

PATRIOTISM.—Patriotism is the sentiment in which consciousness of nationality normally expresses itself. The qualification of the word ‘normally’ is required; it sometimes happens that a person is conscious of himself as belonging to a nation against his will. This is shown by the absence of any desire in him either to identify himself with the life of his countrymen or to bring their life into accordance with his ideals. Patriotism may be shown in either of these desires. A man may complain much of his people, but show his unity with them by labouring to improve them; it is never, indeed, so much by indiscriminate admiration as by unfailing attachment that the genuine patriot may be known. Persons, however, who are unwilling to be nationally what they know they are, who have a clear consciousness of nationality without a set of the will to develop it further, who may, indeed, be called anti-patriots, are obviously abnormal. They are abnormal, because the development of national consciousness takes place by means of just that set of the will to identify self with the national life the absence of which is the mark of the anti-patriot. It may happen that there are, or have been in the nation’s history, circumstances favourable to the development of this self-contradictory type. It goes with the cultivation of the servile will in the weaker members of a subjugated or struggling nation. One of its most repulsive manifestations is the attitude of snobbery, as towards the race-type of the dominant foreign State, with which every class of such a nation may become infected. Anti-patriotism thus defined must, of course, be distinguished from the mere absence of national sentiment in undeveloped members of the nation, and still more from opposition to it in alien persons associated with the community politically or otherwise. Every

nation, whether prosperous or the reverse, has many of the two last types within its borders.

Patriotism, then, may be precisely defined as consciousness of nationality together with the will to realize such nationality further. It is essentially an active force in a man's mind, whether it spends itself on the development of thoughts, feelings, or deeds. Each man's individuality in this respect colours his character as patriot. Moreover, the racial type of each nation colours the prevailing type of patriotism in her children. All patriots are idealists, imaginative, sentimental, and practical more or less, but many are characterized by one or other of these qualities in dominance over the other two. Racial character with its average tendencies is here involved. The Latin races are more imaginative, the German more sentimental; and perhaps the truest thing to say about that mixed European race, often erroneously called Anglo-Saxon, which attains to its maximum of mixture in the United States, is that, not being conspicuously imaginative or conspicuously sentimental in its patriotism, it is extraordinarily successful in realizing its type and extending its borders as a matter of fact. It may be that the strongest kind of capacity for acting together is apt to be developed as a national quality side by side with a habit of subordinating individual imagination and sentiment to executive needs so energetically as to check the growth of romantic patriotism. The very practical man pretends to himself—at least in quiet prosperous times—that it is absurd. This pose, however, used to be more common than it is to-day.

Since patriotism is the normal expression of nationality, its analysis is, for the most part, contained in the analysis of nationality already set forth (above, p. 191 ff.). A nation is a

community of persons profoundly conscious of organic unity and bent on the preservation of that unity. It becomes a self-conscious nation—a nation in the more perfect sense—when it is also bent on the preservation and development of its own type. Throughout, but especially in the later stage, the association of the race with the land plays a large part in the consciousness of nationality. Attachment to the home-land and attachment to the home-race are a twin birth and grow together, however they may differ in strength. The beauty of the home-land, its sweet familiarity, its historic associations, its glamour and indefinable charm, supply natural images in which the opening mind enshrines its vague generalized instincts of racial attachment. The home-land is the concrete thing chosen in the natural course as symbol of that dimly conceived ideal, the home-race, a nation. So patriotic songs are sung and patriotic speeches made to the father-land or mother-land as fancy chooses, or—tenderest of all, and with deeper truth, as in the passionate love-song of Irish penal times—to the dear young girl, oppressed it may be but ever fair, the immortal sweetheart of the race. It is an interesting point, worthy of some note, that, whereas all lands have something of this influence upon their people, in some it has played a much larger part than in others. Probably the most favourable combination is a land of soft and varied natural beauty, in which an early settlement has been made by a race of accurate observation, lively imagination, and literary gift. Such a land, so inhabited, becomes clothed over and over with story and legend at every point; historical tradition clings with the persistence of truth and good memory to different places; the race is aware of itself and of its history localized in detail. All new settlers who come

after inherit the tradition; it has them in a solution out of which crystallizes a nation passionately attached to its land.

