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# War and Patriotism.

BY

AYLMER MAUDE

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THE  
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# WAR AND PATRIOTISM.

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## Introduction.

MANY who express disapproval of war in general have considered it right to abstain from attempting to do anything to check the war in South Africa, or to discourage our Government from pursuing a similar policy elsewhere. Among Socialists, Secularists, Peace Societies, Christian Churches, Scientists, and Non-Resistants, the same strange contradiction has occurred.

It is always more difficult to meet confused thought than to reply to a positive mistake. And when many people share in one confusion, yet each states his case somewhat differently, an elucidation becomes almost impossible.

This being so, it is fortunate that John Bellows, of Gloucester, a member of the Society of Friends, has come forward as spokesman for those who, while theoretically disapproving of war, and refusing to share in it themselves, are desirous to support a war Government. He has issued a pamphlet in which he condemns *all* war, but seeks to defend and justify our Government for its part in the Transvaal War.

Those whom he represents in this matter could hardly have found anyone whose character and ability gave him a better right to be heard in their defence, and his pamphlet is being widely distributed.

In replying to his pamphlet my purpose is to deal with the fallacies by means of which this war and all wars are excused and perpetuated.

AYLMER MAUDE.

Great Baddow,  
Chelmsford,  
6th Sept., 1900.

## A Letter on the War,

*From* AYLMER MAUDE *to* JOHN BELLOWS.

DEAR JOHN BELLOWS,—I have read the copy you kindly sent me of your pamphlet, "The Truth about the Transvaal War and the Truth about War," written to supply a brief and simple answer to the condemnation of our Government expressed by foreign critics, and at the same time to explain your own belief that all war is wrong.

The high esteem I feel for your character and your many useful activities, the importance of the subjects you touch upon, and the detestation I feel for the wholesale, premeditated and systematic slaughter of my fellow-men (especially when continued after one party to the conflict has asked for peace) move me to reply.

I, too, have talked with foreigners (one of whom happened to be particularly well-informed on the subject), and if we consider what their indictment against our Government is, and what reply you are able to make to it, it should help to clear the issue, looked at from a point of morality no higher than that usually accepted among educated men to-day.

But I agree with you that we must not rest finally content with the code already generally accepted; and in the latter part of this reply I shall be most happy to follow you in considering what our conduct *ought to be*, judged by the highest standard our reason and our conscience supply.

What then are the main charges brought against us by well-informed foreign critics?

### What Foreigners Say.

Their first and main contention is, that in 1884 the Pretoria Convention of 1881 was replaced by the London Convention. This made the Transvaal independent; deprived England of all right to interfere in its *internal* affairs; and—except that the English Government retained a right to veto their foreign treaties—made the Transvaal a sovereign independent State. The first thing an apologist for the

English Government must do is to meet this statement, on which the rest of the quarrel depends.

Among other proofs our critics adduce the facts that :

1. The Transvaal Government expressed the above view in their despatch of April 16, 1898, and maintained it throughout the late negotiations.

2. That it is the unanimous opinion of all the lawyers in Europe and South Africa to whom the case has been submitted that (except in the one particular mentioned) no "suzerainty" has in fact existed since 1884.

3. That even English politicians, including members of the present English Government, have admitted that after 1884 they possessed no right to interfere by force in the internal affairs of the Transvaal. For instance :—

### Evidence of English Statesmen.

LORD DERBY, who negotiated the 1884 Convention, reported that the Convention granted "the same complete internal independence in the Transvaal as in the Free State."

W. H. SMITH, when Leader of the House of Commons, said : "It is a cardinal principle of that settlement that the internal government and legislation of the South African Republic shall not be interfered with."

MR. BALFOUR (January 15, 1896) said "the Transvaal is a free and independent Government as regards its internal affairs."

LORD SALISBURY (January 31, 1896) said "the Boers have absolute control over their own affairs."

MR. CHAMBERLAIN in his despatch of December 31, 1895, defined the Transvaal as "a foreign State which is in friendly treaty relations with Great Britain." On May 8, 1896, speaking in the House of Commons, he said : "To go to war with President Kruger in order to force upon him *reforms in the internal affairs of his State, with which successive Secretaries of State standing in this place have repudiated all right*

of interference, that would have been a course of action as immoral as it would have been unwise."

On August 12, 1896, he said: "Not only this Government but *successive Secretaries of State* have pledged themselves repeatedly that they would have nothing to do with its internal affairs."

From 1884 till 1897, say our critics, Boers, Britons of all parties, and foreigners, were agreed that on questions of franchise, taxation, treatment of natives, corruption of officials, etc. England had no more right to interfere in the Transvaal than in the United States of North America.

### Suzerainty.

Since 1897, say our critics, the English Government has revived its claim to "sovereignty" and its claim to interfere in the internal affairs of the Transvaal. It refused to submit this pretence to arbitration; it repeatedly increased its demands; on September 8, 1899, it refused to give effect to a pacific proposal of its own, presented to the Transvaal Government during the preceding month; and finally, it informed the Transvaal Government that further demands *not specified* would be formulated, and it proceeded to call out the reserves as if for war.

### The Ultimatum.

Our foreign critics hold that this course of proceedings justified the Transvaal Government in issuing an ultimatum demanding that all differences should be settled by arbitration, and that Great Britain should meanwhile cease to land troops and should withdraw those that had been pushed forward to the borders of the Transvaal. The rejection of this ultimatum meant war; and again the Boers are held, by our critics, to have been justified in commencing the fight before the English were in a numerical superiority.

That is their case. But to understand the sentiment which puts England's treatment of the two republics on a level with Russia's treat-

ment of Poland or Finland, we must listen to what our critics have to say of events that preceded the war: events that belong to a region of lies, suspicion, and underhand intrigue in which it is easy to be misled, for the whole truth about them is not yet known.

