

A

RECTORIAL ADDRESS

Delivered to the Students

—IN THE—

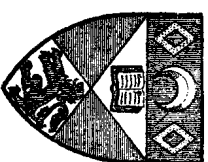
UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS,

14th May, 1919,

—BY—

Field-Marshal Sir Douglas Haig,

K.T., G.C.B., G.C.V.O., K.C.I.E., LL.D.



St. ANDREWS :

W. C. HENDERSON & SON, UNIVERSITY PRESS.

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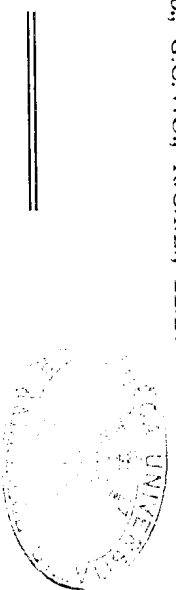
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Rectorial Address.

MR. PRINCIPAL AND MEMBERS OF THE UNIVERSITY,

To one, who like myself has been accustomed by the very nature of his profession to an economy of words, an occasion such as this must always be something of an ordeal. I am the more indebted to you, therefore, for the kindness of your welcome, which goes far to assist me in my task, and I am emboldened thereby to ask with some confidence for your indulgence in regard to the method and composition of what I am about to say to you.

This is the first public utterance of more than local interest that I have been called upon to make since I took up my command in France. I feel, therefore, that I may fairly be expected to say something, in freer and more general terms than it was open to me to use in my Despatches, not so much concerning the course of the war, with which indeed you are all acquainted, as regarding the factors which in my opinion told most for victory and the lessons which to my mind are the most important for us to draw from the tremendous experience through which our race has passed.

Let me remind you of a few facts. Prior to the war, we were a great naval nation; these islands were the centre of a vast Empire built up and held together by our supremacy at sea. As a military nation we were as weak, by comparison with continental standards, as at sea we were strong. When the Armistice came into operation last November, not only was our supremacy at sea still unchallenged, but in the course of the war itself our naval predominance had been doubled and redoubled; while at the same time our military strength had grown until at that date the number of our troops under arms was materially greater than that of any other nation in the world.

These facts suggest certain questions. What was the nature of our pre-war Empire to which such things were possible, how was it built up and what was the source of its strength? What was it that enabled it to meet successfully a strain so tremendous as that which was thrown upon it in those four and a half years of war and in the very midst of the struggle to raise our military and naval strength to so high a level? When I come to consider these questions I find myself irresistably reminded of those similar questions which in his great oration at the close of the first year of the Peloponnesian war Pericles sought to answer for the enlightenment and the encouragement of the people of Athens.

After dwelling on the proud position to which the valour of their ancestors had raised the city of Athens, extending her dominions until she was furnished with everything required to enable her to depend on her own resources whether for war or peace, he asked three questions which find a most striking parallel, both in themselves and in their answers, in those with which any one who seeks an explanation of our present position is inevitably faced to-day. Applied by us to ourselves they provide both an explanation of what we ourselves have achieved and a guide to the line of conduct by which our achievements can be turned to the greatest and most lasting good. What he asks, as we may do to-day, was the road by which we reached our position, what the form of Government under which our greatness grew, what the national habits out of which it sprang?

In our answers we can follow the Greek parallel in a manner almost startling in its fidelity, yet in its differences most illuminating. Like the Athenians, we built up our early Empire by colonisation and conquest, driven forward in both cases by the spur of trade. To the valour, the enterprise and industry of our ancestors we owe it that our ships and our trade girdle the world and that the British flag flies over a quarter of the earth's surface. I am not one who is ashamed of the wars that were fought to open the markets of the world to our traders. I am content, nay more, I am proud, that in a necessary stage of the development of the world's resources and the spread of modern civilisation it was men of the British race who dared most and carried their flag farthest.

Turn to the second question, and once more the parallel seems exact. We too can say that our constitution does not copy the laws of neighbouring states, but rather that we are a pattern to others. The seeds of the French revolution can be found in the writings of Locke, and from the Mother of Parliaments modern democracy has had its birth. Moreover, in the still continuing development of our democracy we too have sought the good of the many rather than the advantage of the few. Our laws are designed to give equal justice to all, while in our social life the ladder of advancement ascends in an unbroken line from the lowest to the highest classes of our community, and from the humblest to the proudest positions in the State. Though to some the ladder is longer than to others and the effort of climbing greater, yet merit can find a way upward. Poverty may be an obstacle but is no insuperable bar, and the whole trend of modern thought and legislation is to make the obstacle less difficult to surmount.

