time to time harboured plans for national unification, but the Papacy cannot and must not assume an out-and-out national attitude. The parallel between the two countries is continued when they both exhibit the marvel of a frontier province asserting itself by its military efficiency until it finally takes dominion over the rest. There is one respect, however, in which Germany and Italy differ from the other countries above-mentioned. They do not trace their culture to any one particular source within their own boundaries. It is true that we Germans have adopted the dialect of Central Germany for our classic language, even as the Italians have taken the language of Tuscany,—but neither Tuscany nor electoral Saxony have been singled out as models of culture for the rest of the nation.

There are States which are, rightly or wrongly, termed artificial.

Rightly, when their geographical position is one which they cannot hope to maintain permanently, or when the power they wield is

disproportionate to their actual strength. In the seventeenth century Sweden and Holland were artificially ranked as great Powers. When the country which gave Luther birth failed of courage to pursue a great Protestant policy, these little States had stepped into the breach, Holland by sea, and Sweden on land. We are bound, however, to admit that their position among their fellows was artificial. A country like Sweden could not permanently control the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser and the whole coast of the Baltic, and dictate her policy to Germany. There were, moreover, physical reasons why England finally gained the upper hand in her long rivalry with Holland, whose three million inhabitants could not provide the human material required to colonize an entire continent.

Holland and Sweden, then, were not naturally great Powers. But we must be cautious in our use of the phrase artificial State.

After 1815 friend and foe united in applying it to the reconstructed Prussia. They believed that only an extraordinarily wise Administration could supply the deficiencies of her natural unity. William Humboldt reverts again and again to this contemporary opinion. It was entirely false. What was there artificial in the composition of Prussia before 1866? Nothing, certainly, in the coupling of Pomerania and Westphalia under one authority, for they agreed perfectly. If the crux were anywhere it was with the people who dwelt between them, and were not under the same dominion. The State was immature, but artificial it was not. The inward national unity of the

German race was its foundation, the superstructure was left for the process of development to complete.

In contradistinction to this, there are States whose existence is more due to their neutrality than to the impulse of a strong nationality. Such are Switzerland and the two Netherlands, who only continue because their territory is of such high strategic importance that their neighbour Powers begrudge it to each other. This does not give us the right to call them artificial. The normal method of national State construction, however, is also the most truly great,—by the gradual linking up of the kindred peoples with the ruling political centre.

We have already seen how superior large States are to small ones. They are especially so, because we must look to them for a new and peculiar kind of State building, through colonization. This means the leading forth of the population of an existing State, not merely as an emigration of the ruling race, but to plant in new territory a dependency for the mother country which remains the same. Since we have reached a stage in civilization where race migration is impossible in the mediaeval sense, the wandering instinct finds satisfaction in colonization. When once the trained resources of labour and capital of a civilized nation are poured forth upon the virgin soil of a savage country and there allied with Nature, the three great forces of production co-operate so effectively that colonies progress with incredible rapidity. Such new-born States have other natural char-

acteristics. In the first place, they have no history, for every inhabitant has been uprooted from his old home and its inherited associations. Hence the rationalism and materialism of colonial life, which worships wealth as the highest of all goods. Colonies generally display a brilliant development of economic life, but alongside of it an inward aridity and poverty of intellect and a sordidness of existence.

These contrasts between the parent State and its children are obliterated by time, especially when the two are geographically united. The history of Germany is particularly instructive on this point. The Mark of Brandenburg in the Middle Ages was obviously a colony. Prussia still more so. There was no question of an intellectual life on the Weichsel or the Pregel in earlier times, but what a development it could boast of later! This colony had the good fortune to remain in close contact with the mother country, and from being a stout buffer against the barbarian, with a virile but sterile history it was transformed into a land worthy to be the cradle of Kant and Herder. This is possible when the colony keeps touch with the older State, and when links of intellect and sentiment are gradually forged between them; but the cases are rare and exceptional. When the separation is wide the materialistic tendency in colonial life asserts itself. The colonies of ancient Greece in Sicily and Southern Italy are examples of how the "smartness" of the American is not an exclusively modern trait, for Alkaios sings of it in true colonial fashion :

χρήματα, χρῆματ' ἄνθρω.

(Gold, gold is the man.)

A further peculiarity of colonies is their trend towards Democracy, inevitable where youth exercises so much more influence on public life than it does in the older Europe. Marriages are earlier, and an extraordinarily rapid increase of population results, which would be impossible in countries of a more ancient civilization. It sometimes happens in America that father, son, and even grandson are all prominent in public life at the same time, whereas with us if the father is a general, a minister, or a merchant, the son is usually a lieutenant, a student, or a clerk, and therefore in quite a subordinate position. Youth has always been more radical than age, and here is the adequate explanation of the Democratic tendency in colonies. Their rapid progress, and the early maturity of their life, is, however, an obstacle to a high degree of culture. They lack the concentrated atmosphere of scientific and artistic education which is only to be found in countries with a long history behind them. The great Syracusan was Archimedes with his Yankee mastery of the technical side of science. The finest fruits of Hellenic genius remained on their native soil. It is scarcely thinkable that the American colonies can ever produce a culture to equal what we have in Europe, and Washington's hope has hitherto remained unfulfilled.