### Events Preceding the War.

They say that about 1887 rich gold-fields began to be rapidly developed in the Transvaal, and a plan was formed to upset the Government which represented the Dutch agricultural population, and to establish a Government more favourable to the interests of the owners of the gold mines. A Committee of the English Parliament, after enquiry, reported that Cecil Rhodes—while Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, managing director of the Chartered Company, and Privy Councillor (besides being Chairman of De Beer's diamond mines, and a leading capitalist of the Rand gold-mines)—was guilty of "subsidising, organising, and stimulating an armed insurrection," and of involving himself in "gross breaches of duty." "He deceived the High Commissioner, . . . . concealed his views from his colleagues, and *led his subordinates to believe that his plans were approved by his superiors.*"

But a liar does not always lie, and our foreign critics suggest that perhaps his plans *were* approved of by his superiors.

### The "Times" Newspaper.

They allege that the *Times* newspaper, which supports the Government's policy in South Africa, was in intimate connection with Cecil Rhodes, as is shown by cablegrams produced in evidence before the South Africa Committee (they were sent in a "code," and that is why they read awkwardly in translation. The punctuation is partly conjectural):—

*From Miss FLORA SHAW (who has an important position on the Times) to CECIL RHODES, 10th December, 1895.*

*"Can you advise when you will commence the*

*plans, we wish to send at earliest opportunity sealed instructions representatives of the London "Times" European capitals; it is most important using their influence in your favour."*

*From Dr. RUTHERFOORD HARRIS to CECIL RHODES, November 4th, 1895.*

*" . . . You have not chosen best man to arrange with J. Chamberlain. I have already sent Flora to convince Chamberlain; support "Times" newspaper and, if you can, telegraph course you wish "Times" to adopt now with regard to Transvaal; Flora will act."*

*From Dr. HARRIS to CECIL RHODES, November 5th, 1895, concerning certain permanent officials of the Colonial Office.*

*" These and Flora we have these solid."*

*From Miss FLORA SHAW to CECIL RHODES, December 17, 1895.*

*" Chamberlain sound in case of interference European Powers; but have special reason to believe wishes you must do it immediately."*

*From CECIL RHODES to Miss FLORA SHAW, December 30, 1895.*

*" Inform Chamberlain that I shall get through all right if he supports me, but he must not send cable like he sent to High Commissioner in South Africa. To-day the crux is, I will win, and South Africa will belong to England." (Signature of sender, F. R. Harris for C. J. Rhodes, Premier.)*

Our critics point out how promptly, when Jameson started on his buccaneering expedition, the *Times* published the famous, and infamous, appeal to protect the women and children in Johannesburg from Boer violence; which was a prearranged attempt to excuse murder by mendacity, and had been drawn up weeks in advance, with Mr. Rhodes' approval.

The *Times* followed this up with a poem by the Poet-Laureate in praise of Jameson's achievement,

## The Colonial Office.

When the matter was investigated, the Colonial Office did not produce the documents which might have served to disarm suspicion ; and no sooner was the investigation ended than Mr. Chamberlain said in Parliament that " there existed nothing which affected Mr. Rhodes' personal character as a man of honour." Some of our foreign critics, however, differ from Mr. Chamberlain, and consider systematic lying and deception to be dishonourable.

Mr. Rhodes is still a Privy Councillor ; the English officers who took part in the Raid have been reappointed to their positions in the army. No compensation has been paid either to the families of those who were killed by Jameson's men, or to the Transvaal.

This attempt to obtain control of the gold fields by violence having failed, Mr. Rhodes said he would adopt " constitutional means " to obtain reform.

## Newspapers Controlled.

In conjunction with other capitalists (who, our critics admit, were by no means all Englishmen) he obtained control, by purchase, of most of the newspapers published in South Africa. Men on the staffs of these papers acted as correspondents for the leading English newspapers and, by a vast machinery of mendacity, the newspaper readers of England were systematically deceived.

Outrages and grievances were manufactured faster than the lies could be exposed ; whatever was really bad in the Transvaal was made the most of, till in a few months the majority of readers in England and British South Africa came to believe that the Boers (who had figured in history as being no worse than most of their neighbours) were a race so exceptionally cowardly, ignoble, corrupt, oppressive and ambitious that the sooner Englishmen of honour (such as Mr. Rhodes or Mr. Chamberlain) ruled over them the better it would be.

The re-assertion of England's " suzerainty "



("a breach of national faith" according to Sir Edward Clarke) fitted in with Mr. Rhodes' plans, and at last the capture of Pretoria which Jameson failed to effect in 1895 was accomplished by Lord Roberts in 1900, and welcomed all over England with great rejoicings. But the moral aspect of the case seems to our foreign critics as bad as before, and they recall a remark of Gladstone's that a course which is morally wrong cannot be politically right.

### **The Charges Summarised.**

Briefly then the charges may be summed up thus :—

1. That the English Government made an unfounded claim to "suzerainty," and interfered unfairly in the internal affairs of the Transvaal.

2. That it used this unjust claim to "suzerainty" as a pretext to avoid the arbitration, which was repeatedly and urgently pleaded for by the Boers, and evaded (and on the vital issue of "suzerainty" absolutely refused) by the English; who, on the main points, were resolved to be sole judges in their own cause.

3. That when presumptive proof was found apparently connecting the Colonial Office with the plans formed by Jameson and Rhodes which culminated in the Raid, the Parliamentary Committee (which contained Liberal as well as Conservative members) avoided and evaded their duty of probing the matter to the bottom; and that the bulk of the English press and public appeared well satisfied that this should be so.

### **Your Reply.**

I took up your pamphlet expecting that, if nothing more is possible, you would at least succeed in showing cause for mitigation of the sentence to be pronounced on us by posterity. But I only found a fresh instance of the fact that the war fever deprives men of all sense of proportion, makes them credulous of blame attaching to others, and unwilling to consider the evidence against themselves, so that they

fail even to understand the charges they should meet.

You, for instance, devote a quarter of your space to a historical sketch of the Boers, differing gravely from the statements of Professor A. Kuyper and other writers on the same subject; but you do not explain in what way your statements, if true, justify our Government. Are we killing Boers to revenge cruelties practised by their fathers and grandfathers? Did we go to war to protect the natives? Or are no wrongs being perpetrated in Kimberley and in London (where 800,000 people are living in illegally over-crowded dwellings) which should be rectified before we violently attempt to remove the mote from our brother's eye?