Above all, the mainspring of our political development has been the liberty of the individual, and to this end in particular the legislative changes of centuries have been directed. It was principally for this reason that we, like the Athenians, found ourselves pursuing a military policy quite different from that of our continental rivals. On the one hand, we have been jealous of standing armies and distrustful of militarism in all its forms. We have feared lest the sword should be thrown into the scales of State and, aided by our insular position, we cut down our military preparation to the lowest point consonant with the maintenance of the internal stability of our Empire.

On the other hand, we have opened our gates to the foreigner and in general have shut our eyes to political offences committed against foreign states. Trusting like the Athenians less to system and policy than to the native spirit of our citizens, we have let these islands become the general refuge of the oppressed, and by the sympathy and equity of our laws have won the loyal allegiance of millions who had fled the persecution of their own governments. If we too have found at times that the eyes of our enemies have profited by our liberality, we have remained faithful, despite this, to our general policy, and in times gone by have gained greatly thereby.

We come to the third question, and again the parallel is to a point exact. In our national habits we have sought to replace the discipline of officialdom by the development of character in the individual. We have endeavoured to extend to our ordinary life the same measure of freedom which we enjoy in our government, and in doing so have supplemented our laws by a moral code of conduct based upon no statute or legal precedent. More than any other country in the world we live as we please, yet by the manner of our life and the ideals by which it is controlled we ensure that liberty does not degenerate into licence and that the absence of a state enforced discipline does not breed effeminacy.

By giving all classes a direct share in government we seek to inculcate in all a sense of political responsibility. We can say with a great measure of truth that our public men have, besides their politics, their private affairs to attend to ; and that our ordinary citizens, though occupied with the pursuits of industry, are still judges of public matters. With us, too, the study of politics is held to be a duty, and the man who takes no part in them is regarded in that respect, at any rate, as a useless member of society.

By the provision of opportunities for study and for the improvement and recreation of the mind we seek to develop the intellectual side of the people, as well as to provide at once an outlet and a steadying influence for those whose mental capacities are in advance of their station in life. By our devotion to games and outdoor exercises of all kinds we have preserved the manliness of our nation, shaped and ennobled its character, and made the attainment of physical fitness the general ambition of our youth.

So far any one of us to-day can follow with advantage the argument of Pericles, and with him can find in the peculiarities of our national character, as evidenced by our history, our political institutions and our social life, an explanation of our success in war. For we can fairly claim to have done more than was expected of us by our enemies and that we too were found when tested to be greater than our reputation. Of our power we also have given mighty proofs, and have left imperishable monuments behind us.

It is the main point, however, of my submission to you now, and the source of my belief that it is in our power to ensure for our mightier Empire a more lasting greatness than that which was given Athens, that in our national character there is something that was absent from the Athenian character, as much as it is absent from that of our enemies ; something without which—despite all other virtues—we could scarcely have come through the recent struggle.

Granted that in the obstinacy of our resistance on the battle field, and in the dash and vigour of our attack, we were assisted by a long tradition of success in war—by the deep rooted belief of our men in their individual superiority to their opponents, to which the general fitness and resource of a game playing nation gave substance. Granted also that the nature of our Government and institutions had tended to produce a race in whom a capacity for deliberate thought and sound judgment is combined with the power of quick decision and energetic action, a race capable of adapting themselves to strange circumstances and of displaying initiative under novel conditions. Granted, moreover, that the encouragement of efficiency in our social life and the development of character enabled us to bend the whole energies of our nation to carrying through the great task before us, and with that object led us to submit without complaint to restraints and privations to which we were unaccustomed. Granted, finally, that the sum of these characteristics produced so intense a patriotism and national pride that no effort seemed too great if thereby our homes could be preserved unharmed. None the less, with all this, there was something further and yet stronger which made it impossible that we should fail—a motive which now for generations has underlain and inspired the best of our home, imperial and foreign policy, and was the direct cause of our intervention in the recent war. I mean the belief that we as a nation and as an Empire have a mission to fulfil in the world, that it has been given to us to develop for ourselves and others free institutions, to provide a pattern upon which other nations aspiring to a like freedom may model their own institutions, and, in the case of communities whose civilisation has not yet reached our standard, to assist and train them so that in the course of time they too may become fitted to take their place in the ranks of free nations.