Three grades of national life have been distinguished (see [NATIONALITY](#)), and each is reflected in the kind of patriotism corresponding to it. The complexity of a modern society is heightened by the co-existence in it of patriots in every grade. The national life as a whole may be lived by those in the highest grade, consciously set on the realization of their own ideals in the minds and characters of all its members; yet there will be found among these members many whose national sense is of the crudest primitive type. Thus we have, in the first place, the quiet, patient, unreflective worker, who takes his world as he finds it, 'is no politician,' but clings to his own people and his own country as against all foreigners and the allurements of other climes. The force of this instinctive adhesion to our own is, in almost all of us, tremendous; it is perhaps the chief element in the patriotism of most. Next to the mere instinctive, we have the crude political patriot: he is conscious of his nation chiefly as a political State among other States, each State being conceived as a group of persons bound to stand loyally by one another in case of dispute. 'My country right or wrong' suffices to him for the patriot's creed. He has little idea of a national character to be maintained or an inner national life to be developed. In his worst form he is a hard competitive nationalist with a lively conception of the national life as a continual getting the better of other nations. He appears, however, more normally in several less developed and more humane forms—*e.g.*, as the responsible militant patriot of the warrior class and as the irresponsible war-promoter who takes no risk himself. In questions of international commerce he tends to be anti-foreign, even

more than pro-native, in his sympathies. These antipathies run away with him altogether, of course, in case of a war in which the national enemy is engaged, even if not the native country itself.

The higher patriotism in any person may or may not be free from association with instincts of hostility to other races; but it is characterized by such a centring of interest in the spiritual life of the nation as must tend to make these instincts inoperative, at least in times of peace. In times of national danger, no doubt, the primitive instincts would assert themselves in force. At other times they are submerged beneath peaceful manifestations of the civic spirit at home and reasonable humanitarian sentiment towards the foreigner. The patriot of the developed type is, however, something more than a public-spirited citizen. An alien who feels himself to be an alien can, nevertheless, be a pattern of civic virtue by the exercise of the human qualities which bind him to his fellow-men. A good patriot at home will probably be a good citizen in any foreign community to which he attaches himself, because the moral nature required in both cases is the same and the practice which flows from it not dissimilar. But the patriot in the home community has, in his consciousness of organic unity with his people, a source of happiness, energy, and understanding which is of surpassing value both to him and to it. The national history, the national literature, the national institutions, the language, customs, manners—all are his own; he helps to make them, he has been made by them, attachment to the type of them is deep in his nature, and his desire for their perfection has the passion of personal love. There is always, therefore, a certain waste of human energy when the services of a good citizen are transferred from the home

to the foreign sphere. As regards persons of mediocre or deficient public spirit, it is obvious that the special stimulus of national sentiment is almost necessary to make them realize their citizenship sufficiently.

The centre of consciousness in the higher patriotism is awareness of, affection for, and determination to cherish the national type, guarding it from decay within even more anxiously than from attack without. In a nation threatened with political extinction there will be a jealous zeal for the national language, literature, and traditions, with anxiety as to the education of the young accordingly. In a prosperous nation, on the other hand, high patriotism will direct itself rather to the development of intellectual and spiritual life in all forms, to the neutralization of luxury, the redress of excessive inequalities, and the whole vast work of internal reform in the complex body politic. For, it should be noted, increase of prosperity goes with increase of complexity, and, apart from counteraction on the part of the reformer, this carries increase of luxury, poverty, and desperate helplessness in its train. In either case there is no lack of matter for the labour and interest of the patriot in home affairs. The real political distinction in this respect is between the patriot, on the one hand, and the seekers after self or class interest, on the other.