### **Testimonials to Ourselves.**

Like other apologists, you tell us the Boers are worse than the English, and that "average Boer opinion and the Boer Executive" are worse than "British law and public opinion." But I fear the testimonials we give ourselves do not convince our foreign critics. All nations are willing to certify their own moral superiority, and foreigners accuse us of having not too little, but too much, of the spirit of the Pharisee who thanked God he was not as other men are.

### **The Boer Conspiracy.**

Next you proceed—and your pamphlet is quite a fair specimen of much other patriotic literature on the subject—to treat of the Africander Bond and the "scheme for driving the English out of South Africa." You are vexed with "party writers" for saying there is no evidence of such a design, and you offer the evidence of Presidents Reitz, Steyn, Kruger and others "all distinctly admitting it." "Here, then, is the evidence of every President of the Transvaal and of the Free State for the last quarter century, showing the determination of the Bond to drive the British by the sword out of South Africa."

We have heard so much of the great Boer conspiracy, which foreign critics say that we

invented, that one is glad to meet a writer like yourself not afraid to produce the evidence which leads him to believe in the conspiracy.

Leaving the dead to answer for themselves, let us see the evidence against the living—"the evidence of every President," "all distinctly admitting it."

"Of President Reitz (since Secretary of State in the Transvaal) a *Dutch Burgher*, T. Schreiner, writes in the '*Weekly Times*,' December 1, 1899: 'I met Mr. Reitz . . . . between seventeen and eighteen years ago . . . . whereupon the following colloquy in substance took place between us,'"

But is this the kind of evidence that can justify a war? Would we, among our own people, condemn a single man to any punishment on such hearsay evidence of things said long ago?

After this, one is hardly surprised to find that President Steyn's distinct admission amounts to the fact that the *Daily News* reports: "Of President Steyn, an *Attorney-General* [unnamed] of the Free State made the following statement to the *Rev. W. Tees*, Presbyterian Minister in Durban"!

If we are going to support wars justified by evidence like *that*, before long, I fear,

"There'll be one shindy, from here to Indy."

President Kruger's distinct admission turns out to be a report in the *Times* (24th May, 1900) of "two secret conferences" held in 1887 "between Kruger and the Orange Free State."

Foreigners will ask whether Kruger admits the correctness of the conversations he is reported to have had thirteen years ago in secret with "The Orange Free State," especially as most of them regard the *Times* as being more patriotic than veracious.

The reason people doubt whether the conspiracy ever existed, except as an excuse for the seizure of the Transvaal, is not merely the absence of any serious evidence of its existence, but also the fact that the number of people of Dutch descent in South Africa is estimated to

be less than 450,000, of whom more than half are resident in British Colonies. Half of the Dutch population in South Africa took no part in the present war, even though they regard it as one of unjust aggression on our part. The populations we have fought against numbered, it seems, about 200,000 souls (less than half the population of Birmingham), and the Empire they are supposed to have conspired against has about 50,000,000 white subjects, and has sent to South Africa more than one soldier for each man, woman, child and baby of its opponents! Under these circumstances it is difficult to believe in the conspiracy, especially when one reads the ridiculous "evidence" produced to prove its existence. The vagueness of the charge is shown once more in your own pamphlet by the way in which you jumble the Africander Bond in Cape Colony (a political organisation which supported Mr. Rhodes when he was Prime Minister) with the interests of the burghers of the Dutch Republics, who sometimes were, and sometimes were not, on good terms with the Africander Bond of Cape Colony.

The stubborn resistance of the Boers when fighting for their homes and their independence, in or near their own country, is no indication that they would ever have consented to risk their lives for a wild dream utterly unlike any project recorded in the past history of their race.

If the British Empire is to be frightened into oppressing her smaller neighbours by such cowardly fears of such intangible conspiracies, the verdict of impartial observers will be that the sooner our Empire crumbles into dust like Babylon or Rome the better for humanity, freedom, and justice.

### Armaments.

The fact that the Boers armed themselves, seems to you, and to others, a proof of evil intentions. And I do not deny that when men arm themselves, and drill, they also mean, under certain circumstances, to kill. But what of the fact that *we* spent on

armaments a hundred times as much as they did, and did what the Boers did not—viz., kept many thousands of men doing nothing else than learning to kill in the most approved way; devoting their whole energy to it?

The truth is, that until the quarrel between the Cape Colony and the Transvaal about the "Drifts," and until the Transvaal Government began to be alarmed at the preparations that preceded the Jameson Raid in which they were attacked by patriotic Englishmen, their military expenditure and equipment is known to have been small.

For admittedly military purposes the expenditure of the Transvaal was:—

1894, before the Raid . . . . .	£28,158
1895, the year of the Raid . . . . .	87,708
1896, the year after the Raid . . . . .	495,618

If we add all expenses (Public Works, Special Expenditure, and Sundry Services) *part* of which *may* have had a military aim, we get:—

1894 . . . . .	£528,526
1895, the Raid year . . . . .	1,485,244
1896 . . . . .	2,007,372

that being the maximum reached before the present war.

### May we do what others may not ?

Our own war expenditure has risen since 1894 from about £33,000,000 to over £44,000,000 (not including the cost of the present war) and will continue to increase so long as we think it right for *us* to do what it is wicked of *other people* to do.

### Taxation.

Another accusation is that the Boers drew their revenue from the gold mines instead of taxing the farming population. But why should not gold mines, forming the chief wealth of the country, pay the whole or nearly the whole of the taxes?

Granting that their method of collecting the taxes was bad, should we (who, for the sake of

revenue, force an opium trade on China) quarrel with them on that account? And if with them, why not with the United States, and Russia, and all countries in which British residents pay taxes of which we disapprove?