In a word, in every stage of the great struggle from which we have at length emerged victorious, our courage was heightened and our resolve made stronger by the conviction that we were fighting, not only for ourselves and for our own Empire, but for a world ideal in which God was with us. We were doing battle for a higher form of civilisation, in which man's duty to his neighbour finds a place more important than his duty to himself, against an Empire built up and made great by the sword, efficient indeed, but with an efficiency unreddeemed by any sense of chivalry or of moral responsibility towards the weak.

I do not pretend to ask you to believe that every man fighting in the ranks of the British Armies was consciously inspired with this idea, such as I have expressed it to-day; but that in some form or another—more clearly defined and understood in some, of course, than in others—this thought was present in the mind both of the Army and the nation, I do in fact believe. In this I find a clearer explanation of the past and a more powerful exhortation for the future than any that Pericles could command. In the light of this governing idea, as well as of those common to ourselves and the citizens of Athens, I will endeavour for a few minutes to develop my views of the lessons which the war has for us.

We have all been appalled at the magnitude of the world war which is now drawing to a close, and would gladly believe that, even if we have not yet reached a stage of universal peace, at least mankind will never again become involved in a cataclysm so general and so terrible. If, however, we are to avoid a repetition of such catastrophes, we must be prepared actively to prevent them and must know what course to pursue in order to attain our object. For though for a while they may lie dormant, the passions from which war springs are not yet dead in the hearts of men. The seeds of future conflicts are to be found in every quarter of the globe, only awaiting the right conditions, moral, political and economic, to burst once more into activity and cover the fields with harvests of armed men.

The unequal standards of living and wide differences of civilisation existing to-day in different parts of the globe, the economic pressure which must result therefrom and the racial and colour antipathies likely to accompany the development

of the latter, all force me to the conclusion that struggles still more terrible are in store for this earth, unless wise and decisive action is taken to remove the causes.

To mention a few, and those the more obvious, of the existing possibilities of strife, there is in the first place the problem which newspapers and novel writers have made known to the general public under the name of the Yellow Peril, and thereby in the interests of sensationalism have robbed it in the minds of many of its very real claims to serious consideration.

Yet it needs only a little reflection to understand that this problem is in fact a matter of the utmost seriousness, deserving all the thought that can be given to its solution. The population of China alone is probably greater than the combined populations of Great Britain, France, Russia, Italy, Germany and Austria. Our own experience with Chinese labour in France has shown us that in all natures of routine work, both skilled and unskilled, Chinamen can labour as efficiently if not more efficiently than the best European workmen, and with a persistence without rival. They are content with a far smaller wage, are accustomed to less food and expect fewer comforts. The fact that, properly handled, they can easily be led and trained to new tasks makes them but the more formidable as competitors, provided that the directing brains can be found to organise their work. That those of them who have been brought to France have learnt much can scarcely be doubted, and though their numbers may be small in proportion to the vast population of their country, they cannot fail to carry back with them new ideas and new ambitions.

This enormous recruiting ground for labour, the exploitation of which has scarcely begun, exists side by side with great mineral resources, the whole extent of which cannot yet be fully estimated. It is known, however, that in China vast coalfields exist, sufficient to provide with ease coal to meet the needs of the whole world for a thousand years. As to the cost of getting that coal, I have seen it stated that in parts of China the cost of a ton of coal at the pit mouth is eightpence! Compare that with the price of coal in these islands at the present day!

The Chinese must eventually demand a place in the European labour market, competing with our highly paid labour and our

infinitely higher standards of living. How is that problem to be solved ? Then again there is India with a population of over 300 million souls, dependent upon us for their future, and already beginning to turn towards social, industrial and political development. How are the natives of India to be controlled when the educational system in that country has expanded and carried them a stage farther along the upward road upon which even now we are endeavouring to guide them ?

