

French and Italian ideas. Russian music is equally derivative and second-hand.

There is no genuine art in Russia but Tartar art. That I like, because I like savage waste and savage splendor. I gloat over a cave man's reindeer bone, or a wooden idol from Dahomey. I find something true, passionate, elemental in such things. But I do not confuse them with the master works of Beethoven, and Velasquez, and Shakespeare, and Michael Angelo.

The Russian is a brutal, imitative beast. It is not necessary, to insist on the feelings of his German neighbor. That neighbor is sober, thrifty, industrious, educated, organized. He feels as every man on outpost duty feels. Behind him is the Fatherland; in front of him is murder.

The Russian is notoriously sly and treacherous. He has a secret loathing and contempt for civilization. There is a superstition that most Russians speak either German or French. Go to Moscow armed with these languages, and see by whom you will be understood except by the head waiters in the best and newest hotels. Only by doctors and lawyers, who are all German Jews.

The Russians have a reputation for hospitality and courtesy to strangers. Ask your way of a Russian in the street and clean your mind of that beautiful dream!

There was never a country less international, never a religion so barren.

There has not been one single Russian thinker of the first class in history. If you say Mendelieff, I say he stole his one idea from Priestley. If you say anything else, I only laugh at you till you begin to feel your own stupidity. Russia is the headquarters of plagiarism.

The Germans feel this, being neighbors. The English feel this, being rivals for world-hegemony. The French will feel this, being unpaid creditors, before the world is ten years older.

What is to be done?

XI.

Looking always steadily at the map of Europe, never at the political roulette wheel, we can easily fix our main principle. Our aim will be duplex; we must reduce two excesses—Russia on land, England on water. If this be done no dog will be able to bark "German militarism." There will no longer be any need for so vast and so efficient an army. Europe will be able to resume its social progress. Germany's natural love of industry, agriculture, science and all forms of art will be able to develop unhampered by the eternal fear of war.

I see no great harm in Russia's expansion in Manchuria. The distances are so great, the mountains and the deserts so difficult to pass, and the claimants so severe, that it is unlikely that such territory can serve as a storm-centre. But Russia is no more an European Power than Turkey; she has no business on a civilized continent. However, while she is passive she does no harm. But Europe must be free of her menace; the history of the last hundred years is mainly the history of Russian aggression. Every war within the last century has been waged on account of Russian aggression, with the exception of the wars started by Napoleon III. under the impression that he was his own grandfather.

What I propose, then, is briefly this—that Western Europe should unite against the East. As a matter of fact, Germany could whip Russia in a single summer if she were free to withdraw her troops from the western frontier. The aim

should be to drive Russia behind the Duna and the Dnieper, the conquered territory being handed to the Poles to govern. Germany and Austria might, if they wished, straighten the frontier by the annexation of Warsaw.

I am aware that this is a giant proposal; but we live in Titan times. And lesser measures will assuredly result in a continuance of war. If Western Europe will not unite to drive Russia back, Russia will force them to do so one day when they are weaker.

The practical measure which I advocate is this: Germany should be magnanimous where she is victorious. She should issue a proclamation citing the facts which I have here cursorily set down, and withdraw her western armies to the line of the Rhine. She should say to Belgium, "I was wrong to be swayed by military emergency," even though she was not wrong, in view of the Anglo-Franco-Belgian conspiracy. She should say to France: "I was wrong in 1870 to annex Alsace-Lorraine. Let us arrange this affair on the basis of the popular vote of the various communes in the disputed ground. And let us be true friends forever." She should say to Italy: "Your duplicity and your pusillanimity entitle you to no consideration. Shut up!" She should say to Serbia: "The days of your gangs of murderers are over. You are now about to receive the benefits of good government." She should say to Austria: "Let us unite your Teuton districts with our own; the rest of the empire, including Serbia, under the hegemony of Hungary, will be more compact and stronger than before."

And what is to be said to England?

XII.

It seems on the surface that it needs more than Germany to speak to England. The active alliance of France is surely to be sought. More, it is necessary to awake the public opinion of the world. For this is the substance of the speech—that the arrogant nonsense about the Mistress of the Seas, "Britannia rules the waves," must end.

England has a perfect right to a strong navy to defend her coasts and to keep open her trade routes. But her claim to stop all trade at will, without your leave or by your leave, is unmeasured insolence. It is to annex four-fifths of the planet. That amphibian race of whom we spoke in the beginning of this article was not created by God, and it is a defiance of His will to take that place and terrorize humanity. It is monstrous and infamous that any one nation should maintain so colossal and so unnatural an advantage.

And it says little of the spirit of the world that it allows it. No nation with any manhood would endure the shame. Had I been President Wilson I would have said on the day of the declaration of war: "If any nation interferes in any way with any American ship, otherwise than to ascertain her bona-fides, it is an act of war."

It is a damnable and deadly insult to arrest neutrals; every power with a seaboard has a right to be sovereign on the sea. If one country be at war with another, that country has a right to fight on sea (and under sea) as well as on land. But to claim jurisdiction over the ships of a neutral country is to assert sovereignty over that country, and no nation should tolerate that while there is a man alive to point a gun.

This position must be made clear to England if it takes the allied navies of the world to do it.

XIII.

If English statesmen were awake to the true interests of their country they would acquiesce. It is her megalomaniac claims that have forced the other Powers to build against

*Since writing this article the Hunns have been driven out; but Austria is once more threatened, this time by the compatriots of Borgia. The degeneration of Italy is measured by the distance from Michael Angelo and Dante to d'Annunzio and Marinetti.