Scant allowance is made for the fact that the development of the gold-fields placed the Transvaal Government in a position of great difficulty and temptation, and entirely altered the conditions existing when the conventions were negotiated. Had the Boers treated their promises as lightly as we treated ours to evacuate Egypt, it would even then have been no more binding upon our Government to take action, than it is binding on France to quarrel with us.

The eagerness with which even professed friends of peace like yourself snatch at any and every *excuse for strife*, and write as though these excuses *necessitate and justify* the continuance of a war (in which nearly 10,000 of our own men have already perished) until we utterly destroy two free nations, is one of the saddest features of this bad business.

### **The Uitlanders.**

To allow miners, most of whom came to the country to get money and did not intend to settle permanently, to vote in the election of the highest rulers in the State, including the President, would have been a questionable course, and it is not certain that under English rule they will soon obtain the rights we wished to extort for them from the Boers. Englishmen have not hitherto shewn themselves eager either to enfranchise the people of India (millions of whom are at least as moral and enlightened as the average Uitlander), or to obtain real freedom of public meeting for those who disapprove of popular wars.

### **The Main Points.**

But the main points to which foreign readers of your pamphlet will be apt to look as a test of your honesty, are the claim to "Suzerainty" and the refusal of Arbitration.

We are accused not merely of having refused

arbitration on the vital question of the interpretation of the Convention, but of having manufactured a fraudulent claim to "suzerainty" in order to avoid arbitration.

Among the evidence adduced is this passage from Mr. Chamberlain's despatch (Bluebook C. 8721, No. 7, October, 1897): "*Finally, the Government of the South African Republic proposes that all points in dispute between her Majesty's Government and themselves relating to the Convention should be referred to arbitration, the arbitrator to be nominated by the President of the Swiss Republic.*" And the reply to this proposal, given in the despatch above quoted was that "*her Majesty holds toward the South African Republic the relation of a suzerain . . . . and it would be incompatible with that position to submit to arbitration the construction of the conditions on which she accorded self-government to the Republic.*"

This is the crucial matter. Why did our Government object to allowing the interpretation of the 1884 Convention to be settled by arbitration? Why did it try to resuscitate the "suzerainty" of 1881? Why, that is, did it prefer the path towards war to the path towards peace?

It is precisely at this point that the apologists for our Government seem all to break down most utterly; nothing could be more pitiable than your own collapse.

You take the impossible line of evading the issue. You treat Reitz's communication of 9th June, 1899 (when the Transvaal Government had abandoned hope of inducing our Government to consent to arbitration on the *fundamental* questions), as though the limitations insisted on by our Government were limitations cunningly slipped in by the wicked Boers!

### **Malignant Misunderstanding.**

When men argue in that spirit, war is a natural outcome. Explanations are of no use:

"Folks never understand the folks they hate;  
But fin' some other grievance jest as good,  
'Fore the month's out, to get misunderstood."

Finally, you pretend (and it shows how desperate your case is) that the English proposal to appoint commissioners to enquire into the working of the seven year franchise law "was *arbitration*, and Kruger recognised it as such and refused it" (which happens to be untrue), and you proceed to recount Kruger's objections to our interference in the internal affairs of the Transvaal on this particular point; and, after distorting them grotesquely, you finish up by asking: "If this is not shuffling and deceit carried to its farthest limits, what is?"

I fear foreign critics reading your pamphlet will be likely to quote those words with an application you hardly contemplated when you penned them.

### "Judge Justly."

"We are bound to judge justly of those who do not hold the same views" as we do, say you; and thereupon comes a denunciation of Kruger's "cant" ("If his offence be rank, should yours be rancour?"); of the cruelty of the Boers; of the "poor silly Free-Staters"; of the Gladstone Government, with "its lack of manliness and honour"; a condemnation of "those in England who advocate peace . . . . from enmity" to their own Government; and a laudation of our noble selves, "because *England* has governed justly, and *her* Crown has *everywhere* reflected the sunlight of freedom." In the despatches of *our* Colonial Office you "cannot find a single sentence that is not courteous and forbearing and straightforward as ever was penned," and in proof thereof you quote the despatch which precipitated the war by its reference to our rights of interference "which are derived from the Conventions" (in the plural).

### Stung to Madness.

You give us the Uitlander "stung to madness" by taxes on dynamite and on imported bacon (and the fact that most of them objected to the war and some of them fought for the

Boers, shows to what a pitch of madness they had been driven); but we never come to the real question of *our right to interfere*, except in your bald assertion that "England was bound to insist on the fair observance of the '81 and '84 Conventions," and "*justly* refused to re-establish the independence of the Boers." But this is merely a second-hand version of Chamberlain's trick of coupling the two Conventions together as though they were both valid.

So one reluctantly comes to the conclusion that you really have no case, but come into court with so bad a cause that the best you can do is to "abuse the plaintiff's attorney."

So far I have tried to regard the matter from the point of view of an impartial outsider holding only such moral views as are already, to-day, generally professed among educated men. Let me now speak for myself on the matter and explain wherein I agree and wherein I disagree with the general principles expressed by you in the last pages of your pamphlet.

### Points of Agreement.

And first for the points of agreement. You rightly say:—

"The force which is already operating to diminish the frequency and the horrors of war is the same that will finally lead to its extinction. This force is *sympathy*, beginning in the individual, and gradually spreading its influence, . . . . and for some share . . . . in this evolution, every human being is responsible."

"Every human being is called to that spirit of peace in his own soul (for the Kingdom of God is within) which spreads the influence of peace on those around him."

"All war is wrong. It is wrong because it deadens the sympathy placed in every human heart. . . . Wrong because it sins against the law, inwrought into our very being, that we should do unto others as we would they should do unto us."

"Even in an absolutely just cause . . . . it cannot be carried on without itself creating new and immeasurable wrongs."

“It is of no moment that all men should hold the opinion that war is unlawful, *while they remain in the spirit of which war is one of the natural outcomes.*” “To insist on the letter of Christ’s commands, instead of thus coming to the real meaning of them, is to destroy even the letter itself.”