One answer to these problems has already been given. It is contained in the allegorical picture painted by the Ex-Kaiser of Germany, in which German militarism personified in the Kaiser himself is represented with drawn sword driving back the hosts of Eastern barbarism from the gates of the Western nations. Briefly, his solution of the problem was a policy of armed repression of the East by all the Western nations in alliance. Such a policy can only result in almost unending strife between the West and the East ; for a virile people of 400 millions, industrious, frugal, with unlimited resources, and capable of adopting and turning to their own ends most of, if not all, the discoveries of Western science, cannot indefinitely be repressed.

The solution which I offer you, for this and other problems which must, unsolved, give rise to mighty wars, is very different from that propounded by the Kaiser. It is different because our ideals are different, and for this reason it is that I believe, as thousands of my countrymen believe with me, that the solution of this problem is part of the great mission of the British Empire in the world.

In a sentence, I hold that this tremendous problem is only capable of solution by giving to all races however insignificant what we proudly regard as British freedom and justice, and thereby in the course of many years levelling them up to our own standards of life. Only by raising all other civilisations to the level of ours, can we make it possible for us and them to live side by side in peace. Only in this way can international rivalry be brought and confined within the limits of peace. Only thus can the terrible pressure of economic competition be prevented from driving whole continents into war.

It is, I imagine, with something of this idea, that an economic

and industrial side has been woven into the fabric of the League of Nations. If so, I welcome it as a step in the right direction, but the League of Nations can never absolve us from the mission that is laid upon us as members of the British Empire to use for the betterment of mankind the unequalled opportunities that God has given us.

The belief in this great ideal, which as I have told you is in my opinion a principal factor making for our success in war, must be fostered, encouraged and strengthened by all possible means. To help us to grasp the real meaning of the phrase "British Freedom and Justice," and, having understood it, to encourage each of us to do his best to aid in making the benign influence of British freedom and justice felt throughout the whole world, we need the closest co-operation of all our Churches in the work.

As a necessary preliminary to the great crusade which I have indicated above, we need the active assistance of a United Church. It is highly necessary that all teachers of every shade of Christian opinion should enrol themselves as active members of a great National and Imperial Church. I do not ask for or contemplate the abolition of ceremonial differences, any more than I ask for uniformity in the political institutions of our Empire ; but just as in political and social economies all parts of the Empire share their ideals in common, so the ideals of all the Christian Churches should be the same. Only so can our efforts be directed into the right channels and given strength and permanence. Unless we are united in our religious views and ideals, we as a world power cannot hope to succeed.

I have in my possession a copy of certain Resolutions on Christian Unity arrived at unanimously at a Conference in France by representative Chaplains and Y.M.C.A. Workers of all denominations of Christian religions present with our Forces, other than Roman Catholic. The first of those resolutions is that, in all matters affecting the social and moral welfare of the people, there is urgent need for united action by all Christian Churches in Great Britain, to show the reality of the fellowship existing between them.

In France, we have had this united action, and just as during the war in France our Army Chaplains and others of all denomina-

tions combined to expound with telling results the true meaning of the struggle in which we were then engaged; so now all Christian preachers must explain the real nature of the existing world trouble, point out the remedies and exhort us all in our endeavours to solve the problems before us. By their united teaching the fires of our national ideas, fanned to a white and clear flame by the destroying whirlwind of battle, must be kept burning steadily and clearly in the outward calm of peace. To my mind, the Churches have now a great and unequalled opportunity, and upon how they use it will depend not merely the future of our race, but the continued existence of that noble type of civilisation which we and our forefathers have laboriously built up.

Education, doubtless, has also a large part to perform, but in addition to lay education there must be that idealism which the Church alone can give. Ours is an Empire founded on idealism ; if our ideals die our Empire must perish with them.

We have heard much in recent years of the need of levelling up our own people. It is a process which in these islands has been going on more slowly or more rapidly for centuries. It is still proceeding, and I hope will never cease. The extension of that process of levelling up to the people of other lands, children of other civilisations, is a far more stupendous task. To accomplish it must take some hundreds of years, during which I trust our own people will not be standing still. Yet if we are to strike at the roots of the causes that make for war, if the great ideal of world-peace is ever to be attained, we must take up that task. We must persist in it, thinking not merely for ourselves but for generations and generations to come. He who thinks only for his own time is only half a statesman and but a poor patriot.