All great nations in the fulness of their strength have desired to set their mark upon

barbarian lands. All over the globe to-day we see the peoples of Europe creating a mighty aristocracy of the white races. Those who take no share in this great rivalry will play a pitiable part in time to come. The colonizing impulse has become a vital question for a great nation.

The Phoenicians, who were the first people in history to recognize the majesty of Commerce, were also great colonists. After them came the Greeks, with their settlements on the east and west of the Mediterranean basin; the Romans followed; then in the Middle Ages the Germans, the Spaniards, and the Portuguese; finally the Dutch and the English; and then for a long time the Germans were quite ousted from the ranks of the maritime powers.

Agricultural colonies are undoubtedly the most favourable for national life. In places which have been thickly settled by the mother country, where economic conditions are suitable, and where the climate more or less resembles our own, the population may rush ahead as it has done in America. On the other hand these are the colonies which are the most apt to turn against the parent State, and try to cut themselves loose from her. England has been warned by experience how to guard against this danger, and accords a degree of independence to her colonies which even goes the length of permitting them to raise a protective tariff against her.

The mutual relationship between colonies and the mother country is one of the most delicate problems of history; and we must be careful

how we seek to determine it by any natural law from the historical world, putting the problem of slavery aside. Nowadays nobody would maintain that colonies must necessarily break away. It is probable that Canada will do so some time, principally because of the large French element she contains, but it is more than doubtful whether Australia will pursue the same course. A moderately wise policy on the part of England might easily prevent it. It depends upon the men at the head of affairs in both countries, and their ability to read the signs of the times. But even if England were forced to give up part of her colonial possessions they would still be an inestimable economic and moral advantage to her, for a common language is a most important aid to trading. It is the reason why America's principal commerce is with England. A country never quite loses a colony which is bound to her by speech and culture, even if the political bond be snapped. The relations between America and England are a proof of this, and its meaning is of incalculable importance when we bear in mind that the world contains, at the present day, nearly three hundred millions of English-speaking people.

We, on the contrary, realise to-day what opportunities we have missed. The consequences of the last half century have been appalling, for in them England has conquered the world. Continuous friction left the Continent no leisure to turn its eyes across the seas to where England was capturing everything. The Germans have

been forced to acquiesce because their hands were so full with their neighbours' quarrels and their own. There can be no doubt at all that a great colonial development is a benefit to a nation. It is the short-sightedness of the opponents of our colonial policy which prevents them from understanding that the whole position of Germany depends upon the number of German-speaking millions in the future.

It is madness to say that the exodus of Germans to America is an advantage for us. What good has it done to Germany that thousands of her best sons have turned their backs upon their fatherland because they could not earn their living at home? They are lost to us for ever, for although certain natural ties may still bind the emigrant himself to his native soil, it is probable that his children, and certain that his grandchildren, will have ceased to be German, for the Teuton learns all too easily to abjure the land of his birth. Neither are they in a position in America to maintain their nationality. It is with them as it was with the Huguenots who wandered into Brandenburg and were generally more cultivated than the dwellers in the Mark, and yet were swamped by numbers, and lost their own national stamp. Nearly one-third of the North American population is of German origin. What priceless material we have lost, and are still losing, in them, without the smallest compensating advantages. We forfeit their labour as well as their capital, and their financial value to us as colonists would be inestimable.

Thus every colonizing effort which retains its single nationality has become a factor of immense importance for the future of the world. Upon it depends the share which each people will take in the domination of the earth by the white races. It is quite conceivable that a country without colonies may cease to rank as a great European Power, however strong it may be. Therefore we must never become rigid, as a purely Continental policy must make us, but see to it that the outcome of our next successful war must be the acquisition of colonies by any possible means.

Not agricultural colonies alone are of great importance for the parent State; there are also plantation colonies, where a prolonged sojourn is impossible for Europeans, but where natives enter the service and purvey the valuable products of their cultivation. Whoever crosses the Dutch frontier between Cleves and Nimwegen can see for himself what economic marvels the Tropics can provide. Cleves is a perfectly prosperous little town, where there is no question of poverty; but Nimwegen seems to belong to a different world, with its magnificent pillared and balustraded villas. These are the riches of India, Java, and Sumatra—a wealth of luxury far beyond the dreams of a German provincial town.

Mining colonies are also very valuable to a country, but their healthy development is made difficult by the uncertain nature of the industry. There are three kinds of colony which always bring gain to a State and are springs of economic