I am in agreement with you that it is useless to try “to distinguish between force used in civil government, such as that of the police, and the power of the sword; for the power of the policeman rests on that of the soldier, who is called out in the last resort to support it, as in cases of riot, etc.” The difference is one of degree and not of kind.

Again I fear you are right in saying: “The Peace Society . . . takes no account of changing the tree, but aims at preventing some of its fruit from ripening.” And I am glad to hear you say of the Society of Friends that:—

“Its members keep as one man faithful to the practice of refusing to bear arms; and if it came to the test I believe numbers of them would suffer death rather than inflict death.”

Agreeing on these important matters, how is it that I feel shocked and dismayed by your pamphlet as a whole?

### **John and Paul.**

Let us put the case this way. Two men, John and Paul, have long been quarrelling about certain rights of way that John claims over Paul’s ground. Chiefly they are concerned about some yellow sand on Paul’s land that John wishes to dig without paying toll to get at it. The quarrel is one of long standing, and the case is too intricate for a plain man easily to understand. Each says the other is a liar—and Paul says it is a case of “Naboth’s vineyard.” Paul offers to let an umpire settle the quarrel; but John says that he cannot agree to that, because he has rights over Paul’s ground that Paul has not got over his. Besides, he says that Paul’s offer to settle peacefully is all lies and cant; what Paul really wants is to turn him (John) out of some of his own fields. As John is much bigger

than Paul, the neighbours laugh at this; but John says that is only because they are jealous of him for being so much better and richer than they are.

Well, one fine day the quarrel gets hotter than usual and John and Paul begin to fight. Paul struck the first blow, and excused himself by saying that John was cutting a big stick to kill him with, and that he had to strike in self-defence.

So they fought and fought till it became evident that John was really killing Paul. Paul cried out for mercy and said he would agree to anything John liked, only not to giving up his land altogether.

Sam (a neighbour who lived across the stream) offered to settle the quarrel, but John said no, it was his patriotic and loyal duty to kill Paul now that he had once started to do it. He did not want the sand pit, but Paul was such a liar that there was nothing for it but just to take the pit and the field too, so that things should be comfortable all round, and that people should know what sort of a man he was, and feel a proper respect for him in future.

Now one of John's sons, who was called Conciliation, said that it would be better not to kill Paul if he would agree to give all, that, before the fight, John had asked for. But another son, called Patriot, hit Conciliation on the mouth and would not let him speak; and called Paul so many names, and accused him of so many crimes, and was so angry with Paul for having struck the first blow, that the matter went on to extremities.

But now a strange thing happened: A "friend" came upon the scene who thought it quite wrong of people to fight and kill each other. *All* strife was wrong, said he—we should do to others as we would be done by, and we should forgive our enemies always. But when Conciliation said: "Father's very angry and will surely kill Paul, and it will be a great disgrace to our family for many years to come," the "friend" got quite excited. "Nonsense," said he, "*all* strife is wrong—only *this* strife is

right. Don't you see that John *thinks* he ought to kill Paul, and as he *thinks* so, it's right for him to do it." And the "friend" set to work and wrote a pamphlet to prove that as Paul struck the first blow, Paul was in the wrong; and as John said he thought he ought to kill Paul, he did right to kill him! And the "friend" implied that those who tried to persuade John that it was better not to kill, were very bad or stupid people, who, if only they had read all the lawyers' papers about the quarrel for the last twenty years would agree that killing is no murder. He added that it was *hatred* that made some people try to make peace; just as it was *pure love of truth and goodness* that made him try to justify fighting.

There is, however, one fault in this, and in all such parables, which should be noticed: they present nations as though they were solid blocks of homogeneous humanity, as though Judas and Jesus, being of one nationality, must have been of one character. In real life it is of course not so, as you show by remarking that many of "the Boers have had no more voice in passing many of the Transvaal laws than if they lived at the North Pole. There are numbers of good people among them, but they have not led." (The same is true in other countries, and perhaps in our own.) Joubert, representing the Boer reform party, was only some 500 votes behind Kruger at the last election. This being so, is it not terrible to think that (even if killing men could be a useful occupation) we are, month after month, killing the wrong men?

### Killing the Wrong Men.

Kruger, Leyds, and the rest of the folk our patriots delight in reviling, are not being killed any more than Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, or his brother who gets the cordite contracts. The men we are paying to have killed, and to whose wish to make peace we pay no attention, include many of those "good people" who had no voice in the Government.

This is terrible. The shame of this crime has

indelibly stamped itself upon the memories and the souls of men. As the massacre of St. Bartholomew tainted the cause of Catholicism in France, so the long-drawn-out butchery of a numerically contemptible race of farmers who do not wish to be ruled by us, is tainting the cause of British Imperialism.

In the sixteenth century men were more openly treacherous, but in our age of Bible Societies, Peace Societies, and Societies for the Propagation of the Gospel, our patriots inflict violence on those who wish to stop the war, and continue to write long letters exaggerating the wickedness of the Boers, while we continue from month to month our massacre of brave men fighting for freedom.

### **A Useful Pamphlet.**

I consider your pamphlet useful, and hope it will be read by many thoughtful people, for it contains certain confusions of thought in current use to-day among us, which go far beyond the question of this war, and help to perplex men's minds, and to hamper progress in many directions. These sophistries need to be exposed; but as those who use them are often insincere men, using them with intentional vagueness, it is often difficult to bring them to book. You, however (and this, I think, is a real service) use these sophistries honestly and plainly, so that one is enabled to take hold of them, and examine them, and to detect the fallacies they contain.

### **The Principle of Morality.**

You try to justify conduct (the systematic and long protracted slaughter of men who are pleading for peace) which you know to be wrong, by the curious, yet common, plea that those who are responsible for the wrong conduct, think it right. As though no moral responsibility attached to *thinking* rightly! Why, our actions are continually swayed by our thoughts, and by feelings which grow up in connection with our thoughts, and Pascal most rightly said, "Let us then labour to *think rightly*: that

is the principle of morality." Were men responsible merely for doing what they see to be right—and not responsible for making good use of their reason and conscience in discovering what is right—those who most neglected to use their highest faculties would be those least open to reproach.