I have said that in the recent struggle the Church was given a great opportunity. It found our national character at its highest, our faith at its strongest and simplest, and our sense of duty at its clearest. No one who has any acquaintance at all with the recent fighting in France and Flanders can fail to experience a deep feeling of pride and admiration that men of our race were found to possess qualities so great as those constantly displayed by all ranks of our Army.

In this connection may I turn for a moment to another aspect of the same great question of unity in the Church and in the nation?

In every campaign and in every Army the common soldier must necessarily bear the brunt of the hardship and physical suffering of war, and on his staunchness and worth depends directly the limit of what an Army can accomplish. I can say, I think without fear of contradiction, that never has the reputation of the British common soldier stood higher than it does to-day and never have his splendid qualities been put to so severe a test. There can be few of you who now listen to me who do not know something, either from your own experience or from the lips of those near and dear to you, of the terrible conditions under which modern war is conducted. Pictures of our battles have been shown in all our cities: they have been described by a thousand graphic pens, yet the tale of the long drawn physical and mental strain through which so many hundreds of thousands of our people have passed can never be told, for such things cannot be passed on to others.

One can know and understand enough, however, to establish comparisons with other times, and thereby to form some appreciation, even if inadequate, of the daily life of a modern private soldier.

Never has death taken so many forms, at once so violent and so insidious ; never has it been so ever present or its arms so far reaching, never has the mere act of living been so exacting or so burdensome. Yet neither the constant presence of death, nor the prevailing discomfort of living was sufficient to break the spirit of the men,—many of them young, almost all of them but inadequately prepared by previous training for the tremendous task they were called upon to perform. These men, young citizen soldiers for the most part, performed prodigies of valour, displayed the endurance of veterans, and by their native intelligence, zeal and readiness to learn, as time went on, developed in the hardest of schools a high standard of military training. They were enabled to do it because, coming of a free race, their hearts were in their work and, with the traditions of their great past behind them, they believed that what they were fighting for was worth while.

Therefore, having confidence in their officers, bound to them by mutual trust and esteem, they worked with them with devotion and self-sacrifice, realising the great truth that only by combined

and unselfish action can anything worthy be achieved. Realising the need of discipline to achieve victory, they accepted discipline, and as a conscious part of one great whole working for a common object fought for the faith that was in them. For they felt that they were the champions of right against wrong, holding the gates of civilisation against the onrush of a barbarous people whose triumph would have meant the destruction of all that they and their ancestors had built up for the liberties of man—nay more, the certainty in years to come of more and greater world wars.

Nothing other than a creed such as theirs could have maintained them throughout the long wearing agony of trench warfare, could have sustained them in the desperate struggles of 1916 and 1917 and, after the supreme trial of March and April of last year, have carried them forward in triumph to the ultimate victory that is their's to-day. I lay my reverent tribute before their great faith and unbounded patience, their astounding cheerfulness and courage unsurpassed.

As in war the chief burden must fall upon the common soldier, so in peace the rank and file of industry bear the heat and labour of the day. Yet with the coming of peace the object of their toil does not change; neither is there any less need for common and disciplined action, for the unselfish co-operation of all classes of the community, if the highest results are to be obtained. The same great ideals which brought the whole nation as one man into the war more than four and a half years ago, to-day in peace ask for the same devoted service. It should be part of the task of a United Church which, during the war, did so much to develop and foster the faith and enliven the understanding of our men, to carry on in peace the same great work among our industrial armies.

The political liberties, the freedom yet cohesion of a well-ordered social life, the maintenance of the great Empire handed down to us, the development of its immense resources and of the intellectual thought, industry, and high moral code of our race, and the extension to all races of the world of the Christian principles on which British liberty and justice rest—all these things for the sake of which thousands of our best youth have died, demand to-day that men should live for them. This is

a matter which is outside politics. It is something far higher, which admits, yet rises above differences of political opinion and if only it is borne in mind by the great mass of the people, will never let the clash of party feeling turn to the bitterness of social strife. Here is a great field already half prepared, in which a united Church fighting for common ideals can point the great moral of the war and teach the whole nation the lesson of unselfishness and combined effort, without which nothing great is ever accomplished or maintained.