In foreign affairs the higher patriot is concerned to maintain the honour of his nation in the sense in which he realizes it as having a national character to maintain. His ideas of policy will, therefore, vary according to his ideal of national character as between nations. This involves the whole question of international morality, but to the ordinary citizen it does not seem very complex. Courage is the primitive element in national honour. Good faith is almost,

if not quite, as primitive, but in actual weight of estimation has too often lagged a long way behind; it is also a virtue the possession or non-possession of which admits of a good deal of argument either way. The advance is great and difficult from an ideal based on much courage and some good faith to one in which justice is conceived as an essential of international virtue. Nevertheless, there has always been something corresponding to it in the ideas of fair play between tribes or nations of which there is evidence at a very early stage. The developed conception is, however, much more than this. It is the product of personal reason and personal sympathy as applied to other national communities. In so far as the human race is making moral progress at all, there is, from generation to generation, an increase in ability to see and be moved by things as the others most nearly concerned in them see and are moved. No human need or sentiment can be excluded from its operation, nor can any limit be placed to keep outside of it the races distant from us in type, habit, and blood. The Golden Rule that men should do unto others as they would that others, in like case, should do unto them is no rule of external discipline imposed on a humanity alien to it, but springs out of the depths of human nature itself. The more a man is man, the more certainly is he an organ of reason and sympathy, and so, the more men as a whole, and the leading races especially, become man-like, the more firmly does the Christian ideal of justice dominate them in all things, including their sense of what is due from the members of one nation to those of another. Hence for the patriot, intent on the maintenance of the national character as the expression of what his nation unanimously ought to be, the honour of his country means that her conduct among the

nations shall be free from taint of aggressive greed, inordinate love of power, disregard of nationality in others, as well as from sins of individual cruelty, bad faith, and cowardice.

Thus there are patriots and patriots in every advanced political community; and, under democratic government, settled distinctions of party and of sections within parties are accordingly apt to arise, though disguised, confused, and, to some extent, counteracted by the historical causes out of which the original distinctions of party sprang. The two chief grounds of patriotic variety to be borne in mind are (1) the development of the idea of internal reform as the healthy life of the nation within itself, and (2) the transformation of the ideal of national honour with the growth of reason and sympathy in relation to it.

The higher patriotism, as has been pointed out, is not dependent on the political condition called national independence. A nation, if it has reached the stage of national determination to preserve itself, may exist as a nation scattered through a number of alien political communities. The most striking example is that of the Jews with their marvellous vitality of race and type. Their early history is in this respect even more remarkable than that of Christian times. Empire after empire rose and fell. Of the conquering races hardly a trace is left. The Hebrew people, subject in turn to Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome, has survived them all, and has, moreover, maintained for hundreds of years a deep national unity with no loss of type in the face of a hostile dominant Christendom. The means has been simple enough—steady persistence in religion, customs, literature, and language, the things which pertain to the innermost manifestations of the common life. The bind-

ing force of a great literature should be specially noticed. The founders of the literary movement in Hezekiah's time and the leaders of the literary renaissance among the exiles in Babylon undoubtedly did more for the preservation of a nation—apart from higher aims and subtler problems—than has ever been achieved by States and armaments. It is, of course, another question whether it is a good thing that a strong nation should remain permanently without a national country and a political State.

Another familiar example is interesting. The individuality preserved by the three smaller nations within the United Kingdom turns upon a sense of national distinctness in history, literature, traditional ideals, and racial ways of thought. Round all these a sentiment grows up which may be the minor or the major or the exclusive patriotism as compared with the sentiment towards the United Kingdom as a whole. The Irish demand for Home Rule within the Kingdom is the expression of this sentiment on its political side. The remarkable movement, however, of the Gaelic League in Ireland, Great Britain, and the United States is essentially national in the non-political sense. Its aim is to maintain and develop the national consciousness through knowledge of Irish history, literature, music, and art, and by study of the Irish language with the valuable literature which it contains. The practical claim advanced by it is, as in the similar case of Wales, that the humanities used in the education of Irish persons should be, in the first place, though by no means exclusively, Irish. The genuinely non-political character of the movement is shown by the adherence to it of many who take the anti-popular view in politics. In the United States, moreover, there is no question of Irish national existence except in the more subtle inner

sense.

In all movements for the revival or development of national literature as national we see the patriotic sentiment asserting itself in this subtle sense. Such movements occur in the history of all nations. They are of the same nature psychologically as the individual's claim to that sincerity of self-expression in his work which, as Carlyle says, is the merit of originality. A group of young poets or artists thus stirred by a common national sense inspiring them, and in the presence of an established literature which does not express the native spirit, will, either of purpose or without it, create a literary revival on national lines. Great outbursts of fresh literary genius are apt to occur in this way.

LITERATURE.—See [Literature](#) at art. NATIONALITY.

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