On the grounds on which you try to justify our Government for this war, viz., that they consider it right—we may with equal ease justify those who practised cannibalism, Sodomy, slavery, and every evil that has ever been defended by those guilty of it. Am I to be bound to support *every* Government that says it approves of its own actions? Or does the rule that wrong thoughts justify evil actions apply only when the party concerned is our own?

### A Question of Degree.

You speak as if mankind were divided into two sections: (1) those who disapprove of war, and (2) those who approve of it. Yet you have yourself admitted that "all men regard war as an evil," and it is clearly a question of degree. There is not a man who might not yield to the temptation to use some violence to his fellow men under some extreme provocation; on the other hand, probably there is no member of our present Government, or of any modern Government, who has not at times had some glimmer of the truth that love is better than hatred, and that the greatest benefactors of humanity have relied not on physical but on moral forces.

But supposing it were not so. Supposing every member of the present Cabinet were proved to have wiped absolutely out of his mind every vestige of Christian or of humane feeling. Suppose the slaughter of thousands of our own people, the destruction of the homes of Boer peasants, the legacy of hatred and bitterness that is being stored up for future generations, counts with them absolutely as nothing—even then what motive can you or I have for condoning their conduct?

If they have any vestige or spark of those principles, or those sentiments, which cause you

and me to recognise that gentleness is better than violence, should we not try to rouse and strengthen that side of their nature? But if (which I refuse to believe) they have sunk so low that no plea for humane action, however urgently made, could ever be profitably addressed to them—should we not, at least, cease to support or to defend those who, on matters of such primary importance, are dead to all that we hold sacred, and have signed a bond with death and a covenant with hell?

### **Patriotism.**

I was utterly unable to account for your wish to defend this Government and this war till I came to your remarks on Patriotism:—

“So far, however, from love of one’s own country being a dangerous sentiment, *it is our absolute duty*. There is nothing whatever to hinder our loving some men more than others . . . . it is natural and *right* for me to love my own country better than any other, as it is that I should care for my own family before all other families.”

“I have certainly felt bitterly . . . . every reverse . . . . and have felt as lively a relief . . . . at the ending, by Cronje’s capture, of his power for mischief.”

Here I think we come to the root of the matter. If patriotism be a virtue, and if it be not merely natural for me to give an involuntary preference to my own country, but also *right* to give a deliberate preference to it, the matter needs to be very clearly and exactly stated, because the religion we profess fails to enforce this particular virtue.

### **Was Jesus a Patriot?**

What were the teachings of Jesus on Patriotism? He taught men to love their neighbours as themselves, and in the example given, the neighbour was not a Jew but a foreigner—a Samaritan.

When the great patriotic dispute as to the rival merits of Mount Gerizim or Jerusalem was put to him, His reply was: “Neither in this

mountain nor in Jerusalem shall men worship."

When the clash of Jewish and Roman patriotisms was presented to him in the question whether it was lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar, he neither adopted the patriotic Jewish attitude of rejecting Cæsar's claim, nor did he (as I read it) adopt the patriotic Roman attitude of extolling Cæsar. He said: "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's" (he could hardly say less after teaching "If any man would take thy coat, let him have thy cloak also")—but allotting to God our hearts and souls and minds and strength, he left little enough for Cæsar, except the stamped coins.

The ideal held up by Jesus distinctly was to love *all men as yourself*. Too high an ideal for us to attain unto, no doubt; but too true an ideal for us to tamper with by talking about the *duty* of caring for the people in our Empire more than for people outside it.

Perhaps you may say the absence of patriotism in Christ's teaching was accidental. He was a Jew at a time when Palestine was held by the Romans. But has it ever struck you that the great religion of the East is as free from patriotism as the teaching of Jesus? Jesus is represented as declining to be made a king; Buddha, to serve and save the world, is represented as leaving his throne and his country.

### Cloudy and Confused Conceptions.

Slightly altering the words of a Russian writer I would say:—

"The more cloudy and confused the conception conveyed by a word, with the more *aplomb* and self-assurance do people use that word, pretending that what is meant by it is so simple and clear that it is not worth while even to discuss what it actually means.

"This is how matters of orthodox religion are usually dealt with, and this is how people now deal with the conceptions of patriotism and loyalty. It is taken for granted that what is meant by those words is known and understood by everybody."

But the moment one begins to examine the

matter carefully, one finds that people do not know what they mean by "patriotism." A dictionary definition of the word is: "the love and service of one's country." But why *limit* love and service to one's own country? How will such a limit act? Should I love other countries in the same way as my own, only a little less? Or should my feeling towards them be different in kind?

### Painting the Map Red.

For instance, there has, for years past, been much talk about the desirability of "painting the map of Africa red," and it has culminated in our painting the soil of Africa very red with human blood. Did the patriots who wished to have Africa painted red, wish rather less strongly to have it painted blue, or yellow, or striped? or was the red in *opposition* to the other colours?

Or, again, when you felt the English reverses bitterly, did you feel the Boer reverses only a little less bitterly? Or did patriotism in your own case imply towards others a desire that God should—

"Confound their politics,  
Frustrate their knavish tricks"?

Is it not significant, by the way, that in our National Anthem we should keep a bit of blasphemy like that, ready for loyal and patriotic use, even before we know who our next "enemy" is to be? Not being our noble selves they are sure to be a bad lot, and a little defamation in advance perhaps prepares the public mind to take that view of things; but is not the appeal to God somewhat out of place? Is it not characteristically patriotic?

### What is Patriotism?

But let us see how the word "patriotism" is used in common speech. Is not a patriotic paper one which can be relied on to side with my country "right or wrong"? Is not a patriotic crowd one which to drunkenness and violence adds a fierce dislike

to freedom of speech? Is not a patriotic statesman one who instead of clearing himself from charges gravely affecting his honour, talks grandiloquently of the greatness and power of the Empire? Is not a patriotic Empire one which is a source of danger to the small free States within its reach? Is not a patriotic financier one who regards his country's flag as a "commercial asset"? And is not a patriotic priest one who inflames the angry passions Christ sought to calm?