During the war, whenever the spirit of unrest showed itself among the working classes of the community it vanished on the receipt of grave news from France. Unlike the experience of other nations, the threat of disaster bred unity, not dissension. Men rallied to one another and to their leaders in the face of danger, criticism was stilled, and all that was asked was that *single direction* should be given to a yet greater outpouring of national effort. That pulling together of the nation to meet a danger that could be seen, and understood, was striking evidence of the soundness of our national life. To preserve our essential unity when open peril has passed, will be a tribute no less remarkable to our standard of national foresight and intelligence. For in the history of the past, greater Empires have destroyed themselves than have ever gone down before the armed might of an invader.

It is to the lasting credit of our generation that the moment that the victory or defeat of our country was at stake, even those the most averse to military operations—in a word, all members of society—felt incumbent upon them the duty of devoting themselves entirely to answering our country's call for help. This call was heard and answered not merely by those who volunteered for military service, but by all who by their efforts in any and every direction assisted in the prosecution of the war.

I have spoken of the wonderful performances and qualities of the private soldier because I know they merit all and more than all the praise that I can give them. I would not have it forgotten, however, that as I have already indicated, success in the great game of war depends on team work, and efficient team work postulates leaders as well as led, discipline as well as bravery. In an Army at war all classes are needed

and success demands that all classes should act together in harmony and understanding. In this respect also war should be the pattern to peace.

If team work has been possible in our Army, it has been because our officers as a class have been fit to take command of the splendid men they had to lead. What was it, one may ask, that enabled our non-military nation to produce the many thousands of officers required by our new Armies? Again the answer is to be found in the nature of the training that we give to our youth in peace, and the ideals in which our young men are brought up. It is to be found in the love of games, and the spirit of chivalry and fair play that is engendered and preserved by them wherever professionalism is avoided. And to our credit be it said that with us as a nation professionalism in games still provides a standard of excellence without becoming the aim and object of our play. The best of our games, if I may say so with all respect to the great game so closely connected with this city, the best of our games for *youths* are team games,—requiring decision and character on the part of the leaders, discipline and unselfishness among the led, and initiative and self-sacrifice on the part of all. It is an old theme, but its inspiration has brought us through this war, as it has carried us through the battles of the past.

Nowhere, I venture to say, was the value of team work better realised or more earnestly taught than in the Army of pre-war days. Nowhere was the good that can be got from games in the formation of character and the maintenance of a healthy outlook upon life more fully understood. These factors formed a common bond between the new armies and the old, and made it possible for one to assist the other without jealousy or recrimination. Merit, knowledge and experience were recognised and given their due on one side and on the other, and if the old army was enabled by its professionalism to set a standard for the new, it was the occasion of emulation and not of envy.

The people at large to-day know a great deal more about the old Army than ever they did before the war. They have been able to judge of its merits at its profession, at tasks to which they themselves came as amateurs. They have seen it at work, and as a professional soldier I think I may say that it has won not

merely the approval but the affection and respect of the nation. Many old misconceptions have been swept away, and not least among them the prejudices levelled in the past at regular officers. As a class the regular officer has made good in war. He has shown that he was master of his trade and was no mere society idler. He could lead men, and was a judge of men.

I hope that one of the good results of this war will be a higher regard for the Army among all classes of the community; but I hope, too, that the first great lesson driven home by every incident of the fighting—namely that for success in the most searching of all human experiences there must be co-ordination of effort and co-operation between leaders and led, that in the Army the directing brain, the administrative and executive officers and the rank and file of all arms and services are all part of one great composite machine working to a common end—will be understood and remembered by the whole nation and applied by them in the everyday practices of peace.

Undoubtedly, another great lesson of the war has been the restatement, in terms that everyone who wishes can understand, of the old political axiom that every right carries a corresponding duty. The pressure of events brought into universal recognition a truth that in easier times is apt to be overlooked. It is well to have been reminded of it, for in the development of modern social ideas there has been an increasing tendency to look to the state as a universal provider, from whom everything is to be expected, to whom as little as possible is to be given. Such a tendency is in direct conflict with our old national ideals and our old national character. It is subversive of discipline both in private and public life. It opens the way to political corruption and to all the social evils which have led to the decay of former Empires. It is destructive of that power to combine for the common good and for the maintenance of an ideal above self which alone brought us safely through the war.

In particular, the right which every citizen enjoys to the protection and care of the State involves the duty of serving in the defence of the State in time of need. This latter doctrine is no new one in our constitution. By the ancient laws of our country, in times of crisis every subject of the King can be called upon for service in defence of the fatherland.

The method of the application at the present day of this fundamental law need not be discussed by me here ; but I do wish to utter a warning against acting on the supposition that we have fought the last of all wars, or that international relations have already reached a stage which enables us to dispense with common-sense measures to keep robbers from our doors. A strong man armed keepeth his goods in peace. We cannot afford to neglect military precautions, for to do so would be to invite war. If the responsibility for this war rests in any degree upon Great Britain, it is because the state of her military preparations made it seem to the foreign observer improbable, if not impossible, that she would venture to take up the challenge which her enemies cast at her feet.

I have said that in the pursuit of our great imperial mission for the uplifting of mankind, whereby the cause of all wars may be cut away, centuries must pass. We must see to it that in the meantime disaster does not overtake our country, while our task is still unaccomplished. We should remember that despite all the advantages of her position and notwithstanding the undoubted desire of all her people to live at peace with all the world, yet Great Britain was obliged to take part in the recent war.

So will it be again ! The nobler and grander our country becomes by learning, science and art, and by reason of her far reaching schemes for benefitting humanity, the more will we have to lose by war.

We must, therefore, be in a position to prevent war meanwhile, or at least to ensure that if it is forced upon us we shall be able to meet it successfully. All available resources must be prepared and organised in time of peace, with a view to their being used if and when occasion requires. Only the knowledge that all the means and resources of the Empire, moral, intellectual and material, are prepared for use in a crisis, will give us that peace we want. It is an old truth oft repeated, "If you want peace, prepare for war."

After waging war for nearly five years most of us know the nature of the necessary preparations. To go into them in detail would weary you, but I would like to emphasise a few of what seem to me to be the main conditions.

In the first place, success in war depends more on moral than physical qualities, and only what is simple will obtain success. Secondly, in the actual process of war, everything will depend upon the destruction of the enemy's army. Battle is the end to be sought.

History, as well as more recent experience, has taught us that in the most critical moments of war, inveterate theories as well as tradition and usage assert their superiority over men's minds, without those upon whom these influences are acting being fully conscious of the fact. It is therefore of paramount importance to ensure that traditions and usage shall be sound, and that means shall be at hand to counter the influence of theories which overlook the essential facts of war.

Undoubtedly, every people and every Army must be differently employed and led according to their national peculiarities and organisation. None the less, it may safely be assumed that in all cases errors will always be committed as soon as the authorities responsible for the conduct of operations disregard the influence which the human heart exercises upon decisions and deeds. Success in war cannot be gained by intelligence alone, but by intelligence ripened by experience of the human feelings and emotions by which men's minds are swayed. Of the two the moral element is by far the more important.

It was a misconception of war and not the inefficiency of the Prussian Army which led to the catastrophe at Jena in 1806 Shortly before that event one of her statesmen (Scharnhorst) wrote : "We have begun to place the art of war higher than the military virtues ; this has been the ruin of nations from time immemorial." Knowledge of war and of its science will not bring success, unless it is combined with self-sacrificing courage, tenacity and confidence ; for the foe is really conquered, not by his physical destruction, but by the annihilation of his hopes of victory.

In the period following the Seven Years' War, many learned strategists imagined that success lay in the execution of cleverly devised manoeuvres, and in the pursuit of this "Will o' the Wisp" they forgot the substance of battle, which is to seek out and destroy the enemy's forces. Thus in 1805, when the decisive

issue lay in Moravia, the Prussian Army advanced in force into Franconia on the Upper Main, more than 200 miles distant, in order by the power of a manoeuvre to compel Napoleon to retreat across the Rhine. Further (shortly before Austerlitz and at Russia's request), in order to exercise a moral effect upon the French Army by a threat of intervention, two battalions and 100 horse were marched from Glatz to the frontier ! The result was Austerlitz and the Treaty of Schönbrunn, a Treaty which reduced Prussia to the position of a well-fed follower of France, led, when she sought to rebel, to her destruction at Jena, and was signed by the envoy charged with carrying Prussia's ultimatum to Napoleon !