How did patriotism arise? And why was it honoured in the past?

### How it Arose.

Long ago men (and animals before men) lived in continual danger of being exterminated. And, when individuals, instead of being purely selfish, advanced to the stage of being ready to sacrifice themselves for the good of the family, pack, clan, race, or nation, to which they belonged, it was a great advance. Horatius, "who kept the bridge of old" to save the city from destruction, the women from outrage, and his comrades from slaughter, deserved to be admired.

Patriotism was brotherhood *limited*. It was natural and inevitable, and a great advance on what went before. The patriot fought for the little group he knew and lived among—and it never occurred to him but that his duty towards foreigners and gentiles was to hew them in pieces when they threatened his nation.

### Loyalty.

Loyalty was of similar growth. It was a means of holding men together to resist a common enemy.

Take the case of Russia. It was split up into small States, which the Tartar hordes ravaged with impunity. It was necessary, at whatever loss of freedom, that these small States should all be knit together in implicit obedience to one Tsar if they were to survive.

It was better to be loyal and shut one's eyes to his faults, however great they might be, than

to expose the nation, men, women and children to wholesale destruction.

### **Times have Changed.**

But the problem of to-day is different. Each age is tried by its own tests. Empires have expanded, circumstances have altered, and now it is not patriotism and loyalty that save us from destruction. No one wants to massacre the populations of London, Paris, Berlin, or Petersburg. On the contrary, it is patriotism that now causes loss of life. It has lately sent thousands of our countrymen to perish 6,000 miles away in South Africa. Patriotism is like a suit of armour which a young man put on when his life was in danger. It saved him from assassination; but, getting accustomed to it, he persisted in wearing it when the danger was past, and, as he grew broader and stouter, the armour become more and more irksome and injurious to him.

### **A Superstition.**

Patriotism in our day is already a gigantic superstition, and it is fast becoming an hypocrisy under cover of which unscrupulous men snatch at wealth or power. Previous civilisations have made the same mistake, and have trodden the same path to destruction.

### **Patriots and Jesuits.**

I do not mean to deny that there are honest patriots (I have no doubt you are one) just as there are honest Jesuits. The error is the same in both cases. It is a confusion of the *means* with the *end*. A man begins by hoping that his Church, or his Order, or his Country, will serve the cause of goodness, and he ends by sacrificing the plainest demands of goodness to the supposed advantage of his Church or Country.

It was this spirit which caused the crucifixion of Jesus. "If we let him alone . . . . the Romans will come and take away both our place and our nation" said his enemies (with more plausibility than we have for saying that the

Boers would have turned us out of South Africa), so it seemed to them "expedient that one man should die for the people." It was a similar spirit which made Inquisitors, who saw their Church in danger, sentence heretics to be burnt; as though safety for a Church or a nation lay in wrong-doing!

### **Practically a Hoax.**

Looking at the matter practically, we may see what a hoax is patriotism and all the talk about trade following the flag, and the common excuses for war on the ground that it will open up a fresh field for Englishmen. As a plain matter of fact, the lack of a flag and a fatherland does not prevent the international Jew from gaining a livelihood. Mr. Beit is said to have made ten times as much money in South Africa as any Englishman. And if it is true that he shared with Cecil Rhodes the expense of financing the Johannesburg agitation which led up to the Jameson Raid, and the tuning of newspapers, in South Africa and in England, which preceded the present war, it would seem that it is possible to exploit a patriotism one does not share.

### **Intellectually a Perplexity.**

The more one thinks about this patriotism of great empires, the more perplexing and intangible the whole thing becomes. With a continually growing Empire, I must refer to an atlas to know who does, and who does not, come within the sphere of my national affection. In science am I to give the preference to theories of English origin? When I hear a tune must I withhold approval till I am sure it is by an English composer? In commerce one quickly sees how empty is this patriotism which is ready to shed any amount of other people's blood, but will not pay more for British goods than for the same thing from abroad. How many English manufacturers are there who would refuse to put up works abroad to compete with home manufacturers if they saw a good opportunity to do it?

There is no real danger to-day of a foreign foe coming to slaughter women and children, and lay waste a country, not defended by an army. But our women and children are being slaughtered in a different way.

### **The Land of England.**

The land of England is being used not to support the population, but for the profit or pleasure of a small section of its inhabitants.

It is stated, and I suppose it is not far from the truth, that half of England is owned by less than 8,000 people. Even land which during the Middle Ages was given expressly for the support and education of the poor (for whom the monasteries and priories were supposed to act as trustees) was seized by Henry VIII, and from it great estates were carved for such families as the Cavendishes and the Russells; and the people have been robbed from generation to generation ever since. "Something like a fifth of the actual land in the kingdom was in this way transferred from the holding of the Church to that of nobles and gentry," says J. R. Green in his "Short History of the English people." One effect of the fact that most of the people who cultivate the land do not own the land, and receive less than half the value of what they produce, is that our people are more and more crowding together into towns, and are living in a more and more artificial fashion on food brought from the ends of the earth; much as was the case in Rome when its healthy growth was at an end, and it drew its supplies of grain from Egypt and elsewhere.

In consequence of the crowding together of so many people in one place, the owners of the soil in that place obtain a great profit; but at what a cost to the nation! In patriotic London alone 800,000 people are living in illegally overcrowded dwellings!

If England were a patriotic country, and if patriotism, instead of being an excuse for seeking material advantages for our own people at the expense of others, really meant the love

and service of our fellow-countrymen, such a state of things would be impossible.

Is it not time that we ceased to prize the armour wherewith the brave and strong defended the weak in days of old, and esteemed rather the means whereby we all may now be saved from destruction?