So also at the beginning of 1814, under the influence of the old doctrinaire school, the Allies hesitated to cross the Rhine and the Bohemian Army moved towards the plateau of Langres ; thereby giving Napoleon, despite his inferiority of forces, the opportunity for one of the most brilliant of all his campaigns.

If I am asked what it is which will prevent a nation and its leaders from going astray in the manner I have described and illustrated, I reply that it is attention to moral qualities ; for a great number of the more noble moral qualities of man are identical with great military qualities. To take one of the simplest of war's problems ; a non-commissioned officer in command of a group or section of men in action cannot exist without courage, energy, boldness, prudence, foresight, perseverance, discernment and hope. In everything that appertains to military matters, the peculiarities of human nature must be consulted, so that men may turn naturally to the right course, which nine times out of ten is the simplest and most direct.

The special value of education consists not merely in the cultivation of knowledge, but in laying the basis of noble and moral qualities. Scientific education must not claim too large a share of our attention, but due regard must be paid to developing the qualities of the heart and character. The aim of our educative system should be to instil in our boys a feeling of duty to their neighbour and their country ; for selfishness is beyond all doubt the bitterest enemy of the qualities essential to the formation of a good citizen or a good soldier.

Yet even high moral qualities will not avail without careful

preparation for the material side of war, without adequate training and practical experience with men. Neither, as this war has shown, can we afford to depend wholly on our Navy for our defence, wonderful as the work of that Service has been. It follows that a great citizen Army of Territorials should be organised afresh. Military and educational establishments should be maintained, in order to keep alive a knowledge of the true principles upon which success in war depends. Our military preparations and equipment must be kept abreast of civil inventions and scientific developments. Finally, our arrangements for national mobilisation must be such that we may be able to make our weight felt decisively at the very outbreak of war, to develop our full military strength rapidly and thereafter to maintain it.

One other matter suggests itself to me to which the war has given especial prominence, namely, the development of the State idea outside these islands. There has been born within the Empire a new patriotism, as distinct from the old patriotism of the eighteenth century Englishman as his was from the patriotisms of the kingdoms of the Heptarchy. It is a patriotism which disregards territorial limits, which is dependent in great measure doubtless upon common interests, but still more upon common ideals, kindred ways of thought and similar standards of living. It is, in fact, patriotism to an ideal, springing from a common recognition of the great work which our Empire has done in the past and has still to perform in the liberation of human thought and forms of government, from mutual sense of duty owed in return for common rights.

It was not to render service to an overlord state that the Dominions came into the war ; but because, their rights being the same as ours, they acknowledged the same duty to defend those free institutions which are the bed rock of our existence as an Empire. The war was the challenge of one Imperial idea to another, and all parts of our Empire fought to secure the triumph of the idea under which they lived.

This wider sense of patriotism is compatible with a strong sense of local patriotism. For this reason the strength of the wider patriotism was by many not fully appreciated till the war revealed it. I am a Scot, I have no desire to be an Englishman.

No Englishman of my acquaintance ever confessed to me his secret chagrin that he was not born in Scotland. I know of no Australian, Canadian, New Zealander or South African who has any wish to be either an Englishman or a Scot. Yet they all came to fight for us, and proud as they rightly are of their own splendid lands they are proud too to be members of the great free Empire which we all hold in common.

There were those who said after the South African war that we should never again see soldiers of the Dominions enter into battle side by side with men from these Islands. Well, they have had their answer. They have seen the whole Empire fighting as one man, South Africans with the rest of us and India too, pouring out blood and treasure on a scale never before contemplated, not for England, Scotland, Australia, Canada or South Africa or for any one constituent part of our Empire, but for the whole of the mighty organism the essential unity of which is personified by our King and Emperor.

We have won, and if my reading of history and current events is correct, we have won because our national character is sound; because it is founded in honesty and love of justice, inspired by comradeship and self-sacrifice, secured by a great capacity for common action in pursuit of high ideals. Let us do our utmost to keep it so and to hand it on strengthened to our children. So long as our national character remains unchanged we shall always win in all we undertake.

It is the sword and buckler of our Empire.