### **Effects of Patriotism.**

Patriotism distorts our vision; it burdens the people; it causes blood to flow in torrents; it is a perennial spring of hatred, malice and evil-speaking; and its influence is still so strong, because some people will not think about it, and some, having thought, are still unable or unwilling to speak out. There can be no hope of right action till we have cleared our minds and know at least *which way we ought to face*. We are not called upon to struggle for the Reformation, or to resist the Divine right of kings, or to abolish slavery; but we are called on to realise that to kill men is as bad as to enslave them.

### **Superstitions which Divide.**

Let the British Empire perish rather than become a hindrance to the spread of brotherhood among all who share our common humanity. Welfare lies in the unification and brotherhood of man, and the superstitions which divide men must be destroyed. Among those superstitions none is worse than patriotism—a fetich to which more lives are sacrificed than were ever offered to Moloch or to Baal. For it our children will be called on to pass through the fire; and for it the peoples are being crushed with an ever-increasing burden of preparations for “national defence”—which lead onward towards international destruction.

### **Wholesale and Premeditated Murder.**

You complain that people speak harshly of those who command or commit this wholesale and premeditated murder. I am willing to assert that all who, though endowed with reason and

conscience, omit to denounce the abominations of war, share in the guilt of those whom by their silence they encourage. Some words of William Lloyd Garrison's suit the situation:—"I am aware that many object to the severity of my language; but is there not cause for severity? I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice. . . . I am in earnest. I will not equivocate; I will not excuse. I will not retreat a single inch, and I will be heard. The apathy of the people is enough to make every statue leap from its pedestal and to hasten the resurrection of the dead."

### **Abolitionists and Men of Peace.**

There is indeed a remarkably close parallel between the position of the Abolitionists in the United States, who disapproved of slavery during the second quarter of the nineteenth century, and the present position in England, to-day, of those who disapprove of war. Just as it was, and is, impossible to prevent men from exploiting one another's labour, so it was, and is, impossible to prevent men from killing one another, and from using violence to one another. Then men openly bought other men to be their chattel-slaves. Now men openly and unblushingly go to war without offering arbitration, and continue it after a defeated foe has asked for peace. Then, as now, a small number of scattered individuals, of little weight with the political parties or the religious sects, began to draw together, to make what stand they could against an evil which, if it could not be cured, might be mitigated. Then, as now, they were opposed, ignored, or at best half-heartedly supported, by the newspapers and the pulpits. To the politicians they were a nuisance, and to the religious bodies a stumbling-block. The Bible ("slaves obey your masters") was quoted against them; patriotism and loyalty to the Constitution employed to thwart them. Their meetings were broken up, and their speakers suffered from mob violence. They had nothing but the goodness of their cause to rely upon, and their battle, like ours, had to be fought with

clearness of thought, fearlessness of utterance, and firm reliance that there is a Power, not ourselves, "which lasting through the ages makes for righteousness."

### **The Abstract and the Concrete.**

Not the least remarkable part of the resemblance, is that just as we have among us members of "peace societies" and "friends" opposed to all war in the abstract, who will not say a word against war in the concrete—so they had their philanthropic "Colonisation Society" to transport the negro population of America, and to evangelise and civilise Africa. It formed, in reality, a bulwark of slavery. By absorbing a number of respectable people who without some such safety valve would have felt uncomfortable, it rendered to the cause of slavery the same sort of service that is rendered to the cause of war by such advocates of peace as yourself. Their motto seemed to be:—

"I'm willin' a man should go tollable strong  
 Agin wrong in the abstract, fer that kind o'  
 wrong  
 Is ollers unpop'lar an' never gets pitied,  
 Because it's a crime no one never committed;  
 But he mus'n't be hard on partikler sins,  
 Coz then he'll be kickin' the people's own  
 shins."

There was nothing in the abominations of slavery that evoked their wrath so much as it was evoked by the strenuous utterances of Garrison and the Emancipationists, just as there seems to be no horror in this war to move you to the same warmth of condemnation as you can express for those who sternly condemn our Government, and wish to stop the war.

There is yet much in your pamphlet that calls for reply; but I will only make a brief comment on two points.

### **Indicting a People.**

The first is with reference to your characterisation of the Boer population. It is natural enough that in ordinary speech we should

try to characterise a whole nation collectively, and should say that the French are gay, the Dutch phlegmatic, the Germans pedantic, the Turks fatalistic, etc., etc.; but surely every reasonable man should know that there is nothing definite or tangible in such generalisations. To speak of "a strong dislike on account of the antagonism between the two people in respect of their treatment of the blacks," is, surely, only possible to a patriot. Not all Englishmen are kind, and not all Boers are cruel. If strife and slaughter could be justified by loose phrases of this kind, it would not be the slaughter of one race by another, but the slaughter of the cruel people of both races by the kind ones. Then perhaps some people, kinder still, shocked at such barbarity, would step in and slaughter *them* in turn!

### A Plain Man may Judge.

Lastly, I would join issues with you as to the necessity for any man to master the intricacies of a diplomatic dispute before he may disapprove of the action of his Government. Children when scolded for quarrelling and fighting try to shift the question from the broad plain issue on which they are both obviously in the wrong, and to involve it by discussing which began, who took the marble, who first threatened, who first pushed, and who first struck.

But with children and with nations it should never be a question of *comparative*, but always one of *positive* guilt. The older the child and the more Christian and civilised the nation, the greater the shame if it is always drifting into quarrels and strife.

A plain man has a perfect right to say: I refuse to support the Government because they are again fighting—fighting in two or three places at once. They have not made it clear to me and to everybody else, either what they are fighting about, or that they exhausted every possible effort to settle the matter peacefully: by arbitration, or by liberal concessions to the other party. Furthermore, they seem to cherish the childish absurdity that two blacks make one

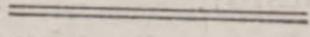
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white, and they are as anxious to prove their enemy in the wrong, as if that would put them in the right. They have not shown me that they are eager to avoid war, and people who cause men to be killed and women to be left homeless, must not expect that, because I am too busy to read all about their quarrels, I shall, therefore, support them in conduct that my very soul abhors